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REVIVAL OF ANGLICANISM

during

THE RESTORATION PERIOD.

with special reference to

THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM.

by

C.H.Beaglehole.

St. Matthews Vicarage,
Darlington.
1945.

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INTRODUCTION.

This thesis seeks to describe the Revival of Anglicanism during the Restoration Period in the Diocese of Durham.

An entry in the Parochial Register of the parish Church of Whitworth, County of Durham marks the event of the return of both King, and Church to power:

¹
"12th May 1660, on which day, I, Stephen Hogg,
began to use again the Book of Common Prayer."

The nation had been deprived of the services of the Church during the time of the Commonwealth. The clergy sought refuge in exile, the fabrics of the Churches fell into decay, a generation grew up ignorant of the principles of Anglicanism. In spite of this persecution the spirit of Anglicanism survived amongst the faithful clergy, and laity, who at the Restoration acclaimed the return of the King, and Bishops.

Amongst those who returned at the Restoration were three outstanding ecclesiastics, who strove to revive

1. Parish Register
of Whitworth.

Anglicanism within the Diocese of Durham. This Diocese which must be differentiated from the Palatinate, was presided over by a Bishop, who also was Lord Lieutenant of the Palatinate. At the time of the Restoration it was sparsely populated, Newcastle being the only town of a considerable population. The coal industry stimulated the trade of the county, and the immigration of the Huguenots brought skill, and impetus to industrial development.

Cosin was appointed Bishop, and resumed the ancient privileges of the Palatinate which had been in abeyance during the rule of Cromwell. He was assisted in his work by Basire, and Granville who were appointed Archdeacons. These ecclesiastics were conversant with the needs of the Diocese, because of their former experience as incumbents. Many difficulties confronted them owing to the attitude of the Presbyterians, Intruders, and Romanists; in the northern parts of the Diocese conventicles were maintained, and seditious meetings

secretly convened. It was difficult to differentiate between the political, and religious factions because, often the zeal of the sectaries overflowed into sedition.

The Durham ecclesiastics met these problems by example, zeal, and a series of injunctions. They strove to restore order, and dignity by a series of visitations, firstly, to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, then to the Churchwardens, and sidesmen of the Parochial Churches. These ecclesiastics have left in their correspondence or notes, references to their policy, and activities. This policy may be summarised as :-

1. The Revival of Traditional Organisation.
2. The Revival of the Ministry.
3. The Restoration of the Churches.
4. The Revival of Synods.
5. The Revival of the Sacraments.
6. The Revival of Learning.

Cosin spent thought, and money upon the restoration of Auckland Chapel, which he hoped would inspire a like zeal in the clergy, and laity of the Diocese.

Granville employed the famous ¹ James Clement of Durham,

1. Arch. Ael.
part 46, XV11.
p. 293.

the designer of the oak choir stalls in the Cathedral, to design oak fittings for Easington Church. Basire, made his church at Egglecliffe worthy of the Anglican tradition. The result of this example was the restoration of many other churches within the Diocese.

In addition to the restoration of ecclesiastical buildings they laboured for the revival of the Prayer Book Offices, especially the Sacraments, to their former dignity. The correspondence of Granville concerning the Holy Communion, reveals the care with which he pursued his desire to revive the weekly communion Service in Cathedral Churches, and if possible, a monthly one in every considerable town, or country parish.

They also sought the revival of learning by the provision of a useful library at Durham, the careful placing of Deacons in their first curacy, and the institution of a monthly meeting of clergy and laity for the study of the Book of Common Prayer.

That these Durham ecclesiastics made an important

contribution to the revival of Anglicanism is illustrated not only in their correspondence and manuscripts, but also in the evidence of Sir Wm. Dugdale who wrote after his visitation to the county "that the Diocese had been brought to a very great degree of conformity".

The result of their work became apparent not only throughout the Diocese of Durham, where the parochial life was gradually restored, but also throughout the country where the Sacraments were again brought back to their former use and dignity.

The Durham ecclesiastics, Cosin, Basire, and Granville, built their Churchmanship around the Liturgy, and the revival of Anglicanism received its beginnings from their labours, no less than from their devotion.

Chapter 1.

The Background of the Period.

Ambrose Barnes in his Memoirs described the conditions prevailing in the country just before the Restoration, when he recorded "that it was not the barbarity of enemies, but the sinful animosities that brought the dreadful storm, there grew up a war of notions, and parties."¹

The years which followed the death of Charles 1. were shadowed by an accentuation of the forces of fanaticism. For the Civil War was a social war in which the contending parties divided on political and religious issues. It was a struggle between two elements in the country, a dying feudalism, and reformed Catholicism on the one hand, and a Puritan individualism, and Commercialism on the other.

Cromwell's victory at Naseby at first seemed to mean victory for Parliament, but very soon it was only too apparent that the country was in the hands of

1. Surtees Soc.50
p. 121.

a military despotism. So it remained till the death of Cromwell. In 1659 it had become the first object of every citizen to deliver the country from the domination of the soldiers. The Cavaliers, and Roundheads, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians, waived their privileges to unite in a firm union for the Restoration of the Laws of England. Anticipations of change were in the air, Cavalier and Puritan alike foresaw the coming of the King, and the timeserver who belonged to whatever party was likeliest to win, was equally alive to the advancing tide of feeling that was sweeping the country. Therefore, the old civil polity was by consent of the great parties, restored, the army disbanded, and the soldiers were quickly absorbed into the stream of civil life. Although this coalition had restored the King, the two parties which composed it were soon in conflict again.

Politically, the Restoration brought back the King, Parliament, and the Law, in place of the

Military dictatorship. In the ecclesiastical field it restored the Bishops, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Anglican attitude to religion in the place of militant puritanism.

During the Commonwealth, the Church of England was no longer recognized by the State. Its worship was illegal, its ministry deposed, and it was replaced by a fully established Presbyterian system. Those who would not take the Covenant and accept the new religious order, were deprived of their preferment. The Engagement offered in 1649 was not much more satisfactory to many of the Clergy. Calamy wrote "that the Moderate Church party, and the Presbyterians rejected it." The history of the Church during the years 1649 to 1660 reveals attempts to enforce either Presbyterianism, or Independency as the state religion. The ecclesiastical field was divided between men of the gown and men of the sword.

At the beginning of the Civil War in 1640 the Erastian Party in Parliament, led by John Selden, who preserved the instinct for a monarchy, had exercised

a-restraining influence over ecclesiastical affairs. Petitions from the clergy and the people poured in asking that grievances might be looked into. The Commons appointed a Grand Committee on Religion to report

- A. Concerning the decay of preaching;
- B. The Increase of Popery;
- C. Scandalous Ministers.

On the 11th day of December 1640, a petition from 15,000 people was presented against the continuance of Episcopacy. This was followed by the Ministers' Petition or Remonstrance, signed by 800 clergymen, and when this was read in the House of Commons on February 1st 1641, Digby said in his speech "that evils do not flow from the nature of the function of Episcopacy, but from the abuse of it." "If we destroyed Episcopacy "we should set up a Pope in each parish." Falkland, whose residence at Great Tew was known as the meeting place of distinguished clergy and laity, voted at first for the exclusion of Bishops

1. A.W. Shaw:
Hist. of the English Church
1640 - 1660.
p. 32.

from the House of Lords, but, when he found that the anti-episcopals were not satisfied, he changed his views, and voted against them. He argued for the maintenance of episcopacy, and could not think it possible that "the House of Commons should think fit to abolish upon a few days debate an order which has lasted most churches these 1600 years." My opinion is that "we should not uproot this ancient tree as dead as it appears till we have tried by this, or the like topping of the branches, the sap which was unable to feed the whole may not serve to make what is left both grow and flourish."¹ He believed in the antiquity and utility of Episcopacy as an order of Church government. Hampden, the radical reformer, realised the inconvenience of abolishing Episcopacy without any satisfying substitute, "a form of government which hath very well agreed with the constitution of our laws and the disposition of our people"²

Though the House was ready to criticise the out-works of episcopacy, yet when it came to take into

1. Tulloch.
Rational Theology and Christian
Philosophy in the 17th century,
II. p.140.-1

2. Ibid
p.156

consideration the essential part, it showed itself of another mind. Sir Edward Dering who had brought in the Bill without sufficiently considering, as he himself admits, its purpose, declared his conviction that "Bishops if not of apostolical institution were of apostolical permission."¹

There was a desire amongst some people to abolish Cathedral bodies, and to divert their revenues to other purposes. A committee was set up by the Lords, presided over by John Williams, Archbishop of York and Lord Keeper, who convened six meetings in Westminster College; these ended in no progress. The course of the Civil War being uncertain it was found necessary to adopt Scottish aid as the price of adopting the Scottish system. Although the Commons were driven into the arms of the Scots on 2nd day of November 1642, Parliament still resolved to control the reconstruction of the National Church.

