

## HADLEIGH.

Before I attempt to execute the task which has been committed to me, I cannot refrain from expressing my unfeigned regret that it has not been entrusted to some one possessed of more antiquarian knowledge, and therefore more competent than myself to do it justice. I do not say this as a matter of course, or from any feeling of false modesty, but from the sincere conviction, of the correctness of which I fear I shall give you too many proofs, that I am not equal to the subject. I can say, indeed, with perfect truth, that I should have never ventured of my own accord to place myself in this position. I have been led into it by the request of a member of the committee of the Archaeological Institute, and have consented to accept it in the belief that no other resident was likely to desire or accept it. I therefore hope that, instead of being thought guilty of presumption, I shall be favoured with the indulgence of this Meeting, and that if I shall have in the members of the Institute a critical, I shall not have a censorious audience; that my deficiencies will be good-naturedly regarded, and together with any mistakes that I may make, will elicit more full and accurate information.

I think that I cannot do better than arrange the remarks which I am about to make, under three general heads, and treat in succession of the town, the church, and the celebrated men who have been born in, or connected with the parish.

### I.—THE TOWN.

The town, then, lays claim to considerable antiquity, and if the supposed etymology of its name,—“head”—chief,

and "leage"—place, be correct, Hadleigh would seem to have been a place of importance even in Saxon times. And indeed the inference, which is thus suggested by its name, is confirmed by historical evidence of good authority. In the *Annals of Asser*,\* a monk of St. David's, and the most learned man in the country of his day,—the favourite companion, moreover, of King Alfred,—it is stated :

"Anno DCCCXC obiit Guthram Rex Paganorum, qui et Athelstani nomen in baptismo suscepit. Qui primus apud Orientales Anglos regnavit post passionem sancti regis Edmundi,† ipsamque regionem divisit, coluit atque primus inhabitavit. Mortuus est itaque anno xiv<sup>o</sup> postquam baptismum suscepit, mausoleatusque est in villa regia, quæ vocatur Headleaga apud Orientales Anglos."‡

Guthrum was the great leader of the Danes at that period, and it was into his camp at Eddington, in Wiltshire, that King Alfred ventured in the disguise of a harper, with the view of ascertaining their number and their discipline. The issue from that visit is well known : the Danes were attacked and defeated by Alfred ; Guthrum was taken prisoner, and on condition that his life was spared consented to become a Christian.

It is clear from the words of Asser that Hadleigh was once a "royal town," inasmuch as it was the place where Guthrum resided after he had been advanced by his conqueror to the dignity of King of the East Angles ; it is clear too, that it was the place of Guthrum's death, and of his burial ; and it would also appear, I think, that Hadleigh had no existence as a town before his days.

\* Asser was a Welshman, and monk of St. David's. The fame of his learning caused Alfred to send for him, and to propose that he should remain with him always ; but Asser would consent to stay only half the year. He was a kind of Boswell of the middle ages, and he survived Alfred.

† The death of Saint Edmund took place A.D. 870.

‡ *Ed. Gale*, p. 171. I am indebted for this reference to the Ven. Archdeacon

Churton, from whom I had ventured to ask for the authority for a statement to the same effect in his *Early English Church*, p. 205.

The following authorities are also referred to in the Wilkins' MS., "*Vide Camden, Weaver, Speed, and Spelman, in King Alfred's Life, fol. p. 36, ubi ita : Guthrumnus Headleagæ (Hadleigh hodie in Suffolcia), ubi palatium ejus erat, obiit ibique sepultus est.*"

But the statements of the historian Dugdale in reference to the Manor, seem at first sight to throw some doubt upon the last point. In one portion of his works he states that Elfreda, the wife of Brithnoth, second Earl of Essex, before the Conquest, gave the manor of Hadleigh to the church of Canterbury, with the knowledge and consent of Ethelred the king, A.D. 835.\* and in another he relates that Brithnoth bequeathed it to the same church, after the death of his wife (that is, to be made over to the church of Canterbury after the death of Elfreda), A.D. 991.† The same explanation of the discrepancy as to the donor is given in the MSS. of Brian Twyne :‡

“Dux Brithnothus iturus contra Paganos ad bellum, consentiente rege  
 “Ethelredo, præsente Sirico Archiep° Doroberniæ, dedit Ecclesiæ § Salva-  
 “toris in civitate Doroberniæ has terras Langly et Illeggh et Hadlegh  
 “liberas sicut Adisham. Hadelegh, tamen, concessit Elfede uxori suæ  
 “antea pro diebus suis et post redeat ad Eccles. Christi Dorobern’. Et  
 “postea eadem Elfreda dedit eidem ecclesiæ *eandem villam* juris sui nomine  
 “Hadlegh, concedente et consentiente prædict. rege Ethelredo, libere  
 “sicut Adisham.” *in near Dover.*

But you will remark that there is a further difficulty in Dugdale. He gives different dates in his two accounts of the same fact, and this disagreement is of some importance, since, if the gift of Brithnoth were made in A.D. 835, it would show that the *villa* or town of Hadleigh was in existence before the time of Guthrum: but if the gift were made in A.D. 991, we have evidence that the town had existed at least 100 years before. A reference, however, to the *History of England* will satisfactorily remove this second difficulty. The reign of Ethelred did not commence until A.D. 978: and in 991 the Danes (the “*paganos*” of Brian Twyne) landed in considerable force in Essex. Brithnoth, who was Duke of that county, with a bravery greater than that which was shewn by most of his

\* Monast. Angl. vol. 1, p. 20. a. 61, 62.

† Dugd. Bar. vol. 1. p. 16. a. 27.

‡ In the Library of Corpus Christi College. I take these references from the MS. of the Rev. David Wilkins, in the possession of the Rector of Hadleigh.

§ This was the Monastery at Canterbury. It was not until 1547 that the manor passed into the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, by whom it is now held.

compatriots at that period, ventured to attack them at Maldon with a comparatively small body of troops; but his soldiers were overpowered in the unequal contest, and he himself was slain.\*

On the whole, it is clear that the latter date of Brithnoth's gift (991) is the correct one; and I am inclined to believe from the language of Asser (who was, be it remembered, a contemporary historian), "*ipsam regionem divisit, coluit, atque primus inhabitavit*," that the town (*eandem villam*) of Brian Twyne, which was in existence in the days of Brithnoth, was founded by King Guthrum. But, however that may be, there is evidence, from old deeds, that the town has borne for many centuries much the same shape in regard to its streets which it possesses now. In the "Extenta" or survey of the manor made A.D. 1305†, for the Monastery of Canterbury, to shew the value of their property, mention is made of "Bentone Meadow;"—Bentone probably meaning, as a friend has suggested, the "head" or "end" of the town—a feature which distinguishes it to this day. The same name occurs also in 47 Edward the Third (A.D. 1373), 20 Richard the Second (A.D. 1396). Helstreet occurs in 1st Henry the Fourth (A.D. 1399). This street is called Buck Street in 4th Henry the Fifth (A.D. 1416), it was afterwards called Magdalen Street, 8th Henry the Eighth (A.D. 1516), and George Street—the name which it still bears—in 1654. Hadlie Brigge is spoken of in 21st Edward the Fourth (A.D. 1481), Cherchegate A.D. 1373, and Cherchegate Street 32nd Henry the Sixth (A.D. 1453), High Street 12th Henry the Seventh (1496).

And while on this point I would add that in the Extenta of A.D. 1305 a description is given of the manor house, &c.,

\* *Hume's History of England*, vol. 1, p. 113, and for a fuller account, which shows that Brithnoth was an earnest Christian as well as a valiant soldier, see Archdn. Churton's *Early English Church*, p. 256, 260. What a comfort it would have been to Brithnoth in his dying moments if he could have looked forward

and seen Olave, the leader of his enemies, a distinguished Christian, such as he afterwards became! *Ibid.* 269. Before starting on this expedition, Duke Brithnoth made large gifts of land to the Church of Ely also. *Camden's Magn. Brit.* p. 410.

† See Appendix A.



as a messuage with court-yard, garden, and vineyard, containing four acres, and estimated at the value of four shillings, extending from the king's highway to the banks of the river: from which I think we may infer the probability that the present Hadleigh Hall stands on or near the spot on which the manor house stood more than 500 years ago.

In Domesday Book Hadleigh had been previously thus described:

"Hadlegh tenet sancta Trinitas tempore regis Edwardi, V. caruc' terre pro Manerio, semper XXII villani tunc XXVI bordmanni, modo XIX. semper II. servi et II. caruc' in dominio. Tunc caruc' hominum XV. modo semper duo, molend' et XVI. acre prati, modo II. runcini et XII. avenæ, CXX. oves, XX. porc. tunc valuit XII li.: modo XV. Ecclesia de I, caruc' terre libere et I caruc' et I molend et valet XII s. et unus sotmannus XL acr' tempore regis Edwardi. Modo in eadem terra manent III Sotmanni semper habent I½ caruc' et I acram prati et unum lib. ho. et sotmanni de' unum LX. acr. tempore regis Edwardi in eadem terra manent modo III liberi homines et habent I. caruc' et II acras et dim. prati tunc valuit VIII. s. modo X. Tota habet I. leucam in longitudine et VII. quarent' in latitudine et XI dobde Gelt."

But the Extenta, A.D. 1305, alludes, even at that early time, to something else which was destined to give afterwards to Hadleigh a greater importance than the residence of Guthrum.

Some persons have gone so far as to conjecture that at the time of the Roman Conquest\* the more civilized Britons were clothed in woollen fabrics; but the first authentic record states that certain Flemings driven out of their own country by an encroachment of the sea, came to England, A.D. 1111., and were stationed by the king, Henry the First, in Carlisle, but, not agreeing with the natives, were transplanted into Pembrokeshire.

Henry the Second also favoured the clothiers, and in his reign the manufacture extended throughout the kingdom, so that dealers in Norwich as well as other places paid fines to the king that they might freely buy and sell dyed cloth. The wars, however, that followed under John, Henry the

\* Even at an earlier period, Strabo, in describing these Islands, says "they are inhabited by a people wearing black garments or cloaks reaching down to their

heels and bound round their breasts. They walk with sticks and wear long beards." *Quoted in Fairholt's Costumes in England.*

Third, Edward the First, and Edward the Second, caused the manufacture to decline; but still in the meantime it had found its way to this place, for the Extenta\* speaks of a mill "ad pannum fullandum," and of one "Simon the Fuller" and others of the same trade; which appears to prove that the cloth trade was established here as early as the reign of Edward the First.

But the decaying trade was revived by the policy and energy of Edward the Third, who, A.D. 1331, persuaded Flemish manufacturers to settle largely in his dominions and succeeded in firmly establishing an art which has since exercised an amazing influence on the fortunes of this country.

"Blessed be the memory of king Edward the Third and Phillippa, of Hainault, his Queen,† who first invented clothes," says a monastic chronicler, and we may take up his thanksgiving; not that the people had before gone naked, but that the trade, which was fostered and encouraged by this wise king has given both warmth and riches to our nation. "Here they should feed on beef and mutton," says Fuller,§ when describing the inducements which were held out by Edward :

"Till nothing but their fulness should stint their stomachs: yea, they "should feed on the labour of their own hands enjoying a proportionable "profit of their pains to themselves, and the richest yeomen in England "would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them, and such the "English beauties that the most curious foreigners could not but commend "them."

And after having thus stated the not very creditable ways

\* The manor of Hadleigh, however, is not co-extensive with the boundaries of the parish. I have dwelt upon it as the most important, but there are four more manors in the parish: (1.) The manor of Pond Hall, of which we are told that as early as the 43rd year of Edward the Third (1369), "a patent was granted to Helminge Legatte Esq., to impark 300 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, 180 acres of pasture, and 139 acres of wood in Hadleigh," and that two years later the same gentleman obtained another patent to embattle his mansion, called Le Pond

Hall, in Hadleigh. (2.) The manor of Cosford Hall. (3.) The manor of Toppesfield Hall; and (4) the manor of Hadleigh in Hadleighs.

The bounds of the parish as measured by Dr. Tanner with a wheel, in a perambulation, May 19th, 1748, are in length 5 miles, in breadth  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and in circumference 16 miles.

† Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. 2, p. 257.

§ *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 286. *Oxf. Ed.*, 1845.

by which Edward effected his object, he goes on to say :

“Happy the yeoman’s house into which one of these Dutchmen did “enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them ! Such who came “in strangers within doors, soon after went out bridegrooms and returned “sons-in-law, having married the daughters of their landlords, who first “entertained them ; yea, those yeomen in whose houses they harboured, “soon proceeded gentlemen, gaining great estates to themselves, arms and “worship to their estates.”

The king, however, did not suffer them all to continue in one place, “lest on discontent they might embrace a general resolution to return,” but he distributed parties of them here and there throughout the island. But whenever they were allowed to settle according to their own inclination they usually chose a maritime habitation, and thus Suffolk from its near neighbourhood both to their own country and to the sea, became a favourite resort. A body of these clothiers was stationed by the express orders of the king at Sudbury ; and there can be little doubt, I think, especially when we remember that a fulling mill was in existence here at the beginning of the century, that other parties of them soon found their way to Hadleigh.

The kind of cloth, which was manufactured in Suffolk, was, according to Fuller, “bayes.”\*

Fuller gives the following Table of the several places where different kinds of cloth were made at this period.

EAST.	WEST.	NORTH.	SOUTH.
1. <i>Norfolk</i> Norwich Fustians.	1. <i>Devonshire.</i> Kersey.	1. <i>Westmoreland.</i> Kendal cloth.	1. <i>Somersetshire.</i> Taunton Serges.
2. <i>Suffolk</i> Sudbury Bayes.	2. <i>Gloucestershire.</i> Cloth.	2. <i>Lancashire.</i> Manchester Cotton.	2. <i>Hampshire.</i> Cloth.
3. <i>Essex.</i> Colchester Bayes & Serges.	3. <i>Worcestershire.</i> Cloth.	3. <i>Yorkshire.</i>	3. <i>Berkshire.</i> Cloth.
4. <i>Kent.</i> Kentish Broadcloths.	4. <i>Wales.</i> Welsh Friezes.	4. Halifax Cloth.	4. <i>Sussex.</i> Cloth.

I have not met with any account of the cloth manufacture as it existed here in the 15th century, and unfortunately most of the earliest brasses in the Church, which might have described the trade of those, who had been laid below

\* *Church History*, vol. ii., p. 287.

them, were destroyed, I presume, at the Reformation, or are covered by the pews. But we learn from Holingshead's *Chronicles*, that early in the 16th century the occupation of a weaver was a very general one, for he records a "rebellion" which broke out in Hadleigh, Lavenham, and Sudbury, in the year 1525.

"The people began to rise on account of the heavy taxes and the general decay of work, the clothiers and farmers being unable to employ them. The Duke of Suffolk who had a commission to raise the subsidy in Suffolk, persuaded the rich clothiers to assent thereto, but when they came home and turned off their workmen, they assembled in companies, although the harness was taken from them by the Duke's orders, and openly threatened to kill the Cardinal, the Duke, and Sir Robert Drury; and having got together at Lavenham about 4,000 strong, they rang the bells to alarm the neighbourhood. Upon which the Duke broke down the bridges, to prevent their joining, and immediately sent to the Duke of Norfolk to raise what men he could in Norwich and that County. Being a great force he went out and communed with them himself and demanded to know what they would have. John Green, their leader, in the name of them all, assured him that they meant no harm to the king or to the laws, to whom they would be obedient, affirming that Hunger was their captain, the which with her cousin Necessity brought them thus to do, telling him that they and all poor people lived not upon themselves, but the substantial occupiers and traders, and now that they through such payments as were demanded of them, were not able to maintain them in work, they must of necessity perish for want of sustenance. The Duke hearing them was right sorry, and promised if they would go home quietly he would get them pardon, which he honorably performed after their departure, for he and the Duke of Norfolk came to Bury St. Edmund's where the country people came in their shirts with halters about their necks, begging him to remember his promises; and thus the two Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk so wisely managed themselves that all were at peace; and they had the good word of the Commons, and the exacters of the subsidy ceased. The leaders of the rebels were sent to the Fleet, but were soon after pardoned and dismissed."

And a few years later we find Hadleigh described by Fox, in his life of Rowland Tayler, as "a town of cloth making and labouring people," in which were "rich cloth makers" upon whom Dr. Tayler used to call and solicit alms for the poor, and to interest them in the welfare of their less fortunate neighbours,\* and in the greater part of

\* Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. ii, p. 437.

the following century there is evidence both from wills and from the registers, that the cloth trade flourished in the place. Numerous benefactions were made to charitable objects during this period,\* which testify not only to the generosity, but also to the prosperity of the master clothiers; and the register of baptisms, where it begins to tell the occupation of the father, proves that the trade of "clothier and weaver," was the most common trade of all. In 1635 the kindred trades of clothier, draper, tailor, sheerman, cardman, comber, and weaver, was 47 against 47 of all other trades combined.

But towards the close of the 17th century, the trade seems to have begun to languish. And in the history of woollen manufactures, † which I have consulted, the decay is thus accounted for:

"Archbishop Laud imposing too rigorously his injunctions of uniformity on the descendants of foreign Protestants, who had sought refuge in the kingdom from the time of Edward the Sixth, many families (thousands) were frighted out of Norfolk and Suffolk, into New England, and several manufacturers went to Holland, by which the manufactures of those two counties and trade from them to Hamburgh, from the Port of Ipswich, was considerably lessened."

And with this agrees the statement even of the historian Clarendon. The foreign Refugees who fled to England, in the sixteenth century, from Romanist persecutions, had granted them "many indemnities and the free use of churches in London for the exercise of their religion," by Edward the Sixth; and Queen Elizabeth had confirmed and even enlarged these privileges, "and so they had churches in Norwich, Canterbury, and other places of the kingdom, as well as in London, whereby the wealth of those places marvellously increased." But in the seventeenth century the Bishops wished to reduce them all, French, Dutch, and Walloons, who were chiefly Presbyterians, to submit to the

\* In Mr. Reyce's *Breviary of Suffolk*, quoted in the Wilkins MSS. there is the following description of Hadleigh at this period:—"An antient clothing town, which has so filled this town with such

"an extraordinary abundance of poverty, that all parts adjoining do cry out of their ill government."

† Bischoff's *History of Woollen and Worsted Manufactures in England*.

discipline of the English Church; and amongst the most forward in this endeavour, was Dr. Wren, Bishop of Norwich, "a man of a severe sour nature, but very learned and particularly versed in the old liturgies of the Greek and Latin churches."\* He passionately and warmly proceeded against them; so that many (3,000 it was alleged by the Puritan party) left the kingdom, to the lessening the wealthy manufacture there of kerseys and narrow cloths, and which was worse, transporting that mystery into foreign parts.†

Still it should be borne in mind that this injudicious conduct of Bishop Wren, was not the only engine that was at work in effecting their departure from the eastern counties; the Dutch were also active in trying to attract them to settle in their territories, magnifying with this view the inconveniences which they suffered in England, and the happy position which they would enjoy in Holland. The author of the *Parentalia* observes that this desertion of the Norwich weavers, was chiefly procured through the policy and management of the Dutch, who, wanting that manufacture which was improved there to great perfection, left no means unattempted to gain over these weavers to settle in their towns, with an assurance of full liberty of conscience and greater advantages and privileges than they had obtained in England.‡

Most probably the truth lies between these two extremes; the ill-advised measures of Bishop Wren and the enticements of the Dutch, alike prevailed on these weavers, to migrate to Holland; and thus after the lapse of nearly three hundred years, the policy of Edward the Third, in alluring discontented subjects of another prince to his own dominion, was retorted on his own country by the Dutch.

The civil wars, moreover, while checking the trade at home, gave opportunity to other nations, such as the Poles and Silesians, to set up manufactories for themselves.

\* Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i, p. 162.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii, pp. 141—143.

‡ Quoted in Hook's *Biographical Dictionary*, under the head of "Matthew Wren."

Hadleigh appears to have suffered from the depressing influences of the times, but still the cloth trade or trades connected with it, though decayed, continued to linger on in this county, and in this place, until the middle, and beyond it, of the last century,\* when it appears, with a few exceptions, generally to have left these parts. In former times the difficulties of carriage both of raw material and of manufactured goods induced traders to settle as near as possible to places where wool was grown, and in consequence the trade prevailed in wide-spread districts and was carried on in private houses; but the passing of the General Turnpike Act in 1773, and the opening of the Bridgewater Canal and others a few years before, facilitating the removal of the raw material from one district to another, and rendering communication easy both with Hull and Liverpool, whence materials were readily procured both from the rest of the island and from foreign markets, caused the manufacturers of cloth to prefer to settle in South Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. But over and beyond the superior advantages of communication, there were other attractions, which drew manufacturers to those counties—I mean the abundance of their waterfalls, and their richness in coal, iron, and limestone, which facilitated the making and afterwards the working, of machinery. At first the trade in coarser kinds of cloth alone was concentrated in Lancashire; but by and bye, for the reasons which I have mentioned, the north of England eventually took the lead in the manufacture also of the finer cloth.

I have dwelt upon this point more than I should otherwise have done, because I have been at a loss, until

\* In 1752 petitions were presented to parliament from woollen manufacturers at Norwich, Colchester, & Sudbury, against the practice of branding sheep with tar. And within the memory of persons still living the festival of Bishop Blaize used to be observed in Hadleigh. There was a grand procession through the town of persons connected with the wool trade, and a lady, attired as a shepherdess, rode

in state in a post-chaise, carrying a lamb in her lap. The only remains of this custom is an old woman bearing the Christian name of "Shepherdess" from having been baptized soon after one of these processions. Bishop Blaize was bishop of Sebaste in Armenia and the reputed inventor of the art of combing wool. He was put to death in the persecution under Diocletian in the year 289.

very lately, to account for the general emigration of the cloth trade from this county and from this town, and the consequent diminution of importance to Hadleigh. On the whole it is clear that the departure of so many workmen in the time of Charles the First, and the unsettled state of the country during a great part of the 17th century, though they injured, did not altogether destroy the cloth trade here. The greater natural advantages of the North of England, and especially its stores of coal and iron, which contributed both to the cheaper making and working of machinery, were the chief causes that deprived us and our town of a trade which had flourished amongst us for some hundred years.

But before I leave this point I would mention that a few years ago the seal of the chief cloth inspector for this district was found in a field near Hadleigh.\* This seal is round, and bears in the border the following inscription in Lombardic characters, "S. ULNAG' PANNOR IN COM SUFF.; that is, *Sigillum Ulnagii Pannorum in Comitatu Suffolcie*. Within this inscription is the device of a leopard's face surmounting a fleur-de-lis, the former representing the arms of England and the latter the arms of France. The date of the seal is therefore subsequent to the year 1340, when Edward the Third who had assumed the title of king of France in 1337, "more openly in all public deeds gave himself that appellation and always quartered the arms of France with those of England in his seals and ensigns."† The position of the fleur-de-lis in the Alnager's seal, however, below the leopard's head, warrants the belief that its date was not long subsequent to that year (1340), for afterwards the national emblems were more intimately conjoined, and the French fleur-de-lis, looking somewhat as if it had been swallowed, appeared with the stalk hanging from the mouth, and the flower rising above the head, of the English leopard. The officer, whose seal I have been endeavouring to describe, was called the Alnager, a title derived from the Latin word

\* This seal is preserved in the Ipswich Museum, to which it was presented by Mr. Knox.

† Sir Harris Nicolas's *Chronology of History*.



"ulna," an ell, and his duty was to measure the cloth which was made in this county. I find in Bischoff's work on Woollen Manufactures, that in the 10th Henry the Sixth (A.D. 1431) two persons of every hundred in the realm were commissioned to search the due making of cloth and to seal the same. In the 20th year of the same reign (A.D. 1441) four wardens of worsted weavers for Norwich and two more for Norfolk—in 1444, two more for that county and for Suffolk, were appointed; but this was clearly not the first appointment of the kind in Suffolk, for the date of the Alnager's seal would show that such an officer for this county had existed many years before. In the 8th of Edward the Fourth (A.D. 1468) the length, breadth and weight of both strait and broad cloths made in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, were prescribed by statute. There were afterwards, I imagine, Alnagers also for the borough of Hadleigh, for in 20 James the First, (1622,) "scrutatores panni" were appointed.

But I will pass on now to the modes in which the town was governed during the season of its prosperity. And it would seem that the earliest mode in which it was governed, after the death, at least, of Guthrum, was by Guilds. Guilds were at all events of Saxon institution and were voluntary societies, something like our benefit clubs, only commonly of a more religious character, in which the associated members pledged themselves to defend each other against injury,\* to relieve each other in distress, and to secure the offering up of masses for the souls of each other after death. They were called Guilds from the Saxon verb "*gildan*," to pay (that is, into a common fund for the benefit of the society), and "exhibited the natural if not the legal character of corporations."† They possessed in some towns either landed property of their own or rights of

\* In this respect they also resembled to a great degree, "Associations for the prosecution of felons" amongst ourselves, but their remedy, in the earliest times, though not at the date of which I am now speaking, was rather more violent than

would suit the temper of these days—"to kill and sieze the effects of all who should rob any member of the association."

† *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. ii., p. 157, and note.

superiority over that of others. Of such Guilds there is evidence that there existed *five* in Hadleigh, and their several titles were the Guild of Trinity, Corpus Christi, St. John, Jesus Guild, and our Lady's Guild. This was a large number and sufficient of itself to shew the great prosperity of Hadleigh at that time; but the value of the vestments and of the plate which once belonged to them (an inventory of which will be found in the appendix) is a still more convincing evidence of this fact, for while even in Ipswich the vessels &c., belonging to the Guilds, were made of no more costly substance than brass and pewter, here they were chiefly made of silver. I know not the date at which the several Guilds were instituted or what trades they respectively represented, but there can be little doubt that amongst the oldest of them were the weavers of the town. The leading men in these Guilds would govern the town, according to the custom of the times, subject, of course, to the rights of the lords of the manor.

And I may say here, by way of parenthesis, that, notwithstanding the gift of Earl Brithnoth, there were great "differences and variances" so early as 10th Henry the Fourth (1408) as to whom some at least of the privileges of the lordship of the manor really belonged. The Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's claimed, as of long enjoyment, "all opening and return of Writts, Executions, the Execution of the office of Coroner, all amerciaments, Fines, and issues forfeited, all fellow's goods, outlawrys, with all sorts of arrests and attachments for any cause whatsoever within the towns and peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury," and the dispute was settled by an order of the king, that the Archbishop on condition of having these privileges secured to him and his successors should pay yearly to the Abbot of Bury in the church of Hadleigh the sum of 20s. and 5s. towards the maintenance of a Mass Priest.\*

But to return to the Guilds. They existed until the first year of king Edward the Sixth (1547), when their

\* *Reyce's Breviary of Suffolk*, 1655—1656.

property was seized and sold, not, however, I am happy to say, as was the case in too many instances, to recruit the wasted finances of a king or to gratify the avarice of his courtiers, but for "the better provision of the poor."\* Amongst the purchasers occurs the name of Dr. Tayler as having bought twelve spoons. The proceeds of the sale amounted to £271. 4s. 6½*d.* and this, added to a part of the sum raised by the sale of Church plate, vestments, &c., was expended, in 1550, in the purchase of lands at Elmsett, Naughton, Whatfield, Great and Little Bricet, and at Bildes-ton. From the statements in the appendix, however, it appears that the commissioners for this sale were afterwards, in the reign of Queen Mary (1555), required to give an account of the things which had been sold; and that then a balance of £38. 1s. 7*d.* was recovered and devoted to purposes connected with the Church, "reparations, bells, and ornaments."

The Guildhall, or place at which these Guilds used to hold their meetings, both for business and for banquetting, and at which also they were accustomed to assemble previously to walking in procession to the Church, remains in good preservation to this day.

It is a handsome room, 80 feet long by 22 feet 6 inches wide, with an open king-post roof, and moulded beams running along it on each side just below the wall-plate. There can be little doubt, I think, that this is the room, for so early as the beginning of the last century, it is distinguished in the accounts of the Market Feoffment from the other large rooms in the neighbouring building, by the title of "The Guildhall." In 17 Henry the Sixth (1438), there was a grant by Wm. Clopton to Augustus Denton and fourteen others of a piece of land (to be held in trust for the benefit of the Town), called Church-croft, belonging to the manor of Toppesfield Hall,† with a building thereon, and the market and fair used to be held there, with the rights belonging to the fair, excepting a certain piece of land and a *long* house then lately built thereon, near the Churchyard, called

\* See Appendix B.

† This manor was formerly (as early as A. D. 1252) called Toppefeudum, that

is, Toppes fee, it having been originally, I suppose, the property of a Mr. Toppe

the market house, with the rooms underneath, called the almshouses, and 5s. of annual rent out of a piece of land and other premises therein mentioned, saving to the said Wm. Clopton the forfeitures, &c., for a rent of 6s. 8d.

The "long" room here spoken of, was probably the present Reading-room of the Literary Institute, for the words of the grant shew that the pile of buildings on the south side of the Churchyard existed in 1438. Whether the Guildhall was standing then, I cannot say, but from its not being mentioned in this grant, I am inclined to think that it was not; and indeed, I shall be able to give you evidence that it is of later date than the house and "long room," which it adjoins. The beams in the walls of the house project into the Guildhall on the south side, in the same way as they do into the Churchyard on the north side; and besides, there is the framework of a window in the house, looking into the large room below the Guildhall, which is now used as a carpenter's shop, both which circumstances appear to me to prove that the south wall of the house was once an outside wall, and that the Guildhall, being built up against it, is therefore a subsequent erection. But still, though it be of somewhat later date, the style of it proclaims it to have been built very shortly afterwards, for it is 15th century work, and harmonizes with the general character of the house and Reading-room. All had originally the first floor projecting over the lower part; but in the last century, with the exception of the house, they were underbuilt with walls, which are flush with the upper story. And hence, from the date of the Guildhall, we may infer something as to the time at which the Guilds sprang up. They must have been in a flourishing condition early in the 15th century, and as the cloth trade was revived and extended in England, in the middle and towards the end of the 14th, this circumstance, with others, appears to prove that Hadleigh had soon begun to profit by its revival.

The property of the Guilds was sold, as I have said, in 1547, and the crown seems to have claimed possession of the Guildhall. At all events, the Guildhall was granted by Queen Elizabeth, in 1571, to a family of the name of

Grey, who sold the title to it in 1574 to Mr. Henry Wentworth, for £66. 13s. 4d. Messrs. Rolfe, Turner, Alabaster, and Parkin, however, claimed it on behalf of the inhabitants, and certain arbitrators adjudged it to them in the same year, on condition that they paid 100 marks to the Wentworths—repaid, that is, to the Wentworths the sum which they had given for it. From that time, though it had been applied to various uses, it has continued to be the property of the Market feoffment. It is at present occupied as a school-room for girls and infants on the National system.

In 1618, king James the First granted a Charter of Incorporation, to the town; which in the language of the charter is described as—

“Villa antiqua et populosa inhabitantesque ejusdem antiquitus et longo  
“temporis progressu facultatem, artem, sive misterium pannorum lan-  
“neorum conficiendi ibidem exercuerunt ad magnum relevamen pauperum  
“inhabitantium ejusdem villæ, et aliorum in locis prope adjacentibus.”

This Charter provided for the local government of the Borough, by a mayor, and eight aldermen, of whom the mayor for the time being was to be one, and sixteen capital burgesses, who together should form a common council; and who, or the greater part of whom, when assembled at the Guildhall, or other convenient place, were to make regulations, the mayor being with the majority, to punish offenders, by fines and imprisonments, according to law. If a person refused the mayoralty, a fine of £40 was to be inflicted; and in the list of persons elected, I find that several paid the fine, rather than serve the office.\* If a

see also  
196-19

\* Davy MSS. The following is the List of Mayors.

1618	John Gaell. First Mayor.		
1619	John Alabaster.		
1620	Robert Strutt.	1642	John Alabaster.
1621	John Britten.		
1622	William Richardson.		
1623	Philip Eldred.	1656	William Richardson.
1624	John Reason.		
	Richard Glanfield.	1673	John Beaumont.
1625	John Whiting.		
1626		1676	Edward Woodthorpe
1627	Philip Eldred.		
1628	John Gaell.	1681	Sturgeon Fiske.

person refused the office of alderman or burgess, there was a fine of £10 ; and if any one refused to pay such fines, he could be committed to prison without bail.

At the same time a grant of arms for the Common Seal was made :—

“The field azure, a chevron erminois between three woolsacks argent ;  
“and to the crest or cognizant, on a helme a wreath of cullors or and  
“azure, a mount vert, thereon a lamb standing argent holding a banner  
“azure with a woolsacke argent, the staffe or, mantelled argent, double  
“gules, tasselled or.”

Thus the charter and the grant of arms unite with the other circumstances which I have mentioned in testifying to the importance of Hadleigh as a cloth-making town.\*

During the troubles of the Great Rebellion, many of the Puritan party attained office in the council, and in consequence the Corporation was purged of them, after the Restoration, in 1662. Six members refused to take the oath, disavowing the oath called the solemn league and covenant, and were accordingly discharged from their places ; four more, though summoned, absented themselves and were discharged in like manner ; the rest took the required oath,† and with ten new members, who also took it, formed thenceforth the governing body.

But in this and in the succeeding reign, it was the great object of the kings to induce all the Boroughs to surrender their charters. The reason for this was, that the Boroughs were supposed to be harbours for disaffected persons, and it

\* The Rev. William Hawkins, a Hadleigh Poet, of whom I shall say more by and bye, thus sarcastically speaks of the Town at this period :

“ In *Sudovlgorum*, Brettus quos alluit, agris  
Præturam, fasces, lictores nuper adepta  
(*Ordine Cancrorum* nomen gerit *Elda* retorto)  
Villa antiqua, novo jam Burgi turget honore :  
Omnia magna illuc (meliora prioribus annis)  
Et nova multa illuc. Molli de vellere vestem  
Jam sibi pannifices ad publica munia texunt,  
Et, qui curta patrum gestabant pallia, tardo  
Nunc motu videas gressum grandire togatos.  
Progenies plebeia fuit ; generosula nunc est :  
Turba fuit ; jam turma cluit, sapiensque senatus  
Uno qui superat *sapientes* nomine *Graios*.”

† The declaration which they signed Hadleigh, but the seals have been torn is in the possession of the Rector of off.

was thought that the king ought to have more power in the appointment of the officers, with the view of securing Royalists, in the high places. I believe, too, that there was a desire to make provision in many instances, for county magistrates to take share with the Borough magnates, in the administration of their affairs, because the former were generally more loyally disposed. Hadleigh, however, escaped until 1687, when the charter was surrendered on a writ of "quo warranto."\* An attempt seems to have been made, or a desire entertained to regain it soon afterwards, but the surrender having been enrolled and judgment entered against the corporation, they could not be reinstated by the proclamation of James the Second, of October 17, 1688.

In 1701 a renewed effort was made to regain the charter ; and to pay the necessary expenses, a subscription was raised amongst the inhabitants, which realized nearly £100. The management of the business was intrusted to a Mr. John Harvey, who was designed for the Recorder in case of success. But after high hopes had been raised, and much money paid, in some instances, I infer as expedition money to the government clerks, the matter seemed to be in no more forward state six years afterwards than it was at the beginning, and in consequence it was agreed in 1707-8 that all further proceedings should be dropped, and the little money that remained be expended in the purchase of "water-buckets, poles, and cromes, for the extinguishing of such fires as might thereafter happen in the Town of Hadleigh."† I imagine that the cromes here alluded to, are the two which are still preserved in the Church.

I will now mention some miscellaneous matters.

In the 36th year of the reign of Henry the Third, May 30th, 1252, a grant of a fair was made to be held on three

\* Great favour was shewn by the Court at about this period to those who induced Corporations to surrender their Charters. Thus, with a view to this favour, the notorious Judge Jeffreys undertook "a campaign in the north" against Corporations in 1684, and "Charters fell like the walls of Jericho" before him,

and he returned laden with hyperborean spoils.—*Lord Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iii., p. 538.

† The correspondence &c., in this matter were kindly lent to me to read by W. S. Fitch, Esq., of Ipswich, to whom I am greatly indebted for much information and advice.

days at Michaelmas, and of a market to be held on Mondays. An Inspeximus Charter, still in possession of the Market Feoffment, confirmed the previous grant in the 10th year of Henry the Sixth, 14th Feb., 1432. The Fair is still held at Michaelmas, and the weekly market on Mondays. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, the inhabitants of Hadleigh were freed from payment of toll, and another grant of the same kind was made by Charles the First. In 1591, there seems to have been great poverty in Hadleigh, and a weekly collection was made for the poor. The highest sum subscribed was 6*d.*, and the sum total of *weekly* payments was £20. 3*s.*; others paid 8*d.* a quarter, and so raised £5. 2*s.* The allowance was from 4*d.* to 1*s.* to each poor person, the benevolence from 4*d.* to 6*d.* a week.

Hops were formerly cultivated in Hadleigh, as appears from the will of Thomas Alabaster (1592), who charged an "orchard or hopyard," and other property, with the payment of 2*s.* every week, which sum was to be distributed every Sunday in two-pences to poor people after evening prayer, within the South Chapel of the Church of Hadleigh: and in the Register of Burials for 1663, mention is made of one Richard Thro'ward, a hopdresser.

The Town of Hadleigh was assessed in 1635 for *ship money*, at £64. 9*s.* 4*d.*

In the Register, I find it mentioned in 1636, that

"Johannes Raven, Medicinæ Doctor ex Collegio Londinensi propter  
 "pestem Londinii obortam, intra domum quendam patris suamq in eodem  
 "in quo primam lucem viderat cubiculo animam Deo reddidit. Ex testa-  
 "mento legavit pauperibus avi sui eleemosynariis £50. Sepultus est (ita  
 "statuente Rectore) intra cancellos per heredem filium marmore tegendus."

Whether or not he brought the infection with him, it is certain, at least, that the plague was very prevalent at Hadleigh in the following year. At the request of the mayor and Dr. Goad, a collection was ordered to be made at Ipswich and at Rendlesham, for the relief of the sufferers.

In 1841, half a peck full, some say nearly a peck full, of coins was found in making Queen Street, consisting of



crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, of Edward the Sixth, Philip and Mary, but chiefly of Elizabeth, James the First, Charles the First and Second. They were discovered on removing the threshold of an old house.

I may mention here as a suitable place, that it is stated in Akerman's Numismatic Manual, that

"In the reign of Edward the First, the custom of placing the moneyer's name on the coin was discontinued; but one name appears on the money of this king, namely, Robert of Hadleigh, inscribed, Robert de Hadeleie, or Robertus de Hadl."

It is added in a note at the foot of the page, "Mr. Snel-ling has erroneously given Hadleigh as a *mint*, and not 'a moneyer's name.'" Mr. Fitch, however, is of opinion that the Hadleigh here alluded to is Hadleigh in Essex.

The population was in 1754, 2260; in 1811, 2592; in 1821, 3036; and in 1851, 3725.

There are many private houses of much interest in the town. Some few of them bear traces of the 14th, of the 15th and the 16th centuries; and several of them are of the 17th, with the date still apparent on them. One of the most remarkable is Sun Court, near Hadleigh Bridge, where there is a winding staircase close to the entrance door, and a lower room panelled all round with the linen pattern which would fix it to be of the 16th century. The house occupied by Mr. J. S. Robinson, in the High Street, (some parts of which are of the period of Henry the Eighth) and supposed, according to tradition, to have been the residence of the mayor, is also well worthy of inspection. There is a very perfect quadrangle at the back of it, the wall on the west side being pargetted\* and bearing a figure of David with the head of Goliath in his hand; or perhaps an allusion to the death of King Charles the First, as the dress of the figure is of that period: a beautiful bay window, with reeded transoms and mullions of oak, is situate on the south side, giving light to a fine room, with massive reeded oak beams

\* The front of several other houses in the town are also pargetted, representing, as a favourite device, the Tudor rose.

This style of ornament prevailed in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the First.

in the roof. There is also a remarkable old house near the top of George Street of the latter part of the 16th century, the staircase of which was originally on the outside; and there is, moreover, the Place Farm at the top of Angel Street, but I exceedingly regret that I cannot tell you anything of their history. The Place Farm especially is very curious. The handsome gateway still remains, with its original door. Through this there was a drive into a large courtyard, the walls of which still stand and are likely to stand for ages, if not pulled down. On the left side of the gateway, inside, there is a room with the remains of a fire-place for the porter, and there is a small room also on the other side. Over these, approached by a winding staircase, are two or three more rooms, and above these again are attics. High up in the gables are two round holes, one in each gable. The whole is surmounted by elegantly moulded chimneys, and the date of the building seems to be the close of the 16th century.

Inside the court yard there was formerly a large house of still older date, but this was taken down, being in a very dilapidated condition, in 1847 or 1848. Some suppose that the whole formed the buildings of a nunnery, but I can find no trace of anything to corroborate that conjecture. The lane passing it, however, was formerly called "Lady Lane."

Close adjoining the gatehouse is a very large barn of brick, which seems never to have undergone alteration since it was erected.

It is much to be desired that some light could be thrown upon the history of this mysterious building. I have been told that it was most probably the Manor-house of the Manor of Hadleigh in Hadleighs, and that the Court for that manor has been held at it; but the present tenant of the farm does not remember anything of the kind.

The greater part of the Rectory-house is modern, having been built by the Rev. Hugh James Rose, in 1831, and subsequently enlarged by Archdeacon Lyall, by the addition of the north gable, in 1841. The modern house is of Elizabethan character, and attached to the ancient tower, the

front of it looking to the west. The estimated cost of the part built by Mr. Rose was £1850 with the old materials, which were valued at £600; but this did not cover the expense, for it amounted to £630 more, or to £3080 in all. Much of the old materials was used again. The doors and windows of the dining room came from the saloon, (as the hall was called after being ceiled by Dr. Wilkins, in March, 1730,) and the picture and carving from the old dining room. The marble chimney pieces and hearths (except those in the drawing room) came also from the old house. The old house stood detached and nearer to the river, and was approached by a way passing underneath the tower, than which from what I can collect it was much more modern.\*

In the old parsonage there was some old painted glass, which does not seem, like some of the doorways and chimney-pieces, to have been worked up again in the new house.

The glass represented the arms of

- 1 The Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 2 Bouchier and Loveyn quarterly.
- 3 France and England quarterly, label of iij points, charged with ix torteaux, empaled with Bouchier and Loveyn, arg. iij g.

Another account adds :

Arms of Rolfe, Gyronny of 8 A. and S. on a chief gu. an annulet in dexter chief or.

The Rectory Tower was built by the munificent Rector Dr. Pykenham, in the year 1495, and is a beautiful specimen of the brickwork of that period, 43 feet 3 inches in height from the ground to the top of the battlements, and flanked at the four corners by panelled and battlemented turrets, which rise a few inches more than 9 feet above the rest of the building. Two of these turrets, those facing the east, rise from the ground and are sexagonal; the other two spring from the corners, a little below the corbel table.

The front of the Tower, which is 31 feet 4 inches wide,

\* Dr. Pykenham is said in the Wilkins MSS. to have intended to build a Rectory House as well as a Tower, and to have

been prevented by death from accomplishing his design.

faces the east, and on that side is the entrance doorway; on the first floor above is a small Oriel window, the brickwork of which is both battlemented and machicolated at the top.

Underneath was, as I said, the passage to the old Rectory, having on the left on the ground floor a small room, with a roof of massive beams of oak, which probably served as the porter's lodge; above this, approached by a short winding staircase, is another room, which was, no doubt, intended for the night accomodation of the porter; but in neither room is there any trace of a fireplace. Still precautions were taken for his safety, when it was connected with the safety of the other inmates, for at the bottom of the staircase there was a slit in the wall, to enable him to see visitors before he unbarred the entrance-door. On the right hand, in the corner turret, is another winding staircase, which leads to two large rooms above, and finally to the summit of the Tower.

The lower of these rooms (now the Library) has a curious painting on the plaster inserted in the panelling over the fire-place, and divided by strips of wood with trefoiled heads into three compartments. This painting was executed in 1629, at the expense of Dr. Goad.

In the first compartment is a sketch of a river and some hills, which are manifestly intended for the river and hills in front of the house, and some workmen are represented as engaged in the fields at the foot of the hills; in the centre is a view of the interior of Hadleigh Church; and in the third, a picture of a river and hills again, and men at work in the fields. The whole is surmounted with this inscription, in evident allusion to 1. Cor., iii. 9.

Θεου Ο'ικοδόμη γινώσκον.

the three words being placed one in each of the compartments.

"A little below that painting there was a Fann drawn, of which the six sticks had y<sup>e</sup> inscription, Fui, Su, Eri, Fi, Fu, and the nobb of this Fann had the syllable Mus., wch all the rest of the words were to end in."

Over the doorways opening into the chief winding staircase, and into the Oratory which I shall presently describe, are two paintings representing Italian views; and over the fireplace in the dining room, is a view in Venice, to which I have already made allusion. These are said to be the productions of Canaletti, and to have been executed in the old rectory. Canaletti was born at Venice in 1697. In 1749 he visited England, and remained in it two years; and tradition asserts that during a part of that time he was the guest of the then rector Dr. Tanner, and painted these pictures for him.

This room was wainscoted by Dr. Wilkins in the year 1730, when he "put by the year 1629 and Dr. Goad's Fann." It was in this room most probably, that Rowland Tayler was sitting "accordinge to his custom studying the word of God, when the Church-bells struck up, and he, supposing that something had been there to be done, accordinge to his pastorall office" arose and went into the Church, and "coming into the Chancell saw a Popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new-shaven crowne, readie to begin his Popish sacrifice";\* about, that is, to celebrate the Mass according to the Roman office.

It was in this room also that the publication of "the Tracts for the Times" was discussed and all but agreed upon; a circumstance of which I shall speak more particularly by and bye.

In the south east turret there is a small sexagonal room, with a vaulted roof of brick, and around the central boss this inscription in black letters, "Ave Maria, ... gratiæ"; the word 'plena' is left out, there not having been room to insert it with the others. In the centre of the boss is the sacred monogram, I.H.S. From this inscription, and because there is a niche in the wall very like those which mark the site of a private altar in a church, this is concluded to have been an Oratory. At the top of this little room, on the south west side, there exists, concealed by a

\* Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. ii. p. 408.

wooden door with a *bolt* on *the inside*, an entrance into a small chamber, which is little more than large enough for a person to lie down in. Some have supposed that it afforded shelter to Rowland Tayler, but I confess that I am sceptical both on this point and on a further tradition, that he took refuge in another retreat which formerly lay under the floor of the larger room,—which retreat was done away when the arch leading into the house on the north side of the tower on the ground floor was made in the time of Mr. Rose. Tayler's conduct throughout his persecution was so bold and even adventurous, that I cannot believe, in the absence of direct testimony to the fact, that he ever sought to hide himself from his enemies; indeed when once urged by his servant to fly and escape, he indignantly refused.\* Such hiding-places were not uncommon in houses of this period.

"In the second floor in the Tower (in which Dr. Trumbull's curates "used to lodge,) are two figures of houses and a man standing near one of "em y<sup>t</sup> is a building, nigh to which is a tree, y<sup>t</sup> has this inscription, Si "quis tamen."

Of course there is some latent meaning here, but I have not been able to discover it.

This painting no longer exists, and the only further interest attaching to the room is that it has the reputation of being haunted. I can, however, calm the fears of visitors by the assurance that no one within the memory of the present generation has ever seen the ghost.

## II.—THE CHURCH.

We will now pass on to an examination of the Church; but before I speak of it, I would briefly allude to the traditions which report that earlier religious buildings existed in the place.

It has been said that there was a Monastery here in Saxon times according to the translator of Æthelfred's will,

\* See Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. 2., p. 410, 412. His curate, Mr. Yeoman, who was afterwards burnt at Norwich, was concealed in a

chamber of the "Towne house commonly called the Guildhall," and there spent his time in carding wool, which his wife did spin.

but doubt is expressed in the Davy MSS. whether the Saxon words on which this conjecture has been built really mean so much.

In 1827 the foundations of a supposed chapel are related in the same MSS. to have been dug up in the present churchyard, and several antient coins are said to have been found amongst them. One of the coins bore the representation of a winged lion with this inscription;

"SANT MARCUS NORPED"

*M V I A  
Marin Virgo Immaculata  
Ave -*

On the reverse there was a globe surmounted by a cross and four Saxon characters repeated four times. The parish, it is added, possesses no record of this chapel.

The coins in question, however, were probably no evidence of a very early date, for they may have been only Nuremberg tokens; and in that case not older than the beginning of the 15th century; but there can be no doubt as to the existence of the stone remains. I have been informed by one of the churchwardens that he remembers very massive foundations being dug up with great difficulty on the south side of the church many years ago; and I can myself also recollect that in making graves on that side of the churchyard, towards the west, the sexton used formerly to be sometimes impeded in his work by old foundations.

It is not at all unlikely that a church or chapel existed here at a very early period, of which no traces appear above ground now. Though converted at the point of the sword Guthrum is said by old chroniclers to have lived in the way which became his new profession, and he would therefore take care, we may reasonably believe, that a church should be built, in which he himself and his nobles (of whom thirty were baptised with him), and other converts might worship their Redeemer. The remains, to which I have alluded, may have been the foundations of his church.

But at all events there is evidence of a church being in existence here towards the end of the eleventh century, probably the very building which may have been raised by Guthrum. In the Domesday Book of William the Conqueror,

Cosford  
arucate

drawn up between the years 1081-1086, Hetlegam\* in the Hundred of Cosfort is described as having one church, endowed with 100 acres of glebe† and in the patronage of Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it has been conjectured that, as "every tittle had a meaning" in Domesday Book, the church must have been a large one and of stone because the word "Ecclesia" begins with a capital E. *There all is Cosford were of stone?*

It would appear also that it was in contemplation shortly before the Norman conquest to build a church in the manor of Toppesfield. Leuona a freed woman, gave 50 acres to the Holy Trinity at her death, which the Archbishop (Stigand) held in his life: but as Stigand was in the interest of Harold, the land in question was probably forfeited to the crown when William the First became king, and the church was never built.

Our present church formed, with the exception of the spire, of flint with stone quoins and dressings, is a very spacious structure; for size, though not for any ornamental details, one of the most magnificent in Suffolk. In Mr. Parker's *Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography* it is "said to be the largest in the county"; but this is a mistake, as the churches of St. Mary, Bury St. Edmund's, and of Melford,‡ and no doubt others, are larger than it.

It is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary,§ and consists of a tower with spire, a chancel, nave, north and south aisles running the full length from east to west, and a handsome vestry at the north-east end.

The height of the tower to the top of the battlements is 64 feet; of the spire, (inside) 71: which, deducting two

\* I am indebted for this information to a "Table of the number of churches and parishes in Suffolk in the year 1086, compiled from Domesday Book," given in the appendix to the Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth's *History of Stowmarket*. Mr. Hollingsworth hesitates in identifying Hetlegam, but I think there can be no doubt that our town is meant, especially as Hetlegam is described as situated in the hundred of Cosford

† What has become of these 100 acres I do not know. There is scarcely any glebe attached to the living now.

‡ Melford is said by the parish clerk to be 168 feet long and 68 feet wide: Lavenham, including the tower (which is 23 feet), is 156 feet long and 68 wide.

§ The Church of St. Mary is mentioned in a deed of John Busch, in 1399. In 1473-4 Robert Sargeant left £20 to the use of the church. Davy MSS.



feet for the height of the battlement above the base of the spire, makes the two 133 feet from the ground; and if to this we add the height of the cross and weathercock which surmount the spire, the height of the whole—tower and spire—can be little, if anything, short of 150 feet.

About 8 feet of the summit of the spire was injured by a violent storm in 1758; but the damage was repaired at the cost of £246.\*

The Tower is the earliest portion of the fabric, the base of it, at least, appearing to be Early English; but the western door way† and the upper stages are of the Decorated period. It is of three stages. In the lowest division are two lancet windows, north and south, having labels with Early English terminations‡; in the next are three windows of double lights, and very elegant proportions, on the north, south, and west sides; and in the third division is the bell-chamber with four windows of three lights looking towards the four points of the compass, and above these windows, on all the four sides, there are two round multifoil openings. The two upper divisions are approached by a winding staircase at the south west side of the Tower, and of a date long subsequent to it.§ This staircase was originally built of red brick; but we have lately had it cased with flint and stone to correspond with the rest of the Church.|| The battlement is new, having been just erected in the place of a railed wooden gallery, which was supported by the projecting ends of the great beams on which the base of the spire rests. This gallery was called by the inhabitants "The Cradle." See p. vi

\* Near the apex of the spire, in the inside, there is an inscription on the wood-work recording the repair, effected in 1759.

† Over this doorway we discovered, when restoring the church, a niche, which probably once contained an image of the Virgin Mary, to whom the church is dedicated.

‡ This kind of termination, however, was also used in early Decorated work, as may be seen in the neighbouring church of Layham.

§ The door opening into the staircase from the tower is of the linen pattern, which suggests that the probable date of the staircase is about the end of the 15th century.

|| The restoration of the exterior was conducted under the superintendence of F. Barnes, Esq. Architect, of Ipswich. The contractor, whose work has given universal satisfaction, was Mr. E. S. Downs, of Hadleigh.

The Tower is supported at the corners farthest from the Church by four buttresses of three grades, rising as high as the string course of the second stage.

The spire is of wood covered with lead, and is on the whole in a good state of preservation now. It is especially deserving of attention, for it is very different from those short and extinguisher-like spires which surmount and disfigure so many of the Suffolk churches. Though square at the base, it becomes, a few feet from it, octagonal in shape, and the angles are chamfered off to such an extent that all the sides are equal in width. The joints of the lead are reticulated, and they thus give a singular appearance to the spire.

Spires were originally the roofs of towers, at least they grew out of them; and no spires, as high as the tower on which they stand, had risen before the end of the 12th century. A vast number of spires of wood covered with lead (which is a perfectly legitimate spire) have perished or have been taken down to anticipate their falling.\* So that Hadleigh spire, which is on the whole twelve feet higher than the tower (excluding the height of the battlement), becomes an object of great interest to the antiquary. There are no openings in it, except a small door near the summit, and four small doors at the base, which have been recently made to command a view of the narrow gutter within the battlement: and the only means of gaining the upper door is by climbing up the timber in the inside with the aid at first of a ladder, and afterwards of wooden spurs here and there attached to the beams.

A peculiar feature in the spire is the clock bell, which is suspended on the outside, looking east, about 18 feet from the base, and hanging immediately over the clock-face. This bell is by far the oldest we possess; but how long it has occupied its present position is not known. I have, however, traced it as high as 1584, for in the Churchwardens Accounts of that year mention is made of a covenant

\* Lectures on Church Building by E. B. Denison, Esq., pp. 61-62.

with William Chenery to "repayer the hole w<sup>ch</sup> is above the cloke bell in the steple, and all y<sup>t</sup> is needfull abowght the same place." It is inscribed a little below the haunch with this legend, in Lombardic characters, all of which stand the wrong way, having been misplaced in the casting of the bell through the ignorance or inattention of the workman:

"AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM."\*

The Lombardic characters were in use from A.D. 1000 to about the year 1350, and thus the bell can hardly be less than 500 years old, and is probably contemporary with the tower and spire.

From indentations in the sound-bow, it appears to have been furnished with a clapper and rung in a peal. In size it is about equal to the third bell in our belfry: it has no clapper now, but the hours are struck by a small hammer on the outside.

The tower and spire, though well-proportioned to each other, are much too small, according to our notions, for the rest of the present church; but towers of the Early English and Decorated periods were not ordinarily so massive and so bulky as they became during the prevalence of the Perpendicular style. This fact may account for the comparative smallness of our tower and spire; but I cannot help suspecting that the base, at least, of the tower must have belonged to an earlier and smaller church, which was built some years before (the Early English style prevailed from 1189 to 1307), and was standing during the incumbency of the first recorded rector, Robert de Oysterne, in 1292.

The rest of the church is, in general appearance, Perpendicular, but on examination some Early English, and a good deal of Decorated work, are to be found about it. All the windows without exception are Perpendicular. Those

\* "Is there any assignable reason for the following fact?" asks the Rev. W. C. Lukis, in his recently published "Account of Church Bells, &c." "Out of one hundred and sixty eight Mediæval bells found in various parts of England no

fewer than forty-five are in honor of the Blessed Virgin; and it is remarkable that of this number twenty four are in Wiltshire out of fifty seven bells of that period."

of the aisles, north and south, are exactly alike, of three lights having cinque-foiled heads, with straight tracery above them, and a quatrefoil in the point of the arch. The windows of the aisles, east and west, are slightly different, since instead of a quatrefoil they have each two trefoils in the head; but their general character is the same. The windows of the clerestory in the nave have each two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil in the head and are lofty in proportion to their width. The windows of the clerestory in the chancel are also of two lights, but cinque-foiled and deeper set, with mouldings at the jambs and round the head, like those of the windows of the aisles; and all, both above and below, have Perpendicular labels over them. No one looking from the outside can fail to be struck with the superior effect of the deeper-set windows, the cause being the greater degree of shadow which is thrown upon them.