The draft of the Covenant was received on the 26th day of August 1643, and Commissioners from Scotland

1. Perry
History of the Church of England
(2nd period) p.445.
(London 1881)

came to assist the Assembly of Divines. Two committees from the Assembly met together to introduce the Presbyterian system, which was opposed by the Erastian Lawyers, who had been nurtured on the traditional enmity of the Common to the Civil and Canon Law. Baillie writing on the 25th day of April 1645 "speaks of the difficulty with Erastian Lawyers, and the deep-rooted affection of the Englishman to the Church with her settled Liturgy." ¹ The controversy concerning the Sacrament ended in Parliament being the only Authority for the suspension of any person from that mystery. The result of the acceptance of the Covenant was the establishment of the Presbyterian system, but the House of Commons refused to allow an unlimited jurisdiction to the Eldership. This period of history was marked by the struggle for the mastery between two systems of religion, Presbyterianism and Independency. Evelyn commenting upon the situation under date of 29th May 1659, wrote "the nation was now in extreme confusion, and unsettled between the army and

1. A.W.Shaw
 History of the English Church
 1640 - 1660
 Vol.11. pp.338 -269.

and sectaries.¹"

Ambrose Barnes recorded in his Memoirs "that Religion had languished into a cold philosophy. Presbyter went lame of leg for want of power to compell."²

This system of Presbyterianism was of French origin, Calvinistic in doctrine, and in ecclesiastical polity was more fully developed in Scotland, and Geneva than in England. As far as it was ever established in England it reached its highest point under the Commonwealth. The system was founded upon the authority of the Kirk Session which governed the parish. Each Kirk Session sent one minister, and generally two to four elders to the meeting of the Presbytery, which had authority over a group of parishes. Next above the Presbytery was the Provincial Assembly, consisting of representatives from the Presbytery, but it is interesting to note that this only came into existence in London, and Lancashire, where in the latter a dispute concerning John Tilsley, of Dean Church, divided the presbytery.

The final court of the system was the National Assembly

1. Memoirs illustrative of the life and writings of John Evelyn, Esq. F.R.S. London 1871. p.261.

2. Surtees Soc. 50 p. 112.

but it never met. This system of strict discipline was derived from the Institutes of John Calvin, which was introduced into Scotland by John Knox, and ably advocated by Thomas Cartwright, sometime Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, Regius Professor, and later Master of Warwick Hospital, in his work "the full and plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline." Although Presbyterianism had been established by Law under the Commonwealth it never took root in England; and the Presbyterial discipline, and synodical government were very partially introduced.

In certain parts only of England did it come into operation; it was most influential in Essex, and London, and the records of the London Provincial Assembly are quoted in Drysdale's History of Presbyterianism. In most counties it hardly even existed even in name. The first Presbytery met at the Church of St. Mary Hill, on 18th day of November 1646. Baxter commenting upon the outlook for Presbyterianism said that "though Presbytery took root in Scotland yet it was a stranger here."¹

1. Religinae Baxterianae
edit. by M. Sylvester
London 1696. p.146

Although near to the border of Scotland, no encouragement or effort was given to introduce the system into the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, where associations were formed on the model of Baxter's scheme as set forth in his agreement for Church Order, and Concord written in 1653.¹

These associations embraced men of different parties, and the meetings were called Assemblies of Associated Ministers. The ministers of the Churches were then of divers opinions about Church Government. Some were for a more reformed episcopacy described by Bucer. Some were for national, and classis government by Presbyters only. Some were for Diocesans in a higher strain as subject to a foreign jurisdiction. Some were for purity of ministers and some were for each congregation to be governed by a major vote of the people. Among all these the foreigners were utterly unreconcilable. When it came to closest practice Prelatists and Brownists kept off, so but few of the rigid Presbyterians, and Independents joined the scheme. The main body of the association

1. Drysdale
Hist. of the Presbyterians
in England. London 1889
p. 365.

were men that thought the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent had each of them some good in which they excelled the other, and each some mistakes, and to select out of all three the best part and leave the worst, was the most desirable and ancient form of government.

Baxter's great desire was to vitalise the popular religion, and with this end in view he inaugurated a scheme which would bring together episcopalian clergymen, presbyterian ministers, independent pastors, along with godly representatives, with a view of combining as far as possible the episcopal presidency, presbyterian associateship and independent self rule, in a federated, rather than an organic oneness, which the latter loose times did not admit of. The scheme was worked through a parochial or monthly meeting. In Kidderminster a parochial meeting was constituted according to Baxter's scheme. It consisted of

1. Three J.P.s
2. Three or four ministers.

3. Three or four seasons.

4. Twenty godly men of the parish.

who met as trustees of the Church, and meet annually. If the meeting failed in its object the offender was brought before the joint monthly meeting, and if still obdurate, to be admonished by the Pastor.

The Articles of Agreement of the Associated Ministers and Churches of these counties was drawn up by Dr.

Richard Gilpin, Rector of Greystokes, who declined the Bishopric of Carlisle, and became the first Presbyterian minister in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

The difficulties with which the Presbyterian and Scottish party had to contend were insurmountable. The Independents declared that Presbytery would prove as arbitrary, or tyrannical as Prelacy. The Erastians, supported by Selden, and Whitelocke, opposed Presbyterianism which never succeeded, but rather grew weaker. At last the Assembly began to melt away without any formal dissolution, and the system came to an end. Within the Diocese of Durham the Presbytery met on the 13th day of November 1646. There were six Presbyteries in the Archdeaconry of Durham, namely Durham, Darlington, Chester

Basington, Stockton and Staindrop. The number of ministers available was twenty-two. In Northumberland there were only ministers enough to provide one Presbytery. These were drawn from Stamfordham, Morpeth, Longhorsely, Eglington, Wardall, Whalton, Ovingham, Belsay.

Presbyterianism, and Independency could not combine because their systems were mutually exclusive. "They were like Esau, and Jacob struggling in the womb." The rigid Presbyterians of the County Palatine of Lancashire in their book Harmonious Consent wrote against Toleration, whilst Owen, the Independent affirmed that men should have no liberty to propagate their opinions. After the triumph of the Parliamentary Army came the rule of the sects. Independency became the supreme system in the State, and the country was destined to be prey of religious anarchy for many years longer. When the Independents took control many Presbyterians turned Loyalist.

Burrage in his book Early English Dissenters has

shown "that the early Congregationalists were merely a type of puritan, and not separatists from the Church of England."¹ Although as time went on they approximated more and more to the Churches of the Separation. The beginnings of the system of Independency had its origin in the teaching of Robert Brown about the year 1580, who later returned to the Anglican Church, and became Rector of Thorpe Achurch.² The leadership of his congregational church passed to Henry Barrow, who established a different form of government. John Canne in his book A necessity of Separation from the Church of England,³ contains the fullest statement of Barrowist principles formulated at that period. The name Independent seems to have been used first by Henry Jacomb in 1609,⁴ and gradually the distinction between the various groups of congregations were designated by the word Independents, or Congregationalists. The Barrowists argued the necessity of complete separation, but the Independents sought nonconformity within the Church of England itself.

During the years immediately preceding the Restor-

1. C. Burrage
The Early English Dissenters,
p. 281. C.U.P. 1922.
3. T. Lyon, Theory of Religious
Liberty in England.
p. 102. C.U.P. 1937.

2. C. E. Whiting
Studies in English Puritanism
pp. 68, 69. London 1931.

4. op. cit. p. 77

ation, many of these ministers were in charge of parishes, but they were only concerned with their own congregation, and could not be interfered with by any authority as long as their principles gave no offence to the Government. They claimed that each congregation had the right to order all its business, both religious, and secular, and to choose its own ministers. John Robinson in his pamphlet A Justification of separation from the Church of England described Independency as the religion of Individualism, and so it seems to have been when Evelyn in his diary under the date of 3rd August 1656, noted that "the Parish Churches were filled with Sectaries of all sorts, blasphemers, and ignorant mechanics usurping the pulpits." ¹ The position now was that there was no ecclesiastical organisation at all except in London, and a few counties where Presbyterianism had been set up.

The difference between Presbyterians, and Independents ~~was~~ based upon the respective positions of

1. Evelyn.
op. cit.
p.250.

the profane, and formal persecutors on the one hand,¹
and the fanatic dividing sectary on the other hand."

During this period attempts were made to force upon the Church of England, great political and doctrinal changes. The House of Commons, exasperated by the way changes had been forced on the country by Laud, established on 6th November 1640 a Grand Committee for Religion which resulted in severe measures against individual clergy. Cromwell sought the establishment of a federated religious organisation, which should be puritan, and this he implemented in an ordinance excluding both Churchmen and Romanists. So severe were the measures of repression that the ejected clergy were deprived of maintenance, others were imprisoned in ships, many sought refuge in exile, and not a few retired to the obscurity of private life. The Verney letters tell us of the sad straits to which John Cosin, and Morley, Bishop of Worcester, were put to in the low countries. Sancroft sought retirement in his own estate at Fressingfield, whilst Isaac Basire, of Eggescliffe, was compelled to leave his wife in poverty,

1. Autobiography of Richard Baxter
p.90. Ed.

and seek freedom abroad where he took three pupils, one of whom was the son of the Lambton's of Chester-le-Street. Later he supplemented his income by holding the Chair of Divinity in the University at Weissemburg.

Cromwell by his edict of 24th November, 1655, declared and ordered, that "no person from 1st January 1656 keep in their houses or families, as chaplains or schoolmasters for the education of their children, and sequestered or ejected minister - or use the book of Common Prayer."¹ Dr. Gauden in his Petitionary Remonstrance, petitioned the Protector concerning the miseries he had inflicted upon the clergy and their families, who were denied their lawful claim to the fifths of the benefice.

Evelyn gives a picture of the circumstances of the Anglican Church in those days when he wrote in his Diary, at the end of December 1655, "I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon on preaching this being the last day after which Cromwell's

1. Gee & Hardy.
Documents Illustrative of
English Church History.
p.582. London 1921.

proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach, or administer Sacraments, teach school, etc., on pain of imprisonment, or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life, I had seen, or the Church of England herself, since the Reformation to the great rejoicing both of Papist and Presbyter. So pathetic was the discourse, that it drew many tears from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family, received the communion. God make me thankful who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as of our bodies. The Lord Jesus pity our distressed Church, and bring back the captivity of Zion." ¹

Although these were times of oppression for the Church there were many who were loyal to their convictions. Cosin wrote to Sancroft in February 1656 thus: "I am glad to hear how firm, and unmoved you continue your own standing in the midst of these great and violent storms that are now raised against the

1. Evelyn Diary.
pp. 245-246.

Church of England, which for my part, notwithstanding the outward glory, and dress that she had, be in these evil days taken from her, yet I honour, and reverence above all other Churches in the world."¹

The Laity who were loyal to the Church suffered much persecution, and every inconvenience. Lady Falkland, of Great Tew, was warned for saying the Prayers of the Church in her own house. Many of the people were compelled like Anne Murray², to go in secret and receive the Holy Communion. Evelyn records how he and his family often received the Holy Communion in their own house, to be free from the law.

Marriages were by an ordinance dated 24th November 1655 only declared to be legal if solemnised before a magistrate.³ It is recorded of Sir James and Lady Halkett, that they were united in marriage by a Justice of the peace, but she said "if itt had not beene done more solemnly afterwards by a minister, I would not have believed it lawfully done."⁴

The spirit of toleration was lacking both in the

Burtees Soc. 52
1. Correspondence of
John Cosin. p.287.

2. Godfrey
Home Life under
the Stuarts.
p.106 London 1925

3. Gee & Hardy
op.cit. p.583

4. Godfrey
op.cit. p.170.

Presbyterian, and Independent systems. Milton in his famous epigram ascribed to the Presbyterians a design "to ride us with a classic hierarchy", which concludes with the line "New Presbyter is but old priest writ large." Even Owen, Vice-Chancellor to Cromwell, and leader of the Independents was equally intolerant towards others. One of the outstanding features of this period was the growth of sectaries from a negligible handful, to a body strong enough to control the nation. William Prynne, in his pamphlet Puritan Martyrs, condemns sectarian anarchy as individualism run rampant. Ambrose Barnes, a nonconformist of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, wrote of these sectaries, that "there is so little of the true spirit of religion amongst this breed of dissenters."¹ The chief force which worked for toleration was perhaps in the long run, not the interaction of the Presbyterian and Independent Thinkers, nor the views of Churchmen, but the determined Erastianism of the Long Parliament, the affection of the Englishman to the Church, and the

1. Surtees Soc.50
p.241.

tyranny of the Army.

In addition to these Ecclesiastical systems, the Church of England had to encounter opposition at the hands of Rome, which found expression in many controversies. Throughout the 17th Century the Recusants caused much trouble, and in the Diocese of Durham Masses were held privately in many houses, especially in Northumberland, where they served the Papist gentry. Archdeacon Singleton in the notes of his Minute book speaks of the influence of Romanism in the Diocese, and cites the case of one "a Mr. Thornton of Neather-Witton a seducer, and (as it is said) will let no land unless they revolt to popery." He also records the names of Mr. Collingwood, and Mr. Clavering of Callile, and describes them as seducing papists who keep priests in their family. Describing the difficulties in the Deanery of Newcastle he wrote "Seducers are so many that they are hard to be found out. The most active, and visible are for popery, viz. Thomas Riddell of ffenham, Esqr, Robert Lawson

of New C(astle), merchant, John ffenwicke sometimes¹
at Bedlington, sometimes at N(ew) C(astle)".

Ambrose Barnes describes these Catholics "as those
who hate, and disaffect others whom God loves most."²

The seventeenth century was an age of vast erudition,
Amongst the clergy were many who became known for their contribution to the cause of learning. No period in the history of the Church was so fruitful in great divines as the Restoration. The death of Henry Hammond, the great pillar of the English Church during the troubles, occurred just before the Restoration. But though he died prematurely his writings survived. His Practical Catechism was an inspiration to every loyal subject, and his Paroensis penned as he tells us "first in tears and then in ink" drew lessons from the trials of the Church. Hammond's friend, Robert Sanderson, was an admirable writer of English but he was less liberal in his views. It was Hammond who succeeded in winning Sanderson from

1. Arch. Aeliana
N.S. 17
pp. 244. 262

2. Surtees Soc. 50
p. 244

Calvinistic opinions. As a writer on casuistry Sanderson occupies a high place among the English Divines. In Jeremy Taylor we have the excellencies of a Sanderson united to an individualism full of eloquence. He is more learned, and more convincing than most, of his time. Among his works The Liberty of Prophesying and his last work The Dissuasive from Popery are able works. As a casuist we see his thoughts immortalised in the Ductor Dubitantium. Isaac Barrow the tutor of Newton "was not so extensively learned as Taylor", says Hallam, "but inferior even in that respect to hardly anyone else."¹ Around these distinguished divines many more can be grouped. At Oxford, the wit, Robert South was famed for his sermons, Bishop Gunning noted by Baxter for his vast learning, Bishop Pearson of Chester, the author of the classic exposition of the Creed, and Cosin, Bishop of Durham was deeply interested in Liturgical studies. These Caroline Divines completed the work begun by Montagu, and Laud, and excluded Calvinism from the Theology of the

1. Hallam
Literature of Europe
Vol. III p. 269
London 1843.

Church of England. Bramhall, Thorndike, and Stillington elaborated the doctrine of the unity of the Holy Catholic Church, and pleaded not only for a wider tolerance, but also for a unity of discipline under episcopal order.

The new policy in Church, and State had been set out by Richard Hooker, in his Ecclesiastical Polity, who affirmed that the Church was the nation viewed from the spiritual point of view, and that all revealed, or natural truth is only possible by Scripture, tradition, and reason. The Caroline Divines based their policy upon the teaching of Richard Hooker. These ecclesiastics lived in an age when learning was beginning to be sponsored by Royal Patronage, when in many of the ancient manor houses, groups of people interested in spiritual, and educational matters often met together.

At Great Tew, Lucius Cary, the second Lord Falkland, gathered to his home a circle of friends of whom Hammond, Suckling, Sheldon, Morley, Sir Kenelm Digby, and Wat Montague were the chief. It was here that

William Chillingworth, who had returned to the Church of England, through the influence of Laud, composed his work The Bible the Religion of the Protestants.

The High Church Party is a genuine development of the Church of England, and no school of thought has been adorned by a series of higher, or more beautiful characters. It is the special line of thought by which the present Church connects itself with the ancient Catholic hierarchy. They appealed to the early fathers for their authority. Antiquity, was therefore a distinct note of the Church of England. Tulloch in his Rational Theology, affirms that the High Church Party grounded their teaching upon the golden patristic age. They fought their battles with reason, and scripture, and were never destitute of intellectual breadth. They sought to restore uniformity, and dignity of public worship. These High Church Divines of the Seventeenth century showed an inclination to liberalism and "set out to restore the grandeur of Christian truth, and teach it anew to their countrymen." Their import-

1. G.W.O. Addleshaw
The High Church Tradition
p. 25. London 1941.

ance in the history of Anglicanism was immense. In the opinion of Thorndike they were striving to maintain two things necessary to the life of the Church, the episcopacy and the vernacular Liturgy, in the face of so many extravagances. Most of their teaching was enshrined in their sermons, and meditations, Lady Masham affirmed that "there cannot anywhere be found so good a collection of discourses on moral subjects as can be found in the sermons of the English Divines, and other treatises of that nature written by the divines of our own Church."¹

Anglican apologists were able to assimilate materials from foreigners of many persuasions, and the rise of toleration was facilitated not only by the growth of the sects, but by the traditional intermediacy of the Established Church. It extended patronage to the Earliest of our Rational Theologians, who came out of the bosom of the Party. Their idea of the Church was moral rather than ritual, and their interest was mostly in philosophical problems.

1. Tulloch
Rational Theology.
Vol. 11. p. 227
London 1872.

Simon Patrick, later Bishop of Ely, has written a pamphlet to describe "this new set of Latitude men as a convenient name to reproach a man that you owe a spite to."