The walls both of the aisles and nave are surmounted by a battlement; of the chancel with a parapet; and underneath both battlement and parapet, but above the heads of the windows, a plain hollow moulding or string-course runs along the building. The walls of the aisles are supported by buttresses, chiefly of Decorated work, placed with one exception between the windows, though not always in the centre; and it is worthy of remark that the windows are not equidistant, the ancient architects not having studied uniformity so much as the more modern.

Till within a very recent period all the outside walls were covered with a coat of plaster, which a past generation had injudiciously employed to conceal the decay which they were not willing to repair; but all this plaster, in spite of some dismal forebodings that its removal would endanger the stability of the Church, was swept away in the late restoration, and the original materials were brought once more to the light of day.

The whole roof is covered with lead: that of the nave, which is what is called waggon-headed, rises to some height above the battlement; that of the chancel, which is of a

later date, is nearly flat, and is hidden altogether by the parapet—a “clandestine roof,” in short, such as Mr. Denison speaks of with the indignant dislike of an Englishman for everything that is not open and above-board.\*

There were until lately two south porches—one toward the south-west end of the aisle, the other against the fifth window of the aisle (counting from the east), one light of which it blocked up. The former is, inside, 14 feet by 12 feet 1 inch, and is of two bays, having on each side two open Perpendicular window-frames. It has also stone seats, running the full length, north and south, on both sides. It had originally a groined roof, but the four shafts and imposts are all that now remain. Over the outside entrance were discovered, when the plaster was removed during the recent restoration, three niches which were replaced by new ones of the same design. The door leading into the church is well worth examination. It is no doubt the original door, as it harmonizes with the general character of the church, although, singularly enough, there is a little patch of Decorated work in the middle of it. At present it is much disfigured by paint, but I hope in time, if only funds can be obtained, to see it carefully cleaned.

The other porch was a subsequent erection, as was clear from the way in which it blocked up a window. In style it was Perpendicular, but its details were more ornamented than the rest of the church, it having a cornice all round covered with quatrefoils. Tradition asserts that it was built for the mayor and aldermen to enter the church by; but I do not think it was of later date than the early part of the 16th century, and certainly the 17th century was not capable of building so good a specimen of Gothic work. I cannot help suspecting, however, that this tradition has foundation on fact, in so far as it represents that the porch was built for the convenience of some public body, and that, though in later times it has been ignorantly misapplied to the mayor and aldermen, it originally related to the Guilds. It is far more probable that the porch was built for them,

\* Lectures on Church Building, p. 111.

facing their Guildhall, than for the mayor and corporation, and the style of architecture seems to corroborate this view, for it prevailed during the period when the Guilds flourished in the town.

In the front of this porch also we found, on removing the plaster, a small shallow niche, which had once contained an image, and of which the projecting canopy had been cut away. The remains of this niche may now be seen, together with the doorways and some of the carved stone work of the porch, in the west wall of the churchyard, where they have been inserted by Mr. Knox. The inner doorway had been blocked up in 1767,\* the congregation having complained of the cold air which streamed through it into the church; and as it was in a ruinous condition, the whole porch was taken down about two years ago.

Here again, were formerly traces of the odd conceits of Dr. Goad, who seems to have been ever ready with a paint brush and quaint inscription, wherever he could find or make an opening for the display of his eccentric talents. In this instance, he raised the front of the porch, and placed a sun-dial upon it, and above the sun-dial was this inscription, in golden letters:

Θεὸς γεωμετρεῖ

Within the dial, cutting the horall lines, this chronogramma was written  
MlHl DeVs LVX et saLVs

that is 1627,† but this was wiped out and not put in again in the repairing of it till I had it done in 1722.

The numerical figures are in golden letters, upon a ground laid in blew and edged with a golden border, and the lines red.

\* In the case submitted at the time to Dr. Calvert, of Doctors' Commons, for his opinion (for the lawyers of the town opposed the measure), it is stated, "In the original building (of the church), there were only three doors, viz, two large ones on the south side and another on the north side; but many years ago, (how many cannot be remembered), another smaller entrance was made on the south side, apparently to the deformity of the church, because a part of one of the windows is taken away, but tradition says

it was done when Hadleigh was a Corporation, for the convenience of their worships' going in procession to church from their Guild-hall, which is situate next the churchyard, right opposite to that new-made entrance. This entry was no more than four feet wide and is enclosed with folding doors." The cost of closing the porch and erecting 15 new pews in the south aisle at the same time was £32.

† The capital letters when thus put together MDLLXVVII, make up 1627.

Under the gnomon and dial are these 8 verses, in golden letters, up on a black ground :—

Where now you stand the time to spy  
 Who knows how soon you there may lie ?  
 Both time and place are monitory,  
 That you and they are transitory.  
 Heaven's our Temple, Death the Porch,  
 Christ the Way, the Word our Torch.  
 Here let us walk while we have light ;  
 Too late begin thy work at night.

Under these verses were formerly painted, I am told, a churchyard, a burial brought into it, and Dr. Goad, in his surplice, coming towards it ; but this was decay'd utterly, and upon the reparation of the whole it was omitted, and the verses above were thought fitt to be written over again in a larger compass than before, and they w<sup>th</sup> the ornaments took up all the room where y<sup>t</sup> was.

The priest's doorway is squareheaded, with quatrefoils in the spandrils, the west corner projecting into two of the lights of the second window, (counting from the east,) an arrangement not uncommon and scarcely avoidable where there are many windows, as may be seen (to go no further from home) in the neighbouring churches of Lavenham and Melford. The door is the original one, I believe, for the hinges are of the same kind as those of the south door, and there are proofs that there was formerly tracery of a similar character in the head of it, although the carved work has long since been torn off.

Towards the west end and opposite the south porch, is an entrance from the north. There is, however, no porch, and the space between it and the west end of the aisle, 19 feet 10 inches, was originally plain wall ; but in the recent restoration, we erected another buttress and inserted another window, exactly corresponding with the rest. This doorway and the door itself are Decorated.

And I may here remark that there is a remarkable mixture of styles in the west window of the north aisle. This window is the only one which has a label on the inside, and the label and its termination are either Early English or very early Decorated work. This window also is the only one which has a moulding running down the jambs inside, and this moulding, the round roll and fillet, is either Early

English or early Decorated, while the window is, like all the others, Perpendicular. There are traces also of Decorated work (to anticipate a little) all along the inside of the south wall. The tomb there, as appears from the shape of the arch, is Decorated; there is another ogee arch in the wall, close to that tomb, which probably once contained a piscina; and still further east, almost in the angle of the south and east walls, is a third arch, of the same kind, above a small piscina. All these circumstances, when taken in connection with the fact that the buttresses on the outside are Decorated, induce me to believe that the *shell* of our church is of the fourteenth century (the Decorated style prevailed from A.D. 1307 to 1377), and that the windows were inserted at a subsequent period, in the 15th century, in the old Decorated walls.

But then (and this is a point on which I beg to ask the opinion of the members of the Institute), it is remarkable that the arches, which separate the aisles and the nave *inside*, are clearly Perpendicular, the moulding running down to the base. It is difficult to account for this anomaly, unless we may suppose either that the arches which in an older church supported the roof of the nave, might have been so damaged by the pressure of the roof as to require to be rebuilt, though the outside walls were still strong and perfect; or that it was thought desirable to increase the height of the original church by the addition of a clerestory, and that then it was found that the Decorated arches would not bear the greater weight, and it was necessary therefore to build new arches. The new work being executed about the middle of the fifteenth century, as I imagine, was therefore Perpendicular. This was very likely done at the same time, as the general appearance of the whole nave was recast by the insertion of the Perpendicular windows and doorways in the Decorated walls, so that although the shell of the church was erected in the 14th century, and is consequently some 500 years old, great alterations were effected in it, and its present character given to the church in the 15th century. The chancel is



the most modern part, and was probably in a great degree rebuilt towards the end of the 15th century.

At the north east end stands the vestry, erected even later than the chancel, as is evident on examining the buttress of the aisle, against which part of it is built. It is of one story, having squareheaded windows of two lights, cinquefoiled, both on the ground floor and above, looking east and north.

I will begin to describe the Interior, from the west end, where there is a Decorated doorway in the tower; but before I do so I will give the measurements of the length and breadth of the church as recorded by Dr. Wilkins, in his MS.

The length within—	Chancel	48 feet, or 16 yards.	} In all, including the Tower, 163 feet.
“ “	Nave	94 “ 31½ “	
“ “	Tower	21 “ 7 “	
The breadth within—	North Aisle	20 feet.	} 64 feet.
“ “	Nave	26 “	
“ “	South Aisle	18 “	
“ “	Tower	14 “	

The height, as I have myself ascertained, is of the Nave (within), about 47 feet, of the Chancel, 38.

In the Belfry is a peal of “eight fine and tuneable bells,” says the Wilkins MS. in 1723.

The first is the Trible, cast by Miles Graye, in y<sup>e</sup> year 1678, w<sup>th</sup> this inscription, MILES GRAYE MADE ME \*

“ 2nd was cast in y<sup>e</sup> year 1678, and has y<sup>e</sup> same inscription w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> first.

“ 3rd was cast 1679, and has y<sup>e</sup> same inscription with y<sup>e</sup> two first.

“ 4th has this inscription,† SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTUM.

“ 5th, IN MULTIS ANNIS RESONAT CAMPANA JOHANNIS. John Thornton, fecit.

“ 6th, SUM ROTA [MUNDI] PULSATA MARIA VOCATA.

“ 7th, ECCE GABRIELIS SONAT HÆC CAMPANA FIDELIS.

“ 8th was cast in 1680, is called the Tenor, and has this inscription, MILES GRAYE MADE ME.

\* It is not known, Mr. Lukis says, where the Grayes had their Foundry, but their bells are chiefly found in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge, dating from 1624 to 1681. Some of them, he observes, as for instance those at Feering, in Essex, are said to have been cast in a field adjoining the church in which they are hung. The following inscription on the Tenor bell of Kersey, near Hadleigh, seems to shew however, that the foundry of the Grayes was at Colchester;

“Samuel Sampson, Churchwarden,  
I say  
Caused me to be made by Colchester  
Graye, 1638.”

† It is somewhat remarkable that the 4th, 5th, and 6th bells in Gloucester Cathedral, severally bear the same inscription as the corresponding bells in our peal, as it existed at the beginning of the last century.

But several changes have taken place in the peal since the time of Dr. Wilkins. The seventh bell, as he describes it, was probably an ancient one, and was broken, I believe, in ringing, in 1787 or 1788; and some idea of having the whole peal recast, together with it, was entertained, in the latter year. I have found amongst the Churchwardens papers a proposal by Thos. Osborn, for new casting "a peal of eight bells, for the parish church of Hadleigh," which I will add, both because it shews the cost per cwt. of recasting at that time, and because it gives us some clue to the probable weight of the present seventh bell.

	£	s.	d.
The present old bells supposed to weigh 5 Ton, new casting do. into 8 new mu- sical bells of the best metal, at 28 shillings per cwt. ... ..	140	0	0
New hanging the eight bells, finding new stocks, wheels, brasses, clappers com- pleat for ringing. ... ..	40	0	0
New casting the 7th bell, suppose to weigh 20 cwt., at 28 <sup>sh</sup> p <sup>r</sup> cwt ... ..	28	7	0
New hangings to do. with stock, wheel, brasses, clapper compleat... ..	6	6	0
Carriage to and from the foundry of the old and new bell. ... ..	2	10	0
Journey over to Hadleigh to hang the bell and put the other bells into tune. ...	3	3	0
The necessity of removing the 6th and fifth bells, with part of the frame, with other fixtures, to make room for the old bells to be taken down. ... ..	10	0	0
	<hr/> £230	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 0

The result, however, was that the 7th bell only was re-cast, and at a lower cost than that which this estimate sets forth, for the following item occurs in the Churchwardens' account for 1788.

Osborn, bell-founder, £39 9 0

The bell bears this inscription:

The Rev. Dr. Thos. Drake, Rector, Samuel Hazell, Edward Sallows,  
Ch. wardens. T. Osborn fecit 1788.

The foundry of Osborn was at Downham in Norfolk.

The sixth bell, having been cracked, was replaced by a new one cast by Messrs. Mears of London, in 1856, with the inscription :

The Very Rev. H. B. Knox, Rector ; J. Rand, W. Grimwade, Churchwardens.

The entire cost, including every expense, was £39. 15s. 6d.

The inscription on the old sixth bell, if correctly copied by Dr. Wilkins, was singular ; but I am disposed to think that "rota" is miswritten for "rosa," which is a common appellation of the Blessed Virgin, though not peculiar to her,\* for in the list of inscriptions given in Mr. Lukis' work, this inscription with "rosa," and not "rota," frequently occurs on Mediæval bells. From what I can recollect of the kind of letters, which it bore, I believe it to have been of the same date as the fourth bell, which is by far the oldest† of our present peal, and belongs to the latter part of the 15th century. This last bears a merchant's mark on a shield, on its dexter side, four fleurs-de-lis joined foot to foot, a crown above, sinister, a cross fleury, and this legend in black-letter, very distinct, and with all the initials crowned :

"SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTUM."

The fifth bell, as described by Dr. Wilkins, was not, I imagine, a very old one, but had probably been recast with the original inscription repeated, early in the 18th century, as "John Thornton," whom it proclaimed to be its founder, lived at that period, for there is one of his bells at Layer Marney in Essex, bearing the date of 1711. It was again recast in 1806, and now bears these more matter-of-fact words upon it :

\* As on the 7th bell at Magdalen College, Oxford :

Sum rosa pulsata mundi *Katerina* vocata.

† Comparatively few bells are now remaining in our churches of an earlier date than the 17th century, since the commencement of which century most of our present bells have been cast.—*Blozam's Gothic Architecture*, p. 159.

In the sacrilegious excesses to which the Reformation gave rise, king, nobles, and churchwardens, vied with each in plundering the belfries. Bells were the stakes in gambling matches, were sold for material for making cannon, &c., &c. The Protector Somerset thought one bell enough for a church.

The Rev. Doctor Drummond, Rector; J. B. Leake and Thos. Sallovs, Churchwardens, 1806;

but the name of the founder is not given, not, at all events, in the usual place. The Churchwardens accounts for 1806, however, have supplied me with information upon that point:

W<sup>m</sup>. Dobson for casting bell, £31. 10s. 6d.

and I have learnt from another source,\* that the foundry of Dobson, as well as that of Osborn, was at Downham.

The reputed weight of the Tenor bell is 28 cwt., its diameter at the mouth, in inches, is  $52\frac{1}{4}$ .

The probable weight of the 7th is about 20 or 21 cwt., its diameter at the mouth, in inches, is  $43\frac{3}{4}$ .

The weight of the 6th is 14 cwt. 2 qrs. and a few pounds, its diameter at the mouth, in inches, is 43.

The weight of the 5th is unknown, its diameter at the mouth, in inches, is 41.

The weight of the 4th is unknown, its diameter at the mouth, in inches, is  $35\frac{3}{4}$ .

The weight of the 3rd is unknown, its diameter at the mouth, in inches, is 32.

The weight of the 2nd is unknown, its diameter at the mouth, in inches, is  $30\frac{3}{4}$ .

The weight of the 1st is unknown, its diameter at the mouth, in inches, is  $29\frac{1}{2}$ .

In the Hawes MS. it is said that the great bell, which formerly belonged to the Priory at Butley, was afterwards sold to Hadleigh, and then cast into two; but I know of no corroboration of the statement, though there must have once been a good deal of intercourse between the two places, through the family of Forth,† which was possessed of property both at Butley and at Hadleigh.

The appearance of the Belfry makes it clear that it did

\* Rev. W. C. Lukis's *Account of Church Bells*, &c.

† A William Forth, Esq., was buried here, in 1599; William Rolph, Esq., of Hadleigh, married a daughter of Robert Forth, Esq., early in the 17th century; a Mrs. Elizabeth Rany, daughter of William Forth, Esq., was buried here, in 1640; Mr. Philip Forth, in 1684; and there are

several baptisms of members of the same family, recorded in our Register, in large letters, and the title of Esq. added to the father's name. Butley Priory was given soon after the dissolution of religious houses, to a William Forth, Esq., in whose family it continued for a long time. *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. viii. p. 273.

not originally contain so numerous a peal of bells, for the walls have been cut away both on the north and south sides, to give more space; indeed it was not, I believe, until the beginning of the 16th century, that peals of eight bells\* were hung in churches, and then only in a few instances; and on the whole it seems, I think, most likely that our belfry was enlarged in the 17th century, when four of the bells were cast, and that then the peal was increased from four to eight. The framework in which the bells are hung, all on the same level, not only touches, but is carried into the walls, in a way which must cause injury to the tower, through the vibration. The bells were last hung in 1840.

The Curfew is rung at 8 o'clock every night from the Sunday following the 10th of October, to the Sunday nearest to the 10th of March; and during the same period a bell is rung at 5 o'clock every morning.

The custom seems to have been of long continuance. There is a memorandum in the account-book of the Churchwardens and collectors of the market for 1598, relating to John Hilles, who had then been sexton for upwards of 20 years, receiving "for his wages fortye shillings by the yeare," that

Whereas he hath had before for burying of the poore and ringing of the *watch bell*, 4 loads of wood, it is nowe agreed that he shall not have any more woode,† but shall have payd him xxxs. in regard of the same burying of the poore, ringing of the watch bell, and ringing of the bell on Mondays to the sermon, so he is to have in all iij<sup>lb</sup> x<sup>s</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> shall be paid by the cheife collector.

And in a MS. of Dr. Tanner (a former Rector), written in 1766, this item is set down amongst the "Sexton's Fees," "Winter Bell £2. 2s. 0d.,"—the same amount as that which is still paid. I find, moreover, that in 1778, it was resolved in vestry, "that the bell be rung for the future at 8 o'clock in the evening, and at 5 o'clock in the morning, from Michaelmas-day to Lady-day, new stile (*sic*)." Prob-

\* *Jones's Art of Ringing.*

† From other entries in the same book it would appear that wood was becoming more scarce and valuable about this time.

At a later period Hilles had 10s. a year allowed him in addition, by reason of his great age, that sum being raised by the hire of pewter belonging to the town.

bly the bell had been previously rung according to the old style; and it is singular that notwithstanding this resolution of the vestry, the original time for ringing it is again observed.

A "Passing Bell" is rung *after* the death of a parishioner, usually about twelve hours after, though Canon lxvii directs that it should be rung when "any is *passing* out of this life," in order that his neighbours may be reminded to pray for his departing soul, according to the old distich

When the bell doth toll  
Then pray for a soul.

And it is clear that the directions of the Canon were originally obeyed here, from the following table of fees, in the Churchwardens' account-book, December 30th, 1617.

The custome which was used to be taken by the Sexton, in ancient times, witnessed by John Hilles,\* under his hande, for bells being runge or tolled for any that *lyeth sick*, or dyeth in Hadleigh.

For towling of the great bell, to the Sexton ...	vij <sup>d</sup>
„ ringing the great bell, to the Sexton ... ..	ij <sup>s</sup>
„ the Clerke for the great bell ... ..	vij <sup>d</sup>
„ the townet ... ..	xij <sup>d</sup>
„ making the grave in the churchyard ... ..	xij <sup>d</sup>
If the buryall be in the church, the custome is iij <sup>s</sup>	
iiij <sup>d</sup> for the towne, and iij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> for the Sexton	
For the Parson ... ..	xij <sup>d</sup>
For the Mary bell. †	

\* The same rate of payments must have existed from 1568, as John Hilles had been Sexton from that year, and it had probably existed in the time of Robert Hyll, the preceding Sexton. It was continued after the death of John Hilles, by John Spencer, "who was content to exsept" of it when appointed Sexton in 1626.

† The town, (that is, the Market Feoffment,) contributed to the repair of the church and bells, and thus, probably, acquired a claim to a part of the fees for the use of the bells at that time.

‡ I am inclined to think from this table of fees, that the bell which corresponded to the seventh bell in the present peal, was originally the "great bell;" for the "Mary bell" was clearly our old sixth bell, and there would seem to have been only one larger than it. The "Sonday bell" was probably the bell which ans-

wered to our present fifth, but "St. Stevens" certainly does not agree with our present fourth bell. On the whole, however, I am led to conclude that when, in the 17th century, the peal was enlarged, it was made heavier by the addition of our present tenor, and perhaps the small bells were added at the same time. Supposing that all the four bells, which are here mentioned, had existed during the whole of Hilles' sextonship, our Church was fortunate in retaining so many after the Reformation. As early as 1556 the "greate bell" is mentioned, and in 1562 there are entries in the Churchwardens' accounts of receipts of xij<sup>d</sup> for the use of the "greet bell."

In 1562 there is this item, "Bought of Jafrey Wathwhite of Ipseche, 8 June, 1562, 4 bell ropes wayeng 57lb., at 3d. the lb., xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>." This looks as if there were only four bells then.

For ringing it for one that dyeth and making  
the grave — ? ... .. ij<sup>s</sup>      vj<sup>d</sup>

Whereof u<sup>d</sup> (used) to the Parson ij<sup>d</sup>. to the  
Clerke viij<sup>d</sup>, and the rest to the Sexton.

For the Soday bell.

For ringing and making the grave ... .. ij<sup>s</sup>  
Whereof iij<sup>d</sup> to the Parson, ij<sup>d</sup> to the Clerke      vij<sup>d</sup>

St. Steven's bell.

For ringing and making the grave for an old  
bodye being — ? ... .. xvij<sup>d</sup>

Whereof ij<sup>d</sup> to the Parson and j<sup>d</sup> to the Clerke.

After the bell has fallen and after a short pause, it is now customary to toll 3 times 3 for a male and 3 times 2 for a female whether old or young.\* Different bells are still used for this purpose, and the Sexton's fee also is still regulated by the size of the bell. The origin† of this last custom is traceable to an ancient superstition, which supposed that bells had the power of frightening away evil spirits; and as the larger the bell, the louder the sound and the greater therefore its anti-diabolic efficacy, payments were demanded in proportion to the benefit conferred. I may say too that the fee of the nurses, who attend at a funeral, are also fixed according to the size of the "Passing bell."

On entering the Church from the ringers' chamber,‡ which is on the ground floor, we pass through another

\* In the north of England, they ring 9 knells for a man, 6 for a woman, and 3 for a child. *Brand's Popular Antiq.* vol. ii., p. 128.

† *Brand's Popular Antiq.* p. 131.

‡ On the north wall of this chamber, near the western door, the following epitaphs were inscribed in the time of Dr. Wilkins, (1727), but they have since disappeared:

See, Ringers read, John Hills lies here,  
Our Sexton, eight and fifty year.  
The Steeple, which he kept, him keeps,  
Lo! under this great bell he sleeps.  
Ring on, no noyse him wakes, untill  
Christ's trumpet every grave unfill.  
Sepultus est Mar. 27, 1625.

Upon the same wall, to the east, is written this addition, "but surely," observes Dr. Wilkins, "not made by the same poet:—

The Church, the Clock, each Bell  
He tended wondrous well.  
The proverb is not dead  
Which his due care then bread,  
As sure as Key and Lock  
As true as Hadleigh Clock.

"John Hilles, sexton of Hadleigh eight and fifty yeares," was buried, according to the Register, on March 7, 1626, so that the writer of the former of these lines made a great mistake in his dates. John Hilles seems to have succeeded "Robt. Hyll, sexton of the Church of Hadleigh," probably his father, whose burial is recorded in the Register for 1568.

The latter is mentioned in the Churchwardens' Account Book for 1561, "payd for nayls whiche Hyll occupied for the bell, 1d.," and I may add that in the same accounts there are entries of charges for

Decorated doorway, and under a gallery, the only gallery, I am happy to say, that we possess. In this gallery stands the Organ, which was purchased with voluntary subscriptions and erected here, about the year 1738, having been brought from Donyland Hall, near Colchester. It was enlarged in 1806, by the addition of a swell organ, at the cost of £31. 10s., and in 1847 by the further addition of two octaves of pedals. The latter, with some other improvements then effected, was done at the expense of £200.

Part of the gallery which now "reaches forward in the middle aisle, from the steeple to the second arch," seems to be as old as the 16th century, for according to the Wilkins MS. (1727)

Below the uppermost seat upon two of the middle pillars, are written upon boards, in golden letters

In the upper, The gift of Mr. Thomas Alabaster, Ano. D<sup>ni</sup>. 1592.

In the lower, The gift of Mr. John Cawton, Ano. D<sup>ni</sup>. 1614.

Over these two inscriptions, but more towards the Font, is carv'd in the wood, 1630, the date of the year when this gallery and two rows of seats were set up.

I cannot, however, quite understand this description, unless it mean that a small gallery existed here in the 16th, and that it was enlarged in the 17th, century.

The last date, inserted in a border which is ornamented with the arms of Hadleigh and with vine leaves, is the only one remaining. The front of the gallery seems to

"mending the Clocke face *vid.*," for "mending the Clocke *1d.*" In another book there is a charge for "mending the clocke" in 1547, which shows there was a clock here more than 300 years ago. There can be little doubt, however, that there was a clock at a much earlier period: "Church towers have been the usual and established abode of church clocks for five or six centuries, in fact, from the earliest days of clock-making."—*Denison on Church Building*, p. 295.

I may also add here (I had not ascertained the fact before the preceding pages had been printed) that in 1529 the large sum of £51 was expended on the reparation of the Church; that in 1561 the lead on the Church was repaired with

"four hundred, 25lbs. of new lede;" and that in 1577, 33s. 9d. were expended in "levelyng of the Church."

We lament now over the irreverence to which the Churchyard is exposed, but we perhaps treat it somewhat better than our fathers, for though in the preceding year there had been charges for mending the gates in the Churchyard, there is this item in 1562, "Payd to the man for caryage of the donghyll out of the Churchyard, *vs. iiijd.*"

The day on which the Churchwardens' accounts were annually exhibited in the middle of the 16th century seems usually to have been a Sunday. The accounts of the Guild of our Lady were also taken on Sundays.



have been boarded up in the 18th century; originally it was open rail work.

In the west wall of the nave, over the gallery and at the back of the organ there was once a small quatrefoil opening, looking into the Church.\* It is blocked up on the eastern side, but it is clearly traceable on the western side, at the back of the clock works. It is placed in the centre of an arched recess, of the Decorated style, 8 feet 8 inches high and 3 feet 4 inches wide. The quatrefoil is opposite to the west window of the tower, and may have been made both for the purpose of admitting light and to enable the ringers to see when a procession entered the Church, or Divine Service began.

This opening seems to have been blocked up by Dr. Goad, who wished once more to indulge his propensity for painting. Certainly he had ample scope in this wall, before the blank space presented by it was relieved by the erection of the organ, and he took the utmost advantage of it.

At the west end of the wall against the steeple there is drawn in perspective the prospect of a church or some stately fabric, they say, done by old Benjamin Coleman, but by the direction of Dr. Goad.

In the middle of this is a Diall Platform, formerly round, but now changed, and in a square over it these two short verses on the wall

O watch, I say;  
God's House sayth Pray.

This painting remained until 1834, when the late Rector, Archdeacon Lyall, again applied the brush, but only to obliterate the ingenious contrivance of his predecessor. Many of the inhabitants remember it well, and describe it, perhaps with the exaggeration of fond regret for its loss, as apparently prolonging the length of the church, and causing them to imagine that they were gazing on the stately nave of some vast cathedral.

The Font now stands immediately in front of the gallery, "in the ancient usual place," that is, near the western entrance, thereby reminding us, as the arrangement was

\* There is just such another opening in the neighbouring church of Bildeston.

intended to remind us, that Holy Baptism is our door of entrance into the spiritual church. It is octagonal in shape,\* with rich tracery on the bowl and a panelled pedestal. The style is "very fine Decorated." In Mr. Parker's book, which I alluded to before, it is also said (let it be spoken low near the grave of Dr. Goad) to be "much disfigured by paint and an inscription round the bowl." It was restored in 1790.

Not far from the gallery stands the Font, between the 2nd and 3rd of the north pillars, raised by the ascent of 2 steps, tolerably well guilt, encompass'd w<sup>th</sup> handsome green rails and posts, on y<sup>e</sup> top of w<sup>ch</sup> formerly were the images, as I am told, of the four Apostles (Evangelists?), pull'd down in the late Rebellion, but y<sup>e</sup> rails and posts were left. On the outside of the Font, below the bason, is written in golden letters, upon a white ground

ΝΙΨΟΝ ΑΝΟΜΗΜΑ ΜΗ ΜΟΝΑΝ ΟΨΙΝ.

The conceit lies in the words being the same backwards or forwards, put up by Dr. Goad, and said to be taken out of Gregory Nazianzen.

In the year 1630, the Font was removed from another place to this, *i.e.* between the 2nd and 3rd pillars, and three baptisms were celebrated at the time; but it was removed again to its present site, April 21, 1790, and the rails were taken away.

The inscription is thus alluded to by Jeremy Taylor.†

This, (the Catechumen's descending into the Font and rising up purified) was ingeniously signified by that Greek inscription on a Font, which is so prettily contrived that the words may be read after the Greek or after the Hebrew manner and be exactly the same

Νιψον ανομημα μη μοναν οψιν†

Lord, wash my sin and not my face only.

\* It is supposed that this shape has the following symbolic meaning: "Since the Norman times," the font has usually been "shaped of an octagon or eight-sided figure; because ever since the time of St. Augustine at least, the number of eight has been adopted as the symbol of Regeneration. For as the old creation was completed in seven days, so eight, the next number in the series, has been chosen to stand for that in which we are again created anew in Christ Jesus. *Browne's Lecture on Symbolism—Masters, 1855.*

† *Life of Christ, Heber's Edition, vol. ii., p. 242.*

‡ The following occurs in *The Critic* for July 10, 1858:—"Some workmen lately in demolishing the remains of the ancient church of St. Pentaleon, at Autun and near a place of Roman substructure which some archæologists believe to have been the *casa sancta* in which were originally deposited the mortal remains of St. Symphorian, the first martyr of Autun, discovered an antique inscription in a rather indifferent state of preservation. Written in greek characters, the form of which

But it is observable that Bishop Taylor who is usually so careful in giving his authority, does not attribute this saying to Gregory Nazianzen.

I may here add that this is not a singular use of the quotation: it occurs on the remains of a font at Melverly, about ten miles from Shrewsbury. It appears also, not only on other fonts, but on ewers, dishes, and other vessels used in baptismal ceremonies, both in England and on the Continent, as at St. Martin's church, Ludgate, Dulwich College, Worlingworth, Suffolk, at a church in Cheshire, at various places in France, and at St. Sophia, in Constantinople. It is likewise engraved on a capacious basin\* at Trinity College, Cambridge, which is used by the Collegians, for washing their fingers after dinner.† And in Mr. Ayliffe Poole's‡ small book on Churches, it is said to occur also on the font at Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire.

It would be interesting, if we could suppose that the Pulpit was the place from which Rowland Tayler, "kept his flocke in feare"; but it is clearly not older than the 17th century, a date at which most of the oldest of existing pulpits were erected.||

"The pulpit stands against the second pillar from the chancel on the north, facing the middle south door of the church, somewhat high, with a large pair of stairs on the north of it, leading to it, handsomely gault, with a large sounding-board over it, and in a label in the midst of it, it is written,

IN CŒLO CATHEDRAM HABET, QUI DOCET CORDA.

resembles that of the celebrated inscription of the *ichthus* which made so much noise about twenty years ago, the present stone will, without doubt, exercise the ingenuity of antiquaries. Several of the words are only represented by their commencement, but the inscription seems to run thus:

Νεψον ανομιματα μη μοναν οψιν

which signifies," the writer goes on to explain very inaccurately, "Purify your soul and not merely your visage." The above inscription is marked by this pe-

culiarity, that it reads forwards and backwards just the same, and is, in fact, one of those curious epigraphs which were placed over holy-water vases in the early ages of Christianity, and which each believer could read as he entered or left the Church."

\* *Archæological Journal*, 1844, p. 161.

† Given, I believe, by an Anthony, Earl of Kent.

‡ *Churches, their Structure and Arrangement, &c.*, p. 78.

|| *Bloxam's Gothic Architecture*, p. 237.

"At the back of the pulpit against the pillar, there is upon the wood a Coat of Arms in Lozang, w<sup>ch</sup> bears (arg.) a Fess (G.) between 6 Leopards heads eraz'd of the 2nd, said to be the arms of Mrs. Margaret Gaell, the third wife of Mr. John Gaell, who either gave the pulpit or the cushion, or was at the charge of gilding it. She was buried in the church, but had no monument, leaving one Mr. Somms, as I think, a minister, her executor, who did not bestow one upon her, though, as they tell me, it was so ordered in her will."

Need I add who was the giver of the sounding-board and its inscription?—Dr. Goad.

The pulpit was removed from its position (*proh pudet!* I may say with Dr. Wilkins, when alluding to another subject), in 1833, and now in defiance of all ecclesiastical propriety and symbolism blocks up the chancel arch; a kind of arrangement which was not known in the English Church until the days of William the Third. According to the proper arrangement, the Holy Table should be visible from the nave, and the pulpit and reading pew should stand on either side of the chancel arch, to teach us that while the Holy Communion is the chiefest means of grace on which our hearts desire should be fixed, preaching and prayer are the two great aids to guide us to its right reception. But now the pulpit shuts out the Holy Table from the congregation and presents indeed a symbol, but only of the way in which too many professing Christians shut out from their sight and remembrance the duty of partaking of the Supper of the Lord.

On the right side of the pulpit is a very curious figure carved in wood, representing a beast sitting down on its hind quarters, with folded wings, with the fore legs and feet of a man, wearing shoes of the period of Richard the Second, and with the hind feet (cloven) of an animal. The head is covered with a hood, kept in its position by the *liripipe*, or small pendant tail of the hood, which is tied as a fillet round the brows. The neck is encircled with a collar, resembling the ornament anciently worn by ecclesiastics on their robes, and the mouth carries by the hair the head of a man. The figure was formerly the head of a Perpendicular bench, and is clearly an allusion to the legend of

St. Edmund,\* though at the same time a caricature of the monks. Such caricatures were common from the eleventh century to the Reformation.

The Roof is now ceiled, but the original roof, probably much out of repair, exists behind the plaster. The form of it is waggon-headed, for the shape is still discernible; and indeed were there any doubt about it, we should be able to ascertain what it used to be from Dr. Goad's picture in the Rectory tower. From that picture too, I think a clue is to be obtained to the time at which the roof was ceiled. It does not appear to have been ceiled in the middle of the 17th century, when the picture in question was painted, and as I have not been able to find any allusion to the ceiling in the parish and other accounts, either before 1625 or since the middle of the last century, and as "the oldest inhabitant" has no tradition on the subject, I am disposed to infer that the ceiling was effected towards the close of the 17th century, or very early in the 18th. The original roof is very like the trefoiled head of a window-light, taking it just above the projecting point of the first foil, and has slight longitudinal beams or purlins running, as it were, along the extremities of the foils, and along the centre at the top, and is decorated here and there with bosses. Carved wooden rafters, rising in the first instance from the cornice, meet these beams, and then in the next stage, spring from the inner point of the curve and meet in the centre overhead. To support this and to resist the lateral thrust caused by

\* The legend is, that the Danes shot St. Edmund with arrows in Hoxne Wood, and then cut off his head and threw it amongst the trees; that some of his subjects came, when the Danes had retired, and searched for his body for the purpose of burying it, but could at first only find the trunk; that when expressing to each other wonder where the head could be, they heard a voice say, 'Here, Here, Here,' and that on going to the spot whence the voice had proceeded, they found a *wolf sitting down with the lost head in its mouth, but hanging down between its forelegs*; that the wolf politely

gave up the head; that the head when placed by the trunk became miraculously attached to it again, as if it had never been separated; and that the wolf, having quietly attended the funeral, retired to its native woods.

A representation of the particulars of this legend was formerly given on the reverse of the great seal of the Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's, a copy of which, obtained only, it is said, by a good deal of trouble, is engraved in a book of Mr. Hawkins, of which I shall speak by and bye.

the first foil, there are tie-beams placed on the wall-plate and stretching across the church, and from these rise braces on each side, which are placed at an acute angle so as to meet the extremity of the foil, and keep the sides in their proper position. It would add greatly to the appearance of the church, if the roof could be restored; and I think it could if we had funds, for a little while ago I had some of the lead stripped off the top of it, and as far as I could judge it seemed to be in a state admitting of repair.

A heavy arched beam,\* said to be of stone, and pierced with quatrefoils at the sides, has been thrown across the middle of the nave at a subsequent time, to prevent it settling towards the north, which it is much inclined to do. The walls, indeed, are some inches out of the perpendicular, but the declination does not grow worse.

The Chancel is separated from the nave by a lofty and wide arch, and from the aisles by two arches on each side. The latter arches have labels over them, at the terminations of which are figures of angels, playing musical instruments. In the south pier of the chancel arch are said to be remains of the stairs which led to the roodloft, but, if they exist at all, they are now blocked up. The capitals of the pillars on both sides are much injured, probably through the erection or removal of the roodloft. The floor of the chancel by, I think, an unusual arrangement, is a step lower than the aisles.

The roof of the chancel is of fine panelled wood-work, nearly flat and of a later date than the roof of the nave. On it either as bosses or supports, are many very curious and grotesque figures and faces. At present it is much disfigured by white paint.

The great East Window is a very fine one of the kind, with two tiers of seven large lights, the upper tracery being very regular, but somewhat stiff.

In the chancel there is one thing considerable and y<sup>t</sup> is the seats, not

\* There is an inscription on the east side of this beam, in rude Roman letters, which can be deciphered on a clear bright

day, WAS REPAIR... The rest seems to have been obliterated by a patch of more modern plaster.

for the beauty and ornament, but y<sup>e</sup> fashion of them, being made cathedraillike by way of stalls, every seat after the fashion of a half-moon w<sup>th</sup> place for elbows to rest on.

These subsequently stood opposite the vestry door in the north aisle, but are now placed across the chancel, north and south, looking east towards the Holy Table, and at the back of the modern pews, to which, with due deference to Dr. Wilkins, they form, I think, an admirable contrast.

At the end of the chancel there were formerly (as they tell me), very handsome rails,\* y<sup>t</sup> were neatly turn'd, w<sup>th</sup> two doors at the front for entrance. They stood upon one step higher than the rest of the chancel w<sup>th</sup>out. (The Communicants that came to the rails kneel'd upon y<sup>e</sup> mats y<sup>t</sup> were laid round on y<sup>e</sup> outside of the rails, upon brick, upon w<sup>ch</sup> the rails stood). These went not quite cross<sup>s</sup> over y<sup>e</sup> chancel, but only so far as to make a quadrangle w<sup>th</sup> the east wall. The mark yet remains where they were fastened to the wall.

Within the rails was laid a foot-cloath of Arras, w<sup>ch</sup> (proh pudet !) for some years served for a carpet for y<sup>e</sup> table, till Dr. Wilkins got a purple cloath,† for the table. The table was covered w<sup>th</sup> a carpet of crimson velvet like y<sup>e</sup> cushion y<sup>t</sup> is now left; it had a large golden fringe round it, and was given by Mr. John Alabaster, his name being on the backside of it.

Over the Communion Table was formerly placed a canopy of wood, gilded as the pulpit is at present, after the fashion of a sounding-board, w<sup>th</sup> golden knobs that hung down in several parts of it, and it had starrs w<sup>th</sup>in painted, but it is now gone. This as the pulpit (as they tell me) was put up by Dr. Goad.

H. Nelson‡ informs me that these rails before y<sup>e</sup> Communion table were design'd to be pluck'd up as a piece of Popery on Christmas-day, but Dr. Cotesford having notice of y<sup>t</sup> villanous design, after sermon (w<sup>ch</sup> was their intended time) hastened more than usually to the table, and when he had entred through the rails, clapp'd the door of them after him, and drawing

\* It is not improbable that these rails had been erected only a few years before, for in the year 1634, Archbishop Laud had directed that the Holy Table in all parish churches, throughout the province of Canterbury, should be placed at the east end and protected from irreverence and desecration. Before this "it was dragged by Puritanical scruple or caprice into the body of the church and treated as if no peculiar sanctity belonged to it. It often served the churchwardens for a parish-table, the school boys for a desk, and the carpenters for a working-board. In one place, we are told, a dog had run

away with the bread set apart for the Holy Communion; and in many instances the wine had been brought to the Table in pint pots and bottles, and so was distributed to the people. Such were the effects of an indiscriminate aversion for the practice of Rome." *Le Bas's Life of Laud*.

A similar arrangement, however, had prevailed in the time of Queen Elizabeth. *Bloxam's Gothic Architecture*, p. 236.

† This "cloath" cost him £13. 18s. 6d.

‡ This H. Nelson was an Apothecary at Hadleigh. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*.

out a stiletto y<sup>t</sup> he had provided for y<sup>t</sup> purpose, protested to y<sup>e</sup> crowd, w<sup>ch</sup> was greater than ordinary, and pressing forward to execute their design, y<sup>t</sup> if any sacrilegious hand durst adventure to lay hold upon the rails to pull them up, he was resolv'd to stab him w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>t</sup> stiletto, though he himself should dye as a sacrifice at the altar, which courage and resolution of his so surpriz'd and amaz'd them, y<sup>t</sup> they went out quietly desisting from their villany, and left him w<sup>th</sup> his small company behind w<sup>thout</sup> disturbance to y<sup>e</sup> Communion. But the rails not long after surviv'd, for y<sup>e</sup> next day w<sup>ch</sup> was St. Stephen's, they got into y<sup>e</sup> church, pull'd them down, and I suppose y<sup>e</sup> canopy too, [and probably, it may be added, the figures of the Evangelists, on the rails of the font,] and burnt them openly w<sup>th</sup> great impudent solemnity and triumph.

The workers of this wickedness were destroyed by strangers. Mr. Edward Beaumont, Mayor, Anno. 1641.

An Altar-Piece of Grecian character,\* was erected by Dr. Wilkins, in 1744, at the cost of about £150; but when the east window was restored in 1856, this altar-piece was taken down, as it blocked up the first row of lights. It was handsome of its kind, the joints being beautifully put together and some fruits and flowers being well carved, but it was utterly unsuited to the church. On either side of the Holy Table were pictures of Moses and Aaron, each more than five feet high; and between them and the North and South walls the Ten Commandments were inscribed. Should any member of the Institute be inclined to purchase this altar-piece, we shall be most happy to dispose of it, as we hope in the course of time to erect a Perpendicular stone reredos in its place.

The South Aisle possesses little interest, as the roof is not the original one, but was erected, part of it in 1808 and part in 1818. The ancient corbels were then nearly all

\* Another proof of Dr. Wilkins' ignorance or disregard of Gothic architecture. The following is a copy of the "expenses of the Altar-Piece," &c.

	£	s.	d.
To Mr. Kirby and Harris - - - - -	105	00	00
More to Harris for y <sup>e</sup> additional Wainscoat - - -	5	5	00
More to Kirby for painting and carriage - - -	1	7	6
To their Journeymen - - - - -	00	10	6
To Jo. Spooner for Carriage - - - - -	1	8	6
Mr. E. Parsons' Bill for y <sup>e</sup> Velvet Cloath - - -	13	8	6
Bricklayers' Bill and Carpenters' and Smiths' -	9	00	00
Mr. W. Hall's Bill - - - - -	33	00	00
To the two Common Pr. Books - - - - -	3	00	00

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taken away, but the few that remain are of a very rough and unfinished character. The East end in a line with the chancel arch is a step higher than the rest and separated from it by an arch; and the upper or more eastern part of it is again separated from the remainder by a very handsome parclose of Perpendicular woodwork, standing at right angles to the projecting wall, 16 feet from the east end, which divides the most eastern part of the chancel from the aisles.

In a will of 1592 this is called the "South Chapel of Hadleigh Church," and in the Wilkins MS. the Chapel of St. John. There is a piscina with shelf in the south-eastern corner, indicating that there was a private altar there, at which it is very likely that masses were formerly offered for departed members of the Guild of St. John. There are also three very curious diagonal openings in the north wall towards the west,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, by 6 inches wide. These have been supposed to be confessionals, but a glance at them will shew that they could not have been intended for that purpose, since their relative position to each other (the space between the first and second is  $15\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and between the second and third  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches) would have afforded dangerous opportunities to persons, when confessing, to learn the secrets of their neighbours. There can be little doubt, I think, since they look in direction of the high altar, that they were hagioscopes, designed to enable the officiating priest in the chapel, or the congregation on that side, to see the elevation of the host. It is said that Dr. Goad intended to turn this chapel into a public library (I presume for religious books), and many shelves were remaining in 1727:

"I hear," says Dr. Wilkins, "that there have been books in it, but "wt has become of them is not known":

but the popular language still speaks of this part of the church as "the library."

The original roof of the North Aisle still remains to a great extent, and there are very handsome corbels bearing the supports to it and carved with figures of angels, playing

musical instruments, which is an unusual circumstance except in the chancel of a church. It is remarkable too, how much more elegant they are than the rough corbels in the south aisle.

The east end of this aisle also, in a line with the chancel arch, is higher than and separated from the rest. The extreme east end, as in the south aisle, is divided from the remainder by a handsome parclose. The inner part occupies what is commonly the site of the Lady Chapel, but there is no piscina visible, or any thing else to shew that it was ever so used, except indeed, that the most eastern end is a step higher than the rest, which would appear to indicate that there was once an altar there. There were formerly (1825), within the screen, on a narrow desk, three volumes of Fox's Book of Martyrs, but "much worn and torn, and indeed useless."\* These have since disappeared.

The Vestry† is approached through this parclose. It is 17 feet 8 inches by 15 feet 8 inches, and has a very perfect vaulted stone roof, ornamented with bosses, representing human faces, pelicans, and angels, the carving of which is as fresh as if it had been executed yesterday.

On the west and east the walls are panelled about half way up the sides. There was once a similar panelling I have little doubt on the north side also. The panelling is good and very well preserved, but was never intended, I think, for its present situation. It bears a general resemblance to the panels in the chancel roof, and as some of its details are exactly like parts of the brickwork in the Rectory tower, I am inclined to believe that it belongs to the latter half of the 15th century.

Over this room is an upper chamber, approached by a stone staircase from below. It has a handsome roof of wood, the moulding of the principal beams being very bold and sharp; and the floor is made of tiles. I do not know with certainty the use to which it could have been applied. The staircase is much worn, and possibly the room was

\* Davy MSS.

† xxi<sup>s</sup> ijd were expended on the repairs of the vestry, in 1607.

formerly inhabited by the Mass Priest,\* to whose maintenance, as we have seen, the Archbishops of Canterbury before the Reformation were bound to contribute five shillings a year.

At present three large antique chests† containing old deeds and some copper measures; one of which bears this inscription :

“FOR THE CORPORATION OF HADLEIGH. I. G. MAIOR, 1659.” are its chief tenants. A list of the deeds is given in the Davy MSS., in the British Museum, but I did not copy it. The most curious, as it seemed to me, are the original deeds of the purchase of lands at Ofton, with the proceeds, I suppose, of the sale of the plate, &c., belonging to the church and guilds, and the grant of Edward the Sixth to the inhabitants of Hadleigh, to pass free of toll.

It might have been thought that as the town of Hadleigh was once so flourishing there would be many Monumental Tombs, to departed wealthy persons in the church; but in fact there are only two. One of these stands in the south wall, at the east end of the north aisle, with an open arch turned over it, which is at present blocked up on the chancel side. The lower part of the tomb is of Purbeck marble, the upper part, I believe, of stone, but the whole is now covered with paint. It was formerly ornamented with figures and scrolls, all of which have been torn away. Tradition asserts that it covers the resting-place of Dr. Pykenham; the builder of the Rectory tower, and certainly the date of it (the end of the 15th century) would accord with the time of his decease; but it is believed that Pykenham was buried at Stoke-Clare, and besides, as Dr. Wilkins remarks,

The great state and magnificence of the monument was not allowed to

\* There is a fragment of the “Rekenynges” of the “Guild of the Assumption of our Lady,” made at the Guildhall in 1527, amongst the old papers here, and from it I have learnt that the members of the Guild used to pay certain sums towards “the priest’s salary,” and that the

priest at that time was Sir Richard Callcot.

† Probably this item in the Churchwardens’ accounts for 1562, alludes to one or other of these chests, “Paid to him (John Smyth) for 2 locks for the chest in the vestry xvjd.”

Priests at y<sup>t</sup> time. But whether the great and particular benefaction and settlement which he made to the poor of this town, might not passe for a sufficient reason to his friends or the town, in gratitude to exceed y<sup>e</sup> ordinary pomp of other clergymen, to keep up the memorial of so considerable a benefactor [is a question entitled to consideration].

Another conjecture is that it is the tomb of King Guthrum, but he must have been dead 600 years before, and I think, that it is hardly probable that a tomb would be erected to his memory after so long an interval; besides it should be borne in mind that the church, in or near which Guthrum would be buried, lay, there is reason to believe, to the south of our present church.

But there is another tomb in the south aisle, which claims this honour. It forms an arched recess in the outside wall, the cusps or foils projecting from the sides of it, and gradually approaching from the base until they meet overhead and form an ogee arch. The outer sides of the arch towards the top, are covered with crockets, and the whole is surmounted by a handsome finial. The carving is beautifully executed, but parts of the design are both grotesque and coarse. The style of architecture, Decorated, proclaims it to be of the 14th century; but if any persons are inclined to believe that it was raised centuries after his death to the memory of Guthrum, I think, that, if they will weigh the following facts, they will see reason to suspend their judgment. In March, 1767, when the neighbouring pew was repaired, the ground under the arch was excavated, and a floor of small plain glazed tiles (about 4 inches square) discovered, on which were what seemed to be the slight remains of a decomposed body, and five brass Nuremberg coins of no value. In 1851 a fresh search was made, and with much the same result. Now, though some of such tiles have been found of a supposed Norman date, they did not come into general use until a later period. From the middle of the 13th century, however, to the Reformation, they were more commonly employed for pavements;\* and since the tiles in this tomb

\* *Glossary of Architecture.*

bore some traces, however slight, of a decomposed body, it is on the whole very probable that the person, who had lain there could not have been buried before the 13th century—could not certainly have been Guthrum, who died in the 9th. The presence in the grave of Nuremberg coins strengthens this conclusion, for I believe, that no such coins have been found of an earlier date than the 13th century.

The effigy (if any ever existed) and also the slab, which formed the base of the tomb, have disappeared.

There is an old tradition that the arch of this tomb was the entrance out of the church into a deep passage, which led underground to a house in Duke lane, where formerly Benjamin Coleman, senr., (the painter, I presume, of the picture at the west end) resided, but no evidence of such a passage was discovered in the two searches I have mentioned.

There is another Decorated arch to the east of the tomb, which, though placed rather higher than usual in the wall, marks, I believe, the site of a private altar. A space near it was no doubt formerly railed off so as to make a small chapel, and I am inclined to think that "Trinity chapel" must have stood there. In the inventory of the vestments, &c., which once belonged to the church, this item occurs, "2 sawlters and a primer, y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> been in Trinity chappel," and there remains no trace of any such chapel, other than this.

I may say here that in taking down the middle south porch, about two-thirds of a granite coffin\* (now placed for safety in the west boundary wall of the churchyard) were found, forming part of the foundation. The head of it lay towards the east, which circumstance, if the coffin had been found elsewhere, would have implied that it had once contained the body of a priest, for priests were buried formerly, and are still buried, I believe, in Roman Catholic countries, in the opposite direction to lay people;† the theory

\* "Stone coffins, which had been in use from very early times, went out of fashion about the end of the 15th century"; the supposed date, I may add, of the middle south porch. *Cutts's Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses*, p. 21.

† "In the case of a layman the foot of

the cross is laid towards the east, in that of an ecclesiastic towards the west; for a layman was buried with his face towards the altar, a cleric with his face towards the people. This rule, however, was not invariably observed." *Ibid.* p. 29.

being, as some say, that their heads should lie nearer to the altar, and as others say, that they should meet their flocks face to face, when they all rise together, at the general resurrection of the dead. But in this instance, as the coffin had very likely been moved, no just inference can be drawn from the direction in which the head of it was laid.

I suspect that there are remains of another stone coffin or at least of the cope of one, in the upper part of the north aisle. It does not lie in its original position, but north and south, the ends of it being under the lines of pews on the opposite sides of the pathway. This prevents its being taken up and examined.

Though the Eastern Counties are remarkable for the number and beauty of the Brasses\* they contain, few exist visibly in our church;† many apparently having been torn up long ago and some being no doubt hidden by the pews. There is the matrix of a very curious one in the upper part of the South aisle, representing a man's hand and a serpent near the middle finger of it. Tradition‡ asserts that it commemorated one Henry Mole, of Pond Hall, who was bitten in that part by an adder and died of the wound. There are three small brasses in the same aisle, one "the image of a man kneeling w<sup>th</sup> a book before him," is to the memory of Thomas Alabaster, and is dated 1592; another, representing a female, is to the memory of Anne Still§ (whose maiden name was Alabaster, and who was a native of our town), the first wife of Dr. John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells; and the third, "the image of a man kneeling in a

\* This kind of monument was adopted about the middle of the 13th century.

† Mention is made in the *Archæological Journal*, Dec. 11, 1845, of some recent attempt to steal monumental brasses from our church. I believe the statement, however, to be incorrect. I know of no such attempt, though I was then, and had been for more than two years, resident in Hadleigh, and I have never heard of it from others.

‡ *Mr. William Beaumont's—Wilkins MS.* I have heard it said that the man

was bitten by the adder in Friars' Lane.

§ She was buried "April 22." The register describes her as "Anne Still uxor John. Still, Eps., Bath et Wells."

And the inscription on the brass is  
Hic mater matronum jacet, Pietatis imago,  
Exemplum vitæ, speculum virtutis  
honestæ,

Verus Alabaster, meritis quæ vivit in ævum

Et quam recta fides cœlo supra astra locavit.

temple," commemorates John Alabaster, and is dated 1637. There is a fourth, however—the best and most perfect of all—in the north aisle, to Richard Glanville\* and Elizabeth his wife, who were both buried in the same year. It is of the same late date as the third (for brasses were not common in the 17th century), 1637.

There is also a brass to Rowland Tayler, in a wooden frame, affixed to the South pier of the chancel arch, where it has been at all events since 1594, for Mr. Tillotson† found it there then. I shall give the inscription on it by and bye, and will only add here that on the reverse there are portions of figures, beautifully engraved, which appear to shew that the brass (a Flemish one of the early part of the 16th century) was once used or intended to be used for some other person.‡

There are few Mural Monuments and Inscriptions and those of little interest. Prior to 1834 the walls were covered with inscriptions, some of them very curious; but as they were much dilapidated, they were obliterated, together with Dr. Goad's picture at the West end, when the church was repaired by Archdeacon Lyall. Fortunately most of the inscriptions had been copied by Dr. Wilkins and other antiquaries. Some of them are very quaint.

On the wall between two windows of the South aisle there was the picture of a charnel house§ and over it this epitaph to Ellen Reason, 1630 :

\* This is the inscription on it :

Ambo labore seduli et procul dolo  
Auxere honeste publicâ cum re suam.  
Ambo per annos pene bis denos quater  
Juncti : nec ipsa morte divisi diu.  
Quos dormientes frigido in terrâ toro  
Pietatis ergo texit hoc operculo  
Mœrens Richardus filius  
Pembrokianus Presbyter.

† Mr. Tillotson was, I am told, a gentleman in the Herald's office. His name is much connected with antiquarian researches in Suffolk, at this period.

‡ "It is also curious that instances occur where plates have been loosened from the slabs, and on the reverse has

On the wall of the North aisle just opposite were these words commemorative of Sarah, wife of John Gaell, mayor of Hadleigh, who died 1630 :

been found work evidently foreign and even Flemish inscriptions. This is explained by the fact that all the brass plate used in England was imported, probably from Germany, where the manufacture was carried to the greatest perfection; and as it is termed in early authorities, "Cullen plate," Cologne may have been the principal emporium. The manufacture of brass was only introduced into England in 1639, when two Germans established works at Esher in Surrey."—*Glossary of Architecture, Appendix.*

§ See *Walton's Life of Dr. Donne* for another somewhat similar example of such ghastly representations at the same period.

The charnel mounted on this W  
Sets to be seen in Funer  
A matron plain, domestic  
In housewifery a princip  
In care and pains continu  
Not slow, nor gay, nor prodig  
Yet neighbourly and hospit  
Her children seven yet living  
Her sixty-seventh year hence  
did c

To rest her body natur  
In hope to rise spiritu

} all

This wall doth warn\* the ground  
hereby

To be a faithful treasury,  
And keep that pledge up locked fast  
Which angels shall unlock at last  
To gather from our mother dust  
And raise to joy amongst the just  
The mortal part of her that left  
Her spouse of spousal joy bereft.  
Her study was a life to frame  
Beseeching well the honour'd name  
Of holy Sarah. Never wife  
Was more obedient to the life.  
They one in flesh and one in mind,  
Thrice happy couple thus combined.