This Latitudinarian School of thought was famous for men who left on record many useful writings. They were a class of divines who regarded the whole of the matters under dispute from an entirely different point of view. Benjamin Whichcote, Cudworth, John Smith, and Glanville are names connected with the historical position of the school. They were deeply attached to the Church of England, and Patrick wrote that "they did always abhor both the usurpation of the Scottish Presbytery, and the confusion of Independent anarchy." They dated the origin of their opinions to John Hales, and Chillingworth before the troubles, and soon after the Restoration they acquired considerable prestige. In these English Latitudinarians the spirit of charity joined with a good measure of the spirit of science. Baxter described them as

Platonists, and Cartesians, "many of them Arminians with some additions, having more charitable thoughts than others of the salvation of heathens and infidels."¹

Hales, at one time Fellow of Merton, and Greek Professor, in his tract concerning schism wrote "the reasonable man will be well able to judge when a necessary separation becomes a schism, because violent controversies, and separations in Christendom, are always the result of unreasonable, and uncharitable temper."² These Cambridge Platonists believed that the Church had power to intend our faith. By the Restoration the temper of the people was ready for a return of the Monarchy, and the Church. Baxter, in his autobiography writes "that most of them of my acquaintance are for the lawfulness of some stated episcopacy,"³ and there was a strong body of opinion in favour of Kingship amongst the moderate sections of the various parties. Macaulay in his History of England gives a vivid description of the events connected with the King's return "the Lords repaired to the Hall, from which they had, during more than eleven years been excluded by force.

1. Autobiography
of R. Baxter.
p. 177 ED.

2. Tulloch
Rational Theology.
passim.

3. Autobiography
of R. Baxter
p. 180

Both Houses instantly invited the King to return, he was proclaimed with pomp never known before, a gallant fleet conveyed him from Holland to the coast of Kent, and the Cliffs of Dover were covered with people."

The whole road from Rochester was bordered by booths, and tents, and looked like an interminable fair.¹

Flags were flying, and bells were ringing, wine, and ale were plentiful. The people were rejoicing at the return of the King in whom they placed their hopes of peace, and order. Evelyn in his diary under 29th day of May wrote "this day His Majestie Charles 11. came to London, after a sad, and long exile, and calamitous suffering both of King, and Church, ---- I stood in the Strand, and blessed God, but it was the Lord's doing."²

Immediately after the return of Charles 11. to England on May 29th 1660, the Liturgy was restored to the Royal Chapel, and a few days afterwards the two houses of the Convention Parliament ordered that daily prayers be read before them according to ancient prac-

1. Macaulay
History of England.
1. p. 74. London 1889.

2. Evelyn
Diary
p. 265. & 264.

tice. The revival of the liturgy in the Parish Churches was gradual, the Presbyterian clergy being still largely in possession, and the Directory of Public Worship legal.

As early as the 8th of July 1660, Evelyn speaking of a sermon he heard at Church observed "from henceforth was the Liturgy publicly used in our Churches from whence it had been for so many years banished."¹

Pepys also records the restoration of the Liturgy in his Diary under the date of the 4th of November 1660. "In the morning, to our own Church where Mr. Mills did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer by saying "Glory be to the Father" after he had read the two Psalms, ----- but the people had been so little used to it that they could not tell what to answer."²

A further step in the Restoration was the consecration of Bishops in Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey on the twentyeighth day of October 1660. On the 23rd day of

1. Evelyn
Diary
p.267.

2. Pepys
Diary
p.105. 4D.1927
Vol. 1.

April 1661, the King was crowned in Westminster Abbey, with the customary ancient ceremonies so fully described in Evelyn's Diary. The old puritan grievances still persisted, and frequent meetings were held with a view to a settlement. At last, the Presbyterians in London agreed upon a paper drawn up by Reynolds, Worth, and Calamy, presented together with Usher's Reduction of Episcopacy to the King.

On the 25th day of March 1661, a royal warrant was issued for a conference to be held at the Savoy Palace on the Strand. The Savoy Conference was convened by royal warrant between twelve Episcopalian Divines, and twelve Presbyterian Divines to continue for four calendar months. The conference began on the 15th day of April, and when the 25th day of July arrived without result, the conference ended abruptly. The expectations, ^{which} the Presbyterians had formed of a meeting to be conducted on terms of perfect equality with Episcopal clergy were not warranted. The clergy, the liturgy, and ceremonies of the Church were in legal

possession, and could not be ejected, or disturbed, or fettered. The case was simply one of Plaintiff, and Defendant, as the Object of the Commission was merely to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient liturgies which have been used ~~in the~~ in the Church in the primitive and purest times." "This was the view taken by the clergy themselves, and in this they were supported by the chief ministers of the Crown, and by all advocates of ancient rights and established order." Therefore, instead of a consultation the conference had taken the form of a contention. Sheldon, the Bishop of London, asked the Presbyterians to put their objections in writing as nothing could be done until the conference knew of their exceptions. Whereupon the Presbyterians drew up a paper edited by Calamy, and Reynolds, who later became Bishop of Norwich, and presented it, together with Archbishop Usher's scheme of a modified episcopacy. In answer, the Bishops drew up a paper, in which they pronounced "the offices in

1. Cardwell

A History of Conferences and other Proceedings connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer. Oxford 1841
p.258

2. Cardwell. p.254

the Common Prayer Book altogether unexceptionable, and conceive the book cannot be too strictly enjoined, especially when ministers are not denied the exercise of their gifts in praying before and after the sermon.¹"

Baxter, who took an independent line, desired the conference to draw up an entirely new liturgy, "shewing no respect either to primitive models, or the long established prepossessions of the people,"² and mentioned this in his Petition for Peace. His idea was that the new liturgy should be adopted as well as the old, and both of them used at the discretion of the minister.

The attitude of the Bishops is clear in the answer to the exception of the Ministers. "For preserving the Church's peace we know no better, nor more efficacious way than our set liturgy, the experience of the former, and the latter times hath taught us when the Liturgy was duly observed we lived in peace"³. "It was the wisdom of our Reformers to draw up such a liturgy as neither Romanist, nor Protestant could justly except against."⁴ "We judge that if the liturgy should be altered as is

1. Ibid.
p.254.

2. Ibid.
pp.260, 261.

3. Ibid
p.336

4. Ibid.
p.338

there required not only a multitude, but the gener--
 ality of the soberest, and most loyal children of
 the Church of England would be justly offended."¹

The Bishops were strong enough to employ the language
 of authority, thereby ruling the procedure of the
 conference. Baxter describing the Anglican Divines,
 wrote in his autobiography "Cosin, HENCHMAN, and Dr.
 GUNNING being all that showed any of that skill among
 us considerable in which they are all three of very
 laudable understandings, and better than any other of
 either parties that I met with."² This resulted in
 the Presbyterians asking for a personal conference
 which was held between Dr. Gunning, Pearson, Sparrow,
 later Bishop of Exeter, representing the Anglicans
 on the one hand, and Jacob, Bates, and Baxter repres-
 enting the Presbyterians on the other. At this point
 Cosin produced a paper as from some considerable person
 with certain suggestions, with a view to effecting an
 arrangement, that the sore may noe more rankle under
 debate, nor advantage be of those that love division,

1. Ibid
 pp.336,337.

2. Autobiography of
 R. Baxter. ED.
 p.168.

but this did not prove acceptable to the other side, and, so says Bishop Kennet "ended this conference without union, or accomodation," the Presbyterian Divines depending too much on the encouragement they received from the King and his chief ministers, on the assurances given them by some of the leading members of Parliament, and on the affections of the people in all which they were mistaken, as well as in the merit of their cause.¹"

When the conference ended without result the first Convocation session thereafter, the 21st day of November 1661, was given authority to proceed with the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. This convocation directed the Bishops of Durham (Cosin), Ely (Wren), Oxford (Skinner), Rochester (Warner), Salisbury (Henchman), Worcester (Morley), Lincoln (Sanderson), and Gloucester (Nicholson), to proceed without loss of time in preparing a revision.² The whole work was completed by 20th December 1661, and subscribed to by both houses of convocation in

1. Cardwell
History of Conferences
pp. 266, 267.

2. Ibid.
p. 370

both provinces. William Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was directed to superintend the printing of the book, and Mr. Scattergood and Mr. Dillingham to correct the proofs. A letter written by Cosin's chaplain to Sancroft, on 16th June 1662, records that "My Lord desires at all times to know particularly what progress you make in the Common Prayer Book."¹ This revision was undertaken entirely by Convocation, and as is noted in their concluding preface "that it hath been by Convocation of both provinces with great diligence examined and approved." The Lord Chancellor, in his own name, and in behalf of the lords in general presented their thanks to both houses of Convocation "for the great care and industry they had shewn in revising the Book of Common Prayer."²

The Restoration produced a great outburst of Anglican enthusiasm. New life was breathed into the Church of England, and the Church dis-

1. Correspondence of
John Cosin
Vol. 11. p. 8. footnote
cf. Osmond 199.

2. Cardwell
Conferences
pp. 373, 374.

played a vitality hitherto unsuspected; a series of apologies made their appearance. The people were tired of the rule of militant puritanism which had inspired fear, and hatred. Anthony A. Wood, in his Diary under the date of the 29th of May 1660, wrote, "The world of England was perfectly mad." "They were freed from the chains of darkness, and confusion, which the Presbyterians and Fanatics had brought upon them."¹ These Puritans when they were supreme drew into their ranks men of worldly ambition, but as soon as the Restoration had made it safe for them to avow enmity to the party which had been so long dominant, a general outcry against Puritanism rose from every corner of the Kingdom. Basire wrote in his letter to the Ministers of the Reformed French Church, that "during the agitations of the State, the Church as the needle, kept steadily upon the point of rest which is God and King."² Macaulay, commenting upon the revival of the Church wrote "that all her traditions were monarchial; Loyalty and Moderation

1. Elizabeth Doyley
English Diaries
p.52. London 1931.

2. Isaac Basire
History of the English and
Scotch Presbyteries 1659.
(attributed by Ward to Basire)

were the peculiar badges which distinguished them at once from Calvinists and Papists.¹ The Prayer Book of 1662 secured the Anglican position.