The oldest of the slabs in the church, whose inscriptions could be deciphered by Dr. Wilkins, were dated 1557, 1581, 1592, 1597, 1599; no doubt many more are hidden under the pews.

The following epitaph is said to have been in the churchyard, but I have never seen it there and conclude that it has become illegible:

To free me from domestic strife

Death call'd at my house, but he spoke with my wife.

Susan wife of David Patison lies here

Oct. 19, 1706

Stop, reader, and if not in a hurry, drop a tear.

Another curious epitaph which, if it exists now, has become illegible, was formerly to be seen on the tombstone of John Turner, a blacksmith, who died in 1735:

My sledge and hammer lie declin'd,  
My bellows have quite lost their wind,  
My fire's extinct, my forge decay'd,  
My vice is in the dust all laid.  
My coal is spent, my iron gone,  
My nails are drove, my work is done:  
My fire-dried corpse lies here at rest,  
My soul, smoke-like, is soaring to be blest.

\* The walls of churches were formerly made strange counsellors, so that it might be literally said that there were "sermons in stones." One of the most impertinent inscriptions I have ever met with existed at the beginning of the last century on the South wall of Monks' Eleigh church, "Ne obliviscimini pauperum, G. A."

which words were set by Simon Blomfield when he beautified the Church; and the design of ym was to prompt: Giles Andrews, a very rich man and a batchelor, to leave what he had to the poor, which said Giles Andrews had a seat not far from thence" !!! Wilkins' MS. at Monks' Eleigh.



All the Windows were once probably filled with stained glass. In taking down the central South porch we found a small piece of blue glass, glazed, remaining in the tracery of that part of the window, which had been blocked up, and this seems to warrant the belief that all the windows of that aisle had formerly such glass. Probably at the Reformation some of it was broken at the time, when the brasses were torn up and removed: and at the Rebellion in 1643, we read in the journal of the notorious William Dowsing

We brake down 30 superstitious pictures, and gave order for taking down the rest, which were about 70, and took up an inscription "quorum animabus propitiatur Deus," and gave order for the taking down a cross on the steeple; gave 14 days;

and these pictures, so many in number, could hardly have been anything else than stained glass.

At the beginning of the last century, most of the windows of the chancel had coats of arms in them, and there were remains, though scarcely visible, of figures.

The east window\* was formerly a large painted glasse, now much defac'd. Nothing visible in the upper little partitions. In the lower little partitions w<sup>ch</sup> I reckon to be xij in number and w<sup>ch</sup> seem to be almost all in a row, there are xij images, of which I could read thus much as they stand in their rank from the South to the North

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. No image                                     | 7. S. Petrus, but half y <sup>e</sup> image |
| 2. ...ulson, no image, but y <sup>e</sup> foot  | 8. S. Johannes                              |
| and y <sup>e</sup> top over y <sup>e</sup> head | 9. S. Johannes                              |
| 3. S. Cuthbertus, no image here                 | 10. ....                                    |
| 4. An image, but the name is gone               | 11. S. Georgius                             |
| 5. No image                                     | 12. ....                                    |
| 6. S. Paulus                                    |   |
- } No image

Below these little partitions there are two rows of greater partitions, 7 in number, each; in the upper row from the south

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. S <sup>ta</sup> Ethelreda, no image, but foot                                | 5. Edmundus                   |
| and over y <sup>e</sup> head  | 6. Nicolaus                   |
| 2. Martinus   | 7. Painted glass but no image |
| 3. Laurentius   |                               |
| 4. No name nor image, probably it might be the crosse of O. S. upon the crosse. |                               |

The lower row or tier is almost all plain glasse, but a little now and then painted running up by y<sup>e</sup> side, and some a little at y<sup>e</sup> top of each partition, by w<sup>ch</sup> I suppose there were formerly figures or images as in those above.

\* *Wilkins' MSS. (1727.)*

In 1794 we find mention made in *Parsons' Monuments and Painted Glass*, p. 585,\* of the painted glass in the windows of the aisles; and even so late as 1825, the Davy MSS. speak of some remaining there.

In the recent restoration of the church the fragments in these windows were all taken out, and they are now at Mr. Hedgeland's, in London: for we hope, when we can raise funds, to place them carefully in the east window of the north aisle, filling up the deficiency with new glass of an antique pattern. Mr. Hedgeland has been kind enough to tell me that some of the old glass is of about the date of A.D. 1330; some of the early part of the 16th century (probably of the later part of the preceding century, for it bears the badge of Edward the Fourth), and the remainder of the debased style of the last century.†

A very beautiful new window by Mr. Hedgeland, from the painting by Overbeck, representing our Saviour blessing little children, has been placed this year in the east window of the south aisle, by the Rector, the very Rev. H. B. Knox. It is in memory of his second wife, who imitated her Saviour in the love which she bore to little children.

The church is at present disfigured by lofty‡ Pews,—so lofty, as to leave visible scarcely anything but the face of many even of the grown-up members of the congregation. It is related of Drythelm,§ a hermit of the Saxon times, that he would often go down from his cell at Melrose, into

\* Parsons' work relates chiefly to Kent, but he notices also the churches of Hadleigh, Dedham, and Lavenham, in this county: because his family sprang from Hadleigh, he was born at Dedham, and educated at Lavenham.

† See Appendix C.

‡ In the north aisle they are 4 feet 4½ inches high, measured from the outside; in the nave, 4 feet 6½ inches, and 4 feet 7½ inches, and 4 feet 9 inches; in the south aisle, nearly 5 feet; in the chancel, 5 feet 1 inch. In one of the pews there is a platform inside, to raise the inmates. It is right to add, however, that in the chancel the floor of the pews is several inches above the floor of the church, and

in the south aisle almost as much.

“About the commencement of the 17th century, our churches began to be disfigured by the introduction of high pews, an innovation which did not escape censure, for as Weaver observes (1631), “many monuments of the dead in churches, in and about this citie of London, as also in some places in the countrey, are covered with seates or pews, made high and easie for the parishioners to sit or sleepe in; a fashion of no long continuance and worthy of reformation.” *Bloxam's Gothic Architecture*, p. 231.

§ Churton's *Early English Church*, p. 129.

the river Tweed, and stand in the water up to his waist and sometimes even up to his neck, to repeat his prayers and psalms; and really the arrangement of this and of many other churches would seem to declare, that worshippers in these days think it necessary so far to follow his example as to conceal the greater part of their persons, when they go through their devotions. There is one striking difference, however; Drythelm could submit to considerable inconvenience in this matter, no doubt under the mistaken but sincere idea that such penance would more strongly recommend his prayers to God; while too many modern Christians, though holding a purer faith, immerse themselves in pews for the sake of their own ease and comfort—careless, or at least thoughtless, of the disadvantages to which their poorer brethren are exposed. We may smile at the eccentric piety of Drythelm, but we have yet to learn as a nation, to equal him by triumphing over self in this particular, and to excel him by seeking such self-mastery from a holier motive—regard for the souls of others. Under the present unrighteous system (I speak generally), multitudes are shut out from the public worship of their God; the poor who enter into His Holy House, are thrust into corners, where they can neither see nor hear, or they become estranged from the Church as from a mother who has no real affection for her children; the young are inattentive to the sacred service, for they find safe harbours for irreverence in the lofty structures which encompass them;\* the expense of “quest-men” is incurred to maintain order and decorum; and the true idea of public worship as the joint offering of the assembled congregation is forgotten or unknown.† It is true, that a change to open seats would

\* Bishop Wren, of Norwich, 1636, ordered that “no pews be made over high, so that they which be in them cannot be seen how they behave themselves...and that all pews which within do much exceed a yard in height be taken down near to that scantling.”

† I remember an amusing instance of this last bad effect of pews. The wife of a Gloucestershire farmer, who was also Churchwarden of the parish, was spoken

to by some relations of my own about the superiority of open-seats to pews, and she triumphantly, as she thought, refuted every argument by asking, “What says our Saviour?—When thou prayest, enter into thy closet and shut the door.” She was ignorant, and the pew system had helped to confirm her ignorance, of the true nature of public worship as the common and united offering of many souls.

expose the worshippers to more cold air, if no precautions were employed; but while I think that even such an inconvenience ought, if necessary, to be encountered when the spiritual welfare of our neighbours is concerned, I can see no necessity for encountering it at all. I believe it to be possible—and the only plan which I have ever advocated in regard to our own church, is—to have some method of warming the church adopted concurrently with open seats, which would remove this objection altogether. And I take courage in reflecting that whether or not my fellow-parishioners can be induced to consent to this alteration—an alteration which would in a great degree remove the erroneous notions and the disadvantages to which I have alluded, and wonderfully improve the appearance of our noble church—a preference for open seats is gradually gaining ground. The movement in their favour is no longer a party question; and it is being accelerated by the “special services for the working classes,” which are being held in our large towns; for these services have practically proclaimed that the present pew-system is one great cause of the alienation of the working classes from the Church, and its destruction one great means of recovering those classes to her fold. And therefore, I think, that I can, with no ill-founded hope, look forward to the time, when the last remaining pew shall be an object of antiquarian interest and attract to its inspection future members of Archæological Institutes, like this.\*

In the north aisle of our church there still remain, in parts of the ends of open benches, traces of that kind of seat,† which I long to see restored. Indeed in one pew

\* “When pews were constructed about James the First’s reign, the green baize was found to harbour insects, which gave rise to charges for “salting the fleas.”—*Roberts’ Social Condition of the Southern Counties.*

An almost innumerable colony of far more loathsome insects lately took possession of the comfortable linings in the pews of a Liverpool church, in accordance I presume, with that merciful arrange-

ment which is so often to be witnessed in nature, when the antidote to the diseases peculiar to a neighbourhood are usually to be found close at hand, the biting of these insects having a tendency to check in worshippers the disposition to sleep, which is excited by lofty and luxurious pews.

† In the Churchwardens receipts, for 1586, there is this item, “more for wone seat in y<sup>e</sup> church, vjs viijd.”

there is a specimen of these and of some panelling also, of the linen-pattern of two slightly different designs, which were not originally such near neighbours. Other examples of this sort of panelling are concealed by the lining of the pews; they may have formed the backs of some of the earliest seats erected in the church, for the pattern is characteristic of the 16th century, when the mode of pewing with open low-backed seats prevailed.\*

The original Church Plate and Vestments were very costly, and were sold at the Reformation for £253, which, with the proceeds of the sale of the plate of the Guilds, was chiefly expended in the purchase of lands, the rent of which is now given towards the support of the inmates in the almshouses. Thirty eight pounds, however, as I have already said, seem to have been afterwards applied in the reign of Queen Mary, to "ye reparation of the church, of the bells, and to buy ornaments for the church."

The list of holy vessels and of service books, however, remained poor and scanty, for the following only were delivered to the care of the sexton, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth:

In primis a basen and an albe and a Letyn basyn.

It. ij towells, a surplesse, and a rochett.

It. a vellet purse, a chrysmatory of Latyn.

It. a chrystenynge boke and a stole.

It. a handbell and a lyttyl bell.

It. a holybred basket.†

And although additions had been made before 1608, "the goods belonging to the church" were still of little value, when compared with its early magnificent possessions;

In primis one silver and gilte cupp, w<sup>th</sup> a cover waying two poundes and halfe an ounce, (merchant's weight.)

It<sup>m</sup>. a holland table clothe and two napkins for the comunion table, and one surplise of holland.

It<sup>m</sup>. three pottell pots of pewter‡ and two quarte pots of pewter.

It<sup>m</sup>. one carpett for the comunion table and a carpett for the deske.

It<sup>m</sup>. one great Byble and three Service books.

\* *Blozam's Gothic Architecture*, p. 230.

† *Churchwardens' Book*, p. 51.

‡ The pottle was a measure containing

four pints. One of the tenants of the Town property had to supply in addition to his rent, in 1612, "a pottle of mustardin."

It<sup>m</sup>. one booke of martirs.

It<sup>m</sup>. one register booke, in Richard Parsons his keeping.

It<sup>m</sup>. one terne (?) [or ferne] to drawe up the timber

It<sup>m</sup>. one long ladder and one shorte ladder.\*

And indeed some of the vessels used at the Holy Supper, were made of comparatively base materials so late as the middle of the last century, for though the piety of two Rectors in the 17th century had provided a more costly almsdish and a silver chalice, the flagons were of pewter, so late as 1745.† The present Communion plate is very handsome silver-gilt and consists of two large flagons, two chalices, one large and one small, two almsdishes and two pattens, one large and one small. With the exception of the almsdish given by Dr. Trumbull, in 1686, and the small chalice, and probably the small patten,‡ which are, I believe, of the present century, though they bear no date or inscription, the whole is of the last century. In 1721, Dr. Wilkins gave the large patten, which cost him 12 guineas; in 1745 his widow gave one of the flagons and the ladies of Hadleigh the other; in the next year, 1746, Dr. Tanner gave a gilt chalice, to match the flagons, having probably exchanged for it a silver chalice, given by Dr. Cooke, in the 17th century§; and in 1793,|| J. B. Leake, Esq., one of the churchwardens, gave another almsdish, corresponding with that which had been given by Dr. Trumbull.

I may say here that Daily Service was long maintained

\* *Churchwardens' Book* p. 308.

† In the 17th century, however, Pewter was thought of sufficient importance to be mentioned amongst the bequests in Dr. Goad's will, as will be seen by and bye.

‡ In the Churchwardens' accounts for 1562 and 1563, there are these items; "payd the last daye of October for brede for y<sup>e</sup> Comunion, iij<sup>d</sup>"; "payd to Henry Swynborne for wyne for the Comunion vis viij<sup>d</sup>." In "Aprylle," probably for the Easter Festival, the charges are nearly double, for bread 7<sup>d</sup>., for wine 14<sup>s</sup>. In 1561 the cost of washing the "surpluss" was 2<sup>d</sup>.; in 1563 for washing the Communion cloth 2<sup>d</sup>.

§ It is said in the Rectory MS. that

the cover to this chalice remained in 1790. It has since disappeared, but it may have been formed into or exchanged for, the small patten.

|| There is a charge in the Churchwardens' accounts for this year of 29<sup>l</sup>. 9<sup>s</sup>. 0<sup>d</sup>. "for gilding church-plate." I fancy that this charge applies to all the plate except Mr. Leake's almsdish, which was just then given, the small chalice which was done at the expense of Mr. Knox a few years ago, and perhaps also the small patten. I believe too that the plate has never been re-gilt since 1793, for I have found no charge in the Churchwardens' accounts for anything of the kind from that year to this.

at this church. According to a return made by the Rector, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, at that period, prayers were read twice a day, in 1756. The Clerk, as I have gathered from another paper, seems to have been badly paid for his attendance in 1766.

Only one fee of one solitary shilling\* and Sunday's dinner for attending church twice every day in the year, and at y<sup>e</sup> principal working hours of each day, 11 and 4.

"Qu.:" says Dr. Tanner, "what might any sober, decent, honest and industrious man of the meanest occupation, reasonably expect for such loss of time in his daily calling?—Such attendance this parish requires and consequently such an allowance must be made for such decent parish clerk."

And this custom was observed down to the close of the last or the beginning of the present century, but about that period, I believe, it ceased.† A clergyman died not long ago, who, when Curate here at that time, used to celebrate daily prayers.‡

It is still the custom even to the present day, for the Rector to preach in the Surplice, though not for the Curates. The reason usually alleged for this is that our church is a kind of cathedral church, the Rector being joint Dean of Bocking and having had formerly the privilege

\* I find it stated, however, also in Dr. Tanner's writing in 1767, that the sexton's place when held with the clerk's was about 15*l.* per annum. The 'Liber Actorum' shews that in 1668 some persons were presented in the Dean's court for "deteining the church clerk's wages for foure yeares last past being 4*d.* per annum," and "for two yeares last past at 4*d.* per annum," &c., though I do not quite understand how this could have been.

† I suppose this is only a particular example of what was going on generally throughout the country. In a review of "*A Guide to the Church Services in London and its Suburbs*," published in the *Literary Churchman*, for July 16, 1858, it is said: "when the immense number of new Churches that have been built since that time is taken into consideration, it is not very creditable to modern piety that in 1714 the number of the Churches where there was one daily service was

nineteen; while in 1858 it is only sixteen. The Churches that had two daily services in 1714 were forty-six; in 1858, it is thirty-one. In 1714, there were more than two daily services in ten Churches; in 1858, only in two. Daily prayer has been disused in seventy-one Churches, and commenced in forty-two. . . . The total number of Churches in which service is held at least once a day, is forty-nine: in 1714 it was seventy-five. . . . In 1714 daily service was celebrated in no less than thirteen Churches, at 6 a.m., in summer and winter. The most common hours now are 8 and 11.

‡ The Rev. T. Wallace, Rector of Liston, Essex. His stipend, I believe, was about 40*l.* This sum was also paid in 1746 to the curate of Monk's Eleigh, (*Monk's Eleigh MS.*) but though it sounds little it bore much the same proportion to the tithes as the present rate of curates' salaries.

of holding his own visitations and his own court,\* as commissary of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But it is clear that this reason could not have existed always, for the Rectors of Hadleigh have not always or of necessity been Deans of Bocking. I have heard it conjectured, too, in explanation of the Curates† not preaching in like manner in the surplice that they are not considered to be on the foundation, having no direct interest in the Rent Charge, just as Commoners at most of the Colleges in Oxford only wear their black gowns in chapel; but neither does this explanation satisfy me, for at Christ Church at all events, all the members of the society indifferently, whether on the foundation or not, wear the surplice on certain days, according to Canon xvii. It is related by Walker, when speaking of the attack on the chancel rails, in 1642, that Dr. Cottesford had previously preached in his surplice, but I imagine that all the non-Puritan clergy preached in the surplice then. The Rector's preaching in the surplice at this day is, I believe, a relic, for whatever reason it has been preserved, of the once general custom of the English Church.‡

The Living was until lately a Peculiar, under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury: but within a few years it has been added to the Diocese of Ely. The parish suffered under the former arrangement (as it was not thought to be etiquette for the Archbishops to visit their Peculiars), especially in regard to Confirmations. These were only held at irregular intervals, and when the Bishops of the neighbouring Dioceses officiated, many other parishes were included. On one occasion in the last century, (1784) as many as 1,507 catechumens were confirmed in one day, being admitted into the church by detachments at one door (*horresco referens*!) and then led out again by another so soon as the Bishop's hands had been laid upon

\* These appear generally to have been held in the Parish church, but on one occasion, Dec. 1639, there was a court held in the private house of Mr. Webster, "*Notarius publicus*."

† It is stated in *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, that it had up to the time of the Rebellion, always been "the custom in this large town," to have a Curate.

‡ Canon lviii.



them.\* Even in the time of Mr. Rose (1833), 900 were confirmed in one day according to this most lamentable arrangement, though, no doubt under his auspices, the sacred right was administered with greater reverence and care.

Archbishop Secker, however, to his honor be it spoken, himself confirmed at Hadleigh, on July 5, 1765; and in 1781, Archbishop Cornwallis followed his example.

On June 3rd, 1770, being Whit-Sunday, Bishop Yonge, of Norwich, ordained a Mr. Reeve to the holy office of a Deacon, in our church.

The Deanery of Bocking has for a long time been usually held together with the living, but if the list of Deans which is given in the Appendix can be relied upon, of which I have doubts, this conjunction does not appear to have been invariable.† The earliest Rector, mentioned in the list to which I have had access, as having been also Dean of Bocking, is Nowell, or Newall, the successor of Rowland Tayler, in 1556. There is a very curious book, in the possession of Mr. Knox, called "*Liber Actorum*," or a book of presentments in the Dean's Court. Its records extend from 1637 to 1641; and some of us may be surprised in these days of general laxity, to hear of the minutely strict *surveillance* which was then maintained over the conduct of the people. Persons were presented for incontinence,‡ for having children too soon after marriage, for marrying contrary to the laws of the Church of England, for being absent from church on Sundays and Holy-days, for neglecting to receive the Holy Communion, for being seen in the street during the hours of Divine service, for being irreverent in church,

\* *Rectory MS.* p. 259. No persons were admitted but the clergy and their respective catechumens, "so that every thing was done with the utmost decency and good order, and without the least crowding or confusion." In 1770 about 1,000 were confirmed at Lavenham, and Dr. Tanner in relating it, adds with manifest satisfaction at the better behaviour of his own Parishioners at a confirmation,

held here two days before. "*Mem.* Great crowding and noise at Lavenham."

† The annual value of the Deanery of Bocking, taking the average of the last seven years, is £3. 6s. 0d.

‡ "There is resting in the hands of Henry Bull xxs wch he rece'd of Michell Hall, as part of his penance for his shamefull adultery." *Churchwardens' and Collectors' Book*, 1570.

for omitting to stand or kneel at the proper times, and for not bowing the head when the blessed name of Jesus was mentioned in the public worship;\* but they seem to have been usually dismissed with a caution, though a few were excommunicated or ordered to do penance in a white sheet in the parish church. There is a similar book amongst the papers of the Market Feoffment, which contains the same kind of entries after the Restoration, from May 19, 1668, to June 18, 1670.†

Thomas, Lord Cromwell was the first to order Parochial Registers to be kept, in Sept., 1538, but our Registers of Baptisms and Burials only reach back to the 1st year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Nov. 26, 1558. Some pages of the Register of Marriages have been lost, and it begins only in Jan. 12, 1563, and there is afterwards a gap between 1568 and 1575. These three registers seem to have been separate formerly, but they have long been bound up together in one volume. It is clear, however, that they are not the originals, but only transcripts, and from the general similarity of the hand-writing up to that date, they appear to have been transcribed, for the most part, about the year 1610.‡ The originals had been either much injured, or had not been kept accurately, for in the baptismal register the father's name, but with a few exceptions, is not given for some years, though a space is left in the margin, and the words "son to" added to the name of the child who had been baptised; in a few instances the name of the child is not inserted, though the father's name is given. Towards the close of the 16th century the father's name is given very frequently and early in the 17th century his occupation also.

\* See *Burnett's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii., p. 618 and *Canon* xviii.

† "A series of (somewhat similar) precedents and proceedings illustrative of the discipline of the Church of England, from ancient books of Ecclesiastical Courts" was published in 1841, by Archdeacon Hale.

‡ In accordance, I suppose, with *Canon* lxx, of 1603, "in every parish

church and chapel within this realm. shall be provided one parchment book at the charge of the parish, wherein shall be written the day and year of every christening, wedding, and burial, which have been in that period, since the law was first made in that behalf, so far as the ancient books thereof can be procured, but especially since the beginning of the reign of the late Queen."

The transcription of all the registers must have taken place, I think, in the time of Richard Parsons, who was "keeper" of them from 1596 to 1631, for there is this entry in the register of burials, in the latter year, "Richard Parsons, Reder in this towne thirty and five years, and keeper of this book so long;" though I infer from the similarity of the writing in which his own burial is recorded to that in the entries immediately preceding, that he did not himself always insert the names. In 1566 this entry occurs in the same register, "March 6, Agnes Parsons wyffe to Richard Parsons (and it is added in a later writing), mother of Richard, y<sup>e</sup> sone, Reader of y<sup>e</sup> pshe Church of Hadley." Again, the son is called "Reader" in the entry of his marriage to Elizabeth Turner, Sept. 21, 1597. He appears to have been appointed to his office here in the previous year, and must have received his appointment as the Reader, after the Reformation, for he was only baptised in 1560, "June 2, Richard Parsons son to Richard Parsons." It was the duty of the "Reader" to "read that which was appointed by public authority, to bury the dead, and purify women after child-birth, &c., and to keep the register book in poor parishes destitute of Incumbents, except in time of sickness or for other good consideration to be allowed by the Ordinary."\* At the Reformation some of the readers of the Romish era, were continued in their office for these purposes, but Richard Parsons must have been originally appointed by the Reformed Church of England.†

The Register of Burials is the most imperfect of all, having been greatly injured by damp. There are several things worthy of notice in it. In the years 1564, 1566, there is mention made of several persons, who had not been baptised themselves, or had not brought their children to

\* *Hook's Church Dictionary*, quoting Strype's *Annals*, vol. v., p. 306. Parish Clerks appear to have succeeded for a time to some of the duties of the Readers, until the practice was abused by the Puritans and was suppressed. In Devon and

Cornwall it was the custom until the present century for the Clerk to read the First Lesson. *Lathbury's Common Prayer Book*, pp. 87, 158.

† Such "Readers" seem to be alluded to in Canon xxxvi.

the Holy Font, shewing that in the early license of the Reformation, when errors were no longer repressed by the dreaded arm of the Church of Rome, this holy sacrament had begun to be despised in this parish, as it was in other places.\*

In 1633 small pox was very fatal, 26 persons having died of it between June and December.

In 1634, June 26, Margaret Sheiford was buried, and her character and fate are thus described

*Frequens crumenifera et furti convicta et supensa in cruce Hadly. sepulta in boreali margine cœmeterii.*

May 9, William Webb (was buried) Senex, pauper, desperabundus projecit se in puteum; ex duodecim virorum veredicto renunciatus Felo de se humatus est extra ambitum sepulturæ sacræ in margine cœmeterii.

In 1636 an Elizabeth Stanley was also buried, "d. to Rich. olim furti convictus ac suspensus."

These extracts are interesting as shewing

1. The severity of the law in gibbeting and hanging thieves.

2. That the sentence was in one instance at least executed at Hadleigh.

3. That gibbeted or hanged persons were buried in the north side of the churchyard, as the least honourable place of sepulture.

The north side of the churchyard, indeed, has long had an evil reputation, for which the two following seem to be the most likely reasons.

(1.) It was the belief of many of the early Christians,† founded on *Isaiah* xiv. 13, that the realm of Satan lay in the direction of the north, and it is not improbable; therefore, that this belief created a general dislike to the north side of the churchyard.

(2.) Such dislike‡ may have been connected with the custom of praying for the dead. Few persons comparatively approached a church from the north side, because the principal entrances lay on the south and west, and the

\* *Burnett's History of the Reformation*, p. 128.  
vol. ii., pp. 177, 180.

† *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii.,  
‡ *Churton's Early English Church*, p. 180.

dying may have thought in consequence that there was a proportionate danger of their being forgotten by the living, if they should be buried on the north; while on the other hand, they may have fancied that if they should be buried near the most frequented paths, their friends and kinsfolk passing by their graves, whenever they went to public worship, would be continually reminded to pray on their behalf. But whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that a prejudice formerly existed against being buried on the north side of the churchyard; it is certain also that the same prejudice remains to this very day, for in country villages at least, that side of the churchyard may frequently be seen almost if not altogether unoccupied, except by the graves of those, who have been guilty of *Felo de se*, or have died by a disgraceful death.

In 1637 a plague was very fatal in the parish. In the month of April, in that year, there were 28 buried; in May 68, in June 49, and in July 52, making 197 deaths in four months.

In 1653 these words occur, "a register of burials according to an Act of Parliament, made Aug. 24, in the yeare of our Lord, 1653, and takinge place upon the 30 of Septr. following." What the object of this law was I have not been able to discover; but the law does not seem to have been popular, for the highest number of recorded burials in any year up to 1657, does not exceed nine.

In 1678 persons were required by law to bury their friends in woollen, with a view of encouraging the wool trade, and certificates were exacted to shew that the law had been complied with, under a penalty of £5, half to go to the poor and half to the informer. Some persons seem to have been refractory; and on one occasion (1685), a warrant was taken out against a defaulter, but it is significantly added, "nothing was to be had."\* Mention of these

\* In the Register of the neighbouring parish of Monks' Eleigh there is this entry in 1794, "Mary Clarke, æt. 75, Paralysis, Ipswich, 23rd January, being buried in

linen. Mr. Robert Chaplin, of Monks' Eleigh, her executor, paid the penalty of five pounds, according to the Act of Parliament."

certificates in the register is interrupted from 1756 till 1759; thence it continues again till 1772, when it finally ceases. But still this law has had a lasting influence, as we may see to this day, when the dead are usually buried in flannel, though the neglect of the custom would no longer expose their surviving relations to a fine.

In 1783, Oct. 1, an Act "took place" which laid a duty of three pence\* on all burials, except such as received collection from the parish; and after most of the names at this period, a large P is written, to signify, I suppose, that the duty had been paid.

There is little remarkable in the Register of Marriages, except that in 1653 it is said that they were celebrated according to a new law. This law reduced marriage to a mere civil contract. We may observe, too, that after the Restoration marriages were celebrated by license far oftener than they are now.

But though marriage was reduced to a mere civil contract, by the law of 1653, persons were occasionally married according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer though a penalty was incurred thereby. It is stated in the Davy MSS. that one George Smith, of London, was married to Elizabeth Lawrence, at Hadleigh, by William Richardson, Esq., Justice of the Peace, on May 2, 1654, and the same day, "the marriage was compleated according to the ancient custom of the Church of England,† by Mr. John Willys, Minister of Ingatestone, in Essex, the Banns having been thrice published at All Saints, Stayning."

In connection with this subject, I may mention that in 1807 the then Rector had an application from Cornwall, requesting "a copy of the marriage of Theodore Paleologus with Mary, the daughter of Wm. Balls," of Hadleigh, about the year 1600. A similar application has been made to Mr. Knox and myself, within the last few years, and the

\* In the Monks Eleigh register mention is also made of an Act of Parliament in 1793, which laid a duty of three pence on every birth.

† There is no entry of this marriage

in our register. Mr. William Richardson was Mayor of Hadleigh in 1622, and again in 1656. See also *Lathbury's Book of Common Prayer*, p. 310.

register has been searched, but without success. Ball or Balls is a name which does frequently occur in the register, but not in connection with Paleologus, as for instance Robt. Whekman married Anne Ball, in 1606. I have discovered too what I believe to be the signature of the father to a parish document,\* in 1567, "Wylam Ball;"† and in the register of baptisms, in 1576, I have found this entry, "August 19, Marye Baull, D. to," and it is not unlikely, I think, that this is the lady whose subsequent marriage was so remarkable. I have noticed that the name "Hall," is sometimes at this period spelt "Haull," and according to the same rule Ball may have been then spelt "Baull," though the examples in the note‡ will shew that the name "Ball" is also given at that time. The absence of the father's name, however, renders this identification nothing more than a probable conjecture.

"In the register of marriages," says an Antiquary, worthy of Sir Walter Scott's hero, Jonathan Oldbuck, in a letter which is given in *Raw's Description of Hadleigh*,§ "there is one dated May 27, 1617, with the names erased and four :: dots left in the place. Now, why may not I, in the spirit of an Antiquary, suppose that this might be the very marriage, as it is about 19 years before Theodoro died?"

He then expresses a conjecture that the names may have been erased through resentment or the desire of concealment, and he adds that a similar erasure, equally remarkable, occurs in the baptisms of the family of Balls—"Mary..... dr. to.....1591."

I have satisfied myself, however, after a careful examination of the register, that no erasure has been made even in the former case. The four dots appear to me to have been inserted by the transcriber, (for this portion of this register does not, from the regularity of the handwriting and the occasional blanks, which occur in it, seem to be the

\* *Churchwardens' and Chief Collectors' Book of Accounts*, p. 122.

† He is called Wm. Ball and Wm. Balles, in the *Churchwardens' and Collectors' Book*, pp. 112 and 114. He was a sub-collector of the market in 1575.

‡ On July 15, in the same year, a Margaret Baull was baptized: on October

2, 1575, Alice Baull; April 4, 1574, James Baull; Aug. 3, 1572, Rose Baull; Oct. 28, 1571, John Baule; March 19, 1570, Ralfe Balls; Jany. 2, 1563, Edmond Ball; Jany. 13, 1563, John Balle; Sept. 6, 1562, Joachim Balle.

§ Published at Ipswich in 1815.

original one) to mark places, where names which he could not decipher, should have stood. Many such omissions may be noticed, where dots have been inserted in the blanks, so that it hardly requires an *Eddie Ochiltree* to convince us that the less romantic and more prosaic explanation must be the true one. In the latter case, it is equally or even more clear that no surname has ever been entered, owing most likely to the original register having been illegible. "Mary" is the only word that is given; there is no addition of "dr. to," and the supposition that this entry relates to "the family of Balls," is altogether gratuitous.

Theodore Paleologus was descended from the Imperial line of the last Greek Emperors of Constantinople. He was buried in the chancel of the Church at Landulph in Cornwall, but how he came there, the writer of the application of 1807 says that after much enquiry he had been quite unable to discover. The following inscription is recorded on his monument:

Here lyeth y<sup>e</sup> body of Theodore Paleologus, of Pesaro, in Italy, descended from the Imperial lyne of y<sup>e</sup> last Christian Emperours of Greece; being y<sup>e</sup> sonne of Camillo, y<sup>e</sup> sonne of Prosper, y<sup>e</sup> sonne of Thomas, second brother to Constantine Paleologus,\* y<sup>e</sup> 8th of that name and last of that lyne y<sup>t</sup> rayned in Constantinople, until subdewed by y<sup>e</sup> Turks, who married with Mary, y<sup>e</sup> daughter of William Balls, of Hadyle, in Suffolke, gent., and had issue and children Theodore, John, Fernando, Maria and Dorothy, and departed this life at Clifton, y<sup>e</sup> 21st of January, 1636.†

These words are written on a brass tablet, about twenty-one inches long, and seventeen wide, and fixed about five feet from the ground. Above them, in an escutcheon of brass, are engraved two turrets, with the figure of an eagle with two heads, resting a claw on each of the turrets.

Of the children who are mentioned, Dorothy was married at Landulph to William Arundel in 1656, and died in 1681; and Mary, who died unmarried, was buried there in 1674, as appears by the Parish Register.‡

\* Constantine was slain at the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, May 29, 1453.

† *Upham's Ottoman Empire*, vol. i., p. 195, where the Clifton here spoken of is

said to lie between Cargreen and Pentil'y Castle. Landulph lies about two or three miles from Saltash.

‡ *Raw's Description of Hadleigh*, p. 31.



### III.—THE GREAT MEN WHO HAVE BEEN BORN IN, OR CONNECTED WITH, THE PARISH.

I am now come to the third division of my subject, and will speak of the great men who have been born in, or connected with the parish. In addition to the two whom I have already been obliged to mention, King Guthrum and Duke Brithnoth, the list will be found a long one.

The living being a valuable\* one, and in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury, has ensured in the Rectors a body of distinguished men, Chaplains of the Archbishops having been frequently appointed to it; and Hadleigh herself has nourished and brought up children, who have been equally famous in the ranks of learning. Of the Rectors, dating from A.D. 1292,† one became a Cardinal Archbishop of York and Lord High Chancellor of England; another obtained a world-wide reputation as a Martyr; three obtained Bishoprics, of Bath and Wells, of Lichfield and Coventry, and of Peterborough;‡ two, Deaneries, of York and of Canterbury;§ ten were raised to Archdeaconries, Canterbury (twice), Suffolk (twice), Cornwall, Middlesex, Exeter (twice), Chichester, and Maidstone,|| and in these times, when the hearts of the most earnest members of the English Church are longing for the revival of Convocation, it may be interesting if I add that four were Prolocutors of the lower house of Convocation, in their days; of natives,

\* The value of the Rent-charge is now £1,325; but in a fragment of a MS. by Dr. Wilkins it is said—"At my coming into the parish of Hadleigh, I followed ye example of my three immediate predecessors and gave Mr. Thos. Windle, a lease of my Tithes, for 2 years, wch lease bears date 6 Novemb., 1719, he allowing me £210 per annum. This lease I continued to him verbatim two years longer, for ye same summ. At the expiration of these four years I agreed with the parish for a composition. of which you'll see an account in ye next pages." Unfortunately the next pages are missing. Of course it will be borne in mind that the relative value of money was far greater formerly than it is now.

† The records of Lambeth do not, I believe, reach higher than this year. For a complete list of Rectors see Appendix E.

‡ And besides these, the Bishoprics of Rochester, Lincoln, St. David's, and Llandaff, were once held by former Rectors, who were translated from them to other dioceses.

§ The Deaneries of St. Paul's, London, and of Peterborough, were also held at one period by persons born in, or connected with our town, who afterwards attained higher rank.

|| The Archdeaconries also of Cleveland, London, Sudbury and Colchester, were the Archdeaconries which were held last. once held, but I have only given in the text

one was also Prolocutor, a Translator of the Bible, and then a Bishop, first of Coventry\* and Lichfield, and afterwards of Norwich; another became Dean of Ely, and then of Durham; and two rose to be Professors of Divinity at Cambridge; of those, who were educated here, but not natives, one was an eminent Translator of the Bible; whilst of that body, in whose career I may be supposed to take a special interest,—the former Curates of the parish—one appears to have been a Bishop† at the very time that he was curate here; another, like his celebrated Rector, was subjected to the pains of martyrdom; another was a Poet, from whose ideas even Milton is considered to have borrowed; and two, who are still living, severally occupy at this moment the Archdeaconry of Nottingham‡ and the Deanery of Westminster.§

Of this distinguished company I will begin with mentioning more particularly THOMAS ROTHERHAM. His family name was Scott,|| but acting probably according to a direction of Edward the First, who, wishing to give variety to the surnames of his people, had permitted the place of their birth to be taken as their name, he adopted the name of Rotherham (being “the last clergyman of note with such an assumed surname”¶) from having been born at Rotherham, in Yorkshire, on St. Bartholomew’s day, 1423. He was educated in his native town, under an able master, whose name has unfortunately not been preserved, and afterwards proceeded to King’s College, Cambridge, and became one of the earliest Fellows of that Society. He took the degree of D.D. in 1460, was appointed to be Master of Pembroke hall, in 1480, and in 1469, 1473, 1475, and 1483, held the office of Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

\* The title of this see was Coventry and Lichfield till the Restoration, when the names were reversed.

† He had resigned the Bishopric of Salisbury.

‡ The Venble. George Wilkins, D.D.

§ The Very Rev. R. C. Trench, D.D., who was a Curate of the parish, during the Incumbency of the Rev. Hugh James Rose, in 1833.

|| I have here followed *Fuller* (*Worthies*, vol. iii., p. 437) and *Lord Campbell* (*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. i., p. 393). but I have doubts about the correctness of the statement, for it is said, in *Cooper’s Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, that our distinguished Rector was the “son of Sir Thomas Rotherham, Knight, and Alice his wife.”

¶ *Fuller*.

For his learning and piety he was selected at an early age to be chaplain to Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford. He afterwards passed into the service of Edward the Fourth, who not only made him his chaplain, but advanced him in 1467,—the same year in which he was presented to the Rectory of Hadleigh by Archbishop Bourchier—to the Bishopric of Rochester. In 1471, while still holding the living of Hadleigh, he was translated to the see of Lincoln, and at the close of that year, or at the beginning of the next, he ceased to be Rector here. In 1480, he was raised to the Archbishopric of York, and much about the same time he was made a Cardinal by the Pope, under the title of *Sanctæ Cæcilie*.\*

But academical and ecclesiastical preferments were not the only distinctions that were conferred upon him. He was Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and ultimately, in 1475, made Lord Chancellor of England, under Edward the Fourth; and though in the political excitement of those days, he was twice deprived of the last high dignity, he was as often re-instated in it. He finally resigned it, however, when Richard, Duke of Gloucester, assumed the office of Protector, but not without having given lasting offence to Richard, by resigning it at first into the hands of the widowed Queen of Edward.

While Rotherham was Lord Chancellor he accompanied his royal patron in the expedition to France, which terminated in the inglorious peace of Pecquigni,† and the negotiations between the Duke of Burgundy and Louis the Eleventh, were chiefly entrusted to him.‡ For the services which he rendered upon this occasion he is said to have secured from the French Monarch an annual pension of 2,000 crowns—a statement which appears to throw an imputation upon his fair fame as an honourable counsellor in foreign affairs.

But however that may be, he was wise and honest in the

\* The same title, which the celebrated Cardinal Wolsey afterwards held together with the Archbishopric of York.

† *Hume's History of England*, vol. ii., pp. 450—455.

‡ *Cooper's Athenæ Cantabrigienses* and *Lord Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. i., p. 395.

conduct of domestic business, for he is related to have "brought everything to a happy conclusion," and to have been "the greatest equity lawyer of his age.\* Of the Acts passed whilst he was Chancellor, two seem to us in these days to be very singular. One, which gained him great popularity at the time, would, if now carried into force, seriously affect absentee landlords, and press hard upon Rotherham's successor in the living of Hadleigh, our present Rector, for it "obliged all Irishmen born, or *coming of Irish parents*, who reside in England, either to repair to, or remain in, Ireland, or else to pay yearly a certain sum, there rated for the defence of the same": the other regulated the length of apparel to be worn, and confined to the nobility the privilege—which every school-boy now possesses—of shewing by a short dress the *contour* of their persons to the multitude.

After the death of Edward the Fourth, in conjunction with his friend Archbishop and ex-Chancellor Bouchier,† Rotherham‡ prevailed on the widowed Queen to give up the young Duke of York into the hands of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. He had espoused the cause of the Queen and had interfered in the sacred character of Archbishop to prevent her and her children from being forcibly seized by Richard, when they had sought refuge in the Sanctuary§

\* *Lord Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. i., pp. 395, 396.

† Bouchier was one of the chief persons by whom the art of Printing was introduced into England. He was, like Rotherham, a zealous patron of learning. He also joined the Red and White Roses, by marrying Henry the Seventh to Elizabeth of York. His arms, as it will have been noticed, used to appear in the old Rectory House, at Hadleigh.

‡ Rotherham lived at that time "in York Place, beside Westminster Abbey." *Miss Strickland, Queens of England*, vol. iii., p. 354, gives an affecting account of this interview between the Archbishops and the Queen.

§ There were two great Sanctuaries in London, Westminster and St. Martin's le Grand; the former on the site of the National Society's Model School and

Depository, the latter on the spot now occupied by the General Post Office. Persons guilty of crime or threatened with danger, if they could reach a Sanctuary, were secure from violence, at least for a certain time. The privilege was totally abolished by statute, in the first year of James the First.

The Sanctuary at Westminster, however, embraced the whole of the Abbey-garden, cemetery, dwellings and precincts; and according to Miss Strickland it was in the noble hall, now used as the dining-hall for the Students of Westminster School, that the interview between the Queen and Archbishops took place.

Rotherham is only slightly mentioned in *Shakspeare's Richard the Third*, as urging the Queen to take refuge in the Sanctuary.

at Westminster; but afterwards, either deceived by Richard's protestations, or seeing that further resistance would be useless, he advised the Queen, though with many misgivings, to deliver up her younger son. The result is well known—Edward and his brother were smothered in the tower; but it is a matter of deeper interest to us of Hadleigh, and this portion of English history is fixed more firmly in our minds, when we reflect that a former Rector of the parish had a share, albeit an unwilling and a guiltless share, in this melancholy transaction.

Rotherham, however, being suspected of disaffection by Richard, was thrown into prison; but he was liberated soon afterwards in the hope that he would use his influence with the widowed Queen of Edward, in persuading her to agree to the marriage of her eldest daughter to the murderer of her sons. But the battle of Bosworth field and the death of Richard defeated this design, and rescued Rotherham from a position, in which he could have acquired only persecution or disgrace. After the elevation of Henry the Seventh to the throne, Rotherham submitted to the new government, but found no favour with the king, who paid little regard to any who had been closely connected with the house of York, and who would naturally feel especially incensed against one, whose active endeavours had been directed in former times to the suppression of the cause of Lancaster.

Thus freed from the turmoils and the snares of politics, Rotherham retired to his diocese, and occupied himself in the diligent performance of his more sacred and important duties. His whole conduct as a Bishop appears to have been exemplary more even than in any other part of his career. He may have been drawn aside from the strict line of duty in the political difficulties of his times (though doubts of his straightforwardness rather than direct proofs of culpability are all that can be urged against him); but the goodness of his heart was manifested in his munificent patronage of learning and religion, insomuch that it has been said of him, that in all the dignities to which he was

exalted,—and few men were ever elevated to so many stations in succession of the highest rank, “his power, his influence, and his wealth were ever guided by benevolent views and directed to the public good.”\* In 1475, he built or enlarged the public library at Cambridge, and furnished it with 200 books, so that he has been always regarded as its founder.† In grateful acknowledgment of this benefaction, the University decreed that the name of Rotherham should be “specially recited by the priest who visited each school to pray for the benefactors of the University,” that during his life a mass should be yearly celebrated for the healthful security of the whole body of bishops, and that after his death a yearly mass should be celebrated for the repose of his own soul, on any day, which should be appointed either by himself or by another on his behalf,‡ and even at this day each student who profits by the library is reminded of the generosity of Rotherham by seeing his arms, Vert, three roebucks trippant, Or, pasted in the books which he consults. Rotherham also gave either in his lifetime or by his will, 10*l.* to the erection of Great St. Mary’s Church, the advowson of the living of Campsall, Yorkshire, to the University, and to King’s College, his “best suit of vestments, red and gold, with 6 copes, and all things pertaining to priest, deacon, and sub-deacon,” and a large sum of money, “for the building of the Church of that College.”

And as Bishop of Lincoln he shewed the same spirit in the diocese over which he ruled. In the year 1474 he held

\* *Ingram’s Memorials of Oxford*, under the head of Lincoln College. *Isaac Walton* also, in his *Life of Bishop Saunderson*, who was a native of the same town as Rotherham, thus speaks of the Archbishop, “a man whose great wisdom and bounty and sanctity of life gave a denomination to it (the town) or hath rendered it the more memorable.”

† “Many” says *Fuller*, “have mistaken this for the performance of King Richard the Third, merely because his crest, the boar, is set up therein, Whereas the

truth is that Rotherham having felt the sharp tusks of that boar, (when imprisoned by the aforesaid king, for resigning the great seal of England to Queen Elizabeth, the relict of King Edward the Fourth) advanced his arms thereon, merely to ingratiate himself.” But surely *Fuller* must be wrong: the library, &c., appear to have been finished in 1476, and Richard did not begin to reign till June, 1483.

‡ *Cooper’s Annals of Cambridge*, under the year 1475.

a Visitation at Oxford, which was then comprehended in that diocese; and the sermon on the occasion was preached by Tristrophe, third Rector of Lincoln College, from *Psalm lxxx.*, v. 14, 15. "*Behold and visit this vine and the vineyard which Thy right hand hath planted, &c.*" So successfully was this text applied that at the conclusion of the discourse, the Bishop rose up and promised the Rector and Society of Lincoln College that he would give them effectual assistance by completing the work, which the first founder (Bishop Fleming\*) had commenced. In fulfilment of this promise he made considerable additions to the buildings, increased the number of the fellows, conferred two advowsons on the Society, and four years afterwards gave a body of statutes for the government of the College signed by his own hand.†

Would that the same munificence existed amongst ourselves! Would that some one possessed of the same spirit as Rotherham would rise up amongst us and complete the restoration of our noble church!

And after he had attained the see of York, the generous disposition of Rotherham remained unchanged. He enlarged and adorned the episcopal palaces at Whitehall, Southwell,‡ and Bishopsthorpe, and increased his benefactions to the town which gave him birth, and over which he had then been called in the good providence of God to preside as Bishop. He was a principal contributor to the work, if not the sole founder of the beautiful Church of All Saints, or All-Hallows, Rotherham, and his insignia are still, I believe, to be seen upon it.§ He built, in 1481, and

\* Lincoln College was founded by Fleming, Bp. of Lincoln, in 1427, specially to oppose the progress of Wycliffite opinions, and Rotherham when completing it kept in view the intentions of Fleming. It is curious that a College, founded for such a purpose, should have numbered amongst its members, John Wesley. Rotherham's arms, together with Fleming's, appear on the College shield.

† *Ingram's Memorials, &c.*

‡ Until within a few years Nottinghamshire formed part of the Archdiocese of York. Beautiful remains still exist of the Palace at Southwell, which Rother-

ham enlarged but which was demolished during the Rebellion. In it Cardinal Wolsey lived for a year after his disgrace, and within its walls the Commissioners sat, when they delivered Charles the First to the Scotch army at Newark, Charles having slept at Southwell the previous night.

§ There is an account of Rotherham Church and College in *The Saturday Magazine*, for June, 1844. Fuller information may be obtained, I have been told, from a work called "*The Churches of Yorkshire*," published at Leeds,

afterwards he made provision for the final establishment of a College, called Jesus College, endowing it with a gift in money of 200*l.*, and lands, &c., of the yearly value of 91*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* The foundation of this College, which was possessed at the dissolution of endowments of the annual value of 58*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*, consisted of a provost (who was to be a Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity of Cambridge), three fellows, and six choristers; and the object of it was "for instructing youths in writing, grammar, and music."\* His design in building this College, however, was not altogether disinterested: he reckoned according to the faith of those days on the grateful prayers of the members of his foundation being offered up continually on his behalf, for in his will, which is preserved in the archives of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, he avows

Sic quod incorporavi et incorporo in collegio meo unum prepositum, tres socios et sex pueros, ut, ubi offendi Deum in decem prescriptis Suis, isti decem orarent pro me.†

The only remains of this College are "fragments of a low wall and an arch which has been filled up"; and its site is at present occupied by an inn and a court house!—a sad but not a strange end of a foundation, which though in some points mixed up with error, was on the whole well-intentioned and religiously designed. The works of Rotherham, indeed, have been peculiarly unfortunate: a portion of the library, which he built, now forms the entrance to the stable-yard at Madingley House, near Cambridge, the seat of Sir Vincent Cotton, Bart.

Archbishop Rotherham died of the plague at Cawood, in Yorkshire, on May 29th, 1500, in the 77th year of his age, and was buried on the north side of the Lady Chapel in York Minster. In 1725 his vault was opened and a head of good sculpture in wood was found, supposed to bear a

\* *Camden's Magna Britannia.*

† A list of many bequests in his will may be seen in *Cooper's Athene Can-tab.* The most curious was "a myter for the Barne-Bishop (at this College) of cloth of gold with two knops of silver,

gilt and enamelled" to be worn in the annual ceremony of the Boy-Bishop.

Those who wish to know more of this strange custom will find it described in *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, vol. i., pp. 224—237. See also Appendix B.



resemblance to him. The discovery of this sculptured head has given rise to the conjecture that, as he died of the plague, his real body was privately interred, and that he was afterwards buried in effigy with the customary ceremonies. The tomb—a simple and elegant altar-tomb of marble—was greatly injured by the fire of 1829, but has been since restored by the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College, Oxford, in grateful remembrance of his munificence to their society.

There are portraits of the Archbishop in the picture gallery at Oxford, and in the halls of Lincoln College, Oxford, and of King's College, Cambridge.

Bishop Rotherham held the living of Hadleigh until 1472, when he was succeeded by Dr. WILLIAM PYKENHAM, whom it would be ungrateful not to notice here, for although he was not so distinguished in earthly station as his predecessor, we have proofs, even amongst ourselves, that he resembled him in the holy employment of his wealth. I have not been able to ascertain anything of his parentage\* beyond the fact, which is mentioned in his will, that the Christian names of his father and mother were John and 'Cathrine'; neither have I been successful in finding out the College at which he was educated, but I believe he was of Cambridge, and took the degree of LL.D. in that University. He became, like Rotherham, chaplain to Edward the Fourth, and according to the evil custom of the times he held many pieces of preferment in the church; but his highest office was the Archdeaconry of Suffolk, to which he was presented in 1471.† I am inclined to think that he immediately fixed his residence at Ipswich, for there are the remains of a house and gateway in Northgate-street in that town (now forming part of the judges' lodgings), which go by the names of the "Pykenham Gateway" and "The Archdeacon's House," and which, or part of which, he is reputed to have built. Upon the spandrils of the arch of the gateway are two escutcheons, the one bearing a mul-

\* There is the tomb of a John Pykenham in the Chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge. He was Prior of the Convent,

which once existed there, and may have been related to our Rector.

† For a list of these see Appendix E.

let of five points, and the other a fish—probably a pickerell ; and it is said that a hundred years ago the initials also of William Pykenham were to be deciphered.\* In 1472 he was appointed to the Rectory of Hadleigh, but he probably continued for some years afterwards to reside in his house at Ipswich. In the end, however, he appears to have desired to live amongst his flock, and with that view he erected the noble Rectory Tower, in 1495, and intended also to build a Rectory House, but was prevented by death from accomplishing that design. His Hadleigh flock seem, indeed, to have been near his heart, for in order that the poor amongst them might have a refuge from their wants and cares—in order also that he might secure for himself, like Rotherham, after his decease the grateful prayers of others, he built twelve of the almshouses in George-street, and by his will† bequeathed large estates for their support. He died in 1497, and was buried, some say, at Hadleigh, but others at Stoke Clare, in the College of which he was Dean.‡

To that college also he was a generous benefactor. He built a new porch "*pro scriptis recondendis*"; he gave to it a silver fountain weighing 100 ounces, £20 in money, and paid £50 to the king by his executors, for appropriating to its members the advowson of the Church of Withersfield.

But the time was fast approaching, at which such religious houses as that in which Dr. Pykenham is alleged by some authorities to have found his grave, were destined to be destroyed. Presages of their doom had been long indulged in by more thoughtful men, and even men not disaffected towards

\* Kirby's *Suffolk Traveller*, p. 43, edition 1764. Clarke, in his *History of Ipswich*, says that the gateway, "one of the oldest brick buildings in the town," forms "a more stately entrance than the gate to Wolsey's College."

† His will is possessed of little interest, as it relates chiefly to the management of the property he bequeathed to the poor. In the *Churchwardens' &c. Book*, p. 209, this will is said to have been delivered to Mr. Doyley with two deeds annexed unto the same, in Jan., 1590. It was after-

wards delivered by Mr. Doyley at the Town Reckoning, holden 30th Dec., 1591, and is still in the possession of the Feoffees of the Pykenham estates.

‡ Dr. Wilkins in his MS. cites the following authorities as relating to Dr. Pykenham:—*Brown Willis' Cathedrals*, vol. ii., p. 205, and *Sir Thomas Brown's Antiquities of Norwich*. To these may be added *Blomefield's Norfolk*, iii., 653, and *Masters's Hist. of C. C. C., Cambridge*, app., p. 39.

the Church of Rome, had set an example of violently seizing upon their revenues and diverting them to other purposes than those which their founders had designed. The vast wealth, which they had acquired, excited the cupidity of the covetous; the idle life of their inmates seemed to the active spirits of the age unpardonable, when compared with their own more laborious pursuits; and the impositions and immoralities which were practised by some of their members, at once increased the hostility of those, who envied or disliked, and weakened the influence of those who were willing to befriend, them. The train had been long laid, and the match was nearly ready to produce the explosion, and amongst the instruments who were employed to apply that match, was another Rector of our Parish, THOMAS BEDYLL.

Bedyll was of Oxford and graduated at New College, in 1508, as LL.B., a degree which suggests the probability that in early life he may have practised as an Advocate in Doctors' Commons. He appears soon to have attracted the notice and patronage of Archbishop Warham—himself a member of New College—for he was by him preferred in rapid succession to various livings in his gift, and at length, on May 15, 1531, appointed to the Rectory of Hadleigh. About three months afterwards he was raised to the Archdeaconry of Cleveland, in the Archdiocese of York.

But his abilities led to his being employed on other than his pastoral duties. In 1533, while Rector of this parish, he was nominated to be one of the commission charged with the examination of Elizabeth Barton, the "Maid of Kent," who had been encouraged by certain parties, chiefly ecclesiastics, to utter fictitious prophecies, which were calculated to check the progress of the Reformation movement, and to deter the king from effecting his divorce from Katharine of Arragon.\* The result was, that the Maid of Kent, who had succeeded in deceiving some high authorities

\* For an account of this imposture see *Hume's History of England*, vol. iii., pp. 116-118. *Burnett's History of the Reformation* (Nare's Edition), vol. i., pp. 243-249.

both in Church and State, was convicted of imposture, attainted of high treason, and executed at Tyburn, having previously acknowledged the justice of her sentence. On Ascension-day (May 14), 1534, Bedyll was made one of a commission to confer with the Monks of Charter-house, in reference to the King's supremacy, and on the 15th of June, in the same year, we find him engaged in a similar duty towards the Friars of Richmond, in Surrey. Here, as Burnett relates,\* "the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, (Rowland Lee) and Thomas Bedyll tendered some conclusions to them, amongst which this was one, "that the Pope of Rome has no greater jurisdiction in this kingdom of England, by the law of God, than any other foreign Bishop"; but the Friars pleaded the rule of St. Francis, "that their order should have a Cardinal for their protector, by whose directions they might be governed in their obedience to the Holy See," and refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Henry. In July, in the same year, Bedyll had a conference with the Nuns of Sion, and reported to Cromwell, that they, more impressible than the Friars of Richmond, had subscribed to the "conclusion," which he had proposed. Fuller† quotes a passage from a letter of one of his fellow-commissioners, Dr. Layton, in relation to this conference, which as I interpret it, appears to pay a high compliment to his talents.

If Master Bedyll had been here a Friar and of Bisshop's counsell, he wold right well have helped him to have brought this matter to passe without brekinge uppe of any grate or yet counterfetting of keays, such capassetye God hath sent him.