The Restoration was the occasion of the revival of Anglicanism, the Maypole, and the festivals of the Calendar. Evelyn noted in his Diary under the date of 25th November 1660 "Dr. Rainbow preached before the King on 2nd Chapter of St.Luke v.14, of the glory given to God for all his mercies, especially for restoring the Church and Government; now the service was performed with music, voices etc. as formerly"². Bishop Cosin noted in his correspondence that the people flocked to confirmations, not having seen that rite administered. Writing to Sancroft on the 17th day of September 1661 he said "Upon Sunday last I had a solemne confirmation, with a sermon to that end before it; and yesterday I had another; for the company was too great to goe through them all in one day"³. Many of them had been hindered by restraint which the late power "had putt to that publick worship

1. Macaulay
History of England.
Vol.1. p.29.

2. Evelyn
op.cit.
p.269.

3. Surtees Soc.55
p.31.

so long owned and continued in the Church of England." ¹
 In such an age of expectancy the Restoration afforded an opportunity for the Caroline Divines to re-establish the foundations of the Church by discipline, and the Liturgy. This they set out to accomplish, but the task, though long and difficult, met with good success. Amongst the most prominent of these ecclesiastics were Cosin, Bishop of Durham, and his Archdeacons, Basire and Granville.

John Cosin was a man of varied experience who was skilled in the Liturgy, and well read in the Fathers, and Councils. Also he had shown a deep interest in the furnishing and refurnishing of churches under his care. An excellent illustration of his work is to be seen in the furnishings of Brancepeth Parish Church.

Isaac Basire, the Archdeacon of Northumberland, was a priest who had realised the need for a larger union with the Churches of the Levant, and a deeper understanding between these Churches, and the Church of England. He also laboured to restore the dignity, and

¹/₂ E. Godfrey
 Home Life under the Stuarts.
 p.106.

grandeur of the liturgy of the Church which had been so sadly neglected. These ecclesiastics had suffered exile, and maintained the tradition of the Anglican Church in times of anarchy.

Dennis Granville, appointed by Cosin Archdeacon of Durham, was the youngest of the trio, and devoted to the Church of England. He strove to restore the Holy Communion to more pre-eminence in the services of the Cathedral and Churches within the Diocese, and realm.

These ecclesiastics who resumed their power and preferments, at the Restoration, laboured with diligence to restore Anglicanism within the Diocese of Durham. They had many difficulties to face, because to their ecclesiastical responsibilities were added secular duties, and the counties of Northumberland and Durham were full of grave troubles. Archdeacon Basire in his notebook observes that "it will take up a whole man to reforme parsons, and to repair churches."¹

Cosin, and his Archdeacons, were determined to

1. W.H.Darnell.
Correspondence of Isaac Basire
with Memoirs of his life. London 1831.
p.207.

restore dignity, law, and order to the Church within the Diocese, and they began the task immediately they had been installed in their office.

Chapter 2.

The Social and Economic Position
in the Diocese.

The condition of the Diocese during the twenty years preceding the Restoration was distressing. A letter addressed "to the right worpll the maister, wardens, and assistants of the Trinity House Deptford under the hand of six shipowners dated 15th ffeb 1644 contains a description of the state of trade "There is" they wrote "no probabilité¹ of Trade like to what hath been in years past". The statement in this letter as to the stagnation of trade is fully confirmed by the records of ships cleared from the Tyne in 1644. There was much poverty throughout the land, and especially within the Palatinste, where property as well as stock were plundered by Bedlamers of freebooters who hid among the hills. Between Carlisle, and Newcastle often there was no population for as far as twenty miles distant. There were a few small towns eight market towns, and some industrial centres, but Newcastle was the most considerable town with a pop-

1. Arch.Ael.
N.S. Vol.21.
p.241.

ulation of 18,000. Sunderland¹ was the most prosperous town on the North-east coast because it was in sympathy with the Parliamentary forces who made it the centre for their organisation.

Agricultural pursuits were almost negligible, five hundred ploughs had been laid low, and corn had to be brought from Newcastle. The people could neither pay their landlords, nor sow the ground - out of 8,000 acres only eight score were tilled, and the tenants were too poor to meet their liabilities. The corn mills of Wolviston, and Wynyard, before the Civil War brought in a rent of £42, but in 1644 paid only £28. Most of the tenants holding land from the Dean and Chapter could not pay their dues, and were often compelled to leave their farms. Most of these drifted into the towns where often 4 or 5 families lived under one roof. Poverty, and irreligion were greater in Durham than elsewhere. The county committee reported to the central committee in London in 1647 that no murderers, or robbers had

1. Arch. Ael.
Vol. 21.
p. 241.

been punished because no assizes were held. The sufferings of the county just prior to the Restoration were heavier than those of any other, and no reparations were made. A rate of 2d. in the £ throughout the county, to relieve the distress in Gateshead, South Shields and Whickham, was levied at this time. So great was the distress that at Pitlington an experiment was made to set the poor in work. This was made possible by the establishment of a fund known as the "stock of the Poor" managed at first by the Churchwardens, then by Overseers and Trustees. Macaulay in his History of England records that the poor rate at this time was computed at near £700,000¹.

The Restoration was a period of transition. The processes of industry, its scale and its local distribution, were changing. There was also going on a change in human relationships, and this aspect of industry assumed greater importance at this time. The use of capitalism meant a change in the industrial

1. Macaulay
History of England (op.cit) and Surtees Soc. 55
Vol.1. p.206 p.322

also John Sykes Records 1833 under date Sept. 27th 1645.

function of the individual man. The Gilds which primarily served the interests of their own members rather than the outside world, often stood for town against the country, sometimes for one craft against another. When the nation became an economic unit something of the old system still persisted.

Membership of the gild or corporation meant a guarantee of work, and the preservation of a craft; a long apprenticeship and a fixed remuneration was insisted upon by the employer.

In the 17th century the discontented journeyman was one clear cause for disturbance. Most of these workmen we may suppose to have been ignorant, content with a bare subsistence. Workmen of more serious inclination turned to religion.

The Civil War delayed progress and at the Restoration new methods in agriculture and industry began to be introduced. The draining and enclosing of land helped forward the work of agriculture. Markham and others studied the rotation of crops; the values of

manures and limes. Gradually stock improved, the weight of the fleece of the sheep had also increased quite four times, a considerable quantity of corn was exported, and the British farmer was protected by the corn laws.¹ The Restoration legislature gradually evolved a definite Corn Law policy in 1660 which imposed 2s. per quarter duty, on imported wheat if it did not exceed 44/- . These rates were increased by the Act of 1670.

At the Restoration trade began to increase throughout the country, and especially in the Diocese of Durham, where Sunderland was the only prosperous town.² This beginning of the expansion of trade was due to the development of the iron and coal trade. That ironworks existed in the early part of the 17th century appears from a curious tract written in 1629 entitled "a relation of some abuses committed against the Commonwealth composed especially for the Co. of Durham". The author A.L. instances the destruction of timber - one man near Durham brought down 30,000

1. H.de Gibbons
Industrial History
of England. London 1908.
p.114.

2. The Company of Hostmen
of Newcastle.
Surtees Soc. 1901
p. XXXIV.

oaks in his lifetime. Waller in his History of Northumberland 1769 mentions an ironworks at Lee¹ Hall Bellingham, under management of a Mr. Wood. Dud Dudley, son of Earl Dudley, began to make use of sea, and pit coal for smelting iron ore, and of making the same into cast iron bars, in furnaces with bellows. Dudley sold this cast iron at £12 per ton and made a good profit out of it. However, it was only comparatively significant for before the close of the century, it was calculated that 180,000 tons of iron were produced in England yearly, and Defoe could write "that citizens live better in England than the Masters in foreign nations can."²

The Prosperity of the County of Durham seems to have focussed itself in Sunderland owing to the pronounced Parliamentary bias of that town. Within the Diocese of Durham the iron trade began to flourish by the establishment of iron works at Winlaton,³ Blackhall, Swalwell, Beamish, Lumley, Tanfield, Low Team and Gateshead. Ambrose Crowley first commenced iron

1. Industrial Resources of Tyne Wear & Tees. Newcastle 1864. p.83.
2. D. Defoe Review 14th April 1705.
3. Victoria Industrial Hist: of the County Palatine of Durham Vol.2. pp.281, 282.

works at Sunderland in 1680, but owing to the lack of protection for his foreign workmen removed to Winlaton in 1690. He was the original of Addison's Sir John Anvil in the Spectator of 12th February 1712. The Swalwell hopping song is closely connected with his undertakings -

"That days Hawks blacks may rue
That get money a verra fair clanker O
Can they do ouse wi' Crowley's crew
Freu a needle tiv an anchor O."