This conduct of some ecclesiastics in encouraging the impositions of the Maid of Kent, and this refusal of the Friars to acknowledge the royal supremacy supplied the match for the destruction of conventual establishments. Irritated at the opposition which had been offered to his authority, and equally inflamed with the desire to recruit his finances, Henry the Eighth determined to suppress the

\* *History of the Reformation*, vol. i., p. 294.

† *Church History*, Brewer's Ed. vol. iii, pp. 393, 394.

monasteries; but still under the advice of Cromwell, then Vicar-general, he proceeded cautiously in this design. Commissioners were appointed to visit and inspect the monasteries with the view of procuring evidence against them, which in the eyes of the people would justify the confiscation of their property, and Thomas Bedyll, who had become Archdeacon of London, was again employed.\* On Dec. 17th, 1534, he was placed in a commission for visiting the monastery of Sion; in 1535, Nov. 16th, being then Archdeacon of Cornwall, he visited Kent; and in 1536, Jan. 15th, he was in a commission for visiting the monastery of Romsey. The report of these and of similar visitations was considered to be so unfavourable to the religious houses, that in Feb., 1536, an Act of Parliament was brought in and passed to suppress the lesser monasteries,—those, that is, which were possessed of revenues below 200*l* a year. The number thus suppressed amounted to 376, and their revenues yielding 32,000*l* a year and their goods, chattels, and plate, which were computed at 100,000*l* more, were, much to his satisfaction, granted to the king.

In 1537, June 4th, Bedyll was also in a commission to visit the Charter House, in London.†

The religious views of Bedyll might be inferred to some extent from his willingness to act as Visitor of the Monasteries; but still there were persons engaged in that matter, who were not estranged from the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome. Bedyll, however, was disposed to modify even these. He was probably present as an Archdeacon, in the Convocation of 1534, which declared that the Pope had no jurisdiction in England, but in the first Reformed Convocation, of 1536, wherein “the most special points and articles as well such as be commanded of God and are necessary to our salvation, as also divers other matters

\* The instructions given to the Commissioners, may be seen in *Burnett's Reform.*, vol. iv., pp. 74-77.

† The authorities on which these notices of Bedyll rest are *Wood's Fasti*, ed. Bliss i., pp. 24-25. *State Papers, Henry the Eighth*, vol. i. pp. 385, 394, 421-5, 431, 433, 565; vii., 520, 523. *Wright's Visitation of the Monasteries*, pp. 24, 40, 41, 44, 48, 89, 98, 162. *Le Neve's Fasti*, ed. Hardy, vol. i., p. 399; vol. iii., pp. 148, 202.

touching the honest ceremonies and good and politic orders," were concluded and agreed upon, he took his share and signed as Archdeacon of Cornwall.\* Fuller† describes these articles as a "medley religion," but still they shew that even amongst the Romish party, which was the more numerous in the Lower House of Convocation, there were many who were far from being utterly insensible to the errors of their system. These articles declared that the Bible and the three Creeds were the basis of faith; that Holy Baptism was so absolutely necessary, that even children dying unbaptised could not be saved; that penance was a sacrament and necessary; that confession to a priest was necessary and effectual; that the Corporal Presence in the Lord's Supper was necessary to be believed; and that, though justification depended on the merits of Christ, good works were necessary to the attainment of everlasting life. At the same time, while the articles recommended the retention of images, they warned the people against being led into idolatry; while they allowed departed Saints to be addressed as advancers of prayer, they declared that those Saints were not to be worshipped; and while they recognized the duty of praying for the dead, they questioned the existence of purgatory. In fact, they reflected the transition-state into which the popular mind had then been brought, for amidst much that was sound and good there was still the leaven of error: they were amongst the first streaks of the dawn of the restoration of Scriptural and Primitive truth, but not the evidence of bright day; and with this early period of the Reformation Hadleigh was connected through Archdeacon Bedyll.

Archdeacon Bedyll was not Rector here during the whole of the time in which he was occupied in these high matters. He resigned the living in 1534, and did not, therefore, hold it for more than three years. Indeed, he seems to have been altogether "a rolling stone"; his preferments were almost invariably resigned soon after they had been conferred, and

\* "Thomas Bedyll, Archid. Cornub."

172, and *Fuller's Church History*, vol.

† *Burnett's Reformation*, vol. iv., p.

iii., p. 159.

he was Archdeacon of Cleveland, of London, and of Cornwall, in succession, in less than four years. He died on September 18, 1537, but where he was buried I have not been able to learn.

The conflicts of opinion, which attended the progress of the Reformation, are still further exemplified in the history of him, whom I shall mention next, though I hardly think that we have any great reason to feel proud of his connection with our town, for like "the vivacious Vicar of Bray,"\* he was an ecclesiastical weathercock, who was continually changing his opinions according to the current of the times.

NICHOLAS SHAXTON† was a native of the diocese of Norwich. He was educated at Cambridge and took the degree of B.A. there in 1506, was soon afterwards elected a Fellow of Gonville Hall and commenced M.A. in 1510. In 1520 he was University Preacher; in 1521 he proceeded B.D.; and in 1531, having previously held the offices of Vice-master of Gonville Hall and Principal of Physwick Hostel, he was admitted D.D., but not created until 1533.

In 1529-30 he was one of the delegates appointed by the University to determine whether Katharine of Arragon was the lawful wife of Henry the Eighth, and is believed to have given his decision in favour of a divorce; and in the same year he was employed with eleven other learned men of Cambridge in examining heretical books and in considering what steps it would be expedient for his majesty to take to repress and remove errors and seditions. On Ash-Wednesday 1531-2 he preached a sermon in Great St. Mary's Church, in which he maintained views in regard to Purgatory, like those, which were sanctioned by the Convocation of 1536, in which he took a part as a member of the Upper House;‡ he argued also, against the celibacy

\* "He lived under King Henry the Eighth, King Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, and was first a Papist, then a Protestant, then a Papist, and then a Protestant again. Being taxed by one for being a turncoat and an inconstant changeling,—'Not so'; said he, 'for I always keep my principle, which is this, to live and die Vicar of Bray.'" *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. i. p. 113.

† I am indebted for the substance of this notice to *Cooper's Athenæ Cantab.* pp. 158-161.

‡ *Fuller's Church History*, vol. iii. p. 138. Certain items in the "Protestations" of the Lower House were directed against his views. He signed the same articles as Bedyll, and his name is given in the list of members of the Upper House, "*Nicolaus Sarisburiens.*" p. 159.

of the clergy, declaring that in his celebration of daily Mass, he prayed that wedlock might be allowed them,—a desire, which he afterwards, but I do not know at what time, carried into effect by taking to himself a wife. This sermon brought him into trouble with the University authorities, and to escape more serious censure he was after a little while persuaded to recant and to proclaim his full and entire assent to the faith and practice of the Church of Rome.

But after this recantation he preached another sermon at Westacre in Norfolk, which attracted the notice of Nykke, the persecuting Bishop of that diocese, and being also detected in circulating books in favour of the Reformation, he was committed to the Bishop's gaol. We may regard this conduct, I think, as giving proof of a second recantation; but on his deliverance from prison, perhaps by a third abjuration of his opinions, he was made in 1533 Chaplain and Almoner to Queen Anne Boleyn, which suggests the belief that by a fourth revolution in his views, he had changed once more to Protestantism.

In spite of his tergiversations both the Primate Cranmer and the Queen befriended him; the former was desirous to have him preach before the king in 1533-4; and the latter interested herself with the Mayor and Burgesses of Bristol to obtain for him the advowson of the Mastership of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. In April, 1534, he was appointed by the king to a Canonry at Westminster, and in Feb., 1534-5, he was elected to the See of Salisbury and was consecrated to his high office by Cranmer himself and the Bishops of Lincoln and of Sidon.

For a while he seems to have been very earnest and consistent in favouring the Reformation movement, even urging Cromwell, the Vicar General, to proceed with it, after his patroness the Queen had fallen into disgrace; and in the injunctions which he issued on the visitation of his diocese in 1538, he required the Epistle and Gospel at High Mass to be read in English, children to be taught the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, in "the vulgar



tongue," an English Bible to be chained to a desk in the body of every "honest Paryshe Church," within his diocese, (thus anticipating by three years the King's Proclamation on this subject,)\* preaching to be regularly practised and relics with divers ceremonies of the Romish system to be either cautiously used, or utterly abolished.† He also strenuously opposed the Act of the Six Articles,‡ in 1539, and when it became law he and the celebrated Latimer resigned their Bishoprics. He was thereupon imprisoned for a time, being fortunate enough to escape the extreme penalty of death, and when he regained his liberty under a general pardon he was prohibited from preaching, and from coming within two miles of either of the Universities, of the city of London, and of his old Diocese of Salisbury.

It was at this period, as we are told, that he became connected with our town, for "when released from custody he became minister of Hadleigh in Suffolk," but in what capacity I am at a loss to understand, unless it was as Curate. According to Dr. Wilkins' list, Mr. Ryvett was Rector of the parish at the time, but having been collated to the living by Archbishop Cranmer, and knowing also that Shaxton was a *protégé* of the Archbishop, he may have taken the ex-Bishop of Salisbury to be his assistant or his substitute. Indeed, I am inclined to believe that both of the two first nominees of Cranmer to the Rectory of Hadleigh, must have been friendly to the Reformation, for as it will be seen by and bye, Dr. Vyall, the immediate successor of Ryvett, appears to have had a "Reforming" Curate, and certainly this view of the matter is alone consistent with

\* A Bible was ordered to be set up in every Church, by Royal Proclamation, in the 33rd Henry the Eighth, 1541. *Burnett's Hist. of Reformation*, vol. iv., p. 138.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii, 204, and iv, pp. 491-494, where the Injunctions are given at length.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol i. p. 416. These Articles were called "the whip with six strings" and "the bloody articles," because the penalties annexed to the breach of them were, for the first to be broken as a

heretic, for the others to be hanged as a felon, and in all cases to forfeit lands and goods to the king as a traitor. The 1st of them established the doctrine of transubstantiation; the 2nd excluded the Communion in both kinds; the 3rd forbade the marriage of priests; the 4th declared that vows of celibacy ought to be observed; the 5th upheld private masses for souls in purgatory; and the 6th pronounced auricular confession to be necessary to salvation.

the fact, that before the incumbency of Rowland Tayler this parish was remarkable for its knowledge of the word of God.\*

Bishop Shaxton, however, did not remain here long: his teaching again attracted notice, and he was apprehended about the year 1543 and sent a prisoner to London on a charge of heresy, having solemnly declared before he left Hadleigh that he would die rather than deny God's truth. He was indicted for a denial of transubstantiation, was convicted and condemned to be burnt; but under the influence of fear, he was again, for the fifth time as I take it, persuaded to recant, on July 9, 1546, and expressed in thirteen articles his renewed adhesion to the Romish system.† He was accordingly liberated from prison on the 13th of the same month, and seems then to have felt that his position with both parties was so compromised that it was necessary for him at last to take a decided course, and as the Romish party appeared to be the more powerful, he cast in his lot with them. He set himself with great zeal to persuade others to follow his example and recant, and even preached the sermon at the burning of Anne Askew,‡ three days after his deliverance from prison. On the 1st of August following, he preached at St. Paul's Cross, and there "recantyde and wept sore, and made grete lamentation for hys offens and prayed the pepulle all there to forgeve hym hys mysse insample that he had given unto the pepulle." He also repudiated his wife, and sent her a miserable poem in praise of continence, which commences with these words

Receyve this little ingredience  
Agaynst the grieve of incontinence.

But this was not all: Burnett§ speaks of him as having acted throughout his career "with much indiscreet pride and vanity," and we learn that he had even the effrontery to come down to Hadleigh and tell the people, whom he had

\* *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., pp. 676, 677.      *Reform.* vol. iv, p. 146.

† *Ibid.*, vol. v., p. 550.

‡ These articles are given by *Burnett*,      § *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 344.

solemnly assured that he would die rather than deny God's truth, that he had actually changed his sentiments. The conduct of the people of Hadleigh on this occasion was very creditable, for, though at some risk, they "sent him an admirable letter deploring his want of constancy and courage, and pretty plainly insinuating their disbelief in his sincerity."

After this he lived for several years obscurely. He had been presented to the Mastership of St. Giles' Hospital, at Bury St. Edmund's, in Sept., 1546, but he surrendered it and its possessions to the crown, in March, 1546-7. He afterwards became Suffragan to Thirleby, Bishop of Norwich, and acted in that capacity at the burning of some Martyrs in 1555,\* and in 1556 he died at Gonville Hall, in Cambridge, and was buried, according to his own request, in the chapel belonging to that society.

He made various bequests by his will, and gave all his books to the library of Gonville Hall. Some of the latter are still there, and contain an entreaty to the reader to pray for the repose of his soul. He was the author of various publications bearing on his changes of opinion, besides the Injunctions which he issued to his diocese; but his chief distinction as a writer is the having had a share in the Institution of a Christian Man, a book "contayneing the Exposition or Interpretation of the Commune Crede, of the Seaven Sacraments, of the Ten Commandments, and of the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria, Justification and Purgatory," and first published in 1537.†

But how great are the differences in the characters of men!—how great too is the pleasure we experience, when we turn from the timid and unstable Shaxton, to contemplate the bold and unshaken firmness of him, whose name is above all others the most familiarly associated with Hadleigh, I mean ROWLAND TAYLER! The family of the latter is said to have "held a respectable rank amongst the smaller gentry of Gloucestershire,"‡ where they possessed an estate

\* *Foxe, Acts and Monuments*, vol. vii., p. 404.

† Cranmer was the chief promoter of this book; by him it was devised and re-

commended. *Lathbury's Hist. of Book of Common Prayer*.

‡ *Life by Bp. Heber—Works*, vol. i., p. 4.

at Frampton-upon-Severn; but Rowland Tayler himself, according to the received account, was born at Rothbury, in Northumberland—a parish to which a subsequent Rector of Hadleigh was transferred in 1796, and which by a curious coincidence then gave a second Rector to Hadleigh, in the person of Dr. Drummond, who exchanged his preferment with Dr. Watson. Tayler studied at Cambridge, and was ordained exorcist and acolyte at Norwich, on Dec. 20, 1528.\* He proceeded LL.B. in 1530, became Principal of Borden Hostel, “nigh if not now partly in Caius College,”† about 1531, commenced LL.D. in 1534, and was admitted an Advocate on the 3rd Nov., 1539, hoping thereby, no doubt, to obtain advancement in the world, for practice in the Court of Arches and other ecclesiastical Courts frequently led to promotion both in Church and State. The knowledge of the civil law, which he thus acquired, was afterwards useful to him in one of his interviews with Gardiner and other bishops of the Romish party, for when my Lord of Durham had falsely quoted Justinian in support of the alleged unlawfulness of the marriage of priests, Tayler was able at once to contradict him, and to shew that the law of Justinian rather approved of marriage, and condemned all unnatural oaths against it.‡

And Tayler was well versed also in more sacred learning. He tells us himself that he had “read over and over again the Holy Scriptures, and St. Augustine’s Works through; St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, and divers other books through once;”§ and in addition to these he quotes St. Chrysostom and St. Ambrose in his oral discussions and in his letters, with a readiness which proves that he was well acquainted with their contents.

Thus qualified for such a situation by talents and attainments, Tayler was eventually chosen to be Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer. With him he lived “in household,” and by him, when exercising his patronage for the third

\* *Cooper’s Athenæ Cantab.*, p. 123.

† *Fuller’s Worthies*, vol. iii., p. 164.

‡ *Foxe’s Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi.,

p. 686.

§ *Ibid.*

time, he was appointed Rector of this parish in 1544. In April, 1549, he was placed (very likely through the influence of the same patron) in a commission to enquire into heretical pravity, and again in Jan., 1550-1. In May, 1551, the King, Edward the Sixth, conferred on him the Archdeaconry of Exeter, and made him one of the Six-Preachers in Canterbury Cathedral,\* and much about the same time he became a Canon of Rochester. In the same year his name occurs in a commission to reform the ecclesiastical laws;† and in Jan., 1551-2, he was one of two persons authorized to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the diocese of Worcester during a vacancy in that see.

When thus removed from his residence at Lambeth, Tayler still kept up an intimate correspondence with his patron, and is said to have assisted, though it could not have been officially, in preparing the revised edition of the Book of Common Prayer, which was published in 1552.‡ He probably made private suggestions to Cranmer, which the latter may have asked of his old chaplain, in "his great care and study" to set forth a book, which, while it conciliated reasonable opponents, might still retain the essential features of the Primitive faith and practice.

But in spite of all his manifold employments, he appears to have resided for the most part amongst his flock at Hadleigh, maintaining by his pastoral activity the reputation, which the town had previously acquired of seeming rather "an university of the learned than a towne of cloth-making or labouring people," and endearing himself to the hearts of his parishioners by the gentle kindness and unaffected cheerfulness of his disposition. Cheerfulness, indeed, was so prominent a feature in his character, that he is described

\* *Cooper's Athenæ Cantab.* I question whether Mr. Cooper is right in saying that the king presented Tayler to a Six-preachership. The Archbishop of Canterbury is the patron of those offices.

† There were 32 members of the Commission. Tayler is called "Tylor of Hadlee" in Edward the Sixth's Journal, *Burnett's Reform.* vol. iv, p. 227. See

also *Lathbury's History of Convocation*, p. 181. The work drawn up by them, *Reformatio Legum*, was not, however, printed till 1571, in consequence of the death of Edward.—It was then printed by Day, with a preface by John Foxe, the Martyrologist.

‡ A Taylor was one of the compilers, but it was Taylor, Dean of Lincoln.

by Fuller, as having had, of all the martyrs, "the merriest and pleasantest wit;"\* and in another place the same writer adds that "smiling constantly" was exhibited in "pleasant Tayler."†

The early death of Edward the Sixth interrupted his career of usefulness and happiness; and on his resisting an attempt uncanonically made by the "parson of Aldham" to re-introduce the Mass into Hadleigh Church soon after the accession of Queen Mary, he was reported to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, and by him summoned "to come and appear before him on his allegiance to answer such complaints as were made against him." Nothing-daunted, Tayler obeyed the summons, though persuaded by his friends to fly. Unlike the miserable Shaxton, he was ready to die, if need be, rather than recant, and never swerved for a moment from his fixed determination; but I must here observe that it was not on the mere negation of Romish error that he took his stand. He was not that champion of vague and undefined Protestantism, which some are disposed to reckon him; but he cherished the faith of the Reformed Church of England, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, much in the same way that we have it now; and that "form of sound words" he was determined to "hold fast" at whatever cost. To a certain extent, as I have said, he had been engaged in preparing it, and now at the most solemn period of his life he publicly proclaimed his unbounded admiration of it, as "a booke set forth with great deliberation and advice of the best learned men in the realm, and authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm; which booke was never reformed but once; and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfected according to the rules of our Christian religion in every behalf that no Christian could be offended with anything therein

\* *Church History*, vol. iv., p. 195.  
 "It is also observable," he says at p. 199,  
 "that married people, the parents of  
 many children, suffered death with most

alacrity. Mr. Rogers and Mr. Tayler  
 may be the instances thereof."

† *Worthies*, vol. iii., p. 164.

contained."\* That book was his solace and his stay during the hours of his long imprisonment; in the language of that book he daily expressed to God the longings of his faithful and troubled soul; and when at last he was condemned by Gardiner (whose zeal is supposed to "have been quickened by the desire to obtain possession of Tayler's patrimonial estate†) to be burnt to death, as a heretic, he "gave to his wife a copy of that book"—"a book of the Church service set out by K. Edward,"‡ as next to the Bible the most precious legacy which he could leave her.

And it is very interesting to notice how those, who inherited his virtues and his name, or were by marriage closely connected with his family, appealed amidst the disorders of the succeeding century, to this his testimony in favour of a book which was then cast out as evil. His illustrious descendant, Jeremy Taylor, "a spirit more than worthy of his name,"§ quotes it in the "*Preface to the Apology for authorized and set forms of Liturgy*,"|| and observes

"The zeal which Archbishop Grindal, Bishop Ridley, Dr. Tayler, and other holy martyrs and confessors, in Queen Mary's time, expressed for this excellent Liturgy before and at the time of their death, defending it by their disputations, adorning it by their practice, and sealing it with their bloods, are arguments, which ought to recommend it to all the sons of the Church of England for ever, infinitely to be valued beyond all the little whispers and murmurs of argument pretended against it."

\* "In the Communion Service new words were substituted at the delivery of the Elements. In the Book of 1549, the words were "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul, &c.;" and in the revision they were "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee," &c. This was undoubtedly a modern form, while the former was the ancient one. Prayers for the dead were omitted; all second Communions were discontinued. The Ten Commandments were introduced and the Sentences, Confession, and Absolution at the commencement of Morning Service. There were various changes in the arrangement of the Book; several rubrics were altered or omitted, and some were added. To some persons the changes, especially in the Commu-

nion office, have appeared to be a concession on the part of the Reformers to foreign influence against their own judgment; yet it is clear that no such importance was attached to them at the time, since the New Act of Uniformity declares that the concessions were merely of the strong to the weak in matters of no moment."—*Lathbury's History of the Prayer Book*, p. 33.

† Bishop Heber states that he succeeded in his object: "and had begun to build a mansion on the property, which at his decease he left unfinished."

‡ *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*.

§ *Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation*, p. 277.

|| *Works, Heber's Ed.*, vol. vii., pp. 304-305.

And again, Bishop Prideaux, whose authority on this point is quite as strong, for he married the granddaughter of Rowland Tayler, the child of that very "Mary," whose last interview with her father is so touchingly described by Foxe,—“Hee took his daughter Mary in his armes; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth (another daughter), kneeled down and said the Lord’s Praier.....and then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said “God bless thee and make thee his servant,”—Bishop Prideaux thus addresses his two daughters in the dedication prefixed to his *Euchologia*,\* when urging them to follow the example of their mother’s diligence in prayer :

“I may not omit one passage of that famous Martyr, Dr. Rowland Tayler (which you should take the more with you, because by your mother you are lineally descended from him): the chain of pearl he only left your great grandmother, his dear wife, (when he last parted with her to suffer martyrdom), was not other but the Book of Common Prayer, in contriving of which he had a hand, and which he used only in his imprisonment, as holding that Book (above all other, next the Bible) the most absolute Directory for all his effectual devotions. The same book commend I unto you and yours (my beloved daughters), as fitted for your use and most complete and warrantable for the grounds it stands upon.”

To my mind, these extracts are very important and impressive, especially the latter, which proceeded from “an

\* *Euchologia, or The Doctrine of Practical Praying, being a legacy left to his Daughters, &c.* I have consulted the reprint of the Edition of 1660 by the Rev. Dr. Cornish, Oxford, 1841.

Dr. Prideaux was born at Stowford, Devon, in 1578, and became Fellow and Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, Chaplain to James the First and Charles the First, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and ultimately, in 1641, Bishop of Worcester. He was a great sufferer both in his property and in his affections for Charles’ sake. He was plundered of his goods and his elder son Col. William, (the great grandson of Rowland Tayler,) fell in the battle of Marston Moor. The Bishop died at Breedon 20th July 1650,—*Walker’s Sufferings of the Clergy*, vol. ii, p. 78 and *Dr. Cornish*.

The two daughters mentioned in the text, Sarah and Elizabeth, the only survivors of nine children, severally married Wil-

liam Hodges, Archdeacon of Worcester and Vicar of Bampton, Oxfordshire, and Dr. Henry Sutton, Rector of Breedon, Worcestershire. Both of these gentlemen were staunch in their loyalty and suffered for it—*Walker*, vol. ii, pp. 80 and 372. I have not been able with the opportunities I have had, to trace the pedigrees of these families; but should any of my readers have any information on the subject I shall be very much obliged if they will be kind enough to communicate it to me.

† “Great” says Dr. Cornish “must here be taken as an epithet; for she was their grandmother, the Bishop having married her daughter Mary,” but Dr. Cornish must be wrong, for Mary Tayler was born before 1555, and Bishop Prideaux not until 1578.—I wish that I could trace the descent of Mrs. Prideaux from Rowland Tayler.



aged careful father," fast sinking into the grave (he was then three score years and ten), but anxious before he left this world to establish his "dear daughters" in the same love for Prayer and the Prayer Book, which their departed mother had exhibited, and their illustrious great grandfather had maintained, even unto death. But I must not linger here; I must not dwell at length on any more of the particulars of a history, which is full of interest throughout, until it closed, like that of St. Polycarp,\* amidst the Martyr's own flock and the scenes of his pastoral activity. Many of you, I do not doubt, are already acquainted with its more striking features, but for the sake of those who do not know them, I will quote the admirable summary of Mr. Blunt.†

"We will not enter into all the details of this thrice-told tale of sorrow; his pastoral faithfulness, his successful teaching, so that his parish was remarkable for its knowledge of the word of God; his efforts to introduce to each other rich and poor, by taking with him in his visits to the latter some of the more wealthy clothmakers, that they might become acquainted with their neighbours' wants and thus be led to minister to their relief; his bold defiance of the (Roman) Catholic Priest, whom he found in possession of his Church, surrounded by armed men and saying mass; his reply to John Hull, the old servant who accompanied him to London, when he was summoned there before Gardiner, and who would fain have persuaded him to fly;—his frank and fearless carriage before his judges; his mirth at the ludicrous apprehensions he inspired in Bonner's Chaplain, who cautioned the Bishop, when performing the ceremony of his degradation, not to strike him on the breast with his crosier staff, seeing that "he would be sure strike again"; his charge to his little boy, when he supped with him in prison before his removal to Hadley, not to forsake his mother when she waxed old, but to see that she lacked nothing; for which God would bless him and give him long life on earth and prosperity; his coming forth by night to set out upon his last journey; his wife, daughter, and foster-child, watching all night in St. Botolph's Church porch, to catch a sight of him as he passed; their cries when they heard his company approach, it being very dark; his touching farewell to them and his wife's promise to meet him again at Hadley; his taking his boy before him on the horse on which he rode, John Hull lifting him up in his arms; his blessing the child and delivering him again to John Hull, saying, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfulest servant that man ever had"; the pleasantries, partaking indeed of the homely simplicity of the times, with which he

\* There are several points of resemblance between these two martyrdoms. See *Jacobson's Patres Apostolici*, vol. ii.,

pp. 562-617.

† *Sketch of the Reformation in England*, pp. 275-277.

occasionally beguiled the way; the joy he expressed on hearing that he was to pass through Hadley and see yet once before he died the flock whom God knew he had most heartily loved and truly taught; his encounter with the poor man, who waited for him at the foot of the bridge with five small children, crying, "God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and mine"; his enquiry when he came to the last of the Almshouses after the blind man and woman that dwelt there; and his throwing his glove through the window for them with what money in it he had left; his calling one Joyce to him out of the crowd on Aldham Common, to pull off his boots and take them for his labour seeing that he had long looked for them; his exclaiming last of all with a loud voice, as though the moral of his life had been conveyed in those last parting words, "Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy Bible, and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood":—these and other incidents of the same story combine so many touches of tenderness with so much firmness of purpose, so many domestic charities with so much heroism, such cheerfulness with such disaster, that if there is any character calculated to call forth all the sympathies of our nature, it is that of Rowland Tayler."

Two interesting memorials of him remain amongst us. The one, is a brass tablet in the Church (which I have described already), and bearing the following inscription, in black letter :

Gloria in altissimis Deo.  
 Of Rowland Tailor's fame I shewe  
 An excellent Devyne,  
 And Doctor of the Civill Lawe,  
 A preacher rare and fyne;  
 Kinge Henrye and Kinge Edward dayes  
 Preacher and Parson here,  
 That gave to God contynuall prayse  
 And kept his flocke in feare.  
 And for the truthe condemned to dye  
 He was in fierye flame,  
 Where he received pacyentlie  
 The torment of the same.  
 And strongelie suffred to thende  
 Whiche made the standers by  
 Rejoyce in God to see theire frende  
 And pastor so to dye.  
 O Tailor were thie myghtie fame  
 Uprightly here inolde,  
 Thie deedes deserve that thie good name,  
 Were syphered here in golde.  
 Obiit Anno. dm. 1555.

The other is a rough unhewn stone, on Aldham Common, about two feet long, nearly a foot high, and fourteen inches wide, and these words have been rudely cut in Roman characters upon it:

1555.

D. Tayler in de  
fending that  
was good at  
this plas left  
his blode.

How long this stone has lain there is not exactly known, but the style of the letters makes it probable that it was placed there at the close of the 16th or at the beginning of the 17th century. The ground, on which it stands, was formerly part of a Common, which, however, was inclosed in 1729; and the earliest notice of the stone, which I have been able to discover, exists in the Minute Book of the Trustees of the inclosed land. Amongst the first resolutions therein recorded, it was "agreed (July 16, 1729,) that the land be not plough'd within a rod round Dr. Taylor's monument"—a stipulation, which is still entered, I believe, in all leases to incoming tenants. In 1739, there is a charge in the accounts "For putting up Dr. Taylor's monument upon Aldham Common, 18*l.* 14*s.*;"\* and in the year 1740, another charge occurs, "For the repair on Dr. Taylor's monument, 00*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*"; and another item, in 1781, shews, I think, what the monument, previously said to have been "put up," consisted of: "Bill for painting Dr. Taylor's stone and iron rails round the same, 5*s.*:" for I infer from this that, as the stone had existed there before, all that was done in 1739 was the surrounding of that stone with iron rails. And this inference is confirmed by a portion of the speech, which was addressed by Dr. Drake to the Trustees in 1818, when he seconded a motion of the then Rector, Dr. Drummond, for erecting a larger monument close to the

\* It is said in *Heber's Life of Jeremy Taylor*, Note C. but I think the statement must be wrong, that this stone was first

enclosed by iron rails in 1721. The authority given is *Nichols's Illustrations of Literary History*, vol. iii, p. 436.

ancient stone, which should bear an inscription relating the great object, for which Dr. Tayler was content to leave "his blode" at that "plas :"—

"Nearly three centuries have elapsed since, without any other *local* record of an event so highly honourable to this parish than the *rude block of stone* with which we are all familiar."

In consequence of this movement on the part of Dr. Drummond, a pyramidal monument was erected by public subscription, in 1818, at the cost of 25*l.*, and the following verses were painted on it :

"Mark this rude stone where Taylor dauntless stood,  
Where zeal infuriate drank the Martyr's blood ;  
Hadleigh ! that day how many a tearful eye  
Saw thy loved Pastor dragg'd a victim by ;  
Still scattering gifts and blessings as he past,  
To the blind pair his farewell alms he cast ;  
His clinging flock e'en here around him pray'd  
'As thou hast aided us be God thine aid.'  
Nor taunts, nor bribe of mitred rank, nor stake,  
Nor blows nor flames his heart of firmness shake.  
Serene—his folded hands, his upward eyes,  
Like holy Stephen's, seek the opening skies ;  
There fix'd in rapture, his prophetic sight  
Views Truth dawn clear on England's bigot night.  
Triumphant Saint ! he bow'd and kissed the rod,  
And soar'd on Seraph wing to meet his God."

A wide-spread notion prevails that these lines were written by Dr. Drake, who was a physician and literary gentleman of some eminence, then residing in the town ; but I have been told on very good authority that if Dr. Drake had any hand in them at all, all that he did was to revise them and suggest a few slight verbal alterations. The Rector of the parish, Dr. Drummond, was the author ; he claims the authorship in the MS. book belonging to the Living, and this of itself ought to be sufficient ; but Dr. Drake, in the speech\* from which I have already quoted, thus plainly sets the question of authorship at rest :

"Every one must allow that in the very spot, which witnessed the

\* A copy of this speech in Dr. Drake's      the Rectory.  
own handwriting is amongst the MSS. at

transaction, something more is required, something to inform the passing traveller of what occurred on such a memorable day; and it appears to me that the inscription, which our worthy Rector has prepared, expresses very completely what we want, being in fact little more than a detail of the circumstances that took place on the day of Dr. Tayler's martyrdom."\*

Tayler was followed in his constancy and in his fate by his Curate, RICHARD YEOMAN.† The latter also was a member of the University of Cambridge, and took his degree of B.D. there in 1504.‡ It has been supposed that he preceded Taylor here, since Foxe states that he "had many years dwelt at Hadley,"‡ and in that case he had probably been Curate to the previous Rector, Dr. Vyall; but I have no evidence to shew to whom it was that he owed any alteration in his religious views. It may be, indeed, that he had learnt to see the unsoundness of many of the doctrines of the Romish system, through "the preaching of Master Thomas Bilney"§ when he visited these parts; it may be too that truer conceptions of the faith grew up gradually in his mind, as in the minds of many others of that period: but at all events he eventually resembled his great Rector, both in his opinions and in his pastoral activity, and was left by him in charge of the parish, when he himself was summoned before Gardiner. He was devout in life, well-versed in the Holy Scriptures, and full of zeal, even after the accession of Queen Mary, in urging the people to be stedfast to the Reformed Faith. He was in consequence deprived of the Curacy by the new Rector, Mr. Newall or Nowell, who superseded Dr. Tayler, and was exposed to such risks from the partizans of Rome, that he fled from Suffolk into Kent. A "Popish Curate" was appointed in his place, but I doubt whether he or the new Rector could have been, at first, in constant residence, for Foxe relates, that there was one "John Alcock, a very godly man, well-learned in the Holy Scriptures (a layman however, and a

\* I have also been told by the Archdeacon of Nottingham that these verses were written by Dr. Drummond in his presence.

† *Cooper's Athenæ Cantab.*, p. 176.

‡ *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii. p. 487.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 676.

"shearman by occupation,")\* who (after Richard Yeoman was driven away) used daily to read a chapter and to say the English Litany, in Hadleigh Church." This circumstance appears to shew that great confusion prevailed in the parish for some time, but we learn that "at length, after the coming of parson Newall, he (Alcock), being in Hadley Church upon a Sunday, when the parson came by with procession, would not move his cap,† nor shew any sign of reverence, but stood behind the font;‡ and that Newall perceiving him, had him immediately apprehended, and sent to Newgate, where, after a year's imprisonment, he died "with evil keeping and sickness of the house."

As for Yeoman he travelled about from village to village in Kent, selling "little packets of laces, pins, points, and such little things," for the sustenance of himself, his wife and children, until his character being suspected, he was seized and set in the stocks, and would have been more harshly dealt with, if any "evident matter" could have been got up against him. He was released, however, and then having turned his steps once more to Hadleigh, he was secreted by his wife in "a chamber of the towne-house, called the Guild-hall, for more than a year," his "hands ministering to his necessities" in carding wool, which his wife did spin, but his heart continually intent on the study of the Holy Bible. At length his-hiding place was discovered and at the instance of the unrelenting Newall he was reluctantly committed by Sir Henry Doyle, to the gaol at Bury St. Edmund's; thence he was removed to Norwich, was there examined (the chief articles alleged against him

\* *Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 681, and vol. viii. p. 489-490. A "Mary Alcocke" was baptised here March 23rd, 1558, but the Christian name of her father is not given. There is the same omission in the entry of the baptism of "Robt. Alcok" August 6th, 1564. Other entries shew that there was a family of that name here to whom the Alcocke mentioned in the text may have been related.

† This was at that time, I suppose, an

offence of itself, but towards the end of the Century, the Puritans introduced the irreverent custom of keeping the head covered in the House of God—a custom, which the Bishops actively endeavoured to suppress in the succeeding century. *Lathbury's Book of Common Prayer*, pp 117 and 172.

‡ It will be remembered that the Font stood at that time, between the second and third pillars on the north side of the nave.

being his marriage and his opinions on the Mass), and refusing to recant, was condemned and burnt, on the 10th of July, 1558. Foxe describes him as "an old man of seventy years," but I think he must have been considerably more than that, and even eighty years and upwards, since, as we have seen, he took the degree of B.D. in 1504.

On the back of the Monument, which was erected on Aldham Common, in 1818, to the memory of Rowland Tayler, the "resisting unto blood" of his like-minded Curate is thus commemorated :

"The Reverend Richard Yeoman, Curate to Dr. Taylor, after a series of the most cruel persecutions, which he endured with exemplary patience and fortitude, suffered martyrdom at Norwich, 10th July, 1558."

But when these evil days had passed away and the Reformed Faith was re-established in the Church of England, divisions unhappily began to manifest themselves amongst those, who had been united in opposition to Romish errors.

On the accession of Queen Mary many English Divines fled for safety into Switzerland and there contracted a violent hatred to all forms and ceremonies, and even to the constitution of the Church according to the Apostolic model. Upon the death of Mary, these refugees returned and distinguished themselves thenceforth by their unruly and impracticable spirit. Amongst them was THOMAS SPENCER, who was destined to become Rector of this parish.

Spencer was born at Wroughton,\* in Wiltshire, about the year 1525 or 1526, and was sent at first to the University of Cambridge; but after a little while he was removed to Oxford, and there elected, at the age of fifteen, to a Demyship at Magdalen College. He became Fellow of that Society, 25th July, 1544, but resigned his fellowship in 1547 and then, or soon afterwards, was appointed to a Studentship at Christ Church. In 1552 he was one of the Proctors of the University; but early in the reign of Mary

\* *Cooper's Athenæ Cantab.*, vol. i., pp. 558, 296. But if, as his monument states,

he was 47 years old when he died in 1571, he must have been born in 1524.

be became an exile for religion. He appears to have fixed his residence at first at Zurich, for he was there in 1554; but he joined the English congregation at Geneva, on Nov. 5, 1556, and in 1557 he was married at that city, to Alice Agar, of Colchester, widow.

When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne Spencer returned to England, and in 1560\* was collated by Archbishop Parker to this living, as successor to Mr. Newall. In the same year he was installed Archdeacon of Chichester, and in right of that office, I suppose, he sat in the Convocation of 1562.

This Convocation was one of the most important in our history, and the fact that Spencer was a member of it justifies me, I think, in classing him with our great men. True to his Genevan principles he was one of the thirty-three members of the Lower House, who subscribed a paper requesting that the Psalms in the Book of Common Prayer should be sung by the whole congregation, or read entirely by the minister; that musical performances and organs should be laid aside; that lay-baptism should not be allowed; that the sign of the cross at baptisms should be omitted; that kneeling at the Holy Communion should be left at the discretion of the Ordinary; that copes and surplices should be laid aside; that the pulpit and desk should be the same in form; that the clergy should not be compelled to wear particular gowns and caps; and that Saints' days should not be observed; but these articles, which would have caused much confusion in the Church, were fortunately rejected by the majority.†

But the chief act of this Convocation was the establishment of "the Articles of Religion," in that form in which we have them now. As sanctioned by the Convocation of 1552 they had been 42 in number; but, besides being

\* Mr. Cooper thinks it was in or about 1562, but I have followed the date given by Dr. Wilkins, in his MS.

† *Lathbury's History of Convocation*,

p. 166. Spencer's name appears in the list which is given in *Burnett's Reform.*, vol. iv. p. 575, and in *Cardwell's Conferences*, &c., p. 119.



reduced to 39, a few alterations were made in the substance of them in the Convocation of which Spencer was a member. The Divinity of our Saviour was more emphatically asserted in the second article: the explanation of His descent into hell was omitted from the third: it was stated in the sixth that the chapters from the Apocrypha were read "for example of life and instruction of manners," and were not to be applied to "establish any doctrine"; and the Canonical books were also specified: the last paragraph, relating to the law of Moses, was added to the seventh: the declaration that the Lord's Body was "given and received after a heavenly and spiritual manner" in the Lord's Supper was inserted in the 29th; and the 40th, 41st, and 42nd articles of 1552 were entirely expunged. The Articles, thus revised, were then solemnly subscribed by both Houses of Convocation.\*

In addition, Nowell's Catechism and Bishop Jewell's Apology were approved by the Convocation, it being the desire of Archbishop Parker to comprise the Articles, the Catechism and the Apology in one volume, to be set forth as the authorised documents of the Anglican Church. At the same time, moreover, the authority of the two books of Homilies was recognised.†

It does not appear that Mr. Spencer was resident at Hadleigh in the early years of his incumbency. The Churchwardens' and Chief Collector's Account Book does not indicate that he was present at any parish meeting before Dec. 27th, 1563, and afterwards his name does not occur again until Oct. 1565; but from that time he seems to have dwelt more constantly amongst his flock. He is first styled "Doctor" in June 1567; and in the summer of 1571 he died and was buried in our Church on July 10th. The entry of his burial in the Register is partly illegible; all that can be deciphered is "Dominus Thomas ... Sacre Theologie doc...istius ecclesie ... sepultus instantis mensis."

\* See *Burnett's Reform.* vol. iv. pp. 311-317.

† *Lathbury's History of Convocation*, pp. 165-169.

By his will he left 20 marks "to y<sup>e</sup> intent y<sup>t</sup> it should be employ'd in wood and corn to the use and benefit of the poor inhabitants" of Hadleigh. There is a wooden tablet to his memory on one of the south pillars of the nave, bearing the following inscription:—

Epitaphium Thomæ Spenceri Sacræ Theo-  
logiæ Doctoris atque hujus Ecclesiæ Pastoris  
Granta mihi mater. Me pavit et auxit  
Oxonium studiis, Artibus et Gradibus.  
Audierat sacri pandentem oracula verbi  
Grege Hadleianus per duo lustra meus.  
Lustra novem et binos vita durante per annos  
Munere ubi functus, funere junctus eram.

An Epitaph upon Thomas Spencer  
Doctor of Divinity and paster of Hadleigh.  
Two mothers had I : Cambridge shee mee bred  
And Oxford her Degrees mee higher led :  
A Doctor thence transplanted to this place\*  
I fed this flock of Christ ful ten years space.  
At fourty seven years age God gave mee rest  
This Temple was my school, is now my nest.  
Sepultus est Julii X<sup>mo</sup> MDLXXI.

The next distinguished person according to chronological order who was connected with Hadleigh was JOHN BOISE, and we may trace his connection with our town to the influence of our great Martyr.† His father, William Boise, was born and brought up at Halifax, in Yorkshire, and was the son of a Clothier there. He was originally of Michael's House, Cambridge, took the degree of B.A. in 1534, of M.A. in 1537, and was very probably a fellow of that Society before its dissolution, and was certainly one of the earliest Fellows of Trinity College after its foundation in 1546. In the same year he proceeded B.D. having previously taken Holy orders, but he eventually, though I do not know the exact time, retired into Suffolk, in order it is said to be near

\* Mr. Cooper, *Athene Cantab.*, thinks this a mistake, and states that Spencer took the degree of D.D. at Cambridge, in 1567. † *Anthony Walker, in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, from which the statements given in this notice are chiefly taken.

Rowland Tayler. He took a farm at Nettlestead,\* intending to live there as a layman; but having married Mirable Poolye, "a gentlewoman of a family very antient and worshipful, yet herself more virtuous, but most of all religious,"† he was persuaded by her in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to resume "the function of the ministry." He then became, first Curate, and afterwards Rector, of Elmsett‡ near this town, and by and bye Rector also of West Stow, near Bury St. Edmund's, where he was buried at his death in 1591,—an event which is thus recorded in the parish Register, "William Boise, Cleark, was buried April y<sup>e</sup> 23."§

He was a good scholar, especially proficient in Greek and Hebrew, and he took great pains with the early instruction of his son John, who was born at Nettlestead on January 3, 1559-60, and was the only survivor of his children. A churlish Scotchman used to say that "until a child is four years old, he is no better than a cabbage;" but according to this rule John Boise must have been a very intellectual vegetable, for before he was six he could not only read the Hebrew Bible, but was able also to write Hebrew.|| On the removal of his father to Elmsett, he was sent "to Hadley to schoole," which is said by his biographer to be only two miles distant from Elmsett, but it is really four. This distance he daily travelled on foot,—a habit which was probably the cause of his being a great walker in his later life.

\* Nettlestead is about eight miles from Hadleigh.

† Mr. John Boise tells us of his mother that she had read the Bible over twelve times, and the Book of Martyrs once.

‡ He was presented to Elmsett by the Lord Keeper, probably Sir Nicholas Bacon, who died in 1579.

§ There is a small Brass Plate to his memory, in the Church at West Stow. It was originally fixed in a stone near the pulpit, but having become loose, it was inserted, on the restoration of the Church, in 1850, in the wood-work beneath the new pulpit, by the Rev. W. Pridden. It bears the following inscription:

Halifax me genuit, Cantabrigia docuit,  
Suffolcia audivit, Angina rapuit. Nunc  
Corpus tenet tumulus, Christus animam.  
Nomen mihi fuit Gulielmo Boise, obiit 22  
Aprilis 1591. Vale, Lector, de illo Ter:  
: tulliani frequenter cogita

Fideucia Christianorum  
Resurrectio mortuorum.

|| Jeremy Taylor is said to have been only three years old.—*Heber's Life of Jeremy Taylor*, p. vii.

"He went four (eight) miles a day, which being iterated for several years, if we consider to how much it amounts his learning may seem as well for the way it was fetcht as for the purity of it to have come from Athens."

and it is also remarked that in the way, "he had, to fasten religion in him, Dr. Tayler's Stake for a morning and evening meditation."

"When he had served a little apprenticeship in that shop of the Muses" he was sent,—“very early summer fruit,”—to Cambridge and (Hadleigh exercising influence on his own as on his father's destiny) he took up his residence at St. John's, because Dr. Still, the Rector of Hadleigh, was then also Master of that College. Such was his proficiency in Greek through the early instructions of his father and the knowledge acquired at our school, as well as through the help of the Greek Professor at Cambridge, Mr. Andrew Downes, that when he had been there only half a year he was elected scholar of the House. He migrated for a time to Magdalen College, when his tutor, Mr. Coppinger, was made Master there, but he afterwards returned to St. John's, was reinstated in his scholarship and in the end became Fellow and Greek Lecturer, and B.D. The Greek Lectureship he held for ten years, and though he gave his lectures as early as four o'clock in the morning, he always secured crowded audiences. He was not, however, so self-denying as his pupils, for he read in his bed a Greek lecture to such "young scholars, who preferred *antelucana studia* before their own ease and rest."\*

He had intended at one time to pursue the study of Physic, but as he was afflicted with an unfortunate propensity to think himself a victim to all the diseases of which he read,† he gave up that design and took Holy Orders instead, being ordained Deacon at Norwich on the 21st

\* *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. iii. p. 187. But *Anthony Walker* speaks of him as going to the University Library, at Four o'clock in a summer morning and remaining there without interruption until Eight o'clock, p.m.

† But he could shew on emergencies

great resolution and disregard of danger, for happening to have the small-pox, when he was elected Fellow of St. John's, he caused himself, in order to preserve his seniority, to be wrapped up in blankets, and so carried to the place where the Fellows met.

June, 1583, and Priest, by virtue of a dispensation, on the following day. On his father's death he succeeded to the living of West Stow, in order it would seem to provide a home for his mother; for when she afterwards went to live with her relation Mr. Poolye, he resigned that preferment.

When Mr. Boise was about thirty-six years old, the Rector of Boxworth, in Cambridgeshire, died, and left the advowson of his Living to one of his daughters, with the request that, if it might be procured, Mr. Boise of St. John's would marry her. Mr. Boise being probably of the same opinion as Edward the Sixth, who desired a wife that was "well stuffed,"\* went over to see the lady, who was possessed of such a singular dowry, was pleased with, and married her, not being the only one of our great scholars and divines, whose wives have been provided for them in a remarkable way.† He was instituted to Boxworth, the see of Ely being vacant, by Archbishop Whitgift: but the match, which brought him that appointment, did not prove altogether a happy one, though he and his wife ought to have been of homogeneous natures, for, as his biographer states, her maiden name, *Holt*, signified in Dutch the same as his surname, *Bois*, in French, both meaning in our language, *Wood*. She was ignorant of housekeeping; he was devoted to his books; and the result was that he fell into debt and was so dreadfully distressed thereat, that he had serious thoughts of turning to account the activity, which he had acquired in his youthful walks from Elmsett to Hadleigh, by running away from his wife and taking refuge in foreign parts.

"Either upon this or some other occasion there grew some discontent between him and his wife; insomuch that I have heard (but never from himself), that he did once intend to travaille beyond the seas, but religion

\* He (Edward the Sixth) notes with dignified displeasure in that depository of his private thoughts, his journal, the presumptuous project of his uncle Somerset, to marry him to his cousin, the Lady Jane Seymour, observing that it was his intention to choose for his Queen, a foreign princess, *well stuffed* and jewelled: meaning that his royal bride should be endowed

with a suitable dower and a right royal wardrobe. *Miss Strickland's Queens of England*, vol. v., p. 101, note.

† Hooker (*Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog.* vol. iii. p. 465.); Bishop Hall (*Works*. vol. i. pp. xviii. xix.); George Herbert (*Wordsworth's Ec. Biog.* iii. 24.) Milton too, when blind, deputed a friend, Dr. Paget, to choose a third wife for him.

and conscience soon gave those thoughts a check, and made it be with him and his wife as churgeons say it's with a broken bone; if once well sett, the stronger for a fracture."

He remained at home: but "he forthwith parted with his darling," which, as you will already understand, was not his wife, though his biographer has thought it necessary to add, "I mean his Library, which he sold," to pay his debts. But after no great interval, the fame of his learning—"he was an exact grammarian, having read sixty grammars,"—procured for him a share in the translation of the Bible, which was ordered by King James, in 1604. The portion assigned to him was the Prayer of Manasses and the rest of the Apocrypha; but he is said to have executed also the portion of one of his colleagues. He spent four years in this first service, living the while in St. John's College, Cambridge; and when the rest of the translators had completed their parts, the distinguished honor was conferred upon him of being chosen one of the Committee of Six,\* whose duty it was to revise the whole. For this, which occupied him three quarters of a year, he received from the Stationers' Company thirty shillings a week. He was not so fortunate, however, in the next great work in which he was engaged, for though he assisted Sir Henry Savile in translating St. Chrysostom, and "wrote the most learned notes upon it,"† he only received as a recompence one copy of the work. Still it is said to have been the intention of Sir H. Savile, had he lived, to make him a Fellow of Eton.‡

\* I have seen it stated that the number was twelve.

† *Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 22.—The cost of the paper alone for this work was £2,000.

"It was that Henry Savill, that was after Sir Henry Savill, Warden of Merton College, and Provost of Eton; he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir Henry Savill that translated and enlightened the history of Cornelius Tacitus with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable

collecting the scattered pieces of St. Chrysostome, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savill that had the happiness to be a contemporary and familiar friend of Mr.<sup>s</sup> Hooker."—*Hooker's Life*, p. 16. *Ed. Keble's—Works*, vol. i.

‡ "No edition of a Greek author published in the first part of the seventeenth century is superior, at least in magnificence, to that of Chrysostom by Sir Henry Savile. This came forth in 1612, from a press established at Eton, by himself, Provost of that College. He had procured

Nor does Mr. Boise appear to have obtained ecclesiastical promotion according to his deserts. He was appointed by King James, in 1609, to be one of the earliest fellows of Chelsea College—a foundation which the king “intended for a spiritual garrison, with a magazine of all books for that purpose, where learned divines should study and write in maintenance of all controversies against the Papists;”\* or, as the same author, from whom I have quoted, says in another place, as “a two-edged sword which was to cut on both sides to suppress papists and sectaries.” In 1615, he was appointed to a Canonry at Ely, by the illustrious Bishop Andrews,† and thenceforth usually resided there, going over occasionally to Boxworth. But no higher dignity, such as his talents merited, was conferred upon him.

In his habits he is described as having been very abstemious, eating only two meals, dinner and supper, each day,\* but at the same time he was not neglectful of his health. “He was careful almost to curiosity in picking and rubbing his teeth, esteeming that a special preservative of health, by which means he carried to the grave almost an Hebrew Alphabet of teeth.”§ He was very punctilious also in observing the three rules of Dr. Whitaker, always to read standing, never to study at a window, and to avoid going to bed with cold feet: and the effect

types and pressmen in Holland, and three years had been employed in printing the eight volumes of this great work; one which both in splendour of execution and in the erudition displayed in it by Savile, who had collected several manuscripts of Chrysostom, leaves immeasurably behind it every earlier production of the English press. The expense, which is said to have been eight thousand pounds, was wholly defrayed by himself, and the tardy sale of so voluminous a work could not have reimbursed the cost.”—*Hallam's Literature of the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 277. Mr. Hallam adds in a note, “The copies sold for £9 each; a sum equal in command of commodities to nearly £30 at present, and from the relative wealth of the country to considerably more.....

The principal assistants of Savile were Matthew Bust, Thomas Allen, and especially Richard Montagu, afterwards celebrated in our Ecclesiastical History as Bishop of Chichester, who is said to have corrected the text before it went to the press.”

\* *Fuller, Church Hist.* vol. v. pp. 387 and 405.

† He was a Prebendary of the first stall, but his name appears on the list of Prebendaries of the second stall in the same year.

‡ Some of the learned men, however, of this period, were even more abstemious. See *Fell's Life of Hammond*.

§ There are twenty-two letters in the Hebrew Alphabet, and thirty-two permanent teeth in a human jaw.

of attention to these sanitary precepts was so good, that when he died at an advanced age, his brow is said to have been free from wrinkles, his sight quick, his hearing sharp, his countenance fresh, and his body sound.

He instituted a sort of Clerical Club in the neighbourhood of Ely, where he commonly resided, for he "entered into an agreement with the neighbouring clergy, to meet every Friday at one of their houses, to give an account of their studies." He was very diligent in prayer, praying even when indulging in his favourite pastime of walking, and preferring frequent and short to long prayer. He preached extempore and, though he was so learned, plainly; for he was wont to compare the poor and ignorant to the weak in Jacob's flock,\* which were not to be overdriven.

He had seven children by his wife, who died before him, and was buried at Ely. Though there had once been a "discontent" between them, he cherished her memory with affection, and when his own end was drawing on he caused himself to be removed into the room where she had died, that thence his own spirit also might depart. He was taken away from the evil to come on Jan. 14, 1643,† being 83 years and 11 days old, and on the 6th of Feb. following he was buried in the Cathedral Church of Ely, but no memorial marks his grave.‡

He left behind him a great mass of MSS., but only one of them was published. It was entitled "*Johannis Boisii veteris interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus Collatio in iv Evangeliiis et Actis Apostolorum*," London, 1655, 4to, and the object of it was to defend the vulgate version of the New Testament.

Mr. Boise made acquaintance at our School with one at least, if not with more, of kindred talents and pursuits; and destined to attain, like himself, to high literary distinction. That one was a native of Hadleigh and he carried (as Fuller

\* *Genesis*, xxxiii, 13.

† *Walker in Peck's Desid. Cur.* states that "he survived the Prayer Book but eleven days," but this must be incorrect,

for the Prayer Book was not abolished till Jan. 3, 1645,—two years afterwards,

‡ *Bentham's Hist. of Ely Cathedral.*



remarks with his usual quaintness) "superintendency in his surname,"\* JOHN OVERALL, and what is more, he eventually attained the office which was foreshadowed by his name. He was born in Hadleigh, in 1559-60, five years after the martyrdom of Tayler, and only a few months after the birth of Boise, for according to the entry in our Register, he was baptized on March 2nd of that year, "John Overall, s. to George."† His kindred seem to have been rather numerous here, and to have occupied a respectable position, for the name occurs often in the Registers, and it is stated on one of the Monuments in the Church, on the south pier of the chancel arch, that John Gaell, the first Mayor of Hadleigh, married a niece of his; but I have not discovered either from the Churchwardens' and Collectors' Book or from any other records, that any of them ever held a high public office in the town.

Having received his early education at our School, he was matriculated on June 15, 1575 as a member of St. John's College, Cambridge, led thither probably by the same motive which influenced young Boise—the fact that Dr. Still, then Rector of Hadleigh, was Master of the College. In later years, after he had acquired fame, the authorities of St. John's were accustomed to point with pride to a rude autograph on the leaden roof of their College Chapel, "Joh. Overall, 1577, ætatis 18,"; but he did not long continue at St. John's, for on his friend Dr. Still being appointed to the Mastership of Trinity, he migrated thither and was elected to a scholarship in 1578. In 1578-9 he took his B.A. degree, on Oct. 2nd 1581 he was admitted a minor Fellow, a major Fellow on the 30th of the following March, 1582, and in the same year, he commenced M.A. In 1583 he was appointed deputy to the Public Orator; and amongst

\* *Church Hist.*, vol. v. p. 483.—I must here express my most grateful thanks to C. H. Cooper, Esq. F.S.A. of Cambridge, for the use of his MS. notes relating to Bishop Overall and Dr. Alabaster, and the hope that he will not think I have borrowed too largely from them. I must refer to the forthcoming volume of his

*Athenæ Cantab.* for the authorities on which these memoirs rest beyond the authorities which I have myself consulted.

† I suspect that he must have been the youngest child. The burial of a George Overall is mentioned in the Register on July 11, 1561.

his pupils, while resident at Trinity, was the celebrated Earl of Essex, the future favorite of Queen Elizabeth.\* In 1591 he proceeded B.D. and was presented by the College to the Vicarage of Trumpington, near Cambridge; on the 24th Feb. 1591-2 he was also appointed by, Sir Thomas Heneage, to the Vicarage of Epping, Essex; on the 4th Dec. 1595 he was elected at the early age of thirty six to the important office of Regius Professor of Divinity, vacant by the death of the learned Dr. Whitaker,† and in 1596 he became D.D.

His career, indeed, was unusually progressive, few years passing without bringing him an increase of preferment. In 1597-8 he was elected to the Mastership of St. Catherine's Hall, the Court having reversed the decision of the Vice-Chancellor in favour of Dr. Robson of St. John's, who had obtained an equal number of votes from the electing Fellows;‡ on Feb. 17, 1602-3, he was instituted to the Rectory of Clothall, Herts; and on the 29th of May following, he was appointed by Queen Elizabeth, to whom he had been Chaplain, to the Deanery of St. Paul's, succeeding in that office Alexander Nowell, Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, and author of the celebrated Catechism which bears his name. In Jan. 1603-4, he was nominated by King James the First to be one of a Committee of Divines, § to hold a conference at Hampton Court with the leaders of the Puritan party, and took an active part in the discussion which ensued, especially in reference to the extreme Calvinistic tenet, that the elect even when they have committed grievous sins, "remained still just or in a state of justification before they actually repented of those sins."|| Some few

\* *Goodman's Court of James I.* vol. i. p. 145.

† "He lost the health of his body in maintaining that the health of the soul could not be lost," for he caught a "burning fever," chiefly through attending a conference at Lambeth, about "the unhappy controversy, whether justifying faith may be lost."—*Fuller's Holy State*, p. 62.

‡ *Fuller's Worthies*, iii. p. 170, thus

represents the matter, "afterwards by the Queen's absolute mandate, (to end a contention betwixt two co-rivals,) not much with his will, he was made Master of Catherine Hall; for, when Archbishop Whitgift joyed him of the place, he returned that it was *terminus diminuens*, taking no delight in his preferment."

§ *Fuller, Church Hist.* vol. v. p. 266.

|| *Ibid*, p. 283, and *Cardwell's Conferences*, p. 186.

changes and concessions were the result of this conference: the rubrics in the office for private Baptism were altered so as to restrict the administration of that Holy Sacrament, to the minister of the parish or some other lawful minister; the title "Confirmation" was explained as the "laying on of hands upon children baptised and able to render an account of their faith"; some changes were made in the lessons from the Apocrypha; the prayer for the Royal Family and the occasional thanksgivings for rain, &c., were inserted;\* but what is more to my present purpose, Overall was commissioned to draw up the explanation of the Holy Sacraments, which was appended by royal authority† to the Catechism, and was afterwards, in 1661, with two emendations, confirmed by Convocation and by Parliament;‡ so that here again, in the latter half of the Church Catechism, Hadleigh was connected with the compilation of the book of Common Prayer. Nor was this all: a resolution was agreed to at this conference that there should be a new translation of the Holy Bible; and when, in 1607, a body of translators was appointed for that purpose, Overall was included in their number, as one of the committee, who were to meet at Westminster, to translate the Pentateuch.§ Thus, he was the second person that had received his early education in our town, who was engaged in that great work.

In Jan., 1604-5, Overall was instituted to the Rectory of Therfield, Herts, on his own nomination I conclude, for that living is in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. In Jan., 1605-6, he was elected Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation,||—(an office which he continued to hold until 1610)—and he almost immediately drew up¶ the

\* *Cardwell's Conferences*, p. 144.

† This authority arose from the undefined power of the Crown in Ecclesiastical matters, as well as the statutable power granted by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, in 1559.

‡ *Procter's History of the Prayer Book*, pp. 88 & 369. The first part of the Catechism is almost word for word the same as it was when inserted in the first Prayer Book of Edward the sixth (1549)

by the Reformers.

§ *Fuller's Church Hist.*, vol. v., pp. 370-375.

|| *Lathbury's History of Convocation*, p. 209.

¶ It is supposed by some, however, that Archbishop Bancroft had the chief hand in framing this book; *Preface to the Edition in the Anglo-Catholic Library*, p. 10.

celebrated "Convocation Book," which bears his name. The occasion of its being written was the Gunpowder treason, and the principles which were then advocated by Jesuits in regard to Kings,\* and its chief design was to shew the independence of the Church of England of the See of Rome, and the duty of submission to the established government. It passed through Convocation in 1606, but the king, misliking some of the expressions it contained†, requested that it might not be presented to him for confirmation, and thus it is possessed of no authority. In 1607 Overall resigned the Mastership of St. Catherine's, and the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge in order, I suppose, that he might reside more closely at his Deanery. There, at all events, he was accustomed to gather round him the learned and the good, for it is said in *Barwick's Life of Bishop Morton* that when

"any business brought him (Dr. Morton) thither (London) he was importuned by his worthy friend Dr. Overall, Dean of St. Paule's to take his lodging in the Deanery house. And this gave him an opportunity of a very early acquaintance with that very learned and judicious scholar Monsieur Isaac Casaubon, who being then newly come out of France was likewise (as his great merits required) very freely and hospitably entertained and lodged there by the said Dean."†

And there also, I infer from a passage in the same work, he used to enjoy the acquaintance of a future Rector of his native town, Dr. Thomas Goad, who was at that time Chaplain to Abbott, Bishop of London, and who afterwards wrote the epitaph on Casaubon's monument, in Westminster Abbey.

In May 1610, Overall, like Boise, was appointed by the King to be one of the earliest fellows of Chelsea College; and such was his reputation that when the primacy became vacant, in 1611, by the death of Bancroft, the eyes of many of the Clergy were turned towards him in the hope that he,

\* *Ibid.*, pp. 213-216. These were fostered by Parsons and Campian, the Jesuits who set up the Roman schism in England after the Reformation. They contended that Kings might be deposed by the Pope, on the ground of difference of religion.

† This book, when afterwards published by Sancroft, afforded justification to Sher-

lock for leaving the Jacobites and taking the oaths to the Government of William the Third.—*Burnett's History of his own Times*, vol. iii., p. 294. The original MS. is preserved in the Episcopal Library at Durham, having probably been placed there by the founder, Bishop Cosin.

‡ *Barwick's Life of Bishop Morton*, prefixed to Morton's *Lectiones*, p. 73.

like Parker, would be elevated from the priesthood to the highest office in the English Church, and it was thought by no mean authority, that if that dignity had been conferred on Overall or Andrews, the Church would have escaped the difficulties by which it was afterwards overtaken;\* but the choice of James fell on Abbott, and the great merits of our townsman were for a season overlooked. On the 24th March, 1613-14, however, he was nominated to the See of Coventry and Lichfield, and consecrated Bishop of that Diocese on the 4th of the following May; and four years afterwards, 21st May 1618, he was translated to the See of Norwich.† But he did not long survive the change, for on the 12th of May, (a month remarkable for the high preferments which it brought him,—he was made Dean of St. Paul's, in May 1603; Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, in May 1614; and of Norwich, in May 1618,) he died at Norwich and his spirit was exalted, as we trust, to a far higher dignity. His body was buried on the next day on the south side of the choir of his own cathedral; and fifty years afterwards, when the troubles of the Rebellion had been surmounted, a monument bearing his bust and his arms (O., a cross patée between four annulets G.), in bas relief, and the following inscription, was erected to his memory on one of the south pillars of the choir, by his former Secretary, Bishop Cosin,‡ who cherished to the last an affectionate remembrance of his early patron.

\* *Lord Clarendon—Rebel.* i. p. 156. quoted in *Fuller's Church Hist.* vol. v. p. 405, and *Hook's Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. i. p. 12.

† He was succeeded at Coventry and Lichfield, by his friend Bishop Morton, who was translated thither from Chester, at the motion of Bishop Andrews. *Barwick's Life of Morton*, p. 84.

‡ Cosin was a native of Norwich, but his family came originally from Foxearth. He was appointed Librarian to Bishop Overall when he was about 20 years of age, having been introduced to Overall by a Mr. John Heyward. At all events I have found this item in the list of Cosin's benefactions.—“To the children of Mr. John Heyward, late Prebendary of Litch-

field, as a testimony of gratitude to their deceased father, who in his Lordship's younger years placed him with his uncle, Bishop Overall, twenty pounds apiece.” *Appendix to the Life of Cosin*, prefixed to his works in the Anglo-Catholic Library, p. xxxii.

This Mr. John Heyward must, I presume, have been a son of Overall's sister Susanna, who married a Ralph Hayward, (who, judging from the Registers, was a resident in Hadleigh) and brother to Rose Hayward, who became Sep. 25, 1587, the first wife of John Gaell, the first Mayor of Hadleigh and a Clothier. A “John Heyward son to . . .” was baptized Nov. 10. 1565; another John Heyward, son to “Rafe” on Aug. 17, 1585.

Deo  
Ter Opt. Max.  
Sacrum  
et

Memoriæ non periturae

R. Patris ac Domini D.D. Joh. Overalli,  
Viri undequaque doctissimi et omni encomio majoris  
Qui in Regia Cantabrig. Academiae Cathedra  
Et professione S. Theologiae D.D. Whitakero  
Successit, Aulæque Catherinæ ibidem præfuit.  
Postea Decanatum S. Pauli, Londin., Episcopatum  
Etiam Lichfield., ac tandem hanc sedem Norwicensem  
Rexit et Sexagenarius obiit 12<sup>o</sup> Maii A.D. MDCXIX.

Posuit

Joh. Cosin

Ejusdem R.P. D.D. Overalli  
Olim Secretarius Domesticus  
Et devotissimus discipulus  
Nunc vero Episcopus Dunelm.  
Ann. Dom. MDCLXIX.\*

I have seen it stated that Bishop Overall married Elizabeth Culson, and certainly there is the following entry in our Marriage Register, for 1604 :

November 11. John Overall, Sing.  
Elizabeth Culson, Sing.

But I believe that the bridegroom, here spoken of, was another John Overall, who was baptized on Sept. 27, 1579. The Bishop married Anne, daughter of Edward Orwell, of.....in the county of Lancaster, but he left no issue.

There is a portrait of the Bishop at Durham Castle, which has been engraved by Hollar and R. White, and a copy of Hollar's engraving is prefixed to the Edition of the "Convocation Book," in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*. The countenance is grave, handsome, and intellectual.

Having thus traced the career of Overall, I will turn to a brief consideration of his merits, which will afford an explanation of that continuous stream of preferment by

\* The cost of this monument was £20 in those days: "To the Cathedral of Norwich whereof the one half to be bestowed on a marble tablet, with an inscription in memory of Dr. John Over-

all, sometime Bishop there, the rest for providing some useful ornaments for the Altar, forty pounds," *Life of Cosin*, as above.

which he was carried on. All the writers, whom I have been able to consult, are unanimous in strong expressions of admiration at his talents and his learning. Thus he is styled "a prodigious learned man,"\*—"learned and judicious,"†—"one of strong brain to improve his great reading, and accounted one of the most learned controversial divines of his days,"‡—and "one of the most profound school divines of the English Nation";§ and I may suitably mention here, as an illustration of the custom of the learned of that date, that on one occasion when he had to preach before the Queen (Elizabeth), he professed to the father of Fuller that he "had spoken Latin so long, it was troublesome to him to speak English in a continued oration."|| It is very remarkable, however, that comparatively speaking, little fruit of his great learning and abilities remains to us. He led the opinions of some of his most illustrious contemporaries, such as Bilson, Andrews, Montague, and Cosin; he was the means of introducing into both the Universities a better system of theology,¶ but he left behind him no great work to which we can now appeal as an authority. Probably the arduous duties of his various stations, especially the preparation of the "Convocation Book," and the translation of the Holy Bible, occupied the best days of a life which was not long, but still the following list of his writings both in MS. and in print, will shew that he was far from being idle.

1. Prælectio cum Regii Professoris munus peteret post Dominum Doctorem Whitakerum. MS. Univ. Lib.—Cambr. Dd. 3. 85 art. 5. Gg. 1. 29. f. 69.—73a. MS. Harl. 750. art. 10. 12. The prelection is followed by an account given in the first person of the manner in which Dr. Overall was interrupted by the Moderator, Dr. Playfere, and of the discussion which ensued.
2. Quæstiones propositæ in publicis comitiis quando Theologiæ Doctor effectus est, viz. (1) Sola imputatione

\* Camden

|| Ibid.

† Bishop Hall's Works, vol. x., p. 481.

¶ Fuller's Church Hist., vol. v., p.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist., vol. v., p. 483.

483. Note by Rev. J. S. Brewer.

§ Fuller's Worthies, vol. i. i., p. 170

obedientiæ Christi per fidem peccatores justificantur ad salutem. (2.) Fidelis ex fide certus esse remissionis suorum peccatorum et potest et debet. MS. Univ. Lib., Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 57-63. MS. Harl. 750. art. 11. A set of Elegiac verses on each of these subjects is introduced.

3. Quæstio, utrum animæ Patrum ante Christum defunctorum, fuerint in Cælo? MS. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 16-37. Printed in Ricardi Montacutii Apparatus ad Origines Ecclesiasticas, Oxford, fol. 1635. The question was discussed in a disputation with Mr. Howes, of Queen's College, and Dr. Some in July 1599.
4. An explanation of Baptism and the Lord's Supper added to the Church Catechism.
5. Orationes, (a) In vesperis Comitiorum, 1599; (b) In die Comitiorum, 1603; (c) Pridie Comitiorum, Junii 30, 1606; (d) In die Comitiorum Julii 1, 1606. MS. Univ. Lib., Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 87-107 a.
6. Præsentatio Prolocutoris D.D. Ravis in Convocatione Londini habita Mar. 23. 1603. MS. Univ. Lib., Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 82 b-83. MS. Harl. 3142, art. 4.
7. Oratio in Synodo Londini habita, A.D. 1605 post conjugationem pulverariam. MS. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 84-86.
8. Quæstio: Nihil impedit quominus anima Christi in triduo mortis tam ad cœtum damnatorum quam beatorum abierit. MS. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 38.
9. Quæstio: Mahometam sive Turcam et Papam Romanum simul constituere Anti-Christum est verisimile. MS. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 39-42 a.
10. Quæstiones duæ. De Amissione sive carentia Justificationis et fidei justificantis in lapsibus et peccatis gravibus commissis et retentis contra conscientiam. MS. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 42 a-56.
11. De justitia inhærente. MS. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 64 a.
12. An vera fides sit in dæmonibus et malis hominibus. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 64 b-65 a.



13. De lapsu Adami. MS. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 65 b.
14. An aliqui prædestinati sunt ad interitum. MS. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 66.
15. Non licet ministro Verbi se abdicare ministerio. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 74.
16. Christus pariter præsens in sacramentis veteribus atque novis. In hexameters. MS. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 73 b.
17. Dedication to James I. of the collected works of Bishop Jewel. Lond. fo. 1609-1611. Translated in Jewel's works, ed. Ayres iv. 1306-1312.
18. Sententiæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ de prædestinatione, καὶ τοῖς ἐχόμενοις MS. Univ. Lib. Cambr. Gg. 1. 29. f. 123-126. Printed in Articuli Lambethani, London, 8vo. 1651. Subjoined to Ellis' Ed. of the 39 Articles.
19. The Convocation Book 1606, concerning the Government of God's Catholick Church, and the kingdoms of the whole world. London, Quarto, 1690, with the imprimatur of Archbishop Sancroft. Reprinted in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. The MS. is preserved in the Episcopal Library at Durham (folio 11).
20. Letters in Latin, to Hugh Grotius, &c.
21. On a middle state. Printed in Archibald Campbell's Doctrine of a middle state. London, fo. 1721.

And besides these, he assisted Dr. Mason in his work on English Ordinations, published in 1613 fol.

The opinions of Overall were moderate. Like most of the leading men of those days he was involved in controversies about the divine decrees, and he was so actively opposed to Whitaker, and the Supralapsarian party at Cambridge, that he is ranked by Burnett with the Arminians;\* and no doubt his sympathies were on the whole, on that side,† but, so far as I can gather, he was not an extreme, or even thorough partizan. He held, indeed, that all men within the pale of the Church have such common helps from

\* *Exposition of Article xvii.*

† See *Waterland's Works*, ii. p. 380

the mercy of God towards faith and obedience, that their condemnation, if they be condemned, will be the result of their own folly; but at the same time he held that within these, there is an inner circle of the elect, who are predestinate according to the good pleasure of His will,\* and that they, who have thus been effectually called, can never finally fall away from grace.† In the controversies, too, about the necessity of Episcopal ordination to make a valid ministry, he was willing so far to respect the scruples of the Puritans, as to propose the admission of their preachers into the ministry of the Church, by this hypothetical form of ordination, "If thou beest not already ordained, I ordain thee, &c." In the administration of his diocese, he was a discreet presser of conformity,‡ and like most of the Bishops of that period, was in the habit of enquiring in his Visitation Articles, whether before the Lord's Supper was administered, that exhortation was read which invites the people, if they are disquieted in their consciences to open their grief to a minister of God, that they may receive from him the benefit of absolution;§ but it is probable, I think, that he meant no more than that voluntary and occasional recourse to confession and absolution, which in exceptional and extreme cases the Church of England has been ever accustomed to permit.||

And he was remarkable for the gentleness with which he

\* I gather thus much from *Bishop Hall's Via Media, the Way of peace. Works*, vol. x. pp. 473-498.

† *Cardwell's Conferences*, p. 186.

‡ *Fuller's Worthies*.

§ *Lathbury's History of the Prayer Book*, p. 148. An autograph sketch of Overall's disputation on Auricular Confession, at the creation of some Doctors of Divinity, is, I believe, appended to the *Prælectio*, which Mr. Cooper has given first on the list which I have copied, but I have not been able to consult it.

|| It would appear too from the account of his interview with the Earl of Essex, which is given in *Goodman's Court of James I.* vol. i. p. 145, that he was in favour of allowing recreation on Sunday evenings, such as that which was after-

wards, in 1617, sanctioned by King James in the famous "Book of Sports." Essex asked him, "Whether a man might use any lawful recreation upon the Sabbath, after evening prayer? To whom the Bishop replied that he thought he might, and showed him the example of all other Reformed Churches, as Geneva, the Low Countries, and the rest." Essex, however, for the time, thought it safer to forbear.

The "Book of Sports" was published at the request of Overall's friend, Bishop Morton, in order to counteract the devices of the Romish party who encouraged the people to dance, &c., early in the day on Sundays, in order that they might keep them from Church. *Barwick's Life of Morton*, pp. 80-82.

expressed his views. One, who used to attend his Lectures, when Regius Professor of Divinity, has related, that he was then greatly struck not only with the singular tact and wisdom with which Overall quoted Holy Scripture and the Fathers; but, above all, with the allowances, which he made for differences of opinion.

"When he had fixed the prime and principal truth in any debate, with great meekness and sweetness he gave copious latitude to his auditors, how far they might dissent, keeping the foundation sure, without any breach of charity."\*

Indeed he had an effectual preservative against all tendency to pride in a constant recollection of the vanity of this world. The heathen king, with the view of checking proud and ambitious thoughts paid a man to remind him every morning when he awoke, that he was mortal;† at the coronation of a Pope as he passes in procession to his throne in St Peter's, a reed, surmounted by a handful of flax, is three times held up before him, the flax is lighted, and as it flashes for a moment and then dies out, these words are chaunted by an attendant priest, as though to counteract the earthly influences of a triple crown, *Pater Sancte, sic transit gloria mundi*:‡ but our great townsman needed no such mementos to prevent his being made giddy by repeated elevations, for he had continually on his lips those warning words of David, which form part of the Burial Service of the Church; "When Thou with rebukes dost chasten man for sin, Thou makest his beauty to consume away like a moth fretting a garment: every man, therefore, is but vanity."§

I now come to speak of one, who though not connected with our town so early as the two last, because he was not

see also  
p. viii

\* From *Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams*, quoted by Mr. Cooper.

† Philip of Macedon.

‡ *Wiseman's Four last Popes*, pp. 225-226.

§ *Psalm xxxix. 11.* He would in this respect have won the praise of Foxe, who, commenting on Rowland Taylor's cheerfulness at the prospect of death, observes

his meditation was "that he should shortly die and feed worms in the grave: which meditation, if all our Bishops and spiritual men had used, they had not, for a little worldly glory, forsaken the word of God and truth, which they in King Edward's days had preached and set forth." *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., p. 696.

a native of it, was yet their senior in age, and exercised as we have seen, some influence on their young life.

JOHN STILL was the only son of William Still, Esq. and was born at Grantham in Lincolnshire, in the year 1543.\* I have not been able to find out at what school he was educated, but he was ultimately sent to Christ's College, Cambridge, and was elected to a Fellowship there in 1560.

In the Bursar's book of that College there is the following entry in 1556, or more probably in 1565.

"Item for the Carpenters' setting up the Scaffold at the Plaie xx<sup>d</sup> "† and it has been generally supposed from the title of that play, when afterwards published in black letter in 1575,‡ "Gammer's Gurton's needle by Mr. S. M.A." that Dr. Still must have been the author of it. In support of this conclusion it is alleged that there was no other person at Christ's College in that year, whose name began with S., and that it is exceedingly improbable that a member of any other College, who had written a play, would have been allowed the use of Christ's for its representation on the stage.

The play in question is the earliest of our Dramatic pieces, as distinguished from the Mysteries and Moralities, which were common in the Middle Ages.§ It is written in metre and spun out into five acts; but the language of it, though no doubt the popular language of the times, is so profane and coarse that it is painful to read it.|| The incidents,

\* *Mr. Hallam, Literature of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 166 note, thinks this date too low, but it agrees with the age of the Bishop, as it is recorded on his monument at Wells.

† *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. 1. pt. ii. *Hallam* says "It seems to have been represented in Christ's College, Cambridge not far from the year 1565." *Warton, English Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 523, declares that it was acted there "about the year 1552." I applied to a friend, a Fellow of Christ's, for a fresh copy of this entry. Unfortunately the Bursar's book was in the hands of the University Commissioners in London, but I was assured that

such an entry exists.

‡ I have seen it stated, however, that it was printed in 1561.

§ *Dodsley, Preface to Collection of old Plays*, p. xvi.

|| The following "drinking-song" in the play, is a curious specimen of Mr. Still's powers as a poet, while it both shews that "Teetotalism" was at a discount in those days, and makes us rejoice over the better and more abstemious custom of our times. It is curious, also, as being "the first *Chanson à Boire* or drinking ballad, of any merit in our language." *Warton's English Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 179.

however, are amusing. Gammer Gurton, when mending the best breeches of her man, Hodges, loses her only needle, and the dismay of the mistress is equalled by the annoyance of the servant in having no change of nether garments for the approaching Sunday. After the whole household has been thrown into dire confusion, Hodges confides the loss of the needle and the terrible state of his wardrobe to "Diccon the Bedlam," who suggests that they had better raise the devil in order to ascertain from him where the needle is; but the thought of a Satanic apparition has such an effect on Hodges that a catastrophe occurs, which renders a change of raiment, not only desirable, but absolutely necessary. Diccon then insinuates to Gammer Gurton that her neighbour Dame Chat had stolen the needle; and immediately afterwards exasperates the mind of Dame Chat by the report that Gammer Gurton had charged her with having stolen her hens. The two Ladies, full of fury, seek each other, like the bulls in Virgil, and then

"Illæ alternantes multa vi proelia miscent  
Vulneribus crebris :\*

a violent quarrel and fight take place between them,

I cannot eat but little meat,  
My stomach is not good ;  
But sure I think that I can drink  
With him that wears a hood.  
Though I go bare, take ye no care,  
I am nothing a colde ;  
I stuffe my skin so full within  
Of joly good ale and old.  
Back and side, go bare, go bare,  
Booth foot and hand go colde :  
But, belly, God send thee good ale  
i'noughe  
Whether it be new or old.

I love no rost, but a nut-browne toste,  
And a crab laid in the fire,  
A little bread shall do me stead,  
Moche bread I not desire.  
No frost, no snow, no winde, I trow  
Can hurte me if I wolde,  
I am so wrapt and throwly lapt  
Of joly good ale and old.  
Back and side, go bare, &c.

And Tib my wife, that as her life,  
Loveth well good ale to seeke,  
Full ofte drinks shee till ye may see  
The tears run down her cheeke.  
Then dooth she trowle to me her bowle  
E'en as a mault worm sholde;  
And saith, Sweet heart, I tooke my parte  
Of this joly good ale and old.  
Back and side, go bare, &c.

Now let them drink, till they nod and  
winke  
E'en as good fellows shou'd do ;  
They shall not misse to have the blisse  
Good ale dooth bringe men to,  
And al good sowles that have scowred  
bowles,  
Or have them lustely trolde  
God save the lives of them and their  
wives  
Whether they be yong or lde !  
Back and side, go bare, &c.

I have been told that this song has been lately set to music and is now popular in London.

\* Virgil, *Georgics*, lib. iii. 220.

in which Gammer Gurton is severely handled. She sends for the Parish Priest\* to console and advise her, and when he comes, grumbling, from his cups, it is only to fall into a trap, which the ingenious Diccon has contrived. Diccon declares that if his Reverence will enter into Dame Chat's house by a secret way which he will shew him, he will see the old Dame actually at work with the missing needle: he then quietly tells the old Dame that some robbers are about to attack her hen-roost and recommends her to give them a warm reception; and so it comes to pass that the intruding Priest is mistaken for a thief, and dreadfully belaboured in the dark by his own parishioner. The upshot of the whole is that Hodges having induced himself (as was necessary) in his Sunday but unmended small clothes, is made painfully aware, by the needle pricking him in a safe but sensitive part, that they have all been losing both time and temper in the pursuit of an object which was close at hand.†

"It is impossible, "says Mr. Hallam,"‡ for anything to be meaner in subject and character than this strange farce; but the author had some vein of humour, and writing neither for fame nor money, but to make light-hearted boys laugh and to laugh with them, and that with as little grossness as the story would admit, is not to be judged with severe criticism."

Original copies of this play are scarce; one sold at the Duke of Roxburgh's sale in 1812, fetched £8. 8s. 0d.; another copy was sold in 1825, for £10; and Mr. Fitch has told me that he has a copy in his possession for which he gave the latter sum. The play, however, has been reprinted in *Dodsley's Select Collection of old Plays*, vol. i., ed. 1744,

\* "Gammer Gurton's needle must have been written, while the Protestant establishment, if it existed, was very recent, for the Parson is evidently a Papist." *Hallam, Lit. of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 166.

† Mr. Fitch has told me that he has read, but where he has forgotten, that this strange Play was once performed at Hadleigh!

‡ *Literature of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 166. Warton's criticism is, "The writer has a degree of jocularly which sometimes rises above buffoonery, but is often disgraced by lowness of incident. Yet in a more

polished age he would have chosen, nor would he perhaps have disgraced, a better subject. It has been thought surprising that a learned audience could have endured some of these indelicate scenes. But the established festivities of scholars were gross, and agreeable to their general habits; nor was learning in that age always accompanied by gentleness of manners. When the sermons of Hugh Latimer were in vogue at Court, the University might be justified in applauding Gammer Gurton's needle." *History of English Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 180-181.

and is there stated to have been copied from an edition of 1661.

But after all, the authorship of a play, remarkable chiefly for being the very earliest of our English Comedies, is not the main distinction of Dr. Still. The gaiety of youthful spirits, which had prompted him to write his play in a tone, for which the only justification is the habit of the time,\* became sobered down as life advanced, and in maturer years he appears to have been calm, grave, and reverential. "He was one of a venerable presence," says Fuller,† "not less famous for a preacher than a disputant," and his pupil, Sir John Harrington,‡ speaks of him with high respect as one, into whose society it was impossible to go without deriving profit, "so famous," too, "for a preacher and especially a disputer that y<sup>e</sup> learned'st were ever afraid to contend with him,"—"a rare man for preaching, for arguing, for learning, for living."

And the preferments which were showered on him in quick succession, not simply through Court favour or by partial friends, but by bodies of learned men, prove better than these panegyrics that he must have been no ordinary man. Archbishop Parker, the next Protestant successor to Cranmer, in the Primacy of the Reformed Church, early took him into the number of his Chaplains, and not only appointed him Rector of Hadleigh in 1571,§ and a Prebendary of Westminster|| in 1573, but recommended him very strongly, though unsuccessfully, for the Deanery of Norwich;¶ and this testimony to his merits is strengthened by

\* The writers of the *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. ii. p. 258, are very severe upon this point.

† *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 276.

‡ *View of the State of the Church*, (A.D. 1653) p. 18. and *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. pp. 157-165.

§ In 1571, this item occurs in the *Churchwardens' and Collectors' book*, "Payd to John Smythe for that he hath layd out about the CHARTER, iiijl." Again in 1586, "M<sup>m</sup> that ther resteth in the hands of Wm. Forth, gent. xlii wch is dew to the towne, and is parte of that money wch was gathered for the Charter."

These entries warrant the belief that application for the granting of a Charter to the town had been made to Queen Elizabeth. I am sorry that I did not meet with them before.

|| It is said on the authority of *Wood, Athen. Oxon.* that Still was a D.D. at this time; but in the *Churchwardens' and Collectors' Account book*, he is styled Mr. Still in 1574, and not called Dr. till 1576.

¶ He was appointed to the 7th Stall in the place of Mr. Aldridge, deprived for non-conformity.

¶ *Cassan's Bishops of Bath and Wells.*

the fact that the University of Cambridge made him Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, in 1570, when he was only 27 years of age. In 1574, he was elected Master of St. John's College; in 1576 he was collated to the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, and in 1577 he was translated from the Headship of St. John's to the Mastership of Trinity, on the elevation of Dr. Whitgift to the See of Worcester.

He is thus described\* at this period in the books of Trinity College:

"Regr. Coll. Trin. Religionis, doctrinæ, gravitatis, prudentiæ nomine conspicuus, promotus est ad gubernationem Coll. D. Jo., ubi et in placido et turbato æquore gubernatorem egit scitum et cordatum. In collegium hoc assumptus an. 1577 per annos plus minus sexdecim patremfamilias se ferebat providum, *αγαθον κουροτροφον*, nec collegio onerosum, nec suis gravem, ex sollicitudine et frugalitate magis quam sumptu et austeritate præfectum dignoscere. Profectus est inde ad Episcopatum Bath. et Welles. an. 1592, ubi obiit Febr. 26, 1607. Epitaphio ornatus a G. Camdeno, excusso ad calcem Annalium Regis Jacobi."

While holding the Headship of St. John's, Dr. Still was remarkable for "his unshaken affection for the Church."† The Puritans made great efforts to obtain his favour, but failing in that design, they assailed him with opposition and abuse, and made the government of the College more than usually troublesome; but he carried himself with constancy and resolution and "having prudence equal to his activity, and a reputation for learning that set him above the calumnies of his enemies" he well nigh succeeded in "rooting out Puritanism from that Society."‡ "In the oeconomicks of the College he was frugal and prudent and a good manager of the revenues of the House"—indeed he increased its income by renting out its estates in corn according to an Act of Parliament, which had recently been passed.§

And when elected to the Mastership of Trinity he

\* G. Baker, in *Bibl. Harl.* 7028, quoted by Cassan.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

I find this casual notice of his opinions in *Fuller, Church Hist.*, vol. v. pp. 62-63.

"Dr. Still, afterwards Master of Tri-

nity, (out of curiosity or casually present at his preaching,) discovered in him, (Brown, the founder of the Brownists), something extraordinary which he presaged would prove the disturbance of the Church, if not seasonably prevented."

§ *Statute, 18th Elizabeth*, cap. 6. A.D. 1575.



introduced the same advantageous system into the management of its estates. He was the means also of effecting an alteration in the statutes with regard to the tenure of his office. Before his time it was not usual to hold the Headship for more than seven years; but he succeeded in making it a life appointment, which gave rise to the then "merry common saying that the College was a good horse but that it would kick till Still went to court and got new girts."

But although he was so active in University affairs, he must have resided a good deal upon his benefice at Hadleigh, if at least we may judge from the Baptisms of his children, and from the records of his attendance at Parish meetings. From 1577 to 1589 the Register tells us pretty regularly of Baptisms in his family in alternate years at least; and the Churchwardens' and Chief Bailiff's accounts, also shew us that he was present here at seasons, when his College must have been assembled. From these accounts which contain his autograph signature in several places, it would appear that the controul of his parish, was, though from another cause, almost as troublesome as the government of St. John's. The population of the town seems to have been very ill-conditioned, so that there are repeated notices of Committees being formed for the purpose of maintaining order and tranquillity.\* In 1577 there is this more than usually lengthy memorandum, signed by Dr. Still and other principal inhabitants:

"That the last day of Decembr 1577 it was agreed and concluded by y<sup>e</sup> headboroughes and inhabitants of the towne of Hadleigh, whose names are hereunder subscribed, that for the restreynt of idle and evill disposed persons and roges in the said towne, and for the deminishinge of the excessive charges of the prissoners aforesaid they will presently appoint some convenient house and chose some honest man and his wife, who shall have the oversight and governance of all the idle roges and masterlesse persons vagrant and begginge in the same towne and kepe them throughly to their worke, and in defalte of their workinge or for other their disorders

\* In 1579 the town was threatened with an indictment for not "Mending the heye wayes w<sup>th</sup>in the town of Had-

leigh," but the proceedings seem to have been stayed on the payment of certain costs. *Churchwardens' &c. Book*, p. 130.

duely to correct them. And further they will proceed in other rules and matters necessary hereunto as conveniently they may.

And in 1580 it was agreed to

"Chose in every street two of of the naybours dwelling in the same to forsee that no incominers (?) nor any other abbusis be in the sayd street w<sup>ch</sup> if any such abbusis do happen to sygnifye the same to y<sup>e</sup> reast of y<sup>e</sup> towne at the Church on Sunday following."

In the former of these extracts we also see the introduction of those "houses of industry" which resulted from the application of the Poor Law, which had been enacted a few years before.\* Children and widows were at first placed in families, the town allowing a certain yearly sum for their maintenance, or collected together and placed under the care of "a fyttē man and his wife in the towne House;" but the able-bodied and the idle were actually forced into what was then called sometimes the "House of Correction" sometimes "the Hospitall" and sometimes the "Workhouse," where the chief "clothiers" agreed amongst themselves alternately after weekly conference to find them work.

And I think that the Workhouse for these as well as for the children was kept even then, as we know that it was kept in the last century, in the "towne house" or the old buildings on the South side of the Church-yard; for a few years later, we have not only lists of "the implements" (bedsteads bedding &c. which were supplied by the town) and the number of inmates in the House (it was 30 in 1595), the sum paid to the "honest man"† who took charge of them and fed and clothed them (£20 in 1595) and the rules for his guidance—authorizing him to "take and bring into the said house all such persons as he should find "begging

\* 5th Elizabeth, 1562-3.

† It was a John Allen a Shoemaker—*Churchwardens' &c. Account* 1598, p. 264. He was made Bailiff of the Market this year "to receive and take to his own use all the rents and profits" in consideration of his acting also as Master of the Workhouse. His custody of the Guildhall, mentioned further on in the text, may have belonged to him as Bailiff of the Market, but the impression left on my mind is that he lived on the spot and kept

the Workhouse in the adjoining buildings.

A native of Hadleigh, John Raven, was at this time "*Rouge Dragon*," in the Herald's Office. He signed a parish document attaching that dignity to his name, in 1589.—*Churchwardens and Collectors Book*. Mr. Fitch has been kind enough to ascertain for me that there is no biographical notice of him in the Herald's Office. The first Pursuivant at Arms who bore the title of *Rouge Dragon*, was appointed by Henry the Seventh.

within the said towne," but the following curious item, in the agreement made with him by the chief inhabitants :

"He shall not suffer any playes to be made within the *Guild-Hall* without consent of syx of the chief inhabitants of the towne under their handwritting, and further that all such playes as shall be made there shall be ended in the daye time, and also, that if any hurte or damage be made by the saide playes or weddings kept there, that then the saide John Allen shall repaire and make the saide houses in as good state as they are now, at his owne costs and charges."

But to return to Dr. Still :—higher honors and preferments were in store for him. In 1588,\* he was chosen Prolocutor of the Convocation and preached the Latin Sermon;† and towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when an unsuccessful effort was made for the meeting of a Diet in Germany, to compose matters of religion, "Dr. Still was chosen for Cambridge, and Dr. Humphrey for Oxford, to oppose all comers for the defence of the English Church,"‡ and in 1592 (as I have already stated in the Latin quotation which I made just now), being then, for the second time, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, he was raised to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, as successor to Bishop Godwin.

Bishop Still was twice married. His first wife was Anne Alabaster, a native of Hadleigh,§ and a member of

\* In June, 1590, there is this memorandum in the *Churchwardens' and Collectors' Book*,—"It ys agreed at this accompt that Mr. Harvey shall paye unto Mr. Walton xiiij<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. by discharge of the money payd unto Raphe Agus for measuring of great Spencers." Mr. Fitch has told me that "Raphe Agus" was the first Surveyor that published plans of towns in the time of Queen Elizabeth. He was much employed at Oxford, and published *Oxonia Antiqua*, in 1578; he had probably published *Civitas Londinum* before. See *Brayley's Londiniana*, vol. i., pp. 81, 82.

† A large subsidy was voted in this Convocation to enable the Crown to repel the Invasion from Spain (Spanish Armada) which was then attempted.

‡ *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii., p. 276. There is an account of Dr. Humphrey, "a great and general scholar, able linguist, deep divine, pious to God, humble in

himself, charitable to others;" in *Worthies*, vol. i., p. 207. He was President of Magdalen College and Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford, and Dean of Winchester. He must have been illuminated with Dr. Still, for he was a Puritan. *Church History*, vol. iv., p. 329. He died in 1589.

§ Several pages of our Register between 1568 and 1575 have been lost, so that I have not been able to ascertain the date of his marriage. His children by this wife, were *Sarah*, baptized May 24, 1575, married to William Morgan of Westminster; *Anne*, baptized August 19, 1576, must have died young, but I have found no entry of her burial; *John*, baptized Jan. 19, 1577, buried May 30, 1581; *Nathaniel*, son and heir, baptized Oct. 18, 1579; *Anne*, baptized April 30, 1581, married to Mr. Robert Eyre of Wells; *Elizabeth*, baptized Oct. 6, 1583, married to Mr. Richard Edwards of London;

one of the leading families in the town, and by her he had a numerous family. She was buried in our Church, and the following extraordinary circumstance is related by Bishop Warburton, to have occurred to her, the year before her death.

"This day the Lord Bishop of Ely (Andrews), a prelate of great piety and holiness, related to me a wonderful thing. He said he had received the account from many hands, but chiefly from the Lord Bishop of Wells (Still), lately dead. That in the city of Wells, about 15 years ago (1596), one summer's day, while the people were at divine service in the Cathedral Church, they heard, as it thundered, 2 or 3 claps above measure dreadful, so that the whole congregation, affected alike, threw themselves on their knees at this terrifying sound. It appeared the lightening fell at the same time but without harm to any one. So far, then, there was nothing but what is common in the like cases. The wonderful part was this,—which was afterwards taken notice of by many,—that the marks of a Cross were found to have been imprinted on the bodies of those, who were then at Divine Service in the Cathedral.

"The Bishop of Wells (Still), told my Lord of Ely, that his wife (a woman of uncommon probity), came to him and informed him, as of a great miracle, that she had then the mark of a Cross imprinted on her body; which, when the Bishop treated it as absurd, his wife exposed the part, and gave him ocular proof. He afterwards observed that he had upon himself,—on his arm as I take it,—the plainest mark of a +. Others had it on the shoulder, the breast, the back, and other parts. This account, that great man, my Lord of Ely, gave me in such a manner as forbade even to doubt its truth."\*

Bishop Still married again, while he was Bishop of Bath and Wells, much to the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth,†

*Mary*, baptized April 12, 1585, married to Caston Jones: *John*, baptized Feb. 12, 1588, A.M. and a Prebendary of Wells and Salisbury, suffered for the Royal cause, during the Rebellion, (see *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 75), he lived until the Restoration, (*Ibid.* p. 66); *Thomas*, baptized Sep. 21, 1589, buried Nov. 12, 1589. The marriages did not take place in Hadleigh, but they are recorded in *Cassan's Bishops of Bath and Wells*. *Henry Still* is mentioned by *Walker*, part ii., p. 373, "probably one of the sons of Dr. Still some time before Bishop of Bath and Wells, and in that capacity patron of this rich living" (Christian Malford), as having suffered during the Rebellion, but I have not been able to learn that the Bishop had a son of that

name.

\* Ex advers. Is. Casaubon apud Marc Casaubon in tract entitled "*Of Credulity and Incredulity*." There is a curious anecdote, not exactly of the same kind, but equally remarkable, told by *Bishop Hall*, *Works*, vol. viii., p. 373. He professes to have satisfied himself that a well at St. Maderne's Cornwall, like the Pool of Siloam, had healing properties given to it by an angel.

† *Blunt's Reformation*, p. 301. *Har-rington's View of the State of the Church*. It had previously been urged as an objection to Cranmer that he was debarred from a Bishopric by bigamy, he having been successively twice married. *Fuller's Church History*, vol. iii., p. 69.

who, never favourable to the marriage of the Clergy at all, especially disapproved of their contracting "double marriages." His second wife was Jane, daughter of Sir John Horner, Knight, of Cloford, Somersetshire, and from the only son, who was the issue of this union, the present representative of the family, the Rev. Henry Hughes Still, Rector of Cattistock, Dorset, is descended.

The Bishop himself, died at his Palace at Wells, on the 26th of Feb., 1607, but he was not buried until the 4th of April following. He was then interred on the south side of the choir of his Cathedral, under a neat tomb of alabaster, of Grecian design, erected by his eldest son, Nathaniel. A few years ago, during the restoration of the Cathedral, this tomb was removed from its original position, and placed in the north aisle, at the bottom of the steps leading to the Chapter Room. It has lately been restored, and at the same time the inscription on it, which was written by Camden,\* was renewed.

Memoriæ Sacrum  
 Johanni Still, Episcopo  
 Bathoniensi et Wellensi,  
 Sacræ Theologiæ Doctore,  
 Acerrimo Christianæ  
 Veritatis propugnatori,  
 Non minus vitæ integritate  
 Quam varia doctrina claro :  
 Qui cum Domino diu  
 Vigilasset, in Christo spe  
 Certa resurgendi obdormivit  
 Die XXVI Februarii MDCVII.  
 Vixit annos LXIII. Sedit  
 Episcopus XVI.

Nathaniel filius primogenitus  
 Optimo patri mœrens pietatis ergo  
 posuit.

Certain mines having been discovered in the Mendip Hills, a part of the episcopal property, during his incumbency, Bishop Still was able to leave "a considerable revenue

\* Camden was an Oxford man, but as Master of Westminster School, whence a portion of the Foundation Scholars went

to Cambridge, he would probably become acquainted with the Master of Trinity College.

to three branches of his family." He also bequeathed £500 towards the building of an Almshouse in the City of Wells, which exists to this day, affording shelter to six old men, who are appointed by the Bishops of Bath and Wells for the time being. He also left 100 marks towards buildings, and a silver bason and ewer to Trinity College, Cambridge;\* and £50 to be spent in ten years in buying clothing for the aged poor of Hadleigh, "as a token of his old love to the place of his ministry."

There are portraits of him in the gallery of the Episcopal Palace at Wells and at Cambridge; and an engraving in *Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells*. The countenance is remarkably handsome and striking, expressive of ability and benevolence; but withal there lurk in the clear eyes and in the lines about them, indications of that mirthful spirit which we should expect to characterize the author of *Gammer Gurton*.

In 1567-8 was born at Hadleigh, WILLIAM ALABASTER, "son to Roger," at all events he was baptized, according to our Register, on Feb. 28 of that year. He appears to have been the eldest child, for a Roger Alabaster, whom I take to be his father, married Mary (?) Wintrobe, on the 26th of April, 1567; and he was the nephew, by marriage of Bishop Still, whose first wife, Anne Alabaster, was a sister of his father. I think, that he must have received his earliest education at our school, but about the year 1578 he was sent to Westminster, probably by the advice of Dr. Still, who, as Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, was intimately connected with that school. From Westminster he proceeded to Trinity College in 1583, was admitted a scholar there on May 15, 1584, took his B.A. degree in 1587-8, was elected Fellow on Oct. 2, 1589, and commenced M.A. in 1591; and as M.A., was incorporated at Oxford, in 1592.

\* Trinity College lost a good deal of plate by a robbery, at the beginning of the present century, and it is supposed

that Bishop Still's bason and ewer were then stolen.

He appears to have been naturally of a restless and intriguing disposition, and he resembled the chameleon-like Shaxton, in the changeful colours of his religious faith. In 1594 he was detected in a suspicious correspondence with one Wright, and thereupon imprisoned at the instance of Archbishop Whitgift. He must, however, have regained his liberty before long, for in 1596 (could it have been through the influence of Overall, who had been tutor to Essex, while at Cambridge?) he became Chaplain to the Earl of Essex, when that nobleman was appointed to command the land-forces in the expedition to Cadiz—an expedition which was intended to cripple the resources of the Spaniards, who were preparing for a new invasion of this country.\*—The gallantry of Essex, regardless of the orders of the Queen that he should not be permitted to risk his person in the thickest of the fight, could not be restrained, and he led on his men to the capture of the place; but when the victory had been achieved, he treated the vanquished Spaniards with characteristic generosity. His Chaplain improved the opportunity, thus allowed him, of visiting the churches of the city, and was so struck by their beauty, and also by the respect shewn by the people to the Romish Priests, “that he staggered in his own religion.” Perhaps his mind, still irritated with the treatment which he had received in his own Church, represented to him that he would receive greater consideration from the Romish party; but at all events certain of that party, finding him reeling, worked so powerfully on his feelings, as to induce him after a little while to become a Papist.†

But even then he was not satisfied. Perhaps his pride was again wounded by not receiving the respect, to which he thought himself entitled; perhaps his better knowledge resumed its influence after the first excitement of the change had died away; but from whatever motive, he soon afterwards expressed opinions, which were obnoxious to the Court of Rome, and having been enticed to “the Eternal

\* *Hume's History of England*, vol. iv., pp. 128-130.

† *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. iii., p. 185.

City," he was condemned by the Inquisition, and once more imprisoned. On his liberation he was confined to the city walls, but at the peril of his life managed to escape from Rome.\* In 1610 he was in Holland, (how he came thither I do not know), and there, again, suspicion fell upon him, and he became for the third time an inmate of a gaol, being thrown into prison by the burgomasters at Amsterdam, on a charge of being concerned in a plot against Prince Maurice—a charge, however, of which he is believed to have been guiltless. Still he had a very evil reputation there, for John Dickenson, writing to Sir Ralph Winwood from the Hague, in August, 1610, describes him as "*Alabasterius bipedum nequissimus*."

Soon after this he returned to England, and must, either then, or at an earlier period, have sought re-admission into the English Church, for on the 4th of Jan., 1613-14, he was appointed to preach before King James the First. Many even then doubted his sincerity, and also disapproved of the favour shewn him by the King, for Mr. Chamberlain, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton, remarks, "Yesterday, Alabaster, the double or treble turncoat, preached before the King, at Whitehall, where there were many clergymen that do not greatly applaud him, but say he made a curious fantastick piece of work." But he appears to have convinced his royal patron of his renewed attachment to the Church, for he was not only offered the living of Brettenham in this county, which he refused, but on the elevation of Overall to the Episcopate in 1614, he was appointed to succeed him in the Rectory of Therfield, and in the same year was created a D.D. at Cambridge, by Royal Mandate.

It was on this last occasion, I suppose, that he made another "fantastick piece of work"; for we are told that when he commenced D.D., he took for his text the first words of the First Book of Chronicles, "Adam, Sheth, Enosh," and "by discovering several mysteries in each word,"† he contended that besides their literal, they had a

\* Preface to his own *Eece Sponsus*.

† See *The Spectator*, No. 221.



mystical meaning,"—"man is put or placed for pain and trouble."

"How well this agreeth with the original," remarks the quaint Fuller,\* "belongs not to me to enquire. This I know, it had been hard (if not impossible) for him to hold on the same rate, and reduce the proper names in the genealogies following to such an appellativeness as should compose a continued sense."

I have been able to learn but little of the evening of a life, whose commencement was so very inauspicious; but I am inclined to believe that the greater part of it was spent at his Rectory, at Therfield, in quiet devotion to literary pursuits. I have seen it stated that he married a daughter of Bishop Still, who on her mother's side was a cousin of his own, but the list of the Bishop's children and of their marriages, which I have given in a note on a preceding page, does not appear to warrant the assertion. His mother seems to have accompanied him to his living; at all events there is an entry of her burial in the register at Therfield, on October 29, 1614; and ten years after, October, 1624, the register relates the baptism of "Alabaster filius Thomæ Fludd, generosi, et Bridgetæ uxoris ejus,"—probably a godson,—both of which entries confirm me in the persuasion that he was for the most part resident in his parish. In 1637, however, when Bishop Williams was confined in the Tower by order of the Star-chamber, "his constant friend Dr. Alabaster," sympathizing, I conclude, with the inconvenience of a position which he had so often experienced himself, "took lodgings in one of the mintmaster's houses," that he might be able by frequent visits to enliven his captivity.†

Dr. Alabaster died in April, 1640, and was buried by his friend Nicholas Bacon, of Gray's Inn, whom he had appointed his executor;‡ but the place of his interment is not known. His portrait, painted by Cornelius Jansen, was engraved by J. Payne. It bears an inscription, which, from its characteristic eccentricity, must, I think, have

\* *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. iii. p. 186.

notes to which I have alluded.

† *Hacket's Life of Williams*, vol. ii., p. 137. Quoted by Mr. Cooper in the

‡ *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. i., pt. I, p. 5.

been dictated by himself, "Anno ætatis suæ 66; arcanæ theologiæ 33." There is another engraving of him by W. Richardson.

But after all, Dr. Alabaster was an able and a learned man. He was "an excellent Hebrician and well-skilled in cabalistic learning," and is pronounced by Wood,\* "the rarest poet or Grecian that any age or nation hath produced;" by Fuller, almost in the same words, as "a most rare poet as any age or nation hath produced;" and by Mr. Hallam, as "a man of recondite Hebrew learning." He was the author of the following works.

1. Greek verses in the University Collection on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, 1587.
2. Seven motives for his conversion to the Catholic Religion—answered by John Rackster and William Bedell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, and others. When, or under what title it was published, is not known..
3. Apparatus in Revelationem Jesu Christi. Antwerp, 4to, 1607.
4. Commentarius de Bestia Apocalyptica. London, 4to, 1621.
5. Roxana, Tragedia a Plagiarii unguibus vindicta, aucta et agnita ab autore Gul. Alabastro, Lond. 12mo, 1632.

This play is founded on an Oriental tale, and consists of conversations between real and allegorical personages. A very curious anecdote is related in connection with it, which is only surpassed by the terrible effects which are said to have followed the representation of the Eumenides of Æschylus on the stage, being

"admirably acted in that College (Trinity), and so pathetically, that a gentlewoman present thereat (Reader, I had it from an author whose credit it is sin with me to suspect), at the hearing of the last words thereof, *Sequar, sequar*, so hideously pronounced, fell distracted and never after fully recovered her senses."†

This was certainly dismal enough; but I can add something of a more amusing kind. This dreadful tragedy was

\* *Fasti Oxonienses.*

† *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. iii., p. 185.

published by Dr. Alabaster, because it had been previously printed by some plagiarist as his own; but the Doctor while vindicating his right to it, forgot to inform the public that after all he was himself a plagiarist, and had very largely borrowed from an Italian Drama of the 16th century—the *Dalida* of Grotto;—so much so, that the story, many thoughts, descriptions, and images, were taken from that original. Much of his own was added, but still the Tragedy was not in reality his offspring. Perhaps, however, I may say in excuse for him that it was the Latin scholarship,—and the elegance of its Latinity is remarkable,—more than the sentiments exhibited in the play, of the credit of which he was unwilling to be robbed.

Critics differ in their estimation of this play. Dr. Johnson thought favourably of it;\* but Mr. Hallam† is more chary of his praise:

“The tragedy of Grotto is shortened,” he says, “and Alabaster has thrown much into another form, besides introducing much of his own. The plot is full of all the accumulated horror and slaughter in which the Italians delighted on their stage. I rather prefer the original tragedy. Alabaster has fire and spirit with some degree of skill; but his notion of tragic style is of the ‘King Cambyzes’ vein;’ he is inflated and hyperbolic to excess, which is not the case with Grotto.”

6. *Ecce Sponsus venit, seu Tuba Pulchritudinis; est scilicet demonstratio quod non sit illicitum neque impossibile computare durationem mundi et tempus secundi adventus Christi.* London, 4to, 1633.
7. *Lexicon Pentaglotton; Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum, et Arabicum.* Folio, 1637.
8. *Spiraculum Tubarum, sive Fons Spiritualium expositio- num ex æquivocis Pentaglotti significationibus, Hebraicè et Latinè.* London, fol., no date.
9. Latin verses, (a) *In Aberanathi Librum de Analogiâ Morborum Corporis et animi;* (b) *In Gasparum Schoppium parabolarum scriptorem putidissimum bene malo mulctatum.* Printed in Cambridge portfolio.
10. Latin verses on William Camden.

\* *Life of Milton.*

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† *Literature of Europe*, vol. iii., p. 54.

11. *Elisæis, Apotheosis poetica, sive, De florentissimo imperio et rebus gestis augustissimæ et invictissimæ principis Elizabethæ D. G. Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ Poematis in duodecim libros tribuendi Liber primus.* It is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and the MS. is preserved in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and is numbered 1, 4, 16.

Dr. Alabaster died before he could complete his full design, but Spenser in his *Colin Clout's come home again*, thus speaks of him, and of the first book of this poem :

And there is Alabaster throughly taught  
 In all this skill, though knowen yet to few,  
 Yet were he known to Cynthia as he ought,  
 His Elisæis would be redde anew.  
 Who lives that can match that heroick song,  
 Which he of that mightie Princesse made?  
 O dreaded Dread, do not thyself that wrong,  
 To let thy fame lie so in hidden shade,  
 But call it forth, O call him forth to thee  
 To end thy glory, which he hath begun :  
 That when he finished hath as it should be  
 No braver Poeme can be under sun.  
 Nor Po, nor Tybur's Swans so much renown'd,  
 Nor all the brood of Greece so highly prais'd,  
 Can match that muse, when it with bayes is crown'd,  
 And to the pitch of her perfection raised."

But troublous times for the Church were again approaching. The Puritan party, though put down for a season in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had since increased in power and were seeking with restless and unscrupulous activity to accommodate the work of our Reformers to their own Genevan principles; and thus they who were loyal to the King and Church, and who were content with the Prayer Book as it was, became the objects of reproach and persecution. Hadleigh supplied several distinguished Confessors at this period, and the first in point of date was a native of the town, WILLIAM FULLER.

He was a son of Andrew Fuller, and was born here, if the inscription on his monument be correct, in the year

1580; but I can only find the name of William Fuller mentioned in the Register of Baptisms on Dec. 14, 1572, and Feb. 28, 1573-4, and in neither of those instances is the name of the father given; so that it is impossible to connect either of them with certainty with the one before us.\* I cannot make out either to what profession his father belonged. He was not a clothier, for in a memorandum in the Churchwardens' and Collectors' Book, where a distinction is drawn between clothiers and others, his name appears on the non-clothier side. He was, however, a Collector of the "Pore" in 1571: after that he appears to have obstinately refused to pay "for his gatt into the market" a certain rent, which was due, it was contended, to the town; and eventually a distress was issued for the recovery of that rent. Still he did not lose favour with his fellow-townsmen for he was Churchwarden of the Parish in 1577, in 1579, and 1580; and in 1591, and 1605 he was appointed Chief Collector of the Market.† He took a leading part in parish business until at length his name "Andrewe Fuller y<sup>e</sup> Chanter," occurs in large letters in the Register of Burials, on May 31, 1619. But the uncertainty, which hangs over the other particulars, which I have mentioned, envelopes also this, and I cannot understand what his office was, unless he was the leader of the singers in our Church.

William Fuller, I conclude, received his early education at our School; but at all events, he was ultimately sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, where his fellow-townsmen Overall was probably in residence as Regius Professor of Divinity. There he took the degree of B.A. in 1599, and of M.A. in 1603; but he was afterwards elected to a Fellowship at St. Catherine's Hall, and proceeded B.D. as a member of that Society, in 1610, and was admitted D.D. in 1625.

His reputation stood high at Cambridge for all kinds of

\* There appears to have been more than one family of Fuller living in the town.