Crowley attributed his success to Sir W. Bowes. At one time Winlaton was a deserted village but Crowley's works brought prosperity, and 1500 inhabitants. In 1863 Messrs. Raine and Company bought the ironworks. William Penn came to Winlaton to consult the best authorities concerning the working of iron in Pennsylvania.¹ Bishop Cosin² himself was interested in one of these iron works which was under the direction of Mr. John Hodshon. A record of the accounts of the firm for the year 1663-4 is preserved in the Mickleyon Manuscripts. Most of the ironstone used was taken from Hunwicke Moore, and the cord of wood drawn out of the Bedburne and Birtley

1. Ibid.
282.

2. Surtees Soc. 55
p.318.

forests.^{A.} Bishop Langley in the year 1409 ran a forge at Birkenott juxta Bedbourne, which implied that this place was favourable to the revival of the iron trade. The expansion of the iron trade was due to the revival of the coal industry. The coal trade prospered during the 17th century. Within the Diocese of Durham there was a combination of thousands of miners, and keelmen (who were Scotchmen) around the river Tyne, where much coal was won and transported to the open coast near the village of Collier Cots, now known as Cullercoats.¹ This aroused the jealousy of the Hostmen of Newcastle to whom Queen Elizabeth had granted a charter in 1600.² Charles I. had also given the monopoly of the sale of Newcastle coal to Sir T. Tempest to sell in London at prices of 17 shillings during the summer and 19 shillings in the winter. In 1675 Charles II. tried to obtain a monopoly of the Coal trade, and he sent Lord Widdrington to enquire whether the Hostmen would supply him with a yearly vent of coals. The Hostmen after con-

1. Surtees Soc. 105
XXXV.

2. Ibid.
XXXII.

A. Special note. Timber from Chopwell Woods used to build "Royal Sovereign" - model in Greenwich Hospital,

sidering the matter resolved to propose to his Lordship to furnish the King with 567,000 tons upon security at 11s. per chaldron. "Either the offer was unacceptable, or the difficulty of establishing a royal monopoly was too great, as nothing further was heard of the matter." On the south side of the Tyne, the Grand lease was vested in the corporation of Newcastle, but certain portions of the Manors of Whickham were retained in the possession of the Crown. Gardiner, himself a victim of the monopoly held by Newcastle Hostmen, in his book "England's Grievance Discovered", said that the lease was worth £50,000 a year. The Grand Lease expired in 1681 or 1682, when the Manors reverted to the See of Durham, the reversion of which had already been granted by Bishop Cosin to his son-in-law, Sir Gilbert Gerrard.

The 17th century was a disturbed period for the Tyne owing to the tough legal battles between the Dean and Chapter of Durham and the Priors of Tynemouth. In the year 1657 many poor people starved to

1. Surtees Soc. 105
p. XXXV.

2. There was a large colliery in Gateshead at Cramer Dykes and at Stoney Flatts.

death owing to the difficulty of obtaining coals. As a result of the great need for a plentiful supply of fuel, an Act was passed in 1664 to regulate prices. The Lord Mayor's order was issued from the Guildhall on the twentieth day of March 1664, when the price was fixed at 30 shillings per chaldron, but they had reckoned without the freehosts of Newcastle who were hostile to the order. Whereupon the Coalowners,¹ most of whom were hostmen resolved upon a total suspension of operations, by ordering that all pits should be laid in until the great stock of coal above the ground had been used. Many thousands of people went abegging, and at a meeting of the Coalowners, held at Newcastle on the twenty seventh day of April 1665, an engagement was entered into which caused the Coal Market to be in a sensitive state. Complaints of the dearness of coal as described by Pepys who considered the price "as great and unspeakable". Duties were put upon Coal imported into London to help the scheme for the rebuilding of the Church of St. Paul.

1. Surtees Soc. 105
XIV 11 p. 131.

Coal made other trades to flourish which gave much work to the people of the country especially those in the counties of Northumberland and Durham.

There was the need of a market at Tynemouth to relieve garrison people seized of their tobacco -right of seizure was extensively used by Newcastle corporation.

The Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers of England, by charter of Henry VIII, and by those of Elizabeth, obtained exclusive rights of trading on the coast opposite England for the Merchants of the water of Paris. In 1660 the Merchants of Bristol and Exeter attacked the Merchant Adventurers of England and asked Newcastle to join them, but they refused, and this decision lost to Newcastle Merchants their peculiar rights. The Mayor of Newcastle caused coal to be sold at 24 per chaldron; salt cost £4 the weigh. There was a continuous struggle between Newcastle Hostmen and Coalowners not of their Company. The Eastland Company was flourishing and exported

14,000 Broadcloths, and 200 large ships were yearly engaged by them in their foreign trade.

These counties were the first to encourage glass manufacture. The Huguenot immigration enriched and encouraged our home industries by the introduction of some £3,000,000 of capital, and the improved methods of making silk and glass. The use of coal in the manufacture of glass soon led to the prohibition of the use of wood.¹ A proclamation prohibiting the making of glass with wood, and the importation of it from abroad, led to the complete adoption of coal for this purpose. Coal was most suitable for use in Robert Mansell's invention, which became the normal method of making glass. Mansell at first tried his experiment in Winchester and London, then at length he came to Newcastle, where at one time he employed 4,000 men.² In 1623 there was a petition of certain glassmakers against Mansell, and Burregard tried to ruin his works by corrupting his clay. These establishments were presided over by three Huguenot

1. State Papers
Dom. 1611-18.
p. 287.

glassmakers, John Tyzack, Isaac Hensey and David Tyttre, who were natives of Rouen. In the book of enrolments in the archives of the corporation of Newcastle, there are copies of several leases of glasshouses. The memorials of these glassmakers are found in the Chancel of St. Mary's Church, Gateshead-on-Tyne, and in the grounds of Mr. John Glover of Heaton Cottage, Newcastle. The abundance of glass resulting from the adoption of coal fuel in its manufacture caused glass windows to be easily made. Paul Hentzer of Brandenburg in 1598 said glasshouses are plenty here. More glass was manufactured in the 17th century on the south side of the Tyne than in all the vast empire of France. The grindstone sills outcrops at Byker Hill, Whickham Bank, and Gateshead Fell produced the famous grindstones for which Newcastle-on-Tyne was noted.

In the district of North and South Shields, there was a thriving trade in the Salt Pan industry, which gave employment to hundreds of people. The Salt Pans

1. A Historical and Descriptive
View of the County of Northumberland.
Newcastle 1811.
p.210-211.

at South Shields were owned by local people who defeated the rival scheme of Murford, when he tried to ruin the northern trade. The petitions of the ¹ Salters of South and North Shields dated 19th December 1654, asking the Governor, stewards and fraternitie of hoastmen to petition the Protector and his Parliament against the people of Scotland bringing salt into England had but little effect, and ultimately the Scotch Salt caused the ruin of the trade at South Shields. In the year 1667, there were 123 Salt Pans, and at one time these produced £80,000 yearly in duty, but later the industry languished, and the land was claimed by the Dean and Chapter.

John Overings Brewery was suppressed and many men were compelled to seek new work at North Shields.

There is also evidence of large bleaching works at Cockerton, Darlington; of a network of mills, linen woollen and worsted, on either side of the river Skerne, and also of the skilled work of the German Swordmakers, who made their headquarters at Shotley Bridge, where

1. Surtees Soc. 105.
p. 101.

there was also an ironworks.

The question of transport was urgent, and in 1658 the stage coaches set out from George's Inn, Aldersgate, for Oxford. This was the beginning of the speeding up of communications between various trading points in England. Waterways were improved, roads reconditioned, and tolls received the authority of Parliament. This improvement in the transport system is illustrated in an agreement dated 1660, "regarding a bargain, and sale from Sir R. Tempest, and others, to William Carr, of ten keels and lighters, and a quarter part of the wood or timber laid upon trenches, bridges, waggon ways, or unlaid upon the same." Roger North who accompanied Lord Keeper Guildford on the Northern Circuit in 1676, speaks of waggonways and wayleaves in the counties of Northumberland, and Durham.

In the year 1670 Bishop Cosin refused to grant a lease of coal mines in Auckland Park, Coundon, and Coundon Grange.

In parts of "Upper Weredale" lead was mined, and gave employment to hundreds of men because it was possible to work the vein of lead from the Cheviots to Derbyshire. There is also evidence that in the 17th century, George Dixon discovered coal tar at Cockfield, which was found most useful for the industries of the north. From a survey of the times it is evident that the National Policy was already promoting increased production for the domestic and foreign markets.

The financial position of the Bishoprick had been shaken by the ordinance of Oct. 9th 1646, when Parliament sold the possessions of the Diocese amounting to £67,524. 14s. 11½d. When in 1660 Cosin was appointed to the See, most of the Church leases were expired, so that he received not less than £20,000 for fines on renewals. Something of the financial position of the Bishoprick at this time is contained in A View of the Estate of the Bishoprick of Durham (published from the Tanner MSS.) The Bishop suffered

a great loss in his revenues by the decay of rents - and also by the amounts taken from his income by the King for pensions, and tenths. In addition to these, the loss of wardships, liveries, licences, and homages which brought in a considerable sum, had been taken from the income of the Bishopric. The Bishop was also faced with commitments concerning the rebuilding of his ruined Palaces, and other ecclesiastical buildings. These liabilities involved an expenditure of £20,840 during the first years of his episcopate. At the same time he was deprived of the rents from land which had been leased by Bishop Barnes. Apart from these items of expenditure Cosin was generous to the Cathedral, Caius and Peterhouse Colleges at Cambridge, and to almshouses, to the extent of £4,795. He also supported the fund for the relief of the British captives in Algiers, and the distressed loyalists in Ireland; this cost him £800. He also gave relief to his tenants of £12,000. His necessary expenditure of £3,450 was added to by a subsidy of £12,500 to the King

and Queen Mother, making a total expenditure of £54,385. His total receipts amount to £19,800. It is therefore quite clear that the Bishop's expenditure exceeded his income by £34,585. These figures reveal something of the state of the Bishopric at the time of the Restoration, both in the affairs of State and Church. Conditions in the County of Durham had grown steadily worse from the middle of the 16th century. When Cosin became Bishop he found the Diocese suffering from the after-effects of the Civil War. Trade was in need of revival, tillage had decayed; there was however a ray of hope in the number of immigrants who were prepared to encourage the extension of our industries. The Bishopric had suffered much in the loss of revenues, the destruction or neglect of the churches, and the growth of the sectaries.