† His house was near the Market-place, for there is this memorandum in the

Churchwardens' and Collectors' Book in 1588, p. 165, "It is agreed that the windows opening into the Market on the southe side of y<sup>e</sup> house now Andrew Fuller's shall here after not be opened."

learning, for piety and prudence;\* he was also a good linguist and an excellent preacher:—"a grave man whose looks were a sermon: such a pattern of charity and so good a preacher of it, that he was what Chrysostom calls 'the poor man's preacher.'"† He was accordingly appointed, I do not know in what year (could it have been through the influence of Overall, for the Living is in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's?), Vicar of St. Giles', Cripplegate, and Chaplain also to King James; and in the year 1636 he was advanced to the higher dignity of Dean of Ely. He was not suffered, however, to enjoy this preferment long, for on the breaking out of the Rebellion, a petition and articles were exhibited in Parliament against him in 1641,‡ and in 1642 he was imprisoned by the House of Commons, plundered of his plate which was melted down for the service of the Commonwealth, sequestered of his living of St. Giles', and deprived of the Deanery of Ely.§ He appears soon after to have regained his liberty; and then he fled, "spoiled of all for his loyalty," || to the King at Oxford, and was incorporated D.D. of that University on August 12th, 1645. He either then became or had previously been made Chaplain to Charles the First, and is said to have preached several times before His Majesty at Oxford, "with great approbation."¶ The King endeavoured to repay him for all his sufferings in the royal cause, by presenting him to the Deanery of Durham; but Dr. Fuller is related by one authority to have declined it, not being willing to abandon his interest at Ely:\*\* and if the statement of another authority†† be more correct, that Fuller accepted the preferment, still the pecuniary result was all the same. The patronage of the King could not secure to him the emoluments of the dignity which it had bestowed; for the Parliament interposed, and deprived him of the revenues of this, as it had done of his former Deanery. Thus suffering from renewed

\* *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.*

† *Lloyd's Memoirs.*

‡ *Wood's Athenæ.*

§ *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy,*  
pt. ii. p. 19.

|| *Wood.*

¶ *Ibid.*

\*\* *Ibid.* and *Cole's Athenæ Cantab.*

†† *Walker.*

persecution, Fuller remained at Oxford, until the city was surrendered to the forces of the Parliament, in 1646.

After this he retired to an "obscure house" near his own parish of St. Giles'. He was reduced to poverty; his earthly hopes were blighted, for he had lost all prospect of obtaining the higher preferments in the Church, which if the times had been more tranquil, would in all probability have fallen to his share;\* but still he did not give way to indolent despondency. His humble home in St. Giles' became the resort of learned men and the spot where a work was executed, "which has been justly styled the glory of the English Church and nation."† During his residence at Oxford Fuller had become acquainted with Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Brian Walton, Vicar of St. Giles' in the Fields, who, when ejected from his preferments for his loyalty, also took refuge there in 1645. This acquaintance ripened into intimacy, since both parties were addicted to literary pursuits; and was by and bye cemented by a still closer tie, for Walton being a widower, married for his second wife Jane Fuller, a daughter of our townsman.‡ While at Oxford, Walton seems to have formed the design of publishing the English Polyglott, and when afterwards urged by his friends (and Fuller was amongst those who signed the letter of request), to carry out the design, he retired for that purpose to the house of Fuller. There aided by Fuller (who, however, did not take any special part, but only exercised a general superintendence), and by many distinguished literary men, he accomplished his great task in four years' time, though frequently disturbed by the ruling powers, and the Polyglott was published in London, in 1657, in six volumes, folio. It was dedicated,

\* Wood.

† Hook's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, under the head of *Brian Walton*.

‡ Todd's *Life of Walton*. Walton was born at Cleveland in Yorkshire, in 1600, educated at Peterhouse and Magdalen College, Cambridge, master of a school at Livermere, in this county, and married for his first wife a Suffolk lady of the name of Claxton. After the Restora-

tion, in Dec., 1660, he was consecrated to the Bishopric of Chester, and was welcomed into his diocese with great applause, as Bishop Morton, one of his predecessors, had been in 1616 (*Barwick's Life of Morton*, p. 78). He did not enjoy his preferment many months, but died in London, in Nov., 1661, aged 72, and was buried in the south aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral.

at first, almost by compulsion, to Cromwell, who wished to gain an opportunity of exhibiting himself as a great literary patron, and had sanctioned the grant, which the Council had previously allowed, that the paper upon which it was printed should be free from duty; but on the Restoration it was dedicated with a more willing mind to Charles the Second. The printer of it was Dawks, the maternal grandfather of a more celebrated man, who printed, as we shall see, some of the works of another of our worthies.\*

The Polyglott editions of the entire Bible, which had previously been published, were the Complutensian, the Antwerp, and the Paris.† The last mentioned is the most magnificent, but the English Polyglott of Walton is considered to be the fullest, most convenient and most useful‡ of all. Nine languages are used in it, but no one book is printed in so many. In the New Testament the four Gospels are in six languages, but the other books only in five; in the Apocrypha, the books of Judith and of the Maccabees are only in three. The Septuagint version is printed from the edition which was published in Rome, in 1587, and exhibits the text of the Vatican Manuscript. The Latin is the Vulgate of Pope Clement the Eighth. The Chaldee Paraphrase is more complete than in any former publication; and moreover, the Polyglott of Walton has an interlinear Latin version of the Hebrew text, and some parts of the Bible printed in Ethiopic and Persian,—advantages which were not possessed by earlier works of the same kind.§

But besides its own intrinsic merits, there is another circumstance which renders this learned work remarkable. It is the first work that was printed in England by subscription—that mode of publication which is so common in our days. Nearly £4,000 were subscribed before the

\* *Nichols's Literary Anecdotes.*

† So called from the places at which they were published; Complutum (the Latin name of Alcalá de Henares in Spain), Antwerp, and Paris.

‡ *Hallam's Literature of the Middle Ages*, vol. iii., p. 590; and *Horne's In-*

*troduction*, &c., vol. ii., pt. ii., p. 37.

§ There is a handsome copy in the Corporation Library, at Ipswich. Walton's Polyglott was amongst the books recommended to clerical students by Bishop Warburton.



proposals for publication were issued, and £9,000 in about two months after. These proposals are dated March 1, 1652-3, and are signed by J. Armachanus, (Archbishop Usher), W. Fuller, Bruno Ryves, Brian Walton, S. Whe Locke, and H. Thorndike. To a subscriber of £10, one copy was guaranteed, and a subscriber of £50, was to be entitled to six copies.\*

In addition to having been engaged in the Polyglott, Fuller has the credit of having published in 1628, a sermon, called the "The Mourning of Mount Lebanon";† and of having been also concerned in "Ephemeris Parliamentaria, the Sovereign's Prerogative and Subjects' Privileges, in several speeches between King Charles the First and the most eminent persons of both Houses of Parliament," London, 1654, 1663, 1681; but the dates seem to warrant the belief, that if connected at all with the publication of this work, it could only have been with the earliest portion.

For death removed him from his earthly trials and labours, on Holy Thursday (May 12), 1659; but death even did not secure his corpse from persecution. We can now feel proud of the townsman who assisted in the publication of "the most absolute and famous edition of the Bible that the Christian world ever had, or is likely to enjoy";‡ but he met with little respect from the age in which he lived.

"He had," says Walker,§ "this peculiar in his sufferings, that he was in a manner persecuted even after his death; for they denied him rest in his Church of St. Giles (he was properly Vicar of that parish), whereupon he was buried in that of Vedastus, Foster Lane".

His burial is thus recorded in the Parish Register, "Mr.

\* *Life of Dr. Hammond*, attached to his Practical Catechism, in the Anglo-Catholic Library, p. lxxxiii. Note.—Hammond was one of the £50 subscribers. The late Alderman Kelly improved on this method of publishing books by subscription, about the year 1811, by appointing agents, called canvassers, throughout the country, to enlist subscri-

bers; and it is remarkable that one of the first works upon which this new experiment was tried, was an edition of the Holy Bible. *Fell's Life of Kelly*, pp. 68, 74.

† *Wood's Athenæ*.

‡ *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, pt. ii., p. 54.

§ *Ibid*, pt. ii., p. 19.

William Fuller, Doctor in Divinity, was buried in y<sup>e</sup> quire of y<sup>e</sup> Church, May the 18th, 1659." A monument to his memory was placed in the church by his daughter, Mrs. Walton.

That monument—a plain mural slab—still exists on the south side of the altar, and bears a Latin inscription, recording his loyalty and sufferings. Portions only of the inscription are given in different books,\* and I therefore visited the church myself, with the hope of obtaining an entire copy of it; but I found the letters so intermixed, and so inaccurate,† that I soon discovered the reason why previous transcribers had contented themselves with parts, and was myself compelled, though much against my will, to give up the design of copying the whole.

I suspect that the monument must have been injured, when the original church of St. Vedast was seriously damaged by the Great Fire of London, in 1666; and that when the present building was erected by Sir Christopher Wren,‡ some ignorant workman was employed to renew the inscription, who succeeded only in bequeathing a puzzle to all future antiquaries.

A few years after the birth of Dean Fuller another person was born here, who also eventually became a Confessor for loyalty to his King and Church, LAWRENCE BRETTON. His father, John Bretton,§ was engaged in the staple manufacture of the town, for his name occurs amongst the list of leading clothiers in the Churchwardens' and Collectors' Book, in 1589,|| and in the Register of Burials in 1603,

\* *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, in Latin. *Le Neve's Mon. Angl.*, from *MS. Wood*, in Mus. Ashmol. Oxon., p. 245, in English.

† For example "Etattyri" for Martyri, I imagine; "obsieem" for ob fidem, when compared with Walker; "laccarceratus," for incarceratus! &c., &c.

‡ *Brayley's Londiniana*, vol. ii., p. 70. "St. Vedast; Foster Lane, interior rebuilt (Steeple 1697)," at the cost of

"£1,853.15s. 6d."

§ Whether the family came originally from Lavenham, I do not know; but in the *Churchwardens' and Collectors' Book*, p. 117, mention is made in 1577, of "Bretton of Lanham."

|| The names of the clothiers who promised to find work for the people in the workhouse at this time were Nicholas Strutt, John Alabaster, George Reve, John Bretton, and — Godbold.

there is this entry, "Mother Frost, mother to John Bréton y<sup>e</sup> Clothier." He married, Feb. 16, 1580, Elizabeth Strutt,\* whose family was also engaged in the cloth-trade here; in 1583, 1593 and 1601 he was Chief Collector of the Market; and in 1589 and 1599 he was Churchwarden. He was Mayor of Hadleigh in 1621, and from the record of his burial in 1636 "Nov. 6. Mr. John Britton, Alderman," he seems at the time of his death to have been one of its chief Magistrates.

Lawrence, his fifth child, was born in 1588 and baptized on the 21st of April in that year, and although I have not been able to find any positive statement to that effect I think he must have received his early education at our school. On the 22nd of May, 1600, being then only a little more than twelve years old, he was entered as a Pensioner at Queen's College,† Cambridge, and if I may hazard a conjecture as to the reason which caused him to be sent thither, I would say that it was very probably the recommendation of the Rector of his native parish, Dr. Meriton,‡ who had been a Fellow of that College. In 1604, when only sixteen years old, he proceeded B.A. almost equalling by his early attainment of that degree the celebrated Cardinal Wolsey, who became "the Boy Bacheller," as "he was called most commonly throughout the University" of Oxford, "when he past not fifteen years of age." On March 15, 1607-8, he was elected Fellow of his College, in 1608 he commenced M.A. and was afterwards appointed in the ordinary routine, I conclude, to fill various offices at Queen's. In 1610-11 he was Senior Prælector; in 1611-12 Examiner; in 1612-13 Prælector Græcus; in 1614-15 Decanus Sacelli; in 1615-16 having then become B.D. he was Censor Philosophicus; in 1616-17 he was Senior Bursar and Censor Theologicus; in 1617-18 he was Junior Bursar; and having taken the degree of D.D. in 1630 he was

\* She appears to have been buried Feb. 22, 1621-2. "Elizabeth Breiten wyfe to Mr. John Br."

† His elder brother, Robert, baptized

Dec. 27, 1584, was also entered at Queen's on the 23rd of Sept. following; but he does not appear to have graduated.

‡ See Appendix E.

preferred, I imagine through the favour of the King\* but I do not know in what year, to the Rectory of Hitcham in this neighbourhood, where in the zealous performance of his duties he displayed "great worth and learning."†

These qualifications together with the possession of an important Living (it was then worth £200 a year) and a "considerable temporal estate" (how obtained I have not been able to discover, for his father had a numerous family and he was not the eldest son‡) "procured him to be put into the commission of the peace," and so recommended him to the clergy of the Diocese that they elected him to represent them as their Proctor in the Convocation of 1640. This Convocation is remarkable for having sat by virtue of a new commission from the King, even after the Parliament had been dissolved. It voted to his majesty subsidies of £20,000 for six years; and enacted seventeen canons, the chief of which related to the Royal Supremacy, the various bodies of dissenters, and the oath against "all innovations in doctrine and government to be taken by the Clergy"—an oath which created great commotion amongst the Puritans because they imagined that the words "&c," inadvertently introduced into it, had been designedly inserted as a trap to their consciences.§

These Canons were violently condemned in the "Long Parliament" which assembled in Decr., and in the following year a fine was imposed on all the members of the Convocation which had passed them, but it is not known whether it was actually levied. Lawrence Bretton, however, either for this reason or because of his general loyalty and affection to the Church incurred the displeasure of the parliament, and at the very beginning of the Rebellion his house at Hitcham

\* The Living is now in the gift of the Crown, and has been so, I believe, since the time of Queen Elizabeth.

† *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, pt. ii. p. 209, from which the substance of this account is taken.

‡ He was, however, his father's executor, as is shewn by the "*Liber Astorum*," for he appeared in the Dean's Court, to state that his father was possessed of

property to the value of more than £5, and therefore beyond its jurisdiction. The will must have been proved in a superior Court.

§ *Lathbury's History of Convocation*, pp. 220-234. The Canons were repealed by the Act of 13th of Charles II. See also *Fuller's Church History*, vol. vi. pp. 161-177.

was often beset by armed soldiers, "desirous to apprehend him," but through the favour of his parishioners, by whom he was "extremely beloved on account of his sweet, pleasant, and hospitable temper," he had always timely notice of their coming and was able to "escape their hands."\* But he was so frequently disturbed in this way that he was compelled at length, about the year 1643, to leave his parish altogether; and then both his Living and his own estate were seized by the House of Commons:—a circumstance which is the more to be regretted as he was on the point of purchasing an estate of £20 a year, adjoining the glebe, which he intended to bequeath to his successors, on the condition that they should pay £10 a year to the poor of Hitcham.

And another proof of his willingness to employ his money in good and holy purposes appears in a gift, which he had previously made: he "furnished the Communion Table of his church with two large flaggons, a large cup, and a very handsome bason for the offerings, all of silver;" but with characteristic modesty he would not allow his name, or his arms, or anything but the word "Hitcham" to be inscribed upon them. And his humility was blessed in a way, which he could have little expected or foreseen, for when the plate was seized amongst his other goods and carried before the Committee they were satisfied at once that it belonged to the parish, and "in a fit of tenderness, not common in those times, sent it back again." There it still remains. The two flagons have the words "Hitcham in Suff. 1638" engraved upon them; the cup bears the legend "Hicham in Suffolk 1640;" and though no words at all are inscribed upon the paten (or bason), the plate-marks are the same as those upon the cup, and at the base of the stem, underneath, there is the representation of a lamb bearing a banner, on a mount, with a glory round it—the crest in fact of Hadleigh,—which convinces me that this paten proceeded from the same donor as the cup and flagon, and makes me marvel that it should have been permitted to escape from the fangs

\* 2 Cor., xi., 22.

of the Committee, inasmuch as that crest might have been held to afford the presumption that the paten at least was the private property of Dr. Bretton.

After he had been obliged to leave Hitcham, Lawrence Bretton came to reside again in his native town. He had prudently placed £7,000, or £8,000, of his own money, in the hands of friends, who kept it safe from the rapacity of Parliament, and by this means he was able, though deprived of his preferment, to live with comfort, and even to assist his poorer fellow-loyalists :

“Ministering out of it to the necessities of many of the poor beggar’d and starving Clergy. Here he continued leading a most studious and pious life, and privately reading (for the use of them was proscribed by Parliament), the Prayers of the Church every day, as also administering the blessed Sacrament on the three great Festivals of the year, to such loyalists as resorted to him.”

Dr. Bretton had been distinguished while at Cambridge, for his preaching, as well as for his learning, so that when King James the First visited Newmarket, he was appointed by the University to preach before him. In the performance of this duty he was very successful in obtaining the royal approbation. We are told of the learned Bishop Sanderson that though he had an extraordinary memory, “he was punished with such an innate, invincible fear and bashfulness,” that his memory failed him, when on one occasion he had been over-persuaded by a friend (Dr. Hammond), to preach without his book in a country church\* —“such was the depth of his learning,” as Fuller says of Hooker, “that his pen was a better bucket than his tongue to draw it out.”† We also read of the unfortunate predicament, in which Dr. Westphaling found himself placed, when preaching before Queen Elizabeth at Oxford,—a predicament which we can well understand did not help to enliven his gloomy disposition, for he is said never or seldom to have laughed‡—he prolonged his discourse to such an unreasonable length, that Her Majesty with Tudor

\* *Wotton's Life of Sanderson* in *Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. iv., pp. 415, 435.

† *Church History*, vol. v., p. 178.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 255. He became Bishop of Hereford.

imperiousness, interrupted him in the midst of it, by sending him word "to make an end of his discourse without delay," but to the surprise of all, the Doctor proceeded with his sermon, and when afterwards rated by the Queen for his disobedience, he was obliged to confess that, as he had learnt his sermon by heart, he was afraid to omit any part of it, "lest he should put himself so completely out of cue, that he should forget all the rest, and so be brought to shame before the University and Court."\* But Dr. Bretton was possessed of self-confidence and fluency, and acquitted himself with so much credit

"That in the close of his sermon apologizing for the length of it, that Prince (King James) call'd to him and told him, 'You need no excuse, Nimble Chaps, I must have you here again.'"

This royal compliment, which, however well-deserved, was certainly ill-timed, together with the general merits of Dr. Bretton, gave rise to the belief that had he survived the usurpation, he "would have stood the fairest of any man for the Bishoprick of Norwich;" but he was not spared to witness the restoration of the ancient line of kings. He died in 1657, and was buried in our Church, but in what spot I do not know, for there is no memorial to mark his grave; there is only this entry relating to him, in the Register of Burials, "July 25, Lawrence Britten, B.D."†

Another celebrated native of the place,—another Confessor too, in the same good cause, was JOSEPH BEAUMONT, a descendant of the Leicestershire family of that name; though his immediate relations, like those of Lawrence Bretton, were engaged in the cloth-trade here. In the Register of Burials, in 1586, occurs the name of "Julian Beaumont, Clothier," and it is added in another, though ancient handwriting,‡ "father of Edward, and John of Hadleigh, and son of Robert of Bildeston, who came out of Leicestershire."

\* *Miss Strickland's Queens of England*, vol. vi., p. 271.

† He is only styled B.D.

‡ About 1661, judging from the ink,

which is of a green colour, when compared with entries in the Register of Baptisms of that date.

Of this John,\* as I suppose, Joseph Beaumont was a son, and was born on the 13th of March, 1616, and baptized according to our Register, on the 21st of the same month, "Joseph Beaumont, son to John Beaumont, Clothier." His mother was an Alabaster, and as such, closely connected with the first wife of Bishop Still, and with Dr. William Alabaster, whom I have already noticed, for there is this entry in the Register of marriages, in 1615, "August 8, John Beamont, Sing., Suzan† Alibaster, Sing."

We are told‡ that Joseph Beaumont manifested "such readiness of wit," and such a love of learning, in his earliest years, that his father determined to give him a good education; but though pressed by his friends to place the boy at Westminster, he sent him to the Grammar School of his own town; led, no doubt, to this determination, not only as his biographer remarks, by the desire to have him "under his own prudent care and immediate inspection," but by the successful career at the University of Boise, Overall, Fuller, and Bretton, who had been educated there a few years before. And the result proved that the father had acted wisely; for on proceeding to Peterhouse, Cambridge, which he did at the age of 16, Joseph Beaumont conducted himself so well, and having been well-grounded, made such proficiency in his studies, that as soon as possible after he had taken his B.A. degree, he was appointed to a Fellowship in his College, by the Master, Dr. Cosin,—the same Dr. Cosin, who had been the friend and secretary of Bishop Overall. Already a good classical scholar—he was so fond of Terence, that "he was always observed to carry a small edition of him in his pocket, to the end of his life,"§—he now, in his twenty-first year, addressed himself to subjects

\* He was buried May 14, 1663: "Mr. John Beaumont, Alderman, aged 69, son to Mr. Julian Beaumont, of this town, Clothier." The family appears to have continued here until the middle or a little beyond it of the last century.

† She was baptized July 9, 1594, and was a daughter of John Alabaster, which John was, I conclude, son to Thomas

Alabaster, who was baptized Feb. 17, 1560-1

‡ My chief authority here is a memoir of Dr. Beaumont prefixed to a Selection of his Poems, &c., by the Rev. John Gee, M.A. of Peterhouse, Cambridge, published in 1749.

§ *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, pt. ii. p. 153—says that "he was in great



more worthy of his maturer intellect. He studied the Holy Scriptures in the original languages, and searched out their meaning by the aid and light of the ancient Fathers of the Church, and in order that he might have examples of Christian holiness and heroism continually before him, he digested the lives of saints and martyrs into a kind of Calendar, so that no single day could pass without its proper remembrancer and guide.

And thus, when elected to a Tutorship at Peterhouse, in his twenty-fourth year, he was unusually well-qualified to instruct his pupils, both in secular and sound religious learning, and to maintain both them and himself firm in "the old paths," when so many others faltered and fell beneath the trials of the times. He was more successful, indeed, than Origen, who trained many catechumens who were constant unto death,\* for every one of his pupils remained stedfast in his attachment to the Church and to the King—not one fell away; and when the spirit of dissension became more inflamed, he set himself, undismayed, to "describe historically the calamitous state of the Roman Empire, under the two sons of Theodosius," and to apply the lessons, which those scenes of horror and of misery suggested, to the circumstances of his own country, with the view at once of shewing the fatal end of factious contentions, and the certain ultimate success of "piety and Catholic Religion." This work, containing 401 pages in 4to, was finished and published in 1641.

And when for a season, his hopes seemed never likely to be realised, but the times grew more gloomy, and civil war actually broke out, he had recourse to religious studies, as the best consolation of a troubled mind, and employed the summer of 1643, in writing *Daily Meditations on the attributes of God*, in which he vindicated the Divine

esteem for his learning, and particularly for his knowledge of the Latin tongue." He was not, however, so zealous a scholar as Mr. John Underwood of Whittlesea, Cambridge, who died and was buried in 1733. "His coffin was painted green.

Horace was placed under his head, Milton under his feet, a Greek Testament in his right hand, a small Horace in his left." *Mrs. Stone's God's Acre*, p. 296.

\* *Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History*, Book vi., c. iv.

dispensations towards mankind, and which he published in 4to, and 205 pages, with an introductory prayer, partly in Greek, and partly in English, remarkable for its humble and unaffected piety. In 1644 he was ejected by the Parliament from Cambridge, and retired to his native town of Hadleigh; and here, still true to his principles, he formed (it must have been in conjunction with Lawrence Bretton) "a little society of gallant spirits, men of abused merits, which consisted chiefly of some of his former pupils, and the sons of his great friend and patron, Bishop Wren," and, being in Deacon's orders,—“though he used all the methods which prudence could suggest to avoid danger—he constantly performed the daily services of the Liturgy in his father's house, and preached to his little flock every Sunday.”

Here also, not having his books with him, he consoled himself with writing poetry; and in rapidity of composition he even rivalled his contemporary, Dr. Hammond, and the modern author of *Now and Then*, for he began *Psyche*,\* an allegorical poem, representing “a soul led by Divine grace and her guardian angel, through the difficult assaults and temptations of the world, to a holy and happy life,” in April, 1647, finished it, although it contained 20 long Cantos, on March 13 following (in celebration, I presume, of his birthday), and published it immediately afterwards. His biographer, however, is obliged to take up, in effect, the words of Horace,†

“Vos, O

Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite, quod non  
Multa dies et multa litura coercuit, atque  
Præsectum decies non castigavit ad unquem.”

\* Sir Kenelm Digby wrote in his copy of *Psyche* “These verses are of the Divine ascent.” Mr. Southey says (Note to Section x. of “The Curse of Kehama.”) “It is one of the most extraordinary poems in this or any other language, and a strange, long, but by no means uninteresting work.”—See for an account of it, *Retrospective Review*, vol. xi and xii; *Southey's Specimens*, vol. i. p. xxv.; *Singer's Preface to Marmion's*

*Cupid and Psyche; Gentleman's Mag. Feb. 1836.* A copy of this Poem, edited by Dr. Beaumont's Son, Charles Beaumont, formerly Fellow of Peterhouse, is in the library of that College. His son was a benefactor to the College. He gave the Master's New Lodge, and a large sum of money to purchase advowsons. He was buried in the College Chapel.

† *Ars Poetica*, 291-295 lines.

for he allows, that in consequence of the quickness with which it was written "incorrectnesses and negligencies frequently occur in it." Still the Poem had a considerable reputation in its day, and attained a second edition in 1702,\* and "the last and best poet of Great Britain" (Pope)† is declared to have said of it in private conversation (could he have been slyly alluding to the plagiarisms of our other great poetical townsman, Alabaster?)

"There are in it a great many flowers well worth gathering, and a man who has the art of stealing wisely, will find his account in reading it."

But besides this published poem he left two large MS. books of English verses, fairly transcribed in his own hand, the latter of which, called *Cathemerina*, contained "morning preparatory (religious) exercises for the duties of the ensuing day," which had been written between May 17, 1652, and Sept. 3, of the same year, when his poetic fervour was finally and for ever cooled by a severe attack of ague. A selection from these two MSS. was made, and published, together with some Latin poems, in 1749, under the editorship of the Rev. John Gee, of Peterhouse. It is not fair, perhaps, to criticize verses, which were chiefly written for the amusement of the author, and to express the pious thoughts which were passing at the moment through his

\* To the second edition four new Cantos were added.

† I suspect this saying of Pope must be given in *Spence's Anecdotes*, but though I searched that book pretty carefully, I could not find it.

*Mr. Wilmott*, in his *Lives of the Sacred Poets*, First Series, pp. 339-340, observes of *Psyche*: "Few students will be found armed with sufficient patience to penetrate through the dreariness of its twenty Cantos. But the barren heath is intersected by many green and flowery paths, and nourished by little streams of genuine poetry. The misfortune is, that we grow weary before we find them....

.. It may not be just to censure him (*Beaumont*), for the familiarity of his expressions, and the ludicrous contrasts which every page presents. The theological literature of the age is open to a

like reproof..... While Taylor only, stooped at long intervals to the prevailing corruptions of style, *Beaumont* seldom elevated himself above them. But when he rose into a clearer element, his imagination was proportionably spiritualized. When he unfolds the "ruby gates" of the Orient and discloses to our eyes the Spirit of the Morning "mounting his chariot of gold," whose "diamond wheels" burn along the paths of Heaven, we regret that his taste was not always the handmaid of his fancy."

*Beaumont* has not been admitted into any collection of specimens of our poets: but the advice of Pope has drawn a few industrious eyes to his pages. A recent critic has traced Milton, Pope, and Collins, to his works, and a beautiful passage in *Southey's Kehama* is supposed to have been derived from *Psyche*.

mind; but from the specimens I have read, I may say, speaking generally, of Beaumont, what Fuller observes of Sternhold and Hopkins, the translators of the Psalms into English metre, that he "was a man whose piety was better than his poetry, and who had drank more of Jordan than of Helicon."\*

During the same period Mr. Beaumont also wrote a Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes, and large critical notes upon the Pentateuch.†

The rewards which he obtained for his zeal and learning besides his Fellowship at Peterhouse, were the Rectory of Kelshall, Herts, in 1643; the Living of Elm with Emmeth, in Cambridgeshire, in 1646; a Canonry of Ely, in 1646;‡ and in 1650 the domestic Chaplaincy to his great friend and patron, Bishop Wren. He had continued in this relation to the Bishop for about three years, "when his lordship, as the most convincing testimony of his benevolence and affectionate regard for him, made a proposal to him, which filled him with inexpressible delight and astonishment;" and that was, something after the manner of the Rector of Boxworth, that Mr. Beaumont should marry his step-daughter, Miss Brownrigg.§ The lady had stronger pecuniary recommendations than Miss Holt, being the heiress to a considerable estate at Tattingstone; and as the event proved, she had also more than Miss Holt's discretion, for she so managed her household as to keep clear of debt; and as the parties were also previously known and secretly attached to each other, Mr. Beaumont accepted at once the Bishop's offer, without having, like Mr. Boise, to make a

\* *Church History*, vol. iv. p. 72. This seems to have been a favourite comparison of Fuller's, for speaking of Francis Quarles (*Worthies*, vol. i. p. 519), he says, "Our Quarles was free from the faults of the first, as if he had drank of Jordan instead of Helicon, and slept on Mount Olivet for his Parnassus."

† He was also an artist. The pictures by the altar of Peterhouse Chapel were drawn by him in chalk and charcoal; and Carter, the Cambridgeshire historian,

thought the Wise Man's Offering, on the north side, particularly fine."—*Wilmott's Sacred Poets*, 1st Series, p. 339.

‡ He was appointed Prebendary of the sixth Stall in this year, but not installed till 1660. He seems to have been made Prebendary of the eighth stall, in 1665. —*Miller's Cathedral Church of Ely*, pp. 170-171.

§ A relation, I presume, of Brownrigg Bishop of Exeter, for he also was a native of Ipswich.

journey to inspect the proffered bride, and soon became the husband of Miss Brownrigg, and the owner of Tattingstone—an arrangement which was peculiarly comfortable, as during the Commonwealth he was deprived by the Parliament of his Livings.

At the Restoration, he was re-instated in his preferments and made a Chaplain to the King, but never obtained any further favour beyond a Royal *Mandamus* to the University, to create him a D.D., in 1660. Early in the next year, he went at the request of the Bishop to reside on his Canonry at Ely,\* but “the damp and foggy air of the fens,” proved too much for the delicate constitution of his wife, which was unable to “support such a load of vapours,” and she died,† on May 31st, 1662, and was buried behind the altar in the Cathedral Church of Ely. Dr. Beaumont had just before been appointed by the Bishop to the Mastership of Jesus College, on the resignation of Bishop Pearson, the renowned author of the Exposition of the Creed, and he had fondly hoped that a change of air would have revived her drooping health, but she was too ill to go thither; and it was not until after her funeral that he was able to take up his residence at Cambridge. His first care was to repair and restore his college, at his own expense;‡ but in 1663, on the death of Dr. Hale, his ever-constant patron “replanted him in the (richer) soil” of Peterhouse, the college in which he had been reared, by appointing him to the Mastership there, the Bishop, as visitor, having acquired the right to present, through some irregular proceedings of the Fellows. In the same year he was made Rector of Teversham, near Cambridge, and of Conington, near St. Ives. He soon resigned the living of Teversham, and in the following year he was made Rector of Barley, Herts.

\* He took charge of Trinity parish while there.

† They had had six children, but these all, except one, died before their father. Some of them were born at Tattingstone, and all of them were baptized according to the office of the Church. Some were also buried at Tattingstone.

‡ Dr. Baldero Master of Jesus, under his hand and ye seal of ye College, acknowledges that he had received of Dr. Beaumont, at a later period, the sum of ten pounds, as a free gift for making ye organs and repeiring ye Chappel of ye same College, Octob. 29, 1664.—*MS.*, in the hands of Mr. Read, of Ipswich.

The next year he had a controversy with Dr. Henry More,\* the author of the *Mystery of Godliness*, about some passages in that book, which he thought to be objectionable, and his work gave such satisfaction, that he received the thanks of the University. In 1670,† without any application from himself, he was made Regius Professor of Divinity, and in the discharge of the duties of this office he was able to keep the University untainted by “the tenets of Calvin and the absurdities of Puritanism.” He read public Lectures twice a week in every term, taking for his earliest and chief subject the Epistles to the Romans and the Colossians; and having ascertained the true reading, as he considered, of the text, and digested the explanations of Commentators from St. Chrysostom and his follower Theophylact, down to Grotius and other modern expositors, he endeavoured to express the true meaning of those Epistles in opposition to “Papists, Socinians, and every other faction and heresy in religion,” and in support of the doctrines of the Church of England. He requested of his executors, however, that none of these lectures should appear in print after his death; but transcribed copies of some of them were sold at a high price.‡ In the year 1689, when the Comprehension was promoted with the design of uniting the whole kingdom in one form of worship and devotion, he was appointed one of the Commissioners; but convinced that such a scheme would never succeed, he would not take his seat at the board. He continued to discharge his duties even in his 84th year,§ and persisted in preaching before the University on Nov. 5,|| 1699; but he was so much fatigued with the

\* I imagine that Dr. Beaumont must have written twice upon this subject. for in the Library of Peterhouse, Cambridge, there is a copy of “some observations upon the Apology of Dr. Henry More for the *Mystery of Godliness*,” 1615.

† The date is 1674, in the *Cambridge Graduali*.

‡ *Waterland* quotes an extract from his MS. Commentary on Rom., xii., 2, in his *Regeneration stated and explained*, vol. vi., pp. 352-353 note.

§ And yet he is said to have been a man of delicate constitution, “as appears

from his having been obliged to obtain from the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge a dispensation to eat meat in Lent, because fish did not agree with him,—a fact which shews that Church discipline was at that time observed in the University.”—*Hook's Biographical Dictionary*, quoting *Jacob's Lives of the Poets*.

|| Probably the event commemorated on this day was a favourite subject with him, for I have seen in an old MS., belonging to Mr. Read, of Ipswich, that “he made an oration on the 5th of Nov. before the University, 1640.”

exertion on that occasion, that he was obliged to be carried home, a high fever supervened, gout attacked him in the stomach, and after suffering dreadful pain, he expired on the 23rd of the same month.\*

There is some difficulty in fixing on the exact place of his interment. He is said† to have been buried in the Chapel of Peterhouse, but whether this means the Church of St. Mary the Less, which was formerly used as the College Chapel, or whether it means the present Chapel of the Society, is not satisfactorily determined. On the north side of the ante-chapel of the latter building, however, there is now a tablet of wood (probably oak), gilded and painted, and bearing the following inscription:—

P. M.  
 Josephi Beaumont  
 Ss<sup>te</sup>. Theologiæ Profess<sup>ris</sup> Regii  
 Et hujus Collegii Custodis dignissimi.  
 Qui doctrinæ omnis ac pietatis  
 Gazophylacium fuit augustissimum,  
 Poeta, orator, Theologus præstantissim.  
 Quovis nomine hæreticorum malleus,  
 Et veritatis vindex palmarius.  
 Obiit æt<sup>is</sup> suæ an<sup>o</sup>. LXXXIV<sup>o</sup>  
 Illustre specimen  
 Quod egregiis aliquando producat<sup>ur</sup> ætas,  
 Annoque D<sup>ni</sup> MDCXCIX<sup>o</sup> ;  
 In ipso nempe seculi pede  
 Utpote Literatorum qui in illo floruer<sup>e</sup>,  
 Non modo coronis verum etiam summa.  
  
 At tibi quod bini ornantur, vir maxime, cippi  
 Hic auri et ille marmoris, veniam dato.  
 Non metus ut vigeat seris tua gloria sæclis  
 Sed nostra id importunior pietas facit.  
 Neutro, scimus, eges, cum scripta reliqueris, auro  
 Pretiosiora, perenniora marmore.

It will be observed that reference is here made to another monument of marble. This may probably cover his grave,

\* He bequeathed £300 to the Chapel of Peterhouse, and £20 to the poor of Little St. Mary's.

† *Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral.*

In *Ackerman's University of Cambridge* also it is said that Dr. Beaumont lies buried in the College Chapel.

and since that is not in the present Chapel of Peterhouse, it has been supposed that it must lie in the Church of St. Mary the Less, although it has not been found there. It may, however, be covered by the pews.

There is a portrait of Dr. Beaumont in the Hall of Peterhouse, and I have in my possession an engraving of him by R. White.

In 1618 Dr. THOMAS GOAD became Rector of this parish. In our inspection of the Rectory and of the Church we have had proofs of his love of painting and of writing quaint verses and inscriptions: but we shall find that he was also distinguished as a theologian in an age, which has been called the "golden age" of Anglo-Catholic divinity.

He was the second son of Dr. Roger Goad,\* once Master of the Free School at Guilford, who on the deprivation of Provost Baker for his Romish tendencies in 1569, had been nominated by Queen Elizabeth, and elected by the Fellows, much to his own surprise, to the vacant headship of King's College, Cambridge, on account of his more Protestant opinions.† He was born in Cambridge in August 1576 and was one of the extraordinary number of ten brothers, who all came up to College during their father's provostship.‡ He was educated at Eton and thence elected to a scholarship at King's on Sept. 1, 1592: on Sept. 1, 1595, he

\* Roger Goad was born at Horton, Bucks., admitted Scholar of King's College, Cambridge, in 1555, Fellow, Vice Provost, and D.D. and he was for forty years Provost. He was three times Vice Chancellor of the University, a Prebend of Wells in 1576, Chaplain to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Rector of Milton, Cambridgeshire. He gave by his last will certain legacies to King's College, and the perpetual advowson of Milton after the decease of his own children, and some entailments. He died in 1610 upon St. Mark's day, and was buried in the second North Vestry, in King's College Chapel, under a grey marble without any inscription. In a window of the Vestry are his and the College

arms, surrounded by roses and lilies for King's and Eton, with these inscriptions, "Rogerus Goad Præpositus 1570," and

τὸ ζῆν  
ἐμὸν ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ κέρδος  
τὸ ἁποθανεῖν

† Though elected Provost for his Protestantism, Dr Goad was no Puritan: but was persecuted by that party during all his Provostship. *Cole's MSS* quoted in *Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge—King's College*, pp. 26-28—"He had many contests with the young fry in this College, chiefly because he loved their good better than they themselves."—*Fuller's Worthies*, vol. i. p. 208.

‡ *Le Keux's Memorials*.



became Fellow; B.A. in 1596, and Lecturer in 1598. In 1600 he proceeded M.A., and at Christmas 1606 he was ordained Priest (I do not know in what year he was ordained Deacon, though I conclude it was several years before, for he appears to have been a Prebend of Winchester in 1601) and took the higher degree of B.D. in 1607. In 1609 he was Bursar of King's: in 1610 he succeeded his father in the family Living of Milton, near Cambridge, which he held together with his fellowship; in 1611 he was appointed Dean of Divinity, and very shortly afterwards he quitted College.\*

His career at College seems to have been highly creditable; at all events he distinguished himself for his skill in writing verses, and thus strengthened that natural poetical propensity which vented itself in after life when he was here, in inscriptions on the Church and Rectory. There are verses of his in the University Collections, on the death of Dr. Whitaker, 1597;† on the accession of King James the First, 1603; and on the death of Henry Prince of Wales, in 1612.

The motive, which led him to remove from Cambridge must, I think, have been the desire to reside at Lambeth, as Domestic Chaplain to Abbott, who had lately been elevated from the see of London to the Primacy. Abbott had been a pupil of Provost Goad when the latter was Master of the Free School at Guilford, his native town; and in graceful acknowledgment of the benefits he had then derived he took into his household a son of his former tutor. While Chaplain to his Grace, Mr. Goad refused to license Prynne's *Histriomastix*, and dissuaded the author from printing it.‡

And no doubt the then theological opinions of Mr. Goad united with the fact of his being the son of a former tutor, recommended him to the Primate. Provost Goad was the

\* A "Tho. Goad, LL.D. Coll. Regal. nuper Soc." was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge, in 1611; but a relation of, and not the same person as, our Rector, I conclude.

† These are also printed at the end of

*Whitaker's Life* subjoined to his *Presbyt. Theol.* ed. 1603.

‡ From a MS. note kindly communicated by the Rev. T. Brocklebank, Fellow of King's.

intimate friend of Dr. Whitaker, whose high Calvinism had been so strongly opposed by Overall, and whose rules for the preservation of health, Mr. Boise was so careful to observe. This close intimacy of the father with Whitaker would seem almost of itself to imply agreement in religious views: but I find that Provost Goad is expressly said to have been "much concerned" at some theological disputes at Cambridge "then handled by Wm. Barret, fellow of Caius College," in opposition to the Calvinistic theory of Predestination, which he favoured.\* The result was that the teachings of the father and of the friend together gave such a bias to the opinions of Mr. Thomas Goad that he also was a Calvinist for a great portion of his life.

In 1615, Mr. Goad took the degree of D.D.; in 1617, Feb. 16, he was made Precentor of St. Paul's; and in 1618, he was appointed by Archbishop Abbott to the Rectory of this parish; and in the same year a still greater honour was conferred upon him by the King. The Protestants of the Low Countries were at that time distracted with religious controversies amongst themselves, relating to "the five points," of predestination and reprobation, of the latitude of our Lord's atonement, of the power of man's free will both before and after his conversion, and of the perseverance in grace of the elect; and with the hope of settling these controversies they resolved to call a National Synod at Dort, and to request the assistance and presence of Divines of other Reformed Communions. With this view they applied to James, to send out to them some "chosen men," as delegates from the English Church, and accordingly the king selected for that purpose Dr. Carlton, Bishop of Llandaff; Dr. Joseph Hall, once Rector of Hawstead, in this "sweet and civil country of Suffolk," † as he calls it and subsequently Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; and Dr. Ward, who became Archdeacon of Taunton. These were sent forth

\* Cole's MSS. quoted in *Le Keux's King's College*, p. 29. See also *Waterland's Works*, vol ii. pp. 376, 377.

† *Specialities in my Life*, p. xix. vol. i. works.

with strong injunctions from the king,\* that they should endeavour to make peace, but without compromising "the doctrines of the Church of England." †

The health of Dr. Hall soon failed him, and he applied for his recall; ‡ and then the king, at the instance probably of the Primate Abbott, sent out our Dr. Goad to supply his place. § This appointment is in itself a strong proof of the high estimation in which the theological learning of our Rector was regarded; but Dr. Hall in taking leave of the Synod thus wrote of his successor:

"Succenturiavit (i. e. Rex) mihi virum è suis selectissimum, quantum theologum! . . . . Vobis quidem ita feliciter prospectum est, ut sit cur infirmitati meæ haud parum gratulemini, quum hujusmodi succedaneo instructissimo cœtum hunc vestrum beaverit. ||

And Dr. Goad on joining the Synod, is said to have made "a pithy oration, promising the utmost of his assistance to the general good."

The position of the English delegates must have been full of difficulty, but their presence and their influence were useful in guiding the deliberations of the Synod; for it was thereby prevented from giving its sanction to the

\* James was at this time strongly inclined to Calvinism, and the English Divines whom he sent to Dort were of the same sentiments; but they spoke of themselves as deputed by the King, not by the Church of England, which they did not represent.—*Hallam's Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 396 note.

† *Fuller's Church History*, vol. v. pp. 461-463. These four Divines had allowed them by the States, ten pounds sterling a day: and were commanded by King James to send him in turn a weekly statement of the transactions of the Synod. Mr. Balcanquhall was afterwards sent as representative of the Church of Scotland.

‡ Hall himself thus drolly describes the cause of his malady; "By that time I had stayed two months there, the unquietness of the nights in those garrison towns, working upon the tender constitution of my body, brought me to

such weakness through want of rest that it began to disable me from attending the Synod, which yet, as I might, I forced myself unto; as wishing my zeal could have discountenanced my infirmity."—*Specialties in my Life*, p. xxxi.

§ *Fuller's Church History*, vol. v. p. 468. They had commission to insist on the doctrine of Universal Redemption, as the doctrine of the Church of England though they were outvoted in it.—*Waterland's Works*, vol. ii. p. 383.

|| *Fuller*, vol. v. pp. 467, 468, says that Dr. Hall "publicly took his solemn farewell in a speech of which the extract given above is part;" but Hall himself relates, "Returning by Dort (from the Hague). I sent in my sad farewell to that grave assembly, who by common vote sent to me the president of the Synod and the assistants with a respective and gracious valediction."

monstrous tenets of the Supralapsarians; and the doctrine that Almighty God has placed the greater part of mankind under a fatal necessity of committing the offences for which He has predetermined to punish them eternally, from that time lost ground.\*

And in the course of the discussion the views of more than one of the Englishmen who heard it, underwent a change, effected by the arguments of Episcopius, the great leader of the Arminians. The early opinions of Dr. Goad were modified and (as another expresses it of himself) he "bade John Calvin good night," and shortly afterwards went over to the other side.† He is supposed to have lost, in consequence, a share in the high ecclesiastical preferments which were granted to his colleagues by King James; and whether for this reason, or by accident only I do not know—his name was left out in the "Acts" of the Synod. Still he received with his colleagues grateful acknowledgments from the Dutch for having attended the Synod, and two hundred pounds in money to defray the expense of their common return to England. He was presented also, like each of the others, with "a golden medall of good value,"‡ weighing about three quarters of a pound, and bearing the following inscription commemorative of the discussion, on one side, "*Erunt ut Mons Syon 1619*"§ and on the other, "*Asserta Religione.*"

But although he lost the highest ecclesiastical preferments, the talents of Dr. Goad prevented his being altogether set aside. According to Fuller, "he returned," after the Synod of Dort, "to his diligent discharging of his domestical duties in the family of his lord and patron;" and, if we may so judge from the fact that there are verses of his in the University Collections at Cambridge, on the "Return of Prince Charles from Spain," bearing the date of 1623, he beguiled his more onerous employments, by indulging his poetical propensities. In the same year he was engaged as

\* *Southey's Book of the Church*, p. 433.

† *Ibid*, p. 473.

‡ *Fuller's Church History*, vol. v. p. 475 note.

§ The Synod ended on April 29, 1619.

assistant to Dr. Featley, in various disputations which were held with the Jesuits, Muskett, Fisher, and Sweet; and was remarkable for the firmness with which he exposed the devices of the Romish controversialists. These had set down untruly the arguments of Dr. Featley, and when charged with the dishonesty, denied it; but Dr. Goad replied, "Whether you did it wittingly or willingly bee it between God and your conscience: sure wee are that what you wrote down untruly was advantageous to your own side; therefore wee had just cause to suspect that you did it wittingly and willingly.\*" Dr. Goad was also twice Proctor in Convocation for Cambridge, and was Prolocutor of the Lower House in the Convocation,† which was held at Oxford in 1625, acting in the stead of Dr. Bowles, who absented himself through fear of the plague.

And soon afterwards, we may infer both from the date of his paintings in the Rectory and Church, and from the regular recurrence of his name in the parish Registers, that is, about the year 1627, he became a more constant resident at Hadleigh. He had other livings, but this was the most important, and here accordingly he took up his abode, amusing himself sometimes with his favourite pursuit, for there are verses of his in the University Collections on the King's return from Scotland in 1633, but exercising himself chiefly in the proper duties of his sacred calling, and in writing a book, expressive of his altered views‡

\* *Featley's Conference with Mr. Fisher and Mr. Sweet, Jesuits*, June 27, 1623, 4to.. p. 37. Dr. Goad was also engaged in a previous discussion with Muskett, p. 42.

† The Convocation met in Merton

Conventum, dicunt quem *Parliamenta*, putavi  
Stultus ego huic nostro similem, quo sæpe solemus  
De *Gradibus* dandis suffragia ferre *Regentes*.  
Sic Phœbo musas similes, juvenesque Magistris  
Nôram : sic magnis conferre minuta solebam.  
Verum hic tantum alios memorabilis ante Senatus  
Quantum coniferæ superant viburna cupressi.

and adds in a note, "Sed ne quidem ipsa Oxonii civitas erat libera aut tuta à peste: quæ licet mitior, duravit ibidem aliquandiu."

College Chapel,—*Lathbury's Convocation*, p. 219. Mr. Hawkins, of whom I shall say more by and bye, thus jestingly speaks in his "*Pestifugium*" of this Parliament;

‡ The following is the inscription on the tomb of Casaubon in Westminster Abbey which must have been written by Dr. Goad about this time;

—"A Disputation, partly Theological and partly Metaphysical concerning the necessity and contingency of events in the world in respect to God's eternal decrees."

This work, however, was not printed in his lifetime: it was not indeed given to the world until after the Restoration, —more than twenty years after it was written, and after its learned author was resting in his quiet grave in the chancel of our Church. He died on the 8th of August 1638, according to the Epitaph on his grave, if Dr. Wilkins has given it correctly in his MS. Unfortunately I am not able to satisfy myself on this point for the Epitaph is now illegible; but the Register relates that he was buried on the 9th.

Augusti 9, Thomas Goad, Sacræ Theologiæ Professor atq; hujus Eccl'ie p'ochialis Rector.

This sketch of the career of Dr. Goad explains the high character for learning, which is given to him on his grave,

Eximii necnon Rhetorices  
Poeseos, Mathematices  
Totiusque Artium  
Encyclopedias Magistri  
Famigeratissimi.

Isaac<sup>s</sup> Casaubon<sup>s</sup>

(O doctiorum quicquid est assurgite  
Huic tam colendo nomini)  
Quem Gallia Reip. Literariæ bone (bono ?)  
Peperit Henricus IV Francorum Rex  
Invictissimus Lutetiam literis suis  
Evocatam Bibliothecæ suæ præfecit,  
Carumq; deinceps dum vixit habuit.  
Eoq; terris erepto Jacobus Mag. Brit.  
Monarcha regum doctissimus doctis  
Indulgentissimus in Angliam accivit,  
Munifice fovit posteritasq; ob  
Doctrinam æternum mirabitur.

H. S. E. invidia major.

Obiit ætern. in Xto vitam anhelans  
Kal. Jul. MDCXIV. Æt., LV.

Viro opt. immortalitate digniss.

Th. Mortonus Ep. Dunelm.

Jucundissimæ, quoad frui

Licuit, consuetudinis

Memor Pr. S. P. cv.

MDCXXXIV

Qui nosse vult Casaubonum

Non saxa sed chartas legat

The letters Pr. S. P. cv. probably  
signify, as a friend has suggested, "pro-

Superfuturas marmorì

Et profuturas posteris.

priis sumptibus ponendum curavit."

and justifies the words of Wood in his *Fasti Oxonienses*, "a great and general scholar, exact critic and historian, a poet, schoolman and divine." "He delighted," adds Fuller, "in making verses till the day of his death."\*

But I am afraid I must observe on the authority of Fuller† also, that his learning was not accompanied with the humility of Overall:

"He had a commanding presence, an uncontrollable spirit impatient to be opposed, and loving to steer the discourse (being a good pilot to that purpose) of all the company he came into."

There are busts of Dr. Goad and of his brother Matthew on their graves, for like Saul and Jonathan these two brothers were not long divided in their deaths.—The inscription relating to Matthew Goad tells the sad tale,

Cui adjacet frater  
Matthæus Goad‡  
Armiger, Juriconsultus, &c.  
Qui dum ad funus sui fratris  
Properavit fatiis una cessit  
XII. Augusti 1638.

Through the kindness of a friend§ I am able to give a copy of the will of Dr. Thomas Goad, which will be found interesting I think, as an illustration of the manners and customs of the times.

In Nomine Christi Salvatoris, Amen. I Thomas Goad, doct<sup>r</sup> in Divinitie, beeing I thanke God in good health, and perfecte memorie doe ordaine this my last will and testamente, hereby cancellinge all former willes formerlie by mee made. First att the pleasure of Allmightie God my Creatour and Redeemer I willinglie end my short Pilgrimage in this world with firme expectac'on to enioie the Libertie of the sonnes of God by the onelie merittes of my blessed savior who came into the world to save sinners of whome I am the cheife. The earthlie Tabernacle of this fleshe I render to the dust whence it came, in hope that it shalbee cloathed with glorie in the resurrecc'on of the iust. And for that porc'on of Temporall estate whereof God hath vouchsafed to make mee his Steward I thus dispose thereof. First in dutie and thankfullnes to the place of my educac'on I give

\* *Worthies*, vol. i. p. 240.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Matthew Goad was the eldest son of Dr. Roger Goad, and was Scholar of King's in 1591, and M.A. He had an

office in the Chancery, and is said to have lived on his lands in Suffolk, but where they were I do not know.

§ The Rev. T. Brocklebank, Fellow of King's College.

unto the Colledge of o<sup>r</sup> blessed Ladie and Saint Nicholas, commonlie called Kinges Colledge in Cambridge all my freeland in Milton neare Cambridge to the intent that the whole yearlie profitt thereof bee faithfullie employed yearlie for ever in divinitie bookes for the publique librarie there,\* the said bookes to bee first named or approoved by the Provost and more part of the Seniors for the time beeing, and signed with this inscription, Legavit Thomas Goad, S<sup>r</sup> Theologiæ professor, quondam socius huius Collegii. Item to the said Colledge I give the golden medaile given mee at the Synode of Dort:† Item to the poore of the parishe of Mestham‡ in Surrey I give three pounds to bee distributed att the discre' on of the Incumbent there. Item to the poore of Bishopp Stortford ten poundes to bee distributed by the vicar there, and allsoe other ten poundes to the vicar there for his encouragemente. Item to twenty poore of Winchester§ five shillings apeece to bee distributed by Mr. Dean's appointmente. Item to the poore of Milton|| aforesaid three poundes to be distributed by my brother Ellis there, and to the vicar there for his encouragemente sixe poundes. Item to the poore of Hadley in Suff. ten poundes to bee distributed by the appointmente of my neighbo<sup>r</sup> Mr. Carter of Whatfield. Item to the poore of Black Notley in Essex five poundes to be distributed by my curate there. All my lands latelie bought by mee of Mr. John Bentill and beeing in the occupac' on of George Steward, I give to my brother Mr. Matthewe Goad Esq<sup>r</sup> for his lifetime, and after his decease to my nephewe and godson Thomas Goad and his heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten and in default of such heires to my nephewe Francis Goad and to his heires. Item to my said nephewe Thomas I give twentie pounds by the yeare for four years next following my death. Item to my neece Katherine Clarke I give thirtie poundes. Item to my sister Herne I give thirtie poundes, and to her husband Doc<sup>r</sup> Herne my Crissostom's works in Greeke¶ and my two best gownes and Cassockes yf hee please to choose and weare them. Item to my nephewe John Rookes I give a pension of twentie poundes yearlie for three yeares, and to his wife the best of my silver tankards and to his eldest son twentie poundes. Item to my brother Mr. Ellis of Milton I abate fortie poundes of whatsoever debte hee shall owe att my death. Item to my aunt Moundford and my aunt Andrewes to each of them five poundes. Item to my godson Moundford Brampstō fellow of Trinitie Hall in Cambridge I give my two silver candlesticks. Item to my coozen Richard Archibold of London, six poundes. Item to my coozen Addam of Beerchwitt, widdow, I give five poundes. Item to my old friend

\* The Estate at Milton, now producing clear about £60 per annum, is appropriated to the purchase of Books for the Library. Many of the Books bear the inscription Legavit T. G., &c.

† The Dort Medal was stolen, with other coins and medals, early in the present century.

‡ The Testator had been Rector of Mestham, Surrey.

§ The Testator had been Prebend of Winchester.

|| Milton Rectory was held by the Testator; it was then a sinecure with a vicarage; in 1842 the two were united; the Rectory was given to the College by Provost Goad, the father, after the decease of his family.

¶ Perhaps the edition of Sir H. Savile, Provost of Eton.



Mr. Miles Raven,\* ten pounds. Item to my coozen Mr. George Goad,† of King's College, I give my peece of gold coyne of Tyberius Cæsar, and a ringe of thirty shillings inscribed *μνημοσυον* T.G. Also the like rings I give to his two brethren Doct. Thomas Goad‡ and Mr. Christopher Goad, and to Mr. Thomas Rowe,§ Henry Molle,|| and Nicholas Hobard,¶ of King's Colledge. Item to the Vicar of Milton aforesaid, I give a gowne, a cassocke, a cloake, a suite of under apparrell, such as my Executor shall thinke fitt to allott him out of mine. Item to my servant, Edward Webster, I give twentie pounds and my best geldinge, and allsoe two of my best feather beddes and bolsters to them and the best of my coverlettes in Hadleigh, and fortie pounds weight of my pewter there. Item I give to Charles my Cooke, and Robert my Coachman, and to Thomas Grange my servant, and to Thomas Notage sometimes my servant, to each of them four pounds. Item to Sr Bowyer of Hadley, my St. Ambrose; and to Sr Kitly my St. Austin. Item I appoint mine executor to make a Monumente for my father,\*\* in the little Chappell att Kinge's Colledge, where the bodie lieth interred, namelie, uppon the easte wall a faire plate of brasse, double guilt throughout on the visible side thereof, after the engraveing of a decent inscription, to bee endited by Mr. Henry Molle, my good friend. Item my will is that my brother Matthewe make over unto ffeoffees the p'cells of free and copy land and tenements, which I purchased of Wortham, in Hadley, to bee added to the foundac'on of my charitable p'decessor, Dr. Pykenam, and emploied in like manner, to the reliefe of four almspeople, to which end my will is that my Ex<sup>r</sup> within two years after my death, shall build two almshouses adioyninge on the west to the olde houses, att his owne charge, and not worse buildings than the former. Of this my last will and testament I ordain the sole Ex<sup>r</sup> my well beloved brother, Mr. Matthewe Goad, who will, I trust, faithfullie and speedilie discharge my trust reposed in him, whom also I further charge before God, as hee will answer att y<sup>e</sup> dreadfull day of the generall judgmt, that yf yt shall appear to his conscience that I am indebted to any man or have wronged any (I hope I have not), hee doe willinglie and reallie make satisfac'on on my behalfe. In wittnes whereof

\* Miles Raven was (extraordinarie electus), Scholar of King's, in 1587; Rector of Munston, Herts, in the College gift: an excellent scholar.

† George Goad, scholar of King's in 1620, nephew of Dr. Collins, Provost of King's; afterwards Fellow of Eton, and Master there.—See *Harwood*.

‡ Thomas Goad, Scholar in 1611; Christopher Goad, in 1613.

§ Thomas Rowe, Scholar in 1611; a great traveller; went to Venice with Sir Henry Wootton, Provost of Eton; afterwards Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Vice-Provost; Prebendary of Wells and Vicar of Fordingbridge, but

he died before his institution.

|| Scholar in 1612; Vice-Provost and Public Orator; d. in College, May 10, 1658.

¶ Born at Lindsey, in Suffolk; Scholar in 1620; Secretary to the Ambassador at Constantinople; a benefactor to the College and University Libraries, and to Eton College.

\*\* This was never carried out, nor are any vestiges of any attempt now remaining. Probably the death of his elder brother Matthew, his executor, who died within four days of Thomas Goad the testator, prevented anything being done.

I have hereto sett my hand and seale, this 9th day of Novemb., 1636.

THOMAS GOAD.

Witnesses hereof { WILLIAM HAWKINS.  
EDWARD WEBSTER.

Revised by mee, Jan. 26, 1637.

Witnesses hereof { WILLIAM ELLIS.  
THOMAS GRANGE.

Concordat eum or'li testamento collatione } CHAR. COTTLE.  
fe'a per me } Nor'um. Pub'cum.

Indorsement. Dr. Thomas Goade's Will: 1637. Gives all his freehold lands in Milton for buying Divinity Books.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BOOK USED AT THE COMMEMORATION OF BENEFACTORS  
DEC: 6.

Roger Goad, D.D. and Provost in 1570 gave to the College the perpetual advowson of Milton in Cambridgeshire, and £20 to ten of the scholars then living to buy divinity books.

Thomas Goad, D.D. son of the aforesaid Roger Goad, and fellow, one of the Divines appointed by King James the 1st to go to the Synod of Dort besides divers books gave £20 per annum out of his lands at Milton to the College for ever, to buy divinity books for the library. He gave us also that medal of gold which for his eminent worth and service was presented to him by the States of Holland.

Amongst the residents at Hadleigh during the incumbency of Dr. Goad, was the REV. WILLIAM HAWKINS. It is supposed from the following note in his Poem called *Fastidium*,\* that he was born at Oakington, near Cambridge;

“Hæc regio abundat salicibus magis quam quercubus aut ulmis. Quod dum profitetur autor de campestri et depressiore solo, sperat se patriæ suæ non derogare; utpote frugiferæ magis quam glandiferæ:”

but he is not mentioned in the parish books, which begin in 1592. He was of Christ's College, Cambridge, and took the degree of B.A. there, in 1622-3; and of M.A., in 1626. In the interval between his two degrees he appears to have become Master of the Free Grammar School in this town, and to have been licensed to it, according to the custom of the times, by the Bishop of the diocese, for one of his poems was acted here on Feb. 7, 1626; but he did not like

\* *Corolla Varia*, pt. i., p. 13.

that occupation. He had been admitted into Holy Orders and he sighed for duties more strictly clerical, and longed for some quiet country Curacy, where he might employ himself in watching over his flock, and in pursuing his favourite studies without any of those interruptions, which his office, as a schoolmaster, interposed.

O quam placide mihi vota quiescant  
 Olim si modicum mea fistula ducat ovile !  
 Atque utinam e vobis unus, vestrivefuissem  
 Subcustos gregis, aut Sacratæ janitor Ædis.  
 Certe sive mihi *Stanton*, sive esset *Okinton*,  
 Villula seu quævis (quid tum si parvula *Okinton* ?  
 Et parvæ violæ sunt et sunt parvula fraga)  
 Sic inter salices densa sub vepre studerem.  
 Parva daret libros mihi, me vestiret *Okinton*.  
 Hic placidæ pecudes, hic mollia prata, salignum  
 Hic nemus, hic longi senio consumerer ævi.  
 Nunc labor ingratus ferulæ virgæque Magistrum  
 Prima inter studia et pueriles detinet artes.\*

His wish, however, was not to be fully gratified; he was not permitted to enjoy the quiet village scenes for which he craved; but he was afterwards called upon to perform the duties of Curate of this parish. It may be that his kindred tastes and love of poetry recommended him to the favour of the Rector, who was so fond of "making verses"; but at all events Dr. Goad appointed him to be his curate, and he died whilst holding that office, for the following notice of him occurs in the Register of Burials in 1637,

"Junii 29, Mr William Hawkins, Curatus."

He died in the year of the plague, and whilst it was most destructive in the parish; and therefore his death illness may have been caught while he was diligently attending to those pastoral offices, for the opportunity of discharging which he had previously longed so ardently.

I have spoken of Mr. Hawkins' love for writing verses: the first published production of his muse was entitled "Apollo Shroving," and was acted by the boys of our

\* *Ibid.* pp. 13-14.

School, on Shrove Tuesday,\* Feb. 7, 1626; and this the earliest may be regarded, I think, as the most remarkable of his poems. To suggest ideas to the great Master poet of the age, and thus to be connected with a work, which will last until "Paradise Lost" shall be "Regained," was indeed no slight distinction; and this distinction, as I have already hinted, seems to belong to our former Curate.

Hawkins was an English as well as Latin poet, and published in 1626 a lyrical drama under the title of "Apollo Shroving," to which, in the opinion of Mr. Todd, Milton may have been indebted, when, describing Eve visiting her fruits and flowers, he says "They at her coming sprang." The passage thus honoured, and which personifies pleasure in a striking manner, is as follows: †

"The clouds do from her presence flye,  
'Tis sunshine where she casts her eye;  
Wherere she treads on earth below  
A rose or lily up doth grow.  
Her breath a gale of spices brings;  
Mute are the Muses, when she sings."

And I will here give you the passage in which Milton is considered to have embodied the idea of Mr. Hawkins, ‡

"Which Eve  
Perceiving, where she sat retired in sight,  
With lowliness majestic from her seat,  
And grace that won who saw to wish her stay,  
Rose and went forth amongst her fruits and flowers,  
To visit how they prospered, bud and bloom,  
Her nursery; they at her coming sprung,  
And, touched by her fair tendance, gladlier grew."

And the probability that Milton was guilty of this "wise stealing," is increased, if we bear in mind that he must have felt interested on various grounds in Suffolk. Milton had been a pupil of Dr. Young, who became Vicar of Stowmarket in 1628, and he is known to have paid one

\* *Warton's English Poetry*, vol. ii., p. 530, note. Shrove Tuesday, as the day immediately preceding Lent, was always a day of extraordinary sport and feasting. In my own College, Brasenose, Oxford, the butler is still bound on that day, to supply spiced ale in the Hall, at his own cost; and it is the custom for him to present at the same time printed copies

of some verses on its merits which one of the undergraduates, at his request, has written for him. An amusing collection of these verses has been lately published.

† *Dr. Drake's Winter Nights*, vol. i. p. 69, note, quoting *Todd's Milton*, vol. iii. p. 423.

‡ *Paradise Lost*, Book viii, lines 40-47.

visit, at least, in the summer of that year, to his former tutor.\* He must also have occasionally visited Ipswich, where his brother, Sir Christopher Milton, lived and died; and thus, the poem of a Suffolk man may have been brought before his notice. But if we further bear in mind that Milton was in residence at Cambridge, at the time when "Apollo Shroving" was first published, and was a member too, of the same College as Mr. Hawkins—then, I think, we must acknowledge, that there is strong reason to believe that he must have seen and read the poem of the latter; and that having seen and read it, may have made use, either knowingly or unconsciously, of some of the ideas which it contained, when he afterwards composed his *Paradise Lost*, between the years 1655 and 1665.

The next poetical effusions of Mr. Hawkins are contained in a curious volume called "*Corolla Varia*," † published at Cambridge, in 1634. This volume consists of two parts, which look as if they had once been separate; but I hesitate in adopting this conclusion, because they were both printed by the same person, in the same year.

The first part is made up of four short pieces. The first of these, called *Pestifugium*, is a kind of parody of the first Eclogue of Virgil, and contains a dialogue between an Oxford man and a Cambridge man, who, being obliged to leave his own University through the breaking out of the plague, had taken refuge at Oxford, with the intention of pursuing his studies there for some time. This poem was recited by the boys of Hadleigh School, on Sept. 14, 1630, in the presence of some members of the University of Cambridge, who, flying from the danger which beset them there, had betaken themselves for safety to our town; for the following line which is prefixed to the poem, and reminds us of the Chronogram placed by Dr. Goad on the Sun-dial at the Church, shews, I think, not only the date of the plague, but the cause of Mr. Hawkins' having such learned visitors to entertain:

\* *Hollingsworth's Stowmarket*, p. 188.

† A copy of this book is in the possession of Mr. Knox, having been presented

by a former Rector, Dr. Tanner, to his successors in 1785.

DVrat LYes : MVsæ eXVLant.

This plague was introduced into Cambridge, as we are told in a note, by a stranger, and in less than six months proved fatal to more than 300 persons. All the University, except the Vice-Chancellor and a very few of the Heads of Houses, who remained to watch over the afflicted town, fled away; and their flight occasioned the miseries of a famine to be added to the horrors of the plague. A collection was made in four dioceses for the relief of the sufferers, who numbered about 3,000.

The second poem, called *Postliminium*, describes the joy which was experienced by the members of the University, when by the ceasing of the plague, they were enabled after a nine months exile, to return to Cambridge.

The third contains the lament of Mr. Hawkins (*Nisus*), at being obliged to discharge the distasteful office of a schoolmaster, and the endeavour of a friend whose name appears to have been White (*Leucus*), and who was also a schoolmaster, to reconcile him to his fate by reminding him that such an office was worthy of a Clergyman, since our Lord Himself loved little children and took them up in His arms and blessed them; and that even if the task were disagreeable he ought to be content to "endure hardness," as Prophets and Apostles, and Apostolic men had done before him.

The fourth is a sarcastic and amusing dialogue between a sound thinking Churchman and a Puritan, and was spoken by two of the boys of Hadleigh school, on April 9, 1632, on the occasion of a visit by the Bishop (John Bowle) of Rochester. The Puritan's *βαττολογία*—his fondness for assertions without proof, the absurdities to which his principles, if carried out, would lead him, are laughably depicted, and as was especially befitting in the presence of a Bishop, he is ignominiously driven off the field.

The second part is entirely taken up with one long poem, and relates an extraordinary trouble—far more distressing than the ordinary grievances of which he had previously complained—experienced by Mr. Hawkins, while Master of our

School. There was a person of the name of Coleman, (he is called Carbonius in the poem, and as if this was not sufficiently explicit, an explanatory note is added in the margin, "Linguâ vernaculâ idem quod ἀνθρακωνδρος,") living near the town, "vicinæ incola villæ," which was probably Peyton Hall,\* as the Register shews that a family of Colemans lived there at that period. *Carbonius* brought his son *Carbunculus*, a youth about nine years old, and placed him with a brother under the charge of Mr. Hawkins, (*Nisus*) agreeing to pay 20s.† a year for his instruction in the rudiments of Latin. *Carbunculus* had scarcely been at the school two years, when he ceased to attend it, whether of his own choice or by the order of his father, was not known, but certainly without the leave of the master, and without having paid the stipulated fee, for the instruction given in the second year. This, however, was a trifling offence, when compared with that which he committed a few months afterwards. In the school there was a wooden horse:

Trojano potius similis : fabricatus uterque  
E ligno, in poenam sero sapientis uterque.  
Phryx plagis melior. Sic et puer. Iste Caballus  
Non in perniciem, non urbis, ut ille, ruinam ;  
Sed curam imberbis populi, regimenq ; salubre :  
Hunc equitans, petulans, temeraria, tarda juvenus  
Sanior evadit, † legemq, lubentius audit.

The wholesome discipline of this equitation, though highly thought of by the master, was not however equally relished by the boys ; and *Carbunculus* who had occasionally suffered in the part where most young riders suffer, conceived in his lawless leisure the design of taking vengeance on the horse. He accordingly stole into the school one day during play-hours, tore open the horse's belly with a knife, scattered about the wool, with which out of tender

\* "Father Tho. Colman of Payton Hall" was buried April 16, 1610, and a John Colman of Payton Hall, Aug. 25, in the same year.

† The School was not, therefore, a Free School in the sense of giving education free of charge. This sum of 20s. at

that time, would represent about £4 or £5 of our own money.

‡ Some will recollect the testimony of Horace to this power of the rod upon the memory :

"Memini, quæ plagosum mihi parvo  
Orbilium dictare."

*Epist.*, Lib. ii, 71.

regard for the comfort of the rider, it had carefully been stuffed, and (I dare not venture to quote even in a learned language the account of his misconduct, it must be enough if I say) left, not unintentionally as in the case of Diccon, but of malice aforethought, other traces of his visit, which proved dreadfully offensive to more than one of the senses of *Nisus* and his pupils, when they returned after dinner to their desks.

The culprit had escaped,—not without having had a witness to his flight—but he affected no secrecy; he rather boasted publicly of the exploit, and even ventured a week afterwards to go into the school again with the intention of repeating the offence. On this occasion, however, *Nisus* unexpectedly appears on the scene, and after a very short parley *Carbunculus*

.....ascendit reparati dorsa Caballi.  
Sentit Equus pondus, nullique lubentius unquam  
Submittens oneri, solatur pristina justis  
Vulnera vulneribus, simul intus adhinnit ab imis  
Ilibus: his phaleris, isto sessore superbit.  
Sed cohibens iram suavi moderamine *Nisus*,  
Noluit asperiore manu, tristive flagello,  
Quamlibet hoc meriti, pellem lacerare puelli:  
Noluit *Orbilius*, nec in hoc, plagosus haberi.  
Quattuor inflixit tantum mediocriter ictus:  
Plures optet Equus, plures daret arbiter æquus.

*Nisus* supposed that he had deserved well of the parents by inflicting this well-merited but moderate chastisement on *Carbunculus*; and meeting *Carbonius* a month afterwards he thinks it a favourable opportunity for asking for the payment of the school fees that were in arrear: but to his utter amazement and dismay, *Carbonius* indignantly declares that the balance is rather in his favour, since damages were due from *Nisus* for his savage assault upon his son; and that a lawsuit was about to be commenced to gain them.

And then the fury of Mrs. Coleman, "*bona Carbonissa*,"\*

\* In an early part of his Poem Mr. Hawkins bitterly complains, and every

Schoolmaster of the present day may reiterate his complaint;



against him,—so great that he was glad to escape from her gnashing teeth and foaming lips, and brandished arms, and abusive epithets; the execution of the writ; the consultation with his legal friend, who was Mr. Francis Andrew\* (*Androdus*); the Town Clerk, and a former *alumnus* of the school; the pertinacious desire of *Nisus* to conduct his own case; the ride to Bury St. Edmund's, the air of which is so wholesome that

Non pauca hue tabida migrant

Corpora, ut aero victu recreata valescant;

the rapacity of the Innkeeper, who charged him as much for the supper of the four boys, whom he had taken as witnesses, as if they had been grown-up men; the solemn entry and the dress of the Judges, whose square-cornered caps he quizzes as ill-adapted for round heads, though solving the difficult problem of "squaring the circle;"

Circulus ambigitur num sit quadrabilis. Illud

Siquis præstiterit, siquis, sit *Apollinis* instar.

Pileolum hoc capitale annon id præstat? In ævum

Simus *Apollinei*, hoc utamur tegmine, donec

Arte Mathematica cyclum quadraverit alter,

Qui galeam *Themidis*, galeam qui *Palladis* odit;

the miserable state of the law courts at Bury, at that period

Pauperis agricolæ condendis frugibus olim

Horrea structa putes, non judiciale tribunal;

Caulam, non aulam; gregibus, non legibus aptam;†

Non ut vult ratio, sed ut indulgentia matrum

Fas præceptori virgam vibrare; nec unquam

Plectenda est meritis puerorum audacia plagis

Ne plagæ linquarum et lis furiosa sequantur.

The punishment of boys was generally very severe at this period. I may add, that even in our own Sunday School about fifty or sixty years ago, a mode of punishment, cruelly severe, was practised under the auspices of a lay superintendent, Mr. Leatherdale. Mr. Leatherdale would seat himself in a chair, stretching his knees rather wide apart; the offending boy would then be forcibly seized by the assistants, and made to sit on the floor with his head on a level with Mr. Leatherdale's knees; Mr. Leatherdale would then place the backs of his open hands against the inside of his knees, and then bring

his hands and knees together, pressing hard upon the boy's ears. This would have been bad enough; but this was not the worst; for while pressing hard inwardly with his knees, Mr. Leatherdale would rapidly move his hands horizontally backwards and forwards, rubbing the boys ears, and causing the most intense pain by the rough friction. The howls of the boy, who was being thus manipulated, are said to have been dreadful.

\* The same, I suppose, who was baptized Dec. 30, 1578, "Francys Andrew, s. to Robt."

† Archbishop Laud, in his *Annual Ac-*

the interview with his counsel, a distinguished member of his own University, to whom he presents instead of the usual brief, the early part of this poem ;

Charta loquax oculis rem gestam subjicit, ipso  
 Carmine, Virgiferæ quo lugent damna Camœnæ :  
 Carmine sed scripto, nondum obstetricibus auso  
 In lucem prodire typis ;

the refusal of the counsel to take the customary fee

Sat mercedis, ait, tua nobis chartula ;

the knavery of the Plaintiff's attorney, who keeps back the *record*, and so prevents the trial from coming on,

Litis Legale *Recordum*  
 Hostis detenuit latebrosæ in carcere peræ ;

the rage of *Nisus* and his eager wish to drag *Carbonius* to the trial from which he had thus slunk, until he finds that the process would be too costly, and is fain to console himself with writing a history of his persecution :—all this, mixed up with digressions about the destruction of the Abbey of Bury, and the projected restoration of St. Paul's, London, by Archbishop Laud ; with sarcastic allusions to the Puritans ; and with an account of the presentation of a White Bull to the Abbey of Bury, in Roman Catholic times, by ladies who suffered the desolation, and felt the desire of Hannah, is told with so much quaintness, with such a command of the Latin language, and such an abundance of classical allusions, as to be exceedingly interesting and amusing.

And where was the scene of Mr. Hawkins's labours as a schoolmaster ? Tradition points to the old building on the south side of the churchyard, and to that part of it which lies towards the west, and which from its being thickly inhabited as an Almshouse is now called "the Nest." And here, though I do not intend, as some antiquaries

count of his *Province to the King*, 1637, draws a sad picture of the neighbourhood of these Courts ; "The Churchyards in many places are extremely annoyed and profaned, especially in corporate towns. And at St Edmundsbury the assizes are yearly kept in a remote side of the churchyard : the like abuses by ale-houses, back-

doors, and throwing out filth, with something else not fit to be related here, are found at Bungay : at St Mary's ad Turrim in Ipswich, at Woodbridge, and at Norwich, the sign-posts of two or three inns stand in the Churchyard."—*Works, Anglo-Cath Lib*, vol. v. pt. ii, p. 351.

might be inclined to do, to affirm that the title is to be traced up to the seventeenth century, I may yet mention it as a curious coincidence that this title of "the Nest" was given to the same building by Mr. Hawkins in his poem, when describing his application for the legal assistance of Mr. Andrew, the town-clerk:

*Nisus* adit, sibi adesse rogat: tutamen honestum  
Implorat, *Nisum*, *nidumque*, Androde, faveto;  
*Nidum*, in quo pullus pasci et pippire solebas,  
Nè ruat, adjuta.

The schoolroom, probably, lay originally on the ground floor; but a verse in the same poem appears to imply that early in the seventeenth century, and soon after a Charter of Incorporation was conferred upon the town, an upper-room was taken in its place, to which the outside staircase, at the extreme west, was most likely the approach:

Ecce nova hæc inter migrans de sedibus imis  
Et renovata Schola est.

Can we look on the building and reflect that it was the nursery in which was fostered the learning of Boise, of Overall, of Bretton, and of Beaumont, and not regard it with increased interest and respect? I must confess, however, that it affords in its associations another illustration of the fact, that there is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous, when the imagination passes from the career of those intellectual giants to the indecorous proceedings of the degenerate *Carbunculus*, and the consequent troubles of his master.\*

But besides the verses already mentioned, Mr. Hawkins has the following verses in the University Collection at Cambridge, "Rex redux," on the King's return from Scotland, in 1633; the Curate and the Rector having

\* The immediate predecessor of Mr. Hawkins in this School, was, as I gather from his Poem, a gentleman, who bore the name of Longbeard, or was distinguished by that natural appendage to his chin;

Sedet illic proximus hæres  
Post *Bathypogonem* Nisus.

VOL. III.

Mr Hawkins' successor was probably a Mr. Avis, for I have found this entry in the Register of Burials in 1641, "September 11, Mr. William Avis, Mr. of Arts and Mr. of ye Grammar School of this Towne. This Mr. Avis died poor, for the Liber Actorum shews that his creditors administered to his effects.

thus engaged in a literary rivalry, to testify their loyalty, for you will remember that Dr. Goad also wrote verses on this subject: "Carmen Natalitium," on the birth of the Princess Elizabeth: "Συνωδια sive Musarum Cant. concentus, &c.," on the birth of the Princess Anne, published in 1637, the year in which he died. And I infer from *MSS. Addit.* in the British Museum, 15, 227, fol. 63, that he was the author of "Latin Elegies on the death of Edward Gale, Apothecary, of Hadley, 1630, by G. H.," for the initials here given would represent Gulielmus Hawkins.

Dr. Goad was taken away from the evil to come and from the persecutions to which in the mutual exasperation of those unhappy times, when toleration was unknown, the triumphant Puritans would most probably have visited his change of sentiments. His successor in the Living of Hadleigh was DR. ROBERT COTTESFORD,—that dauntless man, of whom I have already spoken as so boldly withstanding and driving back the crowd, who intended with sacrilegious violence to pull down the altar-rails \* in 1642. After many fruitless enquiries I have at last discovered the college † at which he was educated, and a clue—which, however, I have not been able to follow up—to the county to which in the estimation of his college he belonged:—"Robert Cottesford (Suffolk)," was admitted Sizar of Queen's College, Cambridge, on May 2, 1617; he was appointed Bibliotista, ‡ Oct. 19, 1620; he took the degree of B.A. Jan., 1620-1; was elected a Fellow of Queen's, Nov. 24, 1623; commenced M.A. 1624, and was incorporated at Oxford, of the same degree, in the same year; in 1626-7, he was Prælector Setoni at Queen's; in 1628-9, Prælector Græcus; in 1629-30, Decanus; in 1631-2, Censor Philosophicus; and in June, 1636, being then "nuper socius," he became D.D.

\* Altar rails were an object of especial dislike to the Puritans. Some of that party are said, in the *Life of Dr. Daniel Featley*, p. 24, to have burnt the rails and pulled down the font in his church at Acton, in Middlesex.

† Through the kind assistance of the Rev. W. G. Searle, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge.

‡ The *Bibliotista* was a Scholar who had to read in Chapel.

According to one authority,\* who, however, speaks very doubtfully, suggesting rather than affirming, Dr. Cottesford married—according to another authority he was the son of—a half-sister of Archbishop Laud. The maiden name of the Archbishop's mother, was Lucy Webb, and she married for her first husband John Robinson, a rich clothier, of Reading, Berks, and one of her daughters by this marriage became the wife of a "Dr. Cotsford;" but I am inclined to believe from the dates, and from the fact that Miss Robinson was senior to the Archbishop who was born in 1573, and therefore very much older than our Dr. Cottesford who was probably not born long before 1600, that the former of the two statements cannot be correct. I am rather disposed to think that the "Dr. Cotsford" who married Miss Robinson, must have been the father of our Rector, and that our dauntless Rector was consequently a nephew of Archbishop Laud.

This close connection with so great a man, was a fortunate thing for Cottesford, for soon after Laud attained to the Bishopric of London, he presented him to the Vicarage of Canewdon, in Essex, Dec. 13, 1629;† and in Sept., 1633, almost immediately before he was elevated to the See of Canterbury, he appointed him to a Canonry at St. Paul's. Cottesford, however, did not long hold the Vicarage of Canewdon, for he resigned it in 1630; but the Archbishop proved his steady friend, and in 1635 collated him to the Rectory of Monks Eleigh;‡ and in 1638, when a vacancy occurred by the death of Dr. Goad, he removed him to the more valuable benefice of Hadleigh.

And boldly did Dr. Cottesford maintain the character, which Laud is said to have required of all,§ whom he

\* Compare *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, with *Heylin's Life of Laud*, p. 46.

† "His (Archbishop Laud's) mother was sister to Sir William Webb, Lord Mayor of London, Anno. 1591.... She was married to John Robinson, a clothier of the same town also; but a man of so good wealth and credit that he married one of his daughters to Dr. Cotsford, and another unto Dr. Layfield, men of parts and

worth.... Having buried her husband John Robinson, she was re-married unto Laud, this Archbishop's father."

‡ *Walker* seems to be incorrect in saying that he was presented to Canewdon in 1624.

§ The *Liber Actorum* shews that he attended a Visitation at Hadleigh, as Rector of Monks Eleigh on April 3, 1638.

§ *Le Bas' Life of Laud*, p. 163.

selected for preferment in the church. He was very attentive to his sacred duties, preaching always whilst at Hadleigh every Sunday morning, and having a second sermon preached by his Curate in the afternoon;\* he was, moreover, a firmasserter of the Church's discipline; very strict in his observance of the Rubrics, and so stedfast a Royalist, that he "refused to be a trumpet of the Rebellion, by reading the Parliament declarations." His impetuous temperament led him, no doubt, to express his views in utter disregard of the consequences to himself—we can indeed imagine that he was one of those, who would invite rather than avoid persecution,—and the result was, that he became a marked man, and was deprived of his Rectory by the House of Commons, in Oct., 1643.†

The grounds on which he was deprived were not, however, his strict Church principles, or his devotion to the king alone; he was also charged with immorality and drunkenness. A writer,‡ however, who is conversant with the literature of that period, has declared that the statements of the Puritans against those, who were opposed to them, can never be relied on; and certainly in this case there appears to be good evidence to shew that in the matter of immorality and drunkenness at least, the accusation against Dr. Cottesford was untrue. Walker, the historian of the Clergy who suffered during the Rebellion, has assured us, that he made enquiry at Hadleigh of "two ancient persons," then living,—persons who had known Dr. Cottesford, and had resided here during his incumbency, Mr. William Beaumont and Mr. Henry Nelson,§—and had been told by them that Dr. Cottesford was a "very sober man;" that he "lived very lovingly and kindly with his wife;"|| and

\* His Curate at Hadleigh was a "Mr. John Allington," and afterwards a "Mr. John Baker."—*Liber Actorum*.

† *Walker's Sufferings*, &c. pp. 51, 52.

‡ *Rev. T. Lathbury's History of the Prayer Book*.

§ Mr. William Beaumont was a younger brother of Dr. Joseph Beaumont, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. He

was Churchwarden here in 1683 and 1685, and was buried Sep. 6, 1712, aged 82. Mr. Henry Nelson was an Apothecary. He was buried Feb. 23, 1711, aged 88.

|| He had a son, Robert, baptized March 4, 1640; another son, John, baptized Feb. 2, 1641; and a third, Isaac, on Oct. 12, 1643, just before he was deprived.

that they had "never heard any report of such dishonest doing, for the time that he (the Dr.), lived in the town." But nevertheless the accusation, however false, answered the purpose of its promoters, and a formidable opponent was reduced to destitution.

"Dr. Cottesford suffered much for the Royal Cause, and being never able to obtain his fifths from his successor,"—that is, the portion of tithe which was allowed by law to a deprived incumbent,—"was constrained to take upon him the practice of Physick at Ipswich, where he died a few years after, very poor." \*

Through the kindness of the Ipswich Clergy, the Registers of the several parishes have been searched for a record of Dr. Cottesford's burial. Some of those Registers do not go so far back, others are imperfect; and the search has not been attended with success.

The intruder, Mr. Harrison, whom the House of Commons appointed Rector in the place of Dr. Cottesford, was ejected soon after the Restoration, and Dr. Daniel Nicholls was collated to the Living by Archbishop Juxon. Mr. Harrison is said to have afterwards conformed.†

But pass we on to another great crisis in the Church's history, and we shall find Hadleigh prominently connected also with that trying time—I mean the Revolution. DR. CHARLES TRUMBULL was then Rector here. He was the fifth son of William Trumbull, Esq.,‡ of East Hampstead

\* Walker.

† Calamy's *Ejected Ministers*, vol iii., p. 661, quoted in the *Davy MSS.*

‡ I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. A. B. Townsend for the following

copy of the inscription on Mr. Trumbull's monument in East Hampstead Church, which I give, because it contains several particulars about the family.

To the Memory  
of the Worfull William Trumbell of  
East Hampstead Parke, Esq., one of the Clerks of the  
Signet and Justice of the Peace for this Countie, who on  
the 24<sup>th</sup> of March 1677-8, in the 75<sup>th</sup> year of his age, resigned  
up his soul piously and peaceably into the hands of his  
Creator with solid expectations of a  
glorious Resurrection.

He was son of William Trumbell Esq; Agent  
for King James and King Charles the First in the  
Spanish Netherlands, and one of the Clerks of  
the most Honble Privy Council.

Park, in Berkshire, one of the Clerks of the Signet, and a Magistrate for Berks, and was born about the year 1645, but where, I have not been able to discover, for there is no record of his baptism at East Hampstead. He was originally sent to Christ Church, Oxford, and took the degree of B.A. there, on Nov. 7, 1667; on July 9, 1670, he proceeded B.C.L.; and in the same year he was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls, in the books of which College he is styled "Car. Trumbull, L.....\* Berks;" and on Nov. 27, 1677, he became D.C.L. I do not know in what year, but he was eventually attached as Domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, and was by him presented to this Living in 1679.

He appears to have resigned his Fellowship at All Souls about this time, and to have incurred the displeasure of the Archbishop,† on account of some informalities, which attended his resignation; for there is the following exculpatory letter, addressed to Dr. Henry Paman,‡ who was

Here is also interred his most verteous and dearly beloved  
Wife Elizabeth onely Daughter to George Rodolp  
Weckerlin latin Secretarie to  
King Charles the First.

By her he had issue, William, Ralph, Elizabeth,  
Deborah, Theodore, George, Charles, Margaret,  
Peter, Ann, Dorothy, and a daughter dead borne,  
an unhappy omen of the mother's approaching Dissolution;  
which accordingly came to passe on the 11<sup>th</sup> of  
July 1652 in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year of her age.

Two of his daughters are likewise here buried  
Margaret taken out of this life on the 27<sup>th</sup> of Aug. 1670  
in the 22<sup>nd</sup> yeare of her age; and Dorothy on the  
28<sup>th</sup> of Octr. 1672 in the 21<sup>st</sup> of hers.

Here lyeth also the body of Mary his second  
wife. Daughter to Richard Lybb of Hardwick in  
the County of Oxon, Esq.; by whom he had no  
Issue. She dyed the 23<sup>rd</sup> of Sept 1688.

\* This L. shews that he had graduated  
in Laws.

† The Archbishop of Canterbury is  
Visitor of All Souls College.

‡ Henry Paman was first of Emma-  
nuel, and then of St. John's College,  
Cambridge, M.D. 1658. Archbishop  
Sancroft had been his Tutor, and when

he became Archbishop, made Dr. Paman  
Master of the Faculties, and had him to  
reside with him at Lambeth Palace. In  
1679 Paman was chosen Professor of  
Physic at Gresham College. He was a  
Nonjuror.—*D' Oylly's Life of Sancroft*,  
p. 32, and note.



in residence as Master of the Faculties at Lambeth, amongst the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

Hadleigh, y<sup>e</sup> 20 Nov. 1680.

Dear Sir,

I had not \* so soon troubled you with an answer to your letter, had it not been to clear myself of what is objected against me in it; and it is my L<sup>d</sup>'s displeasure against me in y<sup>e</sup> management of All Souls busenesse in w<sup>ch</sup> I think myself so wholly guiltlesse and innocent y<sup>t</sup> I am still in y<sup>e</sup> dark and at a losse to know how in any y<sup>e</sup> least particular my carriage can be blamed: for besides I quitted y<sup>e</sup> power of resigning and suffered myself perfectly in obedience to my L<sup>d</sup>'s Comands to be turned out of my Fellowship, and y<sup>t</sup> too against my own opinion in y<sup>e</sup> case, and against y<sup>e</sup> frequent practise of y<sup>e</sup> Colledg, I have ever since given over all thoughts of y<sup>t</sup> concern; and never in y<sup>e</sup> least troubled myself about it, scarcely so much as to enquire how it succeeded. As to my Br<sup>s</sup> behaviou<sup>r</sup>

\* Vol. 340, No. 226,

† This brother was Sir William Trumbull. He was originally of St. John's College, Oxford, and afterwards a Fellow of All Souls, B.C.L. Oct. 12, 1659, D.C.L. July 6, 1667. After serving various public offices, he retired from politics. He was a friend of Pope, who also lived in the Forest, and latterly they used to ride out together almost every day.—*Spence's Anecdotes*, p. 164. See also *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1817, pt. ii, and 1818, pt. i. He was buried at East Hampstead, and the following inscription on a monument there tells his history:

"Underneath lyes ye Body of Sir William Trumbull, late of Easthampstead, Knight, Verder of this Forest, whose rare natural endowments and singular learning and eminent virtues, Recommended him to the favour of Princes and qualifeyed him for y<sup>e</sup> service of his country in many honble employments at home and abroad."

"He was son of William Trumbull, Esq., to whom ye adjoining monument is erected, was Fellow of All Souls College in Oxford, and Doctor of Laws, Chancellour of Rochester and Judge Advocate at ye demolishing Tangier.

"He was Clerk of ye signet and Clerk of ye Delivery of ye Ordnance Stores, Envoy Extraordinary in France, and Ambassador Extraordinary at y<sup>e</sup> Ottoman Port, and at length his great dexterity in y<sup>e</sup> management of Business raised him

to be in 1694 and 1695, One of y<sup>e</sup> Lords of ye Treasury, of the most Honble Privy Council and Principal Secretary of State. He was likewise Governor of y<sup>e</sup> Hudson's Bay and Turkey Companys, had been several times Member of Parliament, and once Burgess for y<sup>e</sup> University of Oxford.

"In all these stations he maintained ye character of an able Statesman and a good Christian, and having for several years retired from the world, Dyed on Fryday, December 14th, 1716, in y<sup>e</sup> 78th year of his age in full assurance thro Christ of a glorious immortality.

"His first wife was Elizabeth, Daughter to Sir Charles Cottrell, Master of ye Ceremonys to King Charles the Second. A Lady of great Beauty and Pyety, and y<sup>e</sup> chearfull Companion of his travels who dyed July 8th, 1704, and here lyes buried.

"His second wife was ye Right Honble Judith Alexander, youngest daughter to the Right Honble Henry Earl of Sterline, of y<sup>e</sup> kingdom of Scotland, by whom he had issue, a Daughter Judith, born July 13th, 1707, who dyed Feb. 10th following, and is here interred; and an only son William, born July 7th, 1708."

He was knighted Nov. 21, 1684; in Nov., 1685 he was sent ambassador to France; to the Ottoman Port, "in the place of James Lord Shandois," in 1687; and he remained there till 1691.—See *Wood's Athen. Ox.*

I can say nothing. I do believe he would justify himself if called upon; and if not, I hope I may be innocent where he is guilty, and that his faults shall not be added to mine: y<sup>t</sup> right you say I transmitted to him was a promise of recommending a successor to y<sup>e</sup> Colledg, that he should make choice of, just after my entrance into y<sup>e</sup> Society; and w<sup>ch</sup> I had often repeated to him long before I ever had y<sup>e</sup> honor and happiness to wait upon my L<sup>d</sup> and this I did partly out of gratitude in requital to y<sup>e</sup> kindness he did me, and partly as y<sup>e</sup> most innocent way to avoid those very temptations w<sup>ch</sup> I heard had prevailed over others. I must confess that I would willingly have punctually performed my promise, but my L<sup>d</sup> made me incapable of doing it, and so I was forced to satisfy and content myself without it. What has been done besides I have had no hand in, and therefore I hope shall not be called to answer; and what I had done before could not possibly be a contempt to my L<sup>d</sup>'s authority, or any way give him an offence. I cannot think it proper to write to my Lord, except I first know y<sup>e</sup> particulars of my fault, and y<sup>t</sup> my L<sup>d</sup> would require an account from me. My Br I am confident would fully acquit me, and if there has been any miscarriage he must take it upon himself. This is Saturday, and so you may presume I am not in a little hast, w<sup>ch</sup> you will excuse, and if you afterwards desire satisfaction in any particulars, would be sure to direct it to you at large. Remember my most humble duty to my Lord; my service to all my friends. My mother and wife give you and y<sup>e</sup> rest their hearty respects. I am, your most assured and reall friend,

CH. TRUMBULL.

The fault, which is thus mysteriously alluded to, was probably an attempt to resign his Fellowship in favour of some particular person, very likely the Hon. Leopold Finch, afterwards Warden of All Souls; for the following extract from a letter of Archbishop Sancroft, dated Lambeth, Oct. 25, 1680,\* and addressed to the then Warden, Dr. Thomas James, seems to warrant this conjecture:

For Mr. Finch I did not think there had been any difficulty in the case: if there be, I send such a paper towards the removing it, as you seem to give in to. But whatever comes of it, I cannot think fit to ask the consent

The son, William, married Chetwynd daughter and co-heiress of Montague Viscount Blundell and Baron Edinberry. Their daughter, Mary, married the Honble Martin Sandys, brother of the last Lord Sandys; their daughter again, Mary Lady Sandys, Baroness of Ombersley, married the second Marquess of Downshire, in 1786; and the present

Marquess, as descended from them, bears the names of Blundell and of Trumbull.

\* Kindly communicated to me by the Rev. the Warden of All Souls. The substance of the letter, as the Archbishop describes it, is an injunction against resignations in favorem," though not couched in the usual form of injunction.

of any Trumbull whatever. That were to destroy all that we are adding, for if they may consent, they have a right to dissent too, and upon the whole matter to dispose. My Chaplain said often that he wd do what I would have him, and that he pretended to no right of disposing of his place. And for his brother, who has many years since bestowed his Fellowship as he thought good, which was more than was due to him, to put in for another advowson is a procedure so shameless and ill-grounded y<sup>t</sup> I admire any man of learning and conscience dares own it.

But whatever may have been the conduct of Dr. Trumbull in this transaction (and he had probably only followed a bad custom of the day), his after history is invested with a melancholy charm, derived from the gentle and firm spirit with which he bore his severe and varied trials. He married happily soon after he had obtained this living, but he early lost the young wife to whom he was tenderly attached and was left a widower with an infant child.\* There is an affecting entry in his own handwriting in the Register for the year 1682, after the record of the burial of his wife: †

“Anna Trumbull, Caroli hujus ecclesiæ Rectoris uxor charissima, post octodecim menses in amantissimo utrinque conjugio elapsos, heu, nimium cito ad cœlum avolavit.”

And the same tender grief is manifested in the inscription on her grave, in the chancel of our Church:

Uxor amantissima et undequaque amabilis,

Eximiâ decorata formâ;

Sed et suavitate morum et pietate adhuc ornatior;

Cui demum, nihil deerat quod posset exoptari,

Nisi hoc solum ut diutius vixisset.

Obiit 13<sup>o</sup> die Martii, 1681-2.

\* I cannot find any record of the Baptism of this child in our Register. that her mother was buried in the Chancel of our Church, Oct. 17, 1687. This

† Her maiden name was Rich, but I know nothing more of her family than inscription marks her grave;

Laurentia Rich, Vidua,

Ætate et moribus venerabilis,

Longos emensa terrâ marique vitæ labores,

Hic tandem juxta dilectissimam Filiam

In pace requiescit,

Beatam in Christo expectans Resurrectionem.

Obiit 15<sup>o</sup> die Octob. 1687.

I would here remark that most of the Epitaphs of this period, when compared with the Registers, shew that it was then the custom to bury persons more quickly after death than now.

But more public trials came upon him by and bye ; and then it was seen how a tender and gentle spirit could nevertheless be bold and firm. Perhaps his domestic bereavement had weaned his heart from earthly objects, and he felt more free in consequence to follow the dictates of his conscience ; but however that may be, he was willing to run all worldly risks for the sake of loyalty. James the Second, the king to whom he had sworn allegiance, was deposed, and he was required to swear fealty to William the Third and to insert his name, instead of James', in the public prayers ; but this, like his great patron, the Archbishop, he refused to do.\* And this refusal was owing to no rash and ill-considered impulse. The supreme authorities dealt kindly with him and gave him, with many others, opportunity for further consideration of the subject, before they inflicted the penalty of deprivation ; but he remained constant to his purpose, and at length was shorn as a Non-juror of his Church preferments and ceased to be the legal Rector here.† We may not be able to sympathise fully with his views : we may think him to have been mistaken in following this course ; but surely none of us can refuse to honour his consistent adherence to his principles, while we thank God that our own political allegiance is free from the difficulties which beset his.

But his firmness was tempered throughout with gentleness : he does not seem to have acted with the more violent spirits of that lamentable period, but rather, like Bishop Ken, to have been "quiet in the land." His living was given away in 1691 by William and Mary to Mr Fiske,

\* His name appears in the list of Nonjurors in the Diocese of London, in *Kettlewell's Works*, "Dr. Charles Trumbull, Rector of Stystead, in Essex and Hadley, in Suffolk, Chaplain to Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury."

† Amongst the distinguished natives of Hadleigh about this time, who deserves a brief notice was. ELDRED GAELL. He was baptized here, "Eldred Gale, s. to George," Sept. 5, 1669 ; was educated at Eton, and admitted Scholar of King's College, Cambridge, Dec. 10, 1787 ; took

the degree of B.A. 1691, and commenced M.A. 1695. He has verses in the University Collection, on the accession of William and Mary, 1689, and on the peace of Ryswick, 1697 ; and for several years was an Assistant Master at Eton. He died of the Small-pox at King's on May 9, 1702, and was buried in one of the Chantry Chapels on the South side of the College Chapel. A copy of the inscription on his grave is given in *Cole's MSS.*, vol. xvi, p. 89. Brit. Mus. No 5817.

Rector of Cockfield in this county; but Mr. Fiske generously returned the emoluments to Dr. Trumbull, who continued to reside amongst his flock. The name of Dr. Trumbull, indeed, appears in the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials\* without interruption as late as 1708, though he ceased to sign himself as Rector in 1688, shortly, that is, before the oath to the new government was required to be taken. And therefore, on the whole, I am led to think, that though he declined to take that oath, he continued without interference from the ruling powers, to execute all those duties of his sacred office, in which his principles were not compromised; and that the rest, such, for instance, as the prayers for the reigning family, were discharged by a conforming Curate.† This Curate, or at least one of the Curates who thus acted, was Thomas Fiske, very likely a near relative of the nominal Rector,‡ and I may repeat that he used to live in the room over the Library in the Rectory tower.

Still Dr. Trumbull was no despicable time-server. There must, indeed, have been much of the wisdom of the serpent united with the harmlessness of the dove in him, for he was able, apparently without giving offence to the ruling powers, to maintain his non-juring principles; or perhaps the influence of his brother, Sir William Trumbull, was a shield to him, for in the divisions of that unhappy time, the one brother was Secretary of State to William the Third, while the other disowned his sway: § but at all events the following letters, relating to the surrender of the Charter, the *vetusta quæstio* of our Charities, and to a County Election, will show

\* Canon, lxx.

† See *Lathbury's History of the Non-jurors*, p. 203. The same writer in his *History of the Prayer Book*, p. 424, quotes Kennet as saying, that the custom of repeating the Lord's Prayer, and a Collect before the Sermon was introduced by the Non-jurors, who would not use the "bidding prayer" for King William.

‡ Probably a son, for a Thomas Fiske, son to Zachariah Fiske, was baptized at Cockfield in 1678. In that case, however, he could not have entered on the

Curacy, even as a Title to Holy Orders, before 1701. His name appears attached to the Register of Burials only in 1706; afterwards a Mr. Thomas England was Curate for some years.

§ I have learnt that the residence of the Trumbulls, Easthampstead Park, was "an old royal hunting seat, to which Catherine retired, and where Henry the Eighth's Privy Councillors vainly strove to gain her consent to a divorce."—*Quarterly Review*, July, 1859, pp. 223-30. It now belongs to the Marquess of Downshire.

not only that he took a leading part in Parish business, but that he interested himself, though cautiously, in politics.

These for Dr. Henry Paman at y<sup>e</sup> Arch Bishop's Palace, in Lambeth.

Dear Sir :

By y<sup>e</sup> length of time\* and y<sup>e</sup> shortness of your letter, I suspect you are weary of imparting your kindnesse to me and of keeping correspondence with me; but I am resolved to be as importunate and troublesome to you as I can, meerly to be revengd for your former omissions and neglect. I shall thank (you) for y<sup>e</sup> Coat-of-Arms, but not before they are returnd, w<sup>ch</sup> I suppose may be about Christmas, y<sup>e</sup> time y<sup>t</sup> I expect another letter from you. At present I have something of businesse to communicate and it is this :

There be some young gentlemen of our town have procured and brought a *Quo Warranto* against our Corporation (it not being worth y<sup>e</sup> while for y<sup>e</sup> publick to do it because we send no Burgesses to Parliamt<sup>t</sup>) and have gone so far in it y<sup>t</sup> they have compelled y<sup>e</sup> Corporation to a resolution of resigning up their Charter, w<sup>ch</sup> is intended very suddenly to be done, but withall with a design to purchase or procure if possible a new one; but what is more immediately my concern and indeed my L<sup>ds</sup> who is y<sup>e</sup> patron of y<sup>e</sup> place, is to acquaint you y<sup>t</sup> there be severall Charitable gifts bestowed upon y<sup>e</sup> town at severall times to y<sup>e</sup> yearly value of about. £250 and besides severall houses about our Market place with between £30 and £40 per ann. w<sup>ch</sup> are thought to have been given originally for and towards y<sup>e</sup> repairs of y<sup>e</sup> church and such good uses. These houses have been lately (and probably formerly ever since Kg. James's reign when it was first made a Corporation) diverted from their supposed proper use and appropriated meerly for y<sup>e</sup> maintenance of y<sup>e</sup> Body—for Serjeants' Coats, wages, Recorder's fee, &c., the whole yearly income being expended upon them except it be about 20<sup>sh</sup> or some such sum y<sup>t</sup> for an atonement for y<sup>e</sup> rest they still continue to give to y<sup>e</sup> Church. Y<sup>e</sup> other gifts of 250<sup>li</sup> are, for ought I know to y<sup>e</sup> contrary, given to y<sup>e</sup> poor though after a disorderly and confusd manner all huddled up together and not as each Benefactor did assign his own proper gift should be bestowed—but then y<sup>e</sup> writings y<sup>t</sup> belong to these as well as y<sup>e</sup> other have been conveyd from y<sup>e</sup> Vestry (y<sup>e</sup> proper place where they should be lodged, and whence they were carried in y<sup>e</sup> times of Rebellion, as it is thought, though I cannot prove it thoroughly) to y<sup>e</sup> Corporation Chamber, lockd up and y<sup>e</sup> keys kept by them whether lessees or no; without knowing themselves what writings they have and without suffering any body besides to be acquainted with them.† I went up with the Churchwardens about a year since to demand

\* *Tanner MSS.*, 2 vols. Bodleian Library, vol. 126, No. 103.

† There is a minute of the following resolution at a Vestry Meeting held on April 20, 1802, in the Churchwardens' Account Book: "That there be three locks forthwith placed upon the Town

Chest, where all the Documents relative to this parish shall be deposited; and that there be three keys, two to be kept by the two Churchwardens, and the other by the overseer for the time being." It is much to be desired, that lists should be made of all the old deeds and papers,

these writings back again to y<sup>e</sup> Vestry and to desire a sight of y<sup>e</sup> original gift of y<sup>e</sup> Market houses and to dissuade them from y<sup>e</sup> keeping back from y<sup>e</sup> Church y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I supposd, and they could not well deny, was at first given to it, but I could not obtain any part of my requests.

By this account you may perceive what my concern is. I presume this may be a favourable opportunity to regain to y<sup>e</sup> Church and Poor their proper rights. Be pleasd to acquaint my L<sup>d</sup> with y<sup>e</sup> whole matter and direct me what it becomes me to doe in it. I have not appeared in y<sup>e</sup> Charter affair because it is a business wholly out of my sphear, but I think fit (if there be occasion) to advise some of y<sup>e</sup> young gentlemen that oppose y<sup>e</sup> Corporation to address themselves to my Lord to befriend them in their design, as far, at least, as it belongs to y<sup>e</sup> right of y<sup>e</sup> Church, by whom it is probable I may send a letter to you to introduce them. My mother and girl have been in London ever since Lady-day at their old lodgings in Old Southampton Buildings, at Mrs. Arnold's, who will take it as a great favour to be visited by you. This letter is surely long enough especially as it is an answer to one of yours. I shall therefore beg onely my Duty to his Grace, service respects, &c., to all with you, and tell you that my I am

My dear silent Dr.,

Your humble and affect. servant and friend;

Hadleigh, y<sup>e</sup> 23 Ap: 85.

Ch. TRUMBULL.

Dr. Thorp sent me word from Canterbury of some Lambeth news w<sup>ch</sup> might have come more kindly and properly from you, y<sup>t</sup> is this—there being severall houses built upon y<sup>e</sup> glebe land in Hadleigh town, y<sup>t</sup> used to be let out upon a lease of 40 yeares with a little fine and a reserved rent, confirmed for more security by y<sup>e</sup> Arch<sup>bp</sup> and then by y<sup>e</sup> Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, this I find was done long before y<sup>e</sup> Rebellion in Dr. Goad's time by an assignm<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> is left me; since w<sup>ch</sup> they were renewed in 1656, in Dr. Harrison's time, and confirm'd by one George Langham, Esq., y<sup>e</sup> pretended patron thereof. 3 or 4 of y<sup>e</sup> present tenants are desirous to re-new with me y<sup>e</sup> lease for y<sup>e</sup> usual time, because the former is expired almost, or, if not doubted as to its legality, y<sup>e</sup> advantage may be something to me though not considerable, but, however, before I conclude, it is advisable to have my Lord's consent at present, and afterwards to hope of his approbation and concurrence; w<sup>ch</sup> pray do me the favour to ask in my behalf and send me an account of it.

belonging to the parish, and the various bodies of Trustees, and placed in the hands of the Rector, the Churchwardens, and other persons who should be responsible for their safe custody. At present the various old books, deeds, and papers, are scattered about in different quarters, and there is danger of some of them being lost. One or two interesting books have already disappeared, at least I have not been able to meet with the Church wardens' Account Book, between 1625

and 1775. One of them was in existence in the time of Dr. Tanner, of 1745-1786, for I have found the following allusion to it in a letter of his relating to the appointment of a parish clerk. "I have searched the Town books for many years past, and y<sup>e</sup> first entry I find is March 2, 1677, 'an Inventory of y<sup>e</sup> goods belonging to the Vestry, when Wm. Condy came on to be Clerk'—no mention when, where, or by whom appointed. This book goes down to the year 1736."

There is no date to the following letter, but I believe that the county election, to which it relates, took place in 1695. The successful candidates had sat for Suffolk in the previous Parliament which was summoned in 1690.

Dear Sir,

I waited so long\* to no purpose in expectation of giving you a good account of our County election, w<sup>ch</sup> happened yesterday, but to our great disappointment was carried by a majority of 300 or 400 voices for y<sup>e</sup> old troubler of our Israel, Sir Sam. Bernadiston, and by almost as many votes for Sir George Ellwaies, who, it seems, joynd with y<sup>e</sup> former, though with great protestations and much assurance of steddiness and firmness to y<sup>e</sup> Church ag. Sir J. Playters, who appeard not for y<sup>e</sup> place till about 14 nights agoe, and ag. Sir Robt. Davers who was set up by y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Grafton and y<sup>e</sup> gentlemen but last Thursday at Bury. These slow proceedings and y<sup>e</sup> severall worthy gentlemen declining y<sup>e</sup> station at first, together with y<sup>e</sup> remissness y<sup>t</sup> is natural to y<sup>e</sup> one party and y<sup>e</sup> unwearied diligence and under-hand dealings y<sup>t</sup> are as genuine to y<sup>e</sup> other, I look upon as y<sup>e</sup> cause of this triumph and success of our country rabble ag. y<sup>e</sup> better part of y<sup>e</sup> county, for excepting L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis, 5 knights, S<sup>r</sup> M. Bernadiston, S<sup>r</sup> Jos. Brand, S<sup>r</sup> Phil. Skipper, S<sup>r</sup> Rob. Brook, and S<sup>r</sup> H. Felton, I cannot hear of any other person of considerable noat y<sup>t</sup> struck in with them,—y<sup>e</sup> whole number of y<sup>e</sup> Gentry w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> D. of Grafton and L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn were in a great body on y<sup>e</sup> other side not without credit to y<sup>e</sup> competitors though without advantage and gain. I was not at Ipswich, as thinking it best on severall accounts to forbear, but sent a good company of our town to y<sup>e</sup> election to appear in my behalf. In other places matters, I perceive, goe much better though not so well as I could desire, but for my part my hopes are not great though I do not altogether despair. I was ordered by my L<sup>d</sup> to make enquiry after a youth between 10 and 15 yeares amongst the non-swearers. I pray be pleasd with my most humble duty to his Grace and tell him y<sup>t</sup> in this part of y<sup>e</sup> country (for I ean learn nothing of Mr. Edwards, of Eye) there be but 2 to be found y<sup>t</sup> are any wayes capable of his Lordship's favour, and those are a young boy of Mr. Ross, of Read, a very pregnant youth and of very forward parts, every way qualified for my L<sup>d</sup>'s kindness if his age be a little post-poned, for y<sup>e</sup> plain truth is he is almost 16 yeares old and so is beyond y<sup>e</sup> strictness y<sup>t</sup> is required in y<sup>t</sup> case, if it cannot be helpd out by entring him younger than he really is, a custome comonly observed in other schools, but I know not whether to be admitted in this. All that I can add more in his behalf is that his father is a very worthy and deserving person stockd with 7 children and but meanly provided in other respects, and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> lad, as they tell me, is of low stature and so will bear longer w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> school if need so require and if he can get in upon such advantageous terms: 2nd one of Mr. Step. Newson's sons (y<sup>t</sup> is Rector of Hawksden and has 8 children, 4 of each sort, and has withall some little temporall estate upon

\* *Tanner MSS.*, vol. 27, No. 110.



w<sup>ch</sup> to subsist) who it seems is within y<sup>e</sup> age y<sup>t</sup> is required, if I mistake not about 13 years old, not so forward and ingenious as y<sup>e</sup> other but yet capable of y<sup>e</sup> place for w<sup>ch</sup>, if it can be obtained, his parents will be most heartily thankfull. Mr. Beeston\*, of Sprawton, has 9 children but never a son so qualified as is required, but has a daughter of age to goe out to wait upon a lady and competently well-skilled in working, &c. It is possible your interest amongst several women may gain a reception for her into some fitting house of some person of quality y<sup>t</sup> will be favourable to such and prefer them before other families. I wish, if opportunity be profferd, you would be pleasd to recommend her and have her in your thoughts upon all occasions; it would be an act of great charity and kindness w<sup>ch</sup> is due from those of our sentiments towards those y<sup>t</sup> are of y<sup>e</sup> same persuasion. However, I could not be wanting so far to myself or him as not to mention this matter to you. I pray give my hearty respects to y<sup>r</sup> whole family and please at your best leizure to send a line or two to your obliged and humble serv<sup>t</sup>

C. T.

But the strongest evidence as to his stedfastness to his opinions is to be found in the account of the last days of Sancroft. Hearing of the dangerous illness of the Archbishop, Dr. Trumbull hastened over to Fressingfield, probably from Hadleigh, and was allowed to have the high honour of administering the most solemn rite of our religion to his departing patron.