It was under such conditions that Cosin, and his Archdeacons commenced their work for the revival of Anglicanism.

Chapter 3.

The Lives of the Durham Ecclesiastics.

The Restoration of King Charles II. to his throne was the occasion not only of general rejoicing, but also of the return of many of the exiled clergy from their places of refuge. These clergy were for the most part men of learning who had been compelled to leave their livings to seek a livelihood by teaching, or writing, elsewhere. During the domination of the Puritans, many of the ejected clergy of the Church of England could not obtain bread or shelter by attaching themselves to the households of royalist gentry, because of the enactment of Cromwell which forbade their employment as Chaplains. A large number, however, found refuge with the exiled King in France, whilst their families at home endured poverty because the fifths appointed to be paid to them from their benefices were rarely, if ever, made. Those who were exiled in France, found their spiritual home in the chapel at the house of Sir Richard Browne, father-in-law of John Evelyn, the diarist, Ambassador of the

Court at Paris. This chapel became the centre of the work, and practice of those English Divines who had left England during the Commonwealth.

John Evelyn describes under the date of 12th June 1650, an ordination which took place in that chapel, "Being Trinity Sunday, the Dean of Peterborough preached after which there was an ordination of two Divines, Durell, and Brevint, (the one afterwards Deane of Windsor, the other Prebendary of Durham). The Bishop of Galloway, Dr. Sydserf, officiated with great gravitie. The candidates were presented by Dean Cosin, and so they were made both Deacons, and Priests at the same time, in regard to the necessity of the times there being so few Bishops left in England, and consequently danger of a failure of both functions."

At the Restoration the exiled clergy came back to England to resume their benefices, and preferments. Evelyn has the following entry concerning one who played an important part in the Restoration of Anglicanism,

1. Evelyn Diary
p. 205.

especially in the Diocese of Durham, as Archdeacon under Cosin "The 10th November 1661 - In the afternoon preach'd at the Abbey Dr. Basire, that great traveller who had been planting the Church of England in divers parts of the Levant, and Asia. He shewed that the Church of England was for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty the most perfect under heaven".¹

Dr. Isaac Basire de Preaumont, was born at Rouen in Normandy, in the year of our Lord 1607. His father was a protestant of the lowest order of the French nobility. Nothing is known of his early life, but it appears from notebooks kept in the French language by his father that in the year 1623 he was sent as a student to the University of Rotterdam. He was also a student at Leyden, where in 1621 he produced the first fruits of his studies. These were a series of Theological essays, the first² entitled De Evangelico, the second de incarnatione Filii Dei et Hypostatici Unione.² In the year 1629 Basire was admitted to Holy

1. Evelyn Diary
p. 280

2. W.N. Darnell (op.cit)
Correspondence of Isaac Basire
p. 2

Orders by Morton, Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Two years before his ordination he had published a Theological treatise "de purgatione, et indulgentiis", the title states it to be Disputationem Theologicarum repetitarum trigesima nona. Morton, Lord Bishop of Durham appointed him his chaplain in 1632, and in the Dead Man's Real Speech, (published by James Collins 1672), Basire pays a tribute to his patron, saying

"That I should be unthankful if I should not acknowledge, that I had the happiness to be brought up as Domestic Chaplain at the feet of such an eminent Gamaliel".

Writing to Gerard Vossius, under the date of 18th October 1630, recorded "I live under the eye of an illustrious prelate, whose Chaplain I am: a man not less renowned for sanctity of life than for his rare erudition."

In the year 1632 Charles I. visited Durham, and Auckland where it is probable that Basire was first

1. Dead Man's Real Speech.
London 1672.

2. W.M.Darnell
Correspondence of Isaac
Basire. p.8.

introduced to the King. Basire was fortunate in his circle of friends amongst whom he numbered the learned Gerard Vossius, the historian Simon Birkbeck, Vicar of Gilling, author of a book entitled The Protestant Evid-¹ence, Dr. Busby, Headmaster of Westminster School, and Molinaeus, a physician at York who had been educated at Leyden. In the year 1635 he was united in marriage to Miss Frances Corbett, of a good Shropshire family, and at the same time presented to the living of Eggescliffe, near Yarm; with reference to which promotion a letter of congratulation is preserved from James Lecke a member of Peterhouse in which he wrote "It will ever be my prayer that almighty God --- will permit you to rise to dignities proportioned to your progress in sound learning and to those gifts of his grace which are so well calculated to promote and maintain by word, and by deed² the good cause of religion". He received the degree of B.D., at Cambridge in the July of 1636, when he was described as "mortalium colendissimus". In 1640 he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity, and in December

1. Ibid
p.6.

2. Ibid
Appendix 1.
p. 321.

1641, was sworn a Chaplain extraordinary to the King. Basire was collated to the seventh stall in Durham Cathedral, by Bishop Morton, on the 12th day of December 1643, and in the following August he became Archdeacon of Northumberland. The living of Stanhope was given to him in the year 1645, while he was at Oxford, but these appointments were only nominal because the progress of the Civil War had placed the emoluments of such offices in abeyance.

When the King fell, Basire was taken to Stockton Castle, and realising that his freedom had gone, fled to France, where he says he "suffers almost as much persecution from his own, and by his own, as he might have done in England"¹. Mrs. Basire was left at Eggescliffe, with four children, and in a poor state of health. She was in great distress "as no presbyterian or independent was ever known to allow any loyalist whose place they had occupied for several years the least farthing, but rather rejected, and avoided them"². When Basire came to Rouen with eight

1. Ibid
p.46

2. Ibid
p.48

pounds per annum as pension, he was joined by three pupils, Andrews, Thomas Lambton, son of Sir William Lambton of Chester-le-Street, and William Ashburnham, son of Sir John Ashburnham, gentleman to the bed-chamber. He was anxious about his wife's subsistence, and wrote a letter dated 8th April 1647, in which he said "I have not received one farthing out of my estate, so that all I can do is heartily to pray for your good speed both about ye fifths, and about fenkels"¹. Later in a letter dated Paris, March 5th 1648, Basire told his wife "that he had desired My Lady Lambton to pay one or two payments yearly of £20"². It is evident from this correspondence that Mrs. Basire was often in straitened circumstances concerning her means. These letters between Basire, and his wife, during his exile, reveal a firm devotion to the doctrine, and practice of the Church of England.

Basire's interesting experience abroad reveal the attitude of his school of thought to the various religions with which he came into contact, and the extra-

1. Ibid
p.57

2. Ibid.
p.75.

ecclesiastics of ordinary relations he had with the Eastern, and Roman Churches, who honoured him with their friendship, and gifts. Abroad, Basire quickly began to make his influence felt. In a letter written to him by Sir. George Radcliffe "he resolved to let the Roman Catholics see that the Church of England desires to serve God decently". On the twenty seventh day of August, Basire began his tour from Rouen, and came to Paris. He met the Queen and Prince at St. Germain. On the Prince's bedhead were laid by his own orders, the Bible, and My Lord Hatton's Psalter.¹ In the spring of 1648 Basire went to Rome with a letter of recommendation from Henrietta Marie to the English legate Sir Kenelm Digby, and a letter from John Wintour the loyalist, to Mr. Pendric. The terms of the letter reveal the esteem in which Basire was held "a frenchman born he hath exceedingly endeared himself to the whole body of the English Clergy".² In some interesting letters to his wife, Basire details the events of his voyage from Rome through the kingdoms of Naples