"The Archbishop.....took especial care that a juror should not perform over him the burial service, and even appointed by name the person whom he desired to officiate. The day before he breathed his last (Nov. 23rd, 1693), he received the Sacrament from Dr. Trumbull, who had formerly been his Chaplain, and who was a non-juror. Dr. Trumbull came there accidentally that day; he had intended to receive it from the ejected minister of Eye, Mr. Edwards." †

In 1708, Mr. Fiske of Cockfield died, and in consequence Dr. Trumbull ceased to have any pastoral connection with our town, and his name occurs no more in testifying to the correctness of our Registers. His position must have been an awkward one: he could no more minister with authority to the flock over which he had watched for so many years, while they, from long habit, would be inclined to seek him in their troubles. I am disposed to believe, however, that he

\* Edwards, Ross, Newson, and Beeston are all given in Kettlewell's List of Nonjurors in Suffolk.

† *D'Oyley's Life of Sancroft*, p.p. 310-311.

soon removed from Hadleigh, and took up his residence at New House, Edwardstone,\* the seat of Joseph Alston, Esq., who had married his only child, Laurentia. The closest intimacy appears to have been kept up between the widowed father and the daughter, after she had married, for all her children were baptized here up to 1709; and he may have retired to her home, when all other earthly comforts had been withdrawn, thinking that she could best solace his declining years and close his eyes when dead.

But here again the sad fatality of his life attended him: his hope of worldly happiness was once more doomed to disappointment, and dashed to the ground, like the bright visions of his younger days. His "unica filia;" his "observantissima filia;" as he tenderly calls her in the inscription on her grave in Edwardstone Church (for it is clearly of his composition), was taken away before him, by malignant small pox, on Feb. 28, 1717, leaving her widowed father and bereaved husband to mingle their tears together.

And he survived her six years longer; and then, in 1723-4, a close was put to his mournful and chequered course, for he died at Edwardstone on the 4th of January, in that year, at the age of 78. On the 10th of the same month he was buried at Hadleigh, in the Chancel of our Church,† by the side of the wife, whom he had loved so dearly and had so early lost, "the corpse being attended to the grave by three hundred horses and a dozen or more of carriages."‡ *Egenis semper patronus* is a portion of the inscription on his grave; and it is a touching testimony to the kindness of his heart, when we reflect that he himself was in a great measure living upon charity.

We possess a memorial of him, as I have already said, in one of the alms-dishes of the Sacramental plate. The date of it is 1686, and the inscription, *Deo, Ecclesiae, Gregi.*

\* This house exists no longer, having been pulled down.

† The entry in our Register describes

him as, "Dr. Charles Trumbull, Rect."  
‡ *Davy MSS.*

It had been a graceful act, if on the death of Mr. Fiske the living of Hadleigh had been offered to Dr. Trumbull, as the Bishopric of Bath and Wells was, on the death of Bishop Kidder, to the deprived and saintly Ken; but the appointment was in the hands of one, who was less favourable to the "non-swearing" party than Queen Anne, and his principles led him to make a different choice. Archbishop Tenison then held the primacy; and he, as patron, conferred the vacant benefice on his Chaplain, DR. RICHARD SMALBROKE, who afterwards of course received the emoluments of the office; but I have not been able to ascertain whether he performed any of its duties, for his Curates signed the Registers.

Richard Smalbroke was born at Birmingham, in 1672,\* and was a son of Samuel Smalbroke, "gentleman,"† who either then or afterwards resided at Rowington, in Warwickshire, and was buried there on May 23, 1706. He probably received his early education at King Edward's School in Birmingham,‡ and was matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, on June 15, 1688, at the age of sixteen. In July, 1689, however, he was elected a Demy at Magdalen College, at what was called the "golden election," from the number of distinguished scholars, such as Addison, Sacheverell, Hugh Boulter, &c., who were elected at that time. He took the degree of B.A., April 18, 1692; and of M.A., Jan. 26, 1693-4. In 1698, he resigned his Demyship, and was elected a Probationer Fellow in the same year; on Jan. 27, 1705-6, he became B.D., and in the same year, was appointed Junior Dean of Arts; in July, 1708, he proceeded D.D., and was Bursar of the College in the same year; and in 1709, he gave up his Fellowship.§

He had before this, but I do not know how long, been appointed Chaplain to Archbishop Tenison, for in 1709, he was collated by his grace to the Rectory of this parish.

\* *Nichols' Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century*, vol. i., p. 354, and p. 405. There are several notices of Dr. Smalbroke scattered through the various volumes of this work.

† He is so described in the Admission book of Trinity College, Oxford. There

is a street in Birmingham, called Smalbroke Street, after this family.

‡ *Hook's Ecclesiastical Biography*.

§ I have to thank the Rev. Dr. Bloxam, Fellow of Magdalen College, for this information.

That year, indeed, seems to have been a fortunate one for him, for according to one authority,\* he was in it appointed to the "golden prebend" in the Cathedral Church of Hereford, though, according to another authority, this latter appointment did not take place until 1712.† In 1712, he resigned the living of Hadleigh, and became Treasurer of Llandaff; and at one time or other he was Rector of Withington, in Gloucestershire, and Vicar of Lugwardine, in the county of Hereford. On Feb. 2, 1723, he was raised to the Episcopate, and consecrated Bishop of St. David's; and in order that he might efficiently discharge the duties of his high station he applied himself, like the present Bishop of St. David's, to learn the language of the Principality, and was able afterwards to preach in Welsh.‡ In 1730, he was translated to the See of Lichfield.

He was a man of ability and learning. He especially distinguished himself as a controversialist, in maintaining the orthodox doctrine of the Sacred Trinity, in opposition to the Arian views of Whiston, and he published, whilst Bishop of St. David's, two books on this important subject, which were respectively entitled, "Reflections on Mr. Whiston's conduct," and "Animadversions on the New Arian reprieved." But his chief work was "A Vindication of our Saviour's Miracles, in which Mr. Woolston's discourses on them are particularly examined; his pretended authority of the Fathers against the truth of the literal sense is set in a just light, and his objections in point of reason answered." London, 1729.

In these controversies he brought upon himself violent attacks from the parties, whose erroneous notions he opposed. In his dispute with Mr. Woolston he had expressed the wish that the civil power would interpose to check the sceptical writers, who were trying to undermine the Christian faith, and in consequence of this, and perhaps because Mr. Woolston was imprisoned for one year and made to enter into large recognizances for his good behaviour during life

\* *Harwood's History of Lichfield.*

† *Hook's Eccles. Biog.*

‡ Preface to *Williams' Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*. *Nichols' Lit. Anec.*, vol. i. p. 349.

for his book on the *Miracles*, a railing accusation was brought against him, as an instigator to persecution and an enemy to religious liberty, in a book, called "Instructions to the Right Rev. Richard Lord Bishop of St. David's, in defence of Religious Liberty, by Jonathan Jones, Esq." This accusation was answered "with much spirit and vivacity," by the Bishop's friend, the learned Dr. Waterland, in a pamphlet which was entitled a "Defence of the Lord Bishop of St. David's." \*

But in addition to this, Bishop Smalbroke laid himself open to ridicule also in his dispute with Mr. Woolston. Like some of the early Christians when combating with heresy, he found how difficult it is, when opposing error, to keep the just mean of holy truth and not to fall into an opposite extreme, for he ventured on an arithmetical calculation of the number of devils which took possession of each hog in the herd of swine.

Even this permission of Jesus to the evil spirits was amply compensated by casting an whole legion of devils out of one person, that is, by suffering about three of them to enter into each hog instead of about six thousand of them keeping possession of one man.†

I presume that the Bishop took much interest in politics, but at all events the calculation I have spoken of was employed against him some years afterwards in a political squib. In Feb., 1741, an address to the King was moved in both houses of Parliament, requesting his Majesty to remove his then Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, from his councils; but in the House of Commons it was rejected by an unusually large majority. Soon afterwards a caricature of the chief movers in the matter, called "The Station," was published, representing them driving furiously past Whitehall in a coach, until at last the coach is violently upset. A Bishop stands in the middle of the street, bowing low to the procession as it passes, and at his side there is a hog. The verses explanatory of the print leave no doubt

\* *Waterland's Works*, vol. i. p. 177,      *the Miracles of our Blessed Saviour*, vol. i. p. 159.  
and vol. vi. pp. 275-298.

† *Bishop Smalbroke's Vindication of*

about the person for whom the compliment is intended :—

What parson be dat bow so civil ?  
Oh ! dat's the Bishop dat split the devil  
And made a devil and a half and half a devil.\*

And in March of the same year another caricature appeared, called "The Political Libertines, or Motion upon Motion," in which Bishop Smalbroke is again depicted. In this instance he is accompanied by a hog "which grunts fiends from his mouth, while the Churchman says, 'I can pray but not fast;'"

Next the prelate comes in fashion,  
Who of swine has robbed the nation,  
Though against all approbation.†

But besides the works which I have mentioned, the Bishop published various single sermons and pamphlets—all of which are recounted in a list of his entire works, to the number of 27, appended to a Charge, which he published in 1744-5.‡

Bishop Smalbroke married Catherine sister of Archdeacon Brooks and by her had four daughters,§ and four sons whom he was charged with unduly raising to high offices in the Church.|| Thomas, the eldest son, was made Chancellor of Lichfield, 1740, Archdeacon of Coventry, and Precentor of Lichfield in 1757, and died in 1778; Samuel, the second, became a Fellow of All Souls', M.A., 1740, B. and D.C.L. in 1745, an Advocate in Doctors'

\* *Wright's England under the House of Hanover*, vol. i. pp. 177-180.

† *Ibid.* p. 182.

‡ There is, I believe, but I have not been able to refer to it. *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry* in Bishop Warburton's *Divine Legation*.

§ Of these the eldest died unmarried; the second married Archdeacon Vyse, and by him had a son William, who became D.C.L. of All Souls College, Oxford, and Chaplain to Archbishop Cornwallis, in 1771; Rector of Lambeth, in 1777; Archdeacon of Coventry, &c.; he died at Lambeth, Feb. 20, 1816, and was buried at Sundridge, Kent, of which parish also he was Rector; (*Gent's Mag.* 1816,

pt. i. and *Tanswell's Lambeth*, pp. 139, 140); and another son, Richard, who became a General in the Army, Col. of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, and Comptroller of the Household of the Duke of Cumberland; he died May 30, 1825, (*Gent's Mag.* 1825, pt. ii.); from him is descended Captain Howard Vyse, the late M.P. for Northamptonshire (*Burke's Landed Gentry*): the third daughter, married the Rev. Dr. Bateman, Prebendary of Lichfield; and the fourth the Rev. Dr. Jackson, Prebendary of the same Cathedral.

|| *Nichols' Lit. Anec.* vol. i. pp. 405-6, quoting *Shaw's Staffordshire*, vol. i. p. 279.

Commons with an extensive practice, joint Chancellor of Lichfield with his eldest brother, and died, May 8th, 1805, aged 89\*; William, Solicitor, and Registrar of Lichfield, died in 1797; and Samuel, of Christ Church, Oxford, M.A., 1742, B. and D.D., 1771, Rector of Wem, Shropshire, and Prebendary of Lichfield. Still the Bishop was generous towards other objects and not regardless of merit in the clergy, for he gave £100 towards the New Buildings' Fund at Magdalen College, Oxford; his charity to the Clergy Widows' Society and his kindness to his Clergy is highly spoken of;† and on the recommendation of his friend and champion, Dr. Waterland,‡ he promoted Mr. Horbery, the young but accomplished author of "Animadversions on Jackson's Christian Liberty Asserted," to the Vicarage of Eccleshall and the Curacy of Gnosall, the Vicarage of Hanbury and a Canonry at Lichfield.

There is a portrait of him belonging to the College Hall, but now on the staircase of the President's lodgings, at Magdalen College, Oxford. It was painted by T. Murray and engraved by George Vertue in 1733.

Bishop Smalbroke died Dec. 22, 1749 and a neat pyramidal Monument was erected to his memory in the South Aisle of Lichfield Cathedral. It bears the following inscription:—

To the memory of the Right Rev<sup>d</sup>  
 RICHARD SMALBROKE, D.D.  
 Who was consecrated Bishop of St. David's  
 Feb. 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1723.  
 Confirmed Bishop of this Diocese  
 Feby 20<sup>th</sup>, 1730,  
 And died Decr 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1749,  
 Aged 77.

In 1719 Dr. DAVID WILKINS§ was presented to this living by Archbishop Wake, the vacancy having been oc-

\* See *Nichols' Lit. Anec.* vol. ix. p 484.

† *Preface to Williams' Reliquie Baxterianæ.*

‡ *Waterland's Works*, vol. i. p. 316, and vol. x. 422-3. At the solicitation of

Bishop Smalbroke, Mr. Horbery wrote a Dissertation on the Eternity of Hell torments.

§ *Davy MSS.*, and *Nichols' Literary Anecdotes*, vol. i. p. 334.

casioned by the promotion of his immediate predecessor, Dr. Clavering, to the Bishopric of Llandaff. He is said by some to have been of the same family as Bishop Wilkins of Chester; but in the Diploma of the University of Königsberg he is called "Davide Wilkins, Memellensis;" in his *Historia Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ* he styles himself "Borusus;" and I have seen him denominated a "German Swiss" and a native of Holland.\* But whatever may have been his origin he was early taken into the favour of Archbishop Wake, and was by him appointed, about the year 1715, being then an F.S.A., Keeper of the Library at Lambeth. In Oct. 1717 he was created D.D. at Cambridge on the occasion of the visit of King George the First; but it seems that he had contemplated taking that degree in the regular manner, and had composed the necessary exercises. In 1719 he finished, after having been engaged in it three years, a very curious catalogue of all the MSS. under his charge, which remains there to this day. He had been assisted by catalogues previously taken for Archbishop Sancroft, by his Chaplain, Mr. Wharton;† but still the undertaking must have been attended with great labour. He compiled, too, a catalogue of the printed books in the same library, in three volumes, folio,‡ embodying the catalogue made by Bishop Gibson, when librarian, and this also now exists in the MS. library; but, as we shall see as we go on, so extraordinary was his industry that he found leisure at the same time to publish some very learned works of his own.

On April 20, 1716, he was presented by the Archbishop to the Rectory of Little Mongeham, Kent; on Aug. 20, 1719, to the Rectory of Great Chart, in the same county; to Hadleigh, Nov. 17; to Monks Eleigh and Bocking, Nov. 25; and to the joint Deanery of Bocking, on Nov. 26, in the same year. Preferment, indeed, was showered upon him in 1719, for he was also appointed in that year

\* *Ibid.*, vol. viii. p. 483, and *Russell's Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti*, p. 64.

† *Nichols' Lit. Anecd.*, vol. i. p. 335.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 321, and *Tanswell's*

*History of Lambeth*, p. 55. This catalogue has been continued to the present time by Dr. Wilkins' successors.



Chaplain to his patron the Archbishop. On Dec. 27, 1720, he was promoted to a Canonry at Canterbury; and on May 16, 1724, his grace having the option, to the Archdeaconry of Suffolk. In the last mentioned year he was, moreover, made Lord Almoner's Reader of Arabic at Cambridge, being the first who held that office.

And a glance at the various works of which he was either the author or the editor, will shew that it was not simply favouritism which heaped such a multitude of preferments on him. The evils and the injustice of pluralities were not aggravated in his case by the unworthiness of the subject on whom they were bestowed; but he was eminently distinguished by learning and ability.

In 1716, Mr. Wilkins published at Oxford *Novum Testamentum Copticum*, in 4to.

Of this work it has been remarked by Mr. Russell, in his *Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti*, while speaking of another work in which Mr. Wilkins had been previously engaged, that

"His qualifications as Polyglott Editor, at the time when he undertook to assist Chamberlayne (in making a collection of Pater Nosters), appear to have consisted rather in patient industry and general scholarship, than in any extraordinary familiarity with languages, though he afterwards obtained considerable reputation, especially by an edition of the New Testament, in Coptic, in 1716."

In 1721, he published a fine edition, folio, of *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, Ecclesiasticæ et Civiles, &c.*, which is thus noticed by Mr. Thorpe, the editor of *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (1840):

As a monument of industry this edition is very creditable to Dr. Wilkins; at the same time it must, though reluctantly, be acknowledged that, as a translator of Anglo-Saxon, he not unfrequently betrays an ignorance even of its first principles, that, though not unparalleled, is perfectly astounding.\*

It has, however, been urged on behalf of Dr. Wilkins, that these faults did not arise so much from the want of learning on his part as from the general ignorance of the

\* *Editor's Preface to John Johnson's Catholic Library, p. v. Laws and Canons, &c., in the Anglo-*

Anglo-Saxon language in his time; and that his work required the preparation of so vast a body of additional matter relating to later times, that it would be manifestly unjust to condemn him harshly for not carrying on the Anglo-Saxon documents of the *Concilia* beyond the improvement of text and interpretation to which he brought them; \*—as unjust, I may add, as it would be if we were to condemn him harshly for introducing a Grecian Altar-piece into our Gothic Church. Something must be allowed in both cases for the attainments of the age in which he lived; and at all events the Latin documents in the work in question, whether of Anglo-Saxon or of later date, may generally, it is said, be relied upon as the highest of authorities.†

In 1722 he published in 4to. a sermon preached at the consecration of Bishop Bowen.

In 1726‡ he edited, having begun it in 1722, an edition of Selden's works in three volumes, folio; the two first containing the Latin and the third the English. This edition was published by subscription according to the method which prevailed in the former half of the eighteenth century, for the small paper copies were paid for at the rate of two pence § a sheet, which amounted to £6. 14s. for the whole; and the larger at threepence a sheet, thus costing altogether £10. 2s. The printer of it was Bowyer,|| "the most learned of English Printers," and the beautiful fount of English type, which was employed, was cast by Mr. Caslon,¶ a native of Hales Owen, Shropshire.

In 1731,\*\* Dr. Wilkins also published in London, in 4to, "Pentateuchus Copticus." This work, too, was printed by Bowyer, and the types for it were cut by Caslon; but I find this criticism upon it, that being unacquainted with

\* *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.* p. vi.

‡ He undertook in 1726 to edit a new edition of *Prideaux's Marmora Oxoniensia*, intending to add the Pomfret and Pembroke Collections.—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 9.

§ *Knight's Once upon a Time*, p. 272

|| Bowyer was a grandson of the Printer Dawks.

¶ There is a short account of Caslon in *Nichols*, vol. ii. p. 356.

\*\* A PHILIP PARSONS, son of Richard Parsons, a surgeon here, and of an old Hadleigh family, was Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, about this time. He died of Small-pox on Dec. 28, 1731, aged 23. He was buried in the North Aisle of our Church, where there is a small mural monument to his memory.

the Sahidic or Lower Egyptian dialect, Dr. Wilkins mistook the Sahidic or Thebaidic MSS. in the Bodleian Library for faulty Coptic ones.\*

In 1736, he gave to the world his "*Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*," in four volumes, folio,—a laborious work on which he had been occupied for several years. The proposal for publishing it declared that it would not be published until 250 copies were subscribed for, at six guineas each, half to be paid down at once, and the rest when the book should be delivered; but it appears that 200 copies only were struck off.

"This work, . . . . . not only surpasses Sir H. Spelman's *Concilia* in accuracy and completeness in the two former periods (from the first introduction of Christianity into Great Britain to the Norman Conquest, and from the Conquest to the Reformation), but also more than completes the design which he formed, but lived not to execute, with respect to the third or post Reformation period, and is still the chief standard book of English Councils." †

In 1748, he wrote the *Præfatio historiam literariam Britannorum ante Cæsaris adventum, Bibliothecæ hujus Schemâ, Bostonum Buriensem, aliaque scitu not indigna complectens*, which was prefixed to Bishop Tanner's *Britannico-Hibernica*. ‡

I am almost afraid that I have not got a perfect list of his works, for I do not know in what order (or in what work), his *Historia Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ*, to which I have alluded, was published. I may add that Dr. Wilkins cherished the design of compiling an European Polyglott, to exhibit in one view the authorized versions of the different nations of Europe, and that he died before he had made any great progress in the undertaking.§ He left many other things also in MS., which passing at his death into the family of Lord Fairfax, were sold and dispersed with their goods. Some of them, however, including a few MSS. in Italian, and relating to his travels, which as his epitaph will shew

\* *Nichols' Lit. Anec.* vol. ix. p. 12.

† *Editor's Preface to John Johnson's Laws and Canons*, pp. iv. v.

‡ There is a copy of this work with Dr. Wilkins's Preface of 48 pages, in the

Corporation Library, at Ipswich.

§ A writer in *Nichols*, vol. ix. p. 322, speaks as if the New Testament was completed.

were extensive, are still preserved at the Rectory. The most important of these, is "an Historical description of the Town and Church of Hadleigh," from which, through the kindness of Mr. Knox, I have been allowed to make many extracts, in the preparation of this paper. There is also a brief MS. "Account of Monk's Eleigh," of which parish also Dr. Wilkins was Incumbent, belonging to the Rectors of that place.

From our parish books it would appear that Dr. Wilkins was usually resident at Hadleigh, and took great interest in public business, and was anxious by courteous treatment to secure the respect of the people to whom he ministered. I infer, however, from its being said that he would receive subscriptions for Wotton's Welsh Laws at Lambeth House in Oct., 1721,\* that he resided there occasionally.

Dr. Wilkins married on Nov. 27, 1725, Margaret, the eldest daughter of Thomas, Lord Fairfax,† of Scotland, to whom we are indebted for one of the flagons of the sacramental plate. He died of gout on the 6th of Sept., 1745, and was buried within the altar-rails in the chancel of our Church. His widow placed this inscription on his grave, which, while testifying to the learning and extensive travels of her husband, rather provokes a smile, inasmuch as it sets at the very head of his achievements the fact of his having married so distinguished a person as herself:

H. S. E.

D. Wilkins, S. T. P.

Ro Dno Dno Gulmo Wake, Arch. Cantuariensi: a sacris

Archid. Suffole. Can. Cantuar.

nec non

Rector de Hadleigh et Monks-Ely.

Uxorem duxit Honoratissimam D. Margaretam

Maximam natu filiam Prænobilis Thomæ Baron de Fairfax

Quam ad extremum vitæ terminum summo amore fovit.

\* *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. i. p. 488.

† This was the fifth Lord Fairfax, who married Catherine, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Colepepper. He was a Colonel in the Guards, at one time M.P. for the County of York. He acquired

with his wife, the mother of Mrs. Wilkins, not only large estates in Kent, and in the Isle of Wight, but 5,700,000 acres of land in Virginia in America.—*Burke's Peerage and Baronetage.*

In omni ferè Literarum genere versatus fuit,  
Orientalibus præsertim et Teutonicis instructissimus.

Peragratâ semel atque iterum Europâ  
(Cujus admodum pollebat vernaculis)

Postquam diversas Religionum formas subacto judicio exploraverat  
Cæteras omnes Ecclesias Anglicanæ longè posthabuit,  
Quam sibi semper charam beneficiis et vitâ exornavit.

Pastor fuit fidus et sedulus

Idque tum publice docendo tum privatim monendo,  
Per annos ultra viginti,

Multo cum audientium fructu explevit.

Erat vultu apertus et gravis, in Rostris disertus:  
Affuit ei in colloquiis suavitas, erga omnes

Candor, Urbanitas, Benevolentia.

Fatali tandem correptus podagrâ

Animam Deo reddidit spe fretus beatæ immortalitatis

6<sup>to</sup> Sep<sup>tris</sup> ann. Dni 1745

Æt<sup>is</sup> 60<sup>mo</sup> \*

\* I would mention here that at the west end of the North Aisle of our Church, there is an inscription on a marble slab, to the memory of Mrs. ELIZABETH TUNSTALL, and one of her daughters, who were buried underneath in 1772, and 1773. Mrs. Tunstall was a daughter of John Dodsworth, Esq., of Yorkshire: aunt to Dr. Dodsworth, Canon of Windsor, and Chaplain in Ordinary to George the Third; and widow of the "learned and truly pious James Tunstall, D.D., Vicar of Rochdale, Lancashire." How she came to settle and die here, I do not know.

Dr. Tunstall was born at Aysgarth, in Wensleydale, Yorkshire, being the son of Mr. James Tunstall, an Attorney, afterwards of Richmond. He was educated at Sladeburn Grammar School, admitted a Sizar at St. John's Coll. Cambr. June 29, 1724, æt. 16; B.A. 1727; M.A. 1731; B.D. 1738; D.D. 1744. He was Fellow and Tutor of his College for many years. In 1741, he was elected Public Orator, which office he resigned in 1746; in the same year he was appointed Treasurer of St. David's; he was also Domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Potter, who gave him Chart, and Minister in the Isle of Thanet. In 1757, Archbishop Hutton collated him to Rochdale. He died in London, March 28, 1762, leaving six daughters.

Dr. Tunstall was the author of the following works.—(1.) Greek verses in

the University Collection, on the Accession of King George the Second. (2.) *Academica; Discourses on the Certainty, Distinction, and Connection, between Natural and Revealed Religion.* Lond. 8vo. 1729. Reprinted as *Academica, Part i.* Lond. 8vo. 1759. (3.) *Epistola ad virum eruditum Conyers Middleton vitæ M. T. Ciceronis Scriptorem, &c., Camb.* 8vo, 1741. (4.) *Observations on the present Collection of Epistles between Cicero and M. Brutus, representing several marks of forgery in their Epistles, &c. in answer to the late pretences of the Rev. Conyers Middleton, Lond.* 1744. (5.) *Latin Letter in the name of the University, thanking the Honble. George Townshend, for the present of an Egyptian Mummy, without date. In Epistolæ Academicæ MSS. ij. 653.* (6.) *A Sermon before the House of Commons, on Psalm 126, 3, Lond.* 4to. 1746. (7.) *A Vindication of the power of States, to prohibit clandestine Marriages under the pain of absolutenullity; particularly the marriage of minors without the consent of parents and guardians. In answer to the Rev. Dr. Stebbing's Dissertations, Lond.* 8vo. 1755. (8.) *Marriage in society stated; with some considerations on Government, the different kinds of Civil laws, and their distinct obligations in conscience, in a second letter to the Rev. Dr. Stebbing, Lond.* 8vo., 1755. (9.) *Critical annotations in the first edition of Mr. Duncombe's Horace.* (10) *Lectures on Natural and*

We have hitherto been engaged in following the course of those who were actively engaged in the stirring scenes and exciting controversies of English political and ecclesiastical history: I will now speak of one—I need speak only briefly, for many of you knew him personally—who held no public office, and was engaged in no matters of such general interest, and yet has by his writings closely associated his name with Hadleigh.

NATHAN DRAKE\* was born at York, on July 15, 1766, and was the son of an artist there. His family, however, had attained to literary distinction through many of its members. Dr. Richard Drake, Precentor of Sarum, edited the “Greek Devotions” of Bishop Andrews;† Dr. Samuel Drake, Vicar of Pontefract, wrote the life of his friend and tutor Mr. Clieveland; another Dr. Samuel Drake, who was Rector of Treeton, published a beautiful edition of “Parkin’s *Antiquitates Britannicæ*,” and Mr. Francis Drake, F.S.A., compiled a history of York, which still ranks high amongst Topographical works; and the son of the last mentioned, also an F.S.A., and Vicar of Isleworth, was the author of “Observations on the English Language,” and other papers in the *Archæologia*.

Nathan Drake received his education at the best classical school in his native town, and at the age of thirteen became the pupil of Mr. Bacon, a Surgeon in good practice at York. He afterwards proceeded to Edinburgh, and graduated there as M.D.; and was by and bye attracted to the Eastern Counties by the recommendation of a brother, who was apprenticed to a medical gentleman at Colchester. He first took up his abode at Billericay, in Essex, but soon removed to Sudbury, in Suffolk, and after a short residence there he finally settled in our town, in 1792.

Revealed Religion, read in the chapel of St. John’s Coll. Camb. Lond. 4to., 1765, published by subscription for the benefit of the author’s family. (11) Letters to the Earl of Essex: Bp. Warburton, Dr. Birch, and Dr. Zachary Gray. Some are in MS. There are many particulars relating to Dr. Tunstall in *Nichols’ Lit. Anecdotes, and Illustrations of Literature*.

I am indebted for this information to the Rev. Canon Raines, F. S. A., and C. H. Cooper, Esq.

\* The substance of this notice is taken from the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for 1836, part II.

† See Bp. Andrews’ *Minor Works*, p. 224. The book was dedicated to the Prince of Wales and printed in 1648.

But I believe that he never attained to any great practice as a Physician. A small country town, indeed, was not favourable to the exercise of the higher branches of his profession, and after all, his own heart was not wholly given to that kind of work. The literary tastes, which he inherited, prompted him to seek pleasure and reputation in literary employment; and a great part of each day was, latterly at least, devoted with punctual regularity to the composition of some new book. His first effort as an author was a medical treatise, published whilst he was resident at Edinburgh; but though he afterwards contributed papers to various medical periodicals, the line of literature, which he chiefly adopted, was that of light essays and ingenious illustrations of our great standard writers. In these he displayed great refinement of taste and industry of research, at a time when archæological investigations were not so fashionable and so general as now. The fourth, fifth, and seventh of the books, in the list of his published works, which I am about to give, were very highly spoken of; the seventh more especially was reviewed in the strongest terms of commendation by Archdeacon Nares.\*

1. The Speculator, a periodical paper written in conjunction with Dr. Edward Ash. 8vo., 1790.
2. Poems. 4to., 1793.
3. Literary Hours. First edition 1 vol., 8vo., 1798; fourth edition, 3 vols., 8vo., 1820.
4. Essays Illustrative of the Tatler, Spectator and Guardian. 3 vols., 8vo., 1805; second edition, 1812.
5. Essays Illustrative of the Rambler, Adventurer, Idler, and other periodical papers, to the year 1809. 2 vols., 8vo., 1809.
6. The Gleaner; a series of periodical essays, selected from authors not included in the British Essayists. 4 vols., 8vo., 1811.
7. Shakspeare and his times, including the Biography of that poet; Criticisms on his genius; a new Chronology of his plays; a Disquisition on the object of his sonnets,

\* In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxviii. pt. ii. pp. 241 and 334.

and a History of the manners, customs, and amusements, superstitions, poetry, and elegant literature of his age. 2 vols. 4to., 1817.

8. Winter Nights.\* 2 vols. 8vo., 1820.

9. Evenings in Autumn, a series of essays, narrative and miscellaneous. 2 vols. 8vo., 1822.

10. Noontide Leisure. 2 vols. 8vo. 1824.

11. Mornings in Spring.† 2 vols. 8vo., 1828.

12. Memorials of Shakspeare. 1828.

And in addition to these, Dr. Drake left a MS. ready for the press, entitled "The Harp of Judah: a Selected Version of the Psalms with copious Notes and Illustrations," which was published after his death in two vols. 8vo., in 1837, under the editorship of his son, the Rev. N. R. Drake, M.A., now Curate of Earl's Colne, Essex.

The amiable character of their author is impressed on all his productions, and in that character, as developed and distinguished in his writings, exists their greatest charm. As an author and as a man, Dr. Drake was kindness, courtesy, and candour personified.....It may indeed be said of him with perfect truth, that, amid all the turmoils of party strife and contentious rivalry, he so pursued the even tenor of his way as never to have lost by estrangement a single friend or made one enemy.‡

There was little else of public interest in his quiet and retired life. A happy marriage; the steady friendship and respect of men of kindred literary tastes; the ready exercise of his power as a physician to relieve the pains and sufferings of the poor; a cheerful alacrity at all times to aid the clergy of his parish in good works; these were the other chief features and events in his career, until he died at his own house in Hadleigh, at the age of seventy, on June 7, 1836. On the 15th of the same month, he was buried in a vault on the south west side of our churchyard.

But before Dr. Drake passed away the incumbency of the parish had changed hands. His old friend, Dr. Hay

\* Bernard Barton addressed some lines to Dr. Drake, on reading the first paper in this work, which are given in the *Gent's Mag.* vol. xc. pt. ii. p. 65.

† The same writer addressed a Sonnet

to Dr. Drake on the title of this work. See *Poems and Letters of Bernard Barton*, p. 238.

‡ *Gent's Magazine*.



Drummond, had died, and had been succeeded in the living by the REV. HUGH JAMES ROSE, whom also many here both knew and loved, and whom they still honour, not only for his brilliant talents, but for the firmness with which he maintained what he believed to be right and true.

His family\* were originally of Scotch extraction, and descended from the Roses of Kilravock; but his father, who afterwards became Vicar of Glynde, was Curate of Little Horsted, Sussex, at the time when his distinguished son was born in the vicarage house of that parish, on June 9, 1795. In 1800 Mr. Rose removed to the neighbouring parish of Uckfield, having been appointed to the Mastership of the school which had been founded by Dr. Saunders, and there he was able to enlarge the number of the pupils which he had previously taken; there also he superintended from the beginning the education of the son of whom I am now speaking; but I have heard on very good authority, that before long the son outstripped the father in attainments, so that the latter contented himself with simply recommending to him the books, which it was desirable for him to read.

In Oct., 1813, Mr. Hugh James Rose entered as a Pensioner at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was soon afterwards elected to a Scholarship there, his tutor being the late Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Dr. Monk. In 1814 he gained the first Bell's Scholarship; and in 1817 he took his B.A. degree as 14th Wrangler. The Classical Tripos was not then established, but he gained the highest classical distinction attainable, and was declared the first Chancellor's Medallist of the year. He also won in 1818 the first Member's Prize for a dissertation in Latin prose, the subject being a comparison of the Greek and Latin historians. In Oct. of the same year he sat for a Fellowship at Trinity, but no one of his standing was elected; and before another chance came round he had cut off himself from all

\* This notice is condensed from a lengthy memoir in the *British Magazine*, vol. xv. pp. 327-347. See also pp. 226-228. There is also a memoir of Mr.

Rose, taken chiefly from the former, in the *Gent's Magazine*, vol. xi. New Series, 1839, pt. i. pp. 319-322.

prospects of College honours, by marrying, in the summer of 1819, Miss Anna Cuyler Mair, the youngest daughter of Captain Peter Mair, of the Hill House, Richmond, Yorkshire.

On Christmas Day, 1818, he was ordained Deacon under letters dimissory from the Archbishop of Canterbury, by his future friend and patron, Dr. Howley, then Bishop of London, the examining Chaplain declaring that "he had passed an examination for a man of forty;" and on Dec. 19, 1819, he was ordained Priest at St. James's, Westminster, under the same auspices as before, but under the hands of Dr. George Henry Law, then Bishop of Chester, but afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. His first Curacy was Uckfield, the duties of which he undertook together with the care of pupils, the sons chiefly of men of rank, until 1821; when through the interest of those, who had marked his learning and his zeal, he was preferred by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Manners Sutton, to the Vicarage of Horsham,—a parish which had "fallen into much need of a restorer." There he addressed himself with characteristic earnestness, not only to enlarging the Church accommodation for the poor, to increasing the efficiency of the schools and parish clubs, and to making additions to the Vicarage House, but to more direct ministerial exertions; and the effect, under the Divine blessing, was an improved tone towards religion throughout the parish, and a better attendance both at Church and at the Holy Table of the Lord.

But he was not able to continue long in this sphere of usefulness. As a child his health had been delicate; at Maresfield, where he had latterly resided while serving the Curacy of Uckfield, symptoms of asthma had been manifested; and now the damp climate of Horsham proved so ill-suited to him, that by the end of the second year (1823), a change of air and scene had become little less than necessary. He accordingly set out on a tour through Prussia, Austria, and Italy,\* in May 1824; but even then

\* It was during this tour, I suppose, a regular English Chapel at Rome. *British Mag.*, vol. xv., p. 421.

his active mind could not be idle, and he occupied himself in noticing, for future description, the state of Protestantism in Germany. He returned home in May, 1825, in time to discharge the office of Select Preacher at Cambridge; in the same year he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Regius Professorship of Greek, and was appointed to an Honorary Stall at Chichester, which, however, he resigned on the accession of Bishop Maltby. In 1826, 1828, 1829, he was Select Preacher; in June, 1827, he proceeded B.D.; and in 1829, he was appointed Christian Advocate, under the will of Mr. Hulse, and continued to hold that office until 1833, residing partially during the time at Cambridge, which suited him better than most other places.

About the year 1826, he had been made Chaplain to the Bishop of London, Dr. Howley; and in the early part of 1830, when his health appeared to be all but re-established, he was removed by his patron, who had been elevated to the Primacy, to the Rectory of this parish and the joint Deanery of Bocking. Here, on entering on the incumbency he set himself to work on the same system which he had so successfully pursued at Horsham,—rebuilding the Rectory House,\* at a considerable outlay to himself, raising the efficiency of the Schools, Clubs, &c.; so that many of the arrangements which contribute to the comfort of our poor, although they have been improved upon by succeeding Rectors, owe their first origin, I believe, to him. But he soon found out with sorrow that Hadleigh was as ill-suited to him as Horsham had been before; for his tendency to asthma would not allow of his constant residence or of pastoral activity. Still his memory is regarded with profound respect by those, who were brought into close

\* Mr. Rose entered on the occupation of the new Rectory House, in January, 1833. I have been lately told that the exterior of the house was designed by the Rev. Dr. Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; and the following passage written by Mr. Rose himself, in Dr. Wilkins' MS. book, seems to corroborate the statement; "The architect was

Mr. H. Harrison, who very skilfully used the sketches given him for the outside. It may be added that the Chimneys in the Tower are new, as the old ones were entirely gone; and that the windows of the Tower are restorations of what I conceive the old ones to have been, as very ugly modern sashes had been substituted, and the brickwork cut away."

intercourse with him during his brief stay; and the tones of his voice still ring in the ears of all who heard it, for I have been often told that it had such a silvery clearness, and at the same time such a pathological expression, that the Lord's Prayer, when simply read by him, was "as good as a sermon."

It was during his short residence here, however, that he connected the name of Hadleigh through himself, with a religious movement, whose influence has been felt not only within the borders of our own branch of the Apostolic Church, but throughout all Christendom. Opinions, of course, will differ as to the effect of that movement, whether good or evil has preponderated; but whatever our individual opinions on that point may be, we must all, I think, agree in this—that the publication of the "Tracts for the Times," has become a great historical event. The design of such a publication was first started in the Common Room of Oriel College, Oxford; but it was at Hadleigh, in the Library of the Rectory Tower, that a great impulse was given to combined action on the part of some of the leading members of the Church, who were alarmed at the perils by which she was surrounded. The abilities and learning of Mr. Rose, his various publications, and the zeal which he had displayed, as editor of the *British Magazine*, in the assertion and defence of the principles of the Church, had gotten him a great name amongst the earnest Churchmen of the day; and accordingly Mr. William Palmer, Mr. Froude, and Mr. Arthur Perceval, visited him at Hadleigh, in July, 1833, for the purpose of deliberating on the best means for furthering still more the sacred cause in which they were so deeply interested.

"The conference at Hadleigh, which," says Mr. Palmer in his *Narrative*, "continued for nearly a week, concluded without any specific arrangements being entered into, though all concurred as to the necessity of some mode of combined action, and the expediency of circulating Tracts or publications intended to inculcate sound and enlightened principles of attachment to the Church."\*

\* *Narrative of Events connected with the publication of the Tracts for the Times*, by the Rev. W. Palmer of Wor-

cester College, Oxford, p. 6. J. H. Parker, Oxford, 1843.

Still the project was advanced by the conference; tracts were soon issued until the series gained universal notoriety, and at last acquired a prominence which they will ever retain in the Ecclesiastical History of the Nineteenth century. It is due, however, to the memory of Mr. Rose to add, that from the time at which the conference at his house broke up, he took no part in the proceedings of the authors of the Tracts. The resolutions which were afterwards made, were not even communicated to him, and he never saw a single Tract before it reached him in its published form; indeed it had been agreed by the chief leaders in the movement, that the writers should belong exclusively to the University of Oxford. His responsibility therefore, in regard to these publications, was absolutely nothing, and before the most objectionable of them (Tract xc.) was given to the world, Mr. Rose had passed away from the overflowings of ungodliness and from the strife of tongues.\*

Indeed he bore within him, when that conference was held, the seeds of an early death; his health obliged him to leave Hadleigh in the same year 1833, and he exchanged his preferment for the livings of Fairstead, and Weeley, in Essex, with Archdeacon Lyall. In the same year he relinquished his post of Christian Advocate, but his name appears once more in the list of Select Preachers at Cambridge. About the same time he was also appointed by Bishop Van Mildert, to the Divinity Chair at the new University of Durham, but he only held that dignity for a few months. In 1834, he was made Domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Howley, having for his colleague the Rev. C. A. Ogilvie, then Fellow of Balliol College, and now Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. In 1834, he was again Select Preacher at Cambridge, and was made Incumbent of St. Thomas', Southwark; and in Oct. 1836, he was appointed Principal of King's

\* *The History of the Church*, first published in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, vol. iii. p. 379, part written by

Rev. Henry John Rose, the brother of our former Rector.

College, London.\* In the ensuing winter, however, his health, which had latterly been much better, was shattered by an attack of Influenza, and his Divinity Lectures at King's were obliged to be read to the students by a friend; † and from that time, though he tried change of air more than once, his strength never really rallied. In Oct. 1838, he was recommended to try the air of Italy again, and he set out accordingly on his way to Florence; he reached that city about the middle of Nov. in a state of exhaustion, for dropsy had come on; and he took up his quarters at the Hotel called "Pelicano;" but on Saturday, Dec. 22, at about 5 o'clock, his weary spirit returned to God who gave it, and shortly afterwards his body was laid amidst the cypress trees, "funebres cupressi," which mark the Protestant cemetery, just without the city of Florence, on the road to Fiesole.‡

I have thought it my best course to reserve all notice of the works which he either edited or published, until I could give them altogether. The following long list, § which is, I hope, generally correct, attests at once his learning and his industry.

1. Remarks on the first chapter of the Bishop of Llandaff's *Horæ Pelasgiæ*. 1817.
2. The Middle Bachelor's Prize Latin Essay: *Inter Græcos et Romanos historiæ comparatione factâ, cujusnam stylus imitatione maximè dignus esse videtur*. Cambridge, 1818.
3. The folly of reading irreligious publications, a Sermon preached at Uckfield, Oct. 30, 1819. Lewes, 1819.

\* The fourth volume of the Rev. J. H. Newman's *Parochial Sermons*—alas! that he should have since "forsaken the law of his mother,"—was thus dedicated to Mr. Rose: "To the Rev. Hugh James Rose, Principal of King's College, London, and Domestic Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, when hearts were failing, bade us stir up the gift that was in us, and betake ourselves to our true mother, this volume is inscribed by his obliged and faithful friend, the author."

† The Rev. J. Allen, then Chaplain to

King's College, and now Archdeacon of Salop.

‡ In a letter to the *British Magazine*, vol. xv., p. 556, the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth suggested that an exhibition should be founded at King's College, London, in memory of Mr. Rose; but I do not know whether the suggestion was ever acted on.

§ It is taken from the lists given in the *British and Gentleman's Magazines*, which are not always consistent.

4. A Visitation Sermon ; Internal Union the best safeguard against the dangers of the Church. 1822.
5. *Inscriptiones Vetustissimæ*. 1826, 8vo.
6. The state of the Protestant Religion in Germany, in a series of discourses before the University of Cambridge, Oct., 1826 : a work which called forth hostile criticism and a reply by Mr. Rose.
7. The tendency of prevalent opinions about knowledge considered ; a Sermon, 1826.
8. Sermons on the commission and duties of the Clergy, preached before the University of Cambridge, in April, 1826. 8vo.
9. Christianity always progressive (sent forth as the Christian Advocate's publication for the year, but embodying the substance of his discourses as Select Preacher, in 1828). 1829.
10. A Letter to the Bishop of London, in reply to Mr. Pusey's Works on the causes of Rationalism in Germany. 8vo., 1829.
11. A new and enlarged edition of Parkhurst's Lexicon. 1829.
12. Brief remarks on the prevalent dispositions towards Christianity. 8vo., 1830.
13. Eight Sermons before the University of Cambridge, in 1830 and 1831. 8vo. This course of Sermons was also preached by him, I believe, at Hadleigh.
14. Notices of the Mosaic Law, &c. 8vo., 1831.
15. A new edition of Bishop Middleton's work on the Greek Article, "with considerable additions." 1831. 8vo.
16. Awkward Facts respecting the Church of England and her revenues. Cambridge, 1831.
17. The Farmers and Clergy ; six letters to the Farmers of England, on tithes and Church property. 8vo., 1831.
18. A Letter to the inhabitants of Hadleigh and its neighbourhood, on the subject of agricultural discontent. London, 1832.

19. The Gospel an abiding system, the Christian Advocate's publication for 1832. 8vo.
20. The Churchman's duty and comfort in the present time; a Sermon. 8vo., Ipswich, 1833.
21. A Visitation Sermon. 8vo., 1834.
22. The duty of maintaining the truth; a Sermon. 8vo., 1834.
23. An Apology for the study of Divinity; the Terminal Divinity Lecture at Durham, in 1834. 8vo.
24. An answer to the case of the Dissenters. 8vo., 1834.
25. The study of Church History recommended. 8vo., 1834.
26. Concio ad Clerum, 8vo., 1835.

In addition to these works Mr. Rose projected, and was the first editor of the *British Magazine*; he projected also and partly arranged a new *General Biographical Dictionary*, which, under the superintendence of other editors, was published in 1850, in twelve volumes 8vo.; on the death of Mr. Smedley he became editor of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*; he contributed various articles to the *Quarterly*\* and *Foreign Quarterly Reviews*; he was joint editor with Archdeacon Lyall of the *Theological Library*; and lastly, he intended, but never found time to finish it, to write for that series a life of Martin Luther.

Mr. Rose was succeeded, as I have already stated, by the VENERABLE WILLIAM ROWE LYALL. The latter was a son of John Lyall, Esq., of Findon, Sussex, and was born in London, on Feb. 11th, 1788. At the age of seventeen he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he shortly afterwards obtained a scholarship; in 1810 he graduated B.A.; and proceeded M.A. in 1816; in 1812 he was ordained Deacon, and licensed to the curacy of Fawley, Hampshire; and in 1814 he was admitted to the Priesthood; in 1817

\* One of the articles, contributed by Mr. Rose to this Review in October, 1821, was directed against Hone's *Apostrophal New Testament*, and was success-

ful in arresting the mischief which was being done by that book.—*History of Christian Church*, vol. iii. p. 373.



he was appointed chaplain to St. Thomas' Hospital; and not long afterwards he was nominated assistant-preacher at Lincoln's Inn; in 1822 he was made examining chaplain to the Bishop of London (Dr. Howley); in 1823 he was collated by that Bishop to the Rectory of Weeley, Essex; in 1824 he became Archdeacon of Colchester, and quitted London to reside at Bradfield, in Essex; in 1827, on being appointed to the incumbency, he removed to the Rectory-house of Fairstead, in the same county; about the year 1821 he was Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn; and in 1833 he exchanged the livings of Weeley and of Fairstead with the Rev. Hugh James Rose, for the Rectory of this parish. In 1841 he resigned Hadleigh and the Archdeaconry of Colchester, and became the first Archdeacon of Maidstone, and, by virtue of that office, a Canon of Canterbury; in 1843 he was collated by his constant friend, Dr. Howley, who had become Primate, to the Rectory of Great Chart, near Ashford, Kent; and in 1845 he was appointed, on the recommendation of Sir Robert Peel, to the Deanery of Canterbury, and had the Lambeth degree of D.D. conferred upon him by the Archbishop.\*

Although he had not taken honours in the University examinations, Dr. Lyall was possessed of intellectual qualities of a high order; he was a sound classical scholar, a good divine, and was remarkable for an extensive acquaintance with ancient and modern literature. He was a contributor, in early life during his residence at Fawley, to the *Quarterly Review*, and was the author of two articles on the *Philosophy of Dugald Stewart*, which, from the talent they exhibited, obtained unusual attention at that time. About the year 1816 he became the editor of the *British Critic*; and in 1820, such was his reputation for ability and acquirements, that he was requested by the then Bishop of London (Dr. Howley) and by Mr., afterwards Bishop, Blomfield, to undertake the management of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, which, from various causes, had fallen

\* These facts are chiefly taken from a *Magazine*, April, 1857, pp. 491-2. memoir of Dean Lyall in the *Gentleman's*

into complete abeyance. The result justified the expectations of his friends; for by his talents and industry he placed the work upon a permanent basis, and was able, after a time, to transfer the editorship, with improved prospects, to the hands of his successor Mr. Smedley. He afterwards became joint editor with Mr. Rose of the Theological Library; and in 1840, the last year of his residence at Hadleigh, he published under the title of "*Propædia Prophetica*," the sermons which he had delivered as Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn,—a work which "drew forth from Archbishop Howley, and from many other competent judges of its merits, the warmest and strongest testimonies of admiration and approval." Besides these, he published various Charges, which, in fulfilment of his duty as Archdeacon, he had delivered to the clergy of Essex and of Kent, and which were remarkable alike for their wise counsels and for their conciliatory tone. The former, more particularly, were delivered at a time when the hearts of men were deeply moved by the political excitements which attended the passing of the Reform Bill, and they earnestly exhorted the clergy to devote themselves to the task of healing dissensions, of allaying animosities, and restoring harmony and good will.

Indeed kindness of heart and genial courtesy of manner distinguished Dr. Lyall throughout all his intercourse with others; and combined with good tact and judgment, and with unusual conversational powers, to give him great influence in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, whether as a Parish Priest, as an Archdeacon, or a Dean. I need not, however, dilate upon this point, for I stand amongst those, who enjoyed the privilege which was never mine, of his personal acquaintance; and who, as they review the years of his incumbency at Hadleigh, are readily reminded, from their own experience, of his cheerful piety, of his liberality, and of the earnest zeal with which he applied himself to re-organizing the parish, and to improving the condition of the poor, both in fulfilling the designs of his illustrious predecessor and in devising new

measures of his own. I will only say that his departure from Hadleigh was deeply regretted by the people he had served, although they received in his successor a man of kindred spirit; and that his memory is still cherished with affectionate respect, although the virtues of the present Rector, whom indeed he recommended for appointment to the living, have fully supplied the loss of his.

And it was the same in his higher station as Dean of Canterbury. The peculiar amiability and sweetness of his disposition, combined with remarkable good sense, enabled him to unite in a happy harmony all the members of the Chapter; while his constant endeavours to alleviate the sorrows of the poor won for him the esteem of the citizens in general. There, indeed, a still tenderer feeling was excited towards him through sympathy with a severe affliction, which it pleased God to lay upon him. In 1852 he was attacked by a paralytic seizure, and thenceforth his more active capabilities were gone. He cheerfully applied himself, however, while speech and strength enough remained, to preparing for the press a new edition of his *Propædia Prophetica* which was published in 1854; and, to my mind, the "closing scenes" of his existence, though full of melancholy, are the most interesting portion of his life. One who knew him well, and was called upon to preach his funeral sermon in Canterbury Cathedral, the Venerable Archdeacon Harrison, tells us\* how he would be drawn in a chair into his Cathedral daily at evensong, to join in the prayers which he loved so well; how, at other times, he would be brought to the foot of the altar to receive the last pledges of his Saviour's love; how, when deprived of speech—an addition to his trial, which befell him eleven weeks before his death—he would watch with beaming eyes the gentle ministrations of his wife;† how he would express to the friends who visited him by a warm pressure of the hand, the affection of which his tongue denied the utterance; how, in

\* *Charity never Failing*; a Sermon preached in Canterbury Cathedral, on Feb. 22, 1857. London, Rivingtons.

† The Dean married in 1817, Cath-

erine, youngest daughter of the late Joseph Brandreth, Esq., M.D., of Liverpool, who survives him, and by whom he has left no issue.

short, he bore all his affliction with unfailing patience, until at length his peaceful spirit passed out of its earthly prison, on Feb. 17, 1857.

He was buried on the 26th of the same month—not, however, in his own Cathedral; for a recent Order in Council had forbidden intramural burial—but in the churchyard of Harbledown, near Canterbury, of which parish his brother is the Rector. His friends have since raised a subscription, and, at the cost of between four and five hundred pounds, have erected a monument to his memory on the north side of the nave of the Cathedral. It is an altar tomb, with a canopy, of Caen stone, bearing a recumbent figure, representing Dr. Lyall in his robes, with the following inscriptions:—on the front: “To the loved and honoured memory of William Rowe Lyall, D.D., Dean of this Cathedral, who died 17th Feb. 1857, aged 69;” on the west end: ‘Thou wilt show me the path of life: in Thy presence is the fulness of joy;’ and on the east end: “‘At Thy right hand there is pleasure for evermore.’ Psalm xvi. v. 12.”\*

Thus, in this long paper, I hope I have succeeded, at least, in showing that great interest attaches to our town. I might go on to speak of Dignitaries still living, of whose career we have reason to feel proud; but such modern matters, besides being known already to many of us, are scarcely, perhaps, adapted to a meeting of Archæologists.†

\* The architectural portion of the monument was designed by H. G. Austin, Esq., of Canterbury; the figure is from a model by J. B. Philip, Esq.

† I will, however, give here, with a few additions, the substance of what appeared in the *Times* three years ago, in reference to the Very Rev. RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Dean of Westminster:—Dr. Trench is the second son of Richard Trench, Esq., brother of the first Lord Ashtown in the Irish Peerage, by Melesina Chenevix, granddaughter and heiress of Dr. Richard Chenevix, Bp. of Waterford, from 1745 to 1779. He was

born Sept. 9, 1807, and graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1829, without, however, obtaining honours in either the Classical or Mathematical Tripos. He was soon afterwards ordained, and engaged himself upon country curacies. Amongst these was Hadleigh, where he resided during the year 1833 as Curate to the Rev. Hugh James Rose, from whose wise counsels he derived great benefit in the prosecution of his theological studies. It was not, however, as a scholar or divine, but as a poet that his name first became known. About the year 1837 or 1838, while holding the In-

And I have said enough to show that as a Royal residence, as possessing a noble Church, and a remarkable Rectory Tower; as connected, through men whom she either bred or nurtured, with the Reformation, the Rebellion, the Revolution, and the great Church movement of more modern times; with the translation of the Holy Bible, the compilation of the Prayer Book, and the publication of the English Polyglott; Hadleigh has strong claims upon the notice and respect of antiquaries.

I have only one further subject on which I desire to make a few remarks, even at the risk of appearing unmindful of an expression, which I have just let drop, for it is certainly a modern subject. We have all gained, I trust, some stronger feelings of charity to the poor from the examples of benevolence that have been presented; some holier attachment to that pure faith, in the assertion and defence of which, this parish has supplied both martyrs and confessors;\* some greater reverence for that sacred house in which those martyrs and confessors worshipped, and to the decoration of which some of them gave freely of their wealth; but shall the last feeling—for I confine myself

cumbency of Curdridge, a district in the extensive parish of Bishop's Waltham, Hants, he gave to the world two volumes of poems, written rather in the simple style of Wordsworth. These were respectively entitled, *Sabbation, Honor Neale and other Poems*, and *The Story of Justin Martyr*, and they were followed in succession by *Genoveva, Elegiac Poems*, and *Poems from Eastern Sources*. In 1841 he became Curate to the Rev. Samuel Wilberforce (now Bishop of Oxford) at Alverstoke, Hants; in 1845 he was promoted to the Vicarage of Itchin-stoke, in the same county; in 1845 and 1846 he was Hulsean Lecturer at Cambridge, and for a short time one of the Select Preachers; in 1856 he was popularly believed to have been nominated by Lord Palmerston to the Bishopric of Gloucester; but, for some still mysterious reasons, he did not receive the appointment, of which he was so worthy; but in the same year he was elevated, on the death of Dr. Buckland, to the Deanery of Westminster.

The chief works, however, which have gained for Dr. Trench a high reputation as a theologian and philologist, are the well-known *Notes on the Parables*; *Notes on the Miracles*; *St. Augustine's Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount with an Introductory Essay on St. Augustine as an Interpreter of Scripture*; *The Star of the Wise Men, A Commentary on the second chapter of St. Matthew*; *The Hulsean Lectures for 1845 and 6*; *Sacred Latin Poetry*; *The Study of Words*; *English Past and Present*; *The Lessons in Proverbs*; *Synonyms of the New Testament*; *On the Authorized Version of the New Testament in connection with some recent proposals for its revision*; and a *Select Glossary of English Words*. Dr. Trench married, in 1832, his cousin, the Hon. Frances Mary Trench, sister of the present Lord Ashtown, and has a numerous family.

\* See Appendix E for an account of THOMAS ROSE.

especially to it—be allowed to bear no fruit? In visiting the Church you must have noticed that it is not in all respects in a fitting state; that funds are needed to carry out desirable improvements, such as may be effected without offence to any just religious scruples. Eleven hundred pounds have already been expended on the restoration of the Exterior, but your own eyes must have convinced you that we have only yet done half our work; that the Interior also needs to be restored. Let me plead with you, then, for aid in an endeavour to complete the task. Let me ask you, whether inhabitants of Hadleigh, or visitors, or members of this Institute, to assist us with donations, so that “the Holy and Beautiful House in which our fathers praised”\* Him, may be rendered more worthy of its historical importance, and more meet than it is at present for the solemn and reverential worship of our fathers’ GOD.

\* Isaiah lzv. 11.