1. Ibid
p.71.

2. Ibid
p.72.

and Sicily and the Isle of Malta. He was so interested in the Church Festivals of St. John's Day in Florence, that he described the ceremonies of religion held there. "On October 10th we went by land from Rome to Naples, proceeding on the 1st day of November by sea to Messina, when we had a stormy entrance into the Phare. From this Urbs Nobilis famous for the noble works of Prince Philibert, we went to Regium, and returned by way of Messina to famous Syracuse," "from whence we viewed the ancient town of Taormina". "Thence to Catana, University of Sicily, on to Augusta, then to Megara where we saw Mt. Hybla, famous for its honey. At last we arrived at Syracuse, and after a brief stay we went by Eugott into Malta. On the 17th day of December we came to Sicily, then to Iacca, the Urbs Digna of the island. The next day we proceeded to Marsala, then three days later rowed to Trapani, an island famous for its fishing waters. We came then to Palermo, where we were well received by the Prince of St. Marks, and taken to

the Episcopal residence near Mount Neale. These noblemen wanted to know the state of the Church and Kingdom of England, and evinced a keen interest in the afflictions of the exiled clergy." After a profitable conversation, "we sailed", says Basire for Naples, "chased by Turk, and French ships". "We then came to the island of Ischia, and then by felucca to Naples on the fourth day of February 1649. From this place we proceeded by sea to Terracina, and came to the muddy Tiber, Ponte Augusto, Venice and Rome. Whilst at Constantinople, the inhabitants of Balata desired him to preach on Sundays, and at the chapel of the English Ambassador." His pupils left him, and he proceeded on tour of Messina, Zant, Smyrna, Aleppo, Antioch, and Jerusalem. In a letter written "for the honourable Sir Richard Brown, resident at Paris for His Majesty of Great Britain", Basire speaks "of the success attending his efforts in spreading among the Greeks in Zantes the Catholic doctrine of our Church".² In a Greek translation of our Catechism, Basire left an

Ibid
p.80 footnote.

outline of the faith, and ethos of the Church of England. Whilst he was visiting The Morea, the Metropolitan of Achaia invited him to address the Bishops, and Clergy. For some weeks he officiated on board a ship during Dr. Duncorn's absence. Having fulfilled his duty to the captain, and members of the crew, he came to Aleppo, where he had much conversation with the Patriarch, and left a copy of our Catechism translated into the Arabick language. He then proceeded to Jerusalem where he was honoured by both Greeks and Romans. The Greek Patriarch "the better to express his desire of communion with our old Church of England by mee declared unto him, gave mee his bull, or patriarchal seal in a blanke, which is their way of credence". "The Latins also received mee most courteously, and at my de parture from Jerusalem, the Pope's own Vicar called (Commiserius Apostolorum Generalis) gave me his diploma in parchment under his own hand, and publick seal in it stiling mee "Sacerdotem Ecclesiae Anglicanae and

1. Ibid passim
 p.80, 90
 p.117.

"¹
S S Theologiae Doctorem" at which title "many mer-
velled especially the French Ambassador here".

Basire then decided to extend the knowledge of the Church of England in the East by sending the English Catechism in the Turkish language to the Armenian Bishops. He left Aleppo and travelled six hundred miles with only twenty Turks as his companions.

It was his desire to meet the leaders of the Greek Church to promote intercommunion, and commenting upon the prospect he wrote "and to such a communion together with a convenient reformation of some grosser errors, it hath been my constant design to dispose, and incline them." A new opportunity soon opened to Basire when in a letter dated 27th August 1654, George Racoczi offered ² Basire the Chair of Divinity in the University of Alba Julia, Weissemburg. Charles II. wrote commending him, and a grant of an annual salary of 1800 florins was assigned to him. In a letter to Sir Edward Hyde, Basire wrote "My special loadstone hath been the opportunity in the chair to p^ropagate

1. Ibid
p.117

2. Ibid
p.128.

the right Christian religion as well for discipline-
¹
 as doctrine". He was a source of strength to
 George Racoczy, and Princess Sophia, and in 1655 he
 wrote a letter to Charles II., asking him to be true
 to his religion in every kind of circumstance.

At the Restoration, Basire was restored to all
 his preferments. He was reappointed to his stall
 at Durham Cathedral, his rectory at Egglecliffe, and
 the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, then when Cosin
 became Bishop of Durham, he prevailed upon the in-
 truder at Stanhope, Andrew Lamont, a Scotsman, to
 resign that Rectory and take Longnewton in exchange.
 Thus he was restored to family, fortune, and Diocese.
 His son Peter became a convert to Rome, whilst his
 daughter married Jeremy Nelson, Prebendary of Carlisle.
 Evelyn, under the date 29th October 1662, wrote, "I
 went to court this evening, and had much discourse
 with Basiers one of His Majesty's Chaplains, who
 showed me the syngraphs, and original subscriptions
 of Divers Eastern Patriarchs, and Asian Churches to

1. Ibid.
 p.161.

our confession."¹

Basire soon began to shoulder the full responsibilities of his Archdeaconry which were onerous owing to the state of discipline, and order in Diocese. In his notebook he has recorded that the Archdeaconry will take up a whole man "to reform the persons, and to repair the Churches"². Nor did he spare himself in order to accomplish these purposes. He made two visitations of his Archdeaconry every year in spring, and autumn on horseback, as long as his health permitted.

The records of Durham Cathedral show that he was Treasurer of the Chapter in 1663, and that he took pains in replying to Cosin's Visitation of the Cathedral, In the year 1670, his son Isaac was appointed an official of the Archdeaconry, and Basire became Chaplain to Bishop Cosin, and a Justice of the Peace for the county. Letters in the collection of his correspondence, reveal his desire to see a revival of order, dignity, and discipline, within the Diocese, which of late had been

1. Evelyn Diary
p.289

2. W.N.Darnell
Correspondence of I.Basire
(op.cit) p.207.

distressed by the oppression, and neglect of the intruding ministers. The state of the Diocese is indicated in the information given by James Scott, Rector of Ford, and Alexander Davison, curate of Norham, who wrote concerning the activities of Papists, and so called conformists. It was his privilege to preach the sermon on the occasion of Cosin's funeral, and this discourse has been preserved to us in a tract entitled "The Dead Man's Real Speech" (published by James Collins - 1673).

Basire seems to have continued his labours, and retained his health, till very near the period of his dissolution. He died on the 12th day of October 1677, surviving his wife only by three months. His tomb still remains in the Abbey yard near to the North door. In the east window of the Church at Stanhope, the arms of Basire may be seen in their proper colours. He strove "to dispose, and incline the Greek Church to a communion with the Church of England together with a canonical reformation of some grosser errors".

Granville has recorded a worthy tribute to him in the following words "While our worthy friend Dr. Basire was alive I had no necessity to send out of the Diocese for a resolution of doubts. He was my oracle. I feel God knows the want of soe learned, pious, and faithful friend to the great disturbance of the comfortable discharge of my ¹ functions".

Another outstanding personality was brought to the Diocese of Durham on the occasion of the Restoration of King and Church.

Cosin, who had been in exile with the English Court in Paris, was destined to revive Anglicanism in the Diocese of Durham. He was preferred from the Deanery of Peterborough to the Bishopric of Durham, and consecrated on the 2nd day of December 1660, then enthroned by proxy on the 8th.

Cosin was the eldest son of Giles Cosin, a citizen of Norwich, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of the Remingtons of Remington Castle, a good and ancient Norfolk family. He was born at Norwich, on the 30th day of November 1595,

and educated at the free school there, under the mastership of one Richard Briggs, until he attained the age of fourteen years. When thirteen years of age, his father died, and left him several houses which he gave up to his mother, reserving only £20 yearly for his maintenance at college. In the year 1610 he was sent to Caius College, Cambridge, where he was successively chosen scholar, and fellow, taking his degree in Arts. Having distinguished himself by his learning, diligence, and his fine parts, in the year 1616 at the age of 20 years, he had offers at the same time both from Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, then Bishop of Ely, and from Dr. Overall, Bishop of Lichfield of a librarian's post. He accepted the offer of the latter on the advice of his tutor, Mr. John Browne, and so gained the approbation of Overall, who committed to him the care of the episcopal seal. He encouraged him to study divinity, and sent him from time to time to keep his exercises in the University. In the year 1619 Cosin lost his patron, to whose memory he erected a tablet in

Norwich Cathedral, and was offered the post of domestic Chaplain to Dr. Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham, who in 1624 preferred him to the tenth stall in the Cathedral. All the time he enjoyed this Prebend, which was about thirty and six years, he was constant in his residence, so that Basire asserted "that upon search of the register of that Cathedral, he could not find one dispensation for him in all the time he continued prebend." He was industrious in studying the Rights and Antiquities of the Church of Duresme, and compiled rules for the better maintenance of the Cathedral Library.

In September 1624, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of East Riding in the Diocese of York, vacant by resignation of Marmaduke Blakiston, of Newton Hall, Stocksfield, whose daughter he married at St. Margarets, Crossgate, Durham, on August 13th, and on the 20th day of July 1626, he was collated to the Rectory of Brancepeth, where he displayed his taste for ornament and elegance, by beautifying the Church. The same year he took his degree of

Bachelor of Divinity, and was instituted Master of Greatham Hospital (an ancient foundation in Durham founded by James I.) About the same time he became identified with an inner circle of ecclesiastics who met at the Bishop of Durham's House on the Strand in London, (which had been built by Bishop Hatfield). These Divines were distinguished by their zeal for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. Towards the close of 1626, Cosin's chance came to express his views publicly when he was chosen by Francis White, Bishop Designate of Carlisle, to preach the sermon at his consecration in Durham House Chapel. He was called upon to undertake corrections in a new edition of the Book of Common Prayer, which aroused misgivings amongst the Puritans.

The troubles of Cosin began with the publishing of a book in 1627 entitled a collection of Private Devotions which met with severe censure. Evelyn describes the circumstances under which it was written:- "At the first coming of the Queene into England, she, and her French

1. The Rt.Rev.Father in God
J. Cosin (L.A.C.T)
Vol.1. p.85
Oxford 1843

ladyes were often upbraiding our religion that had neither appointed nor set forth any houres of prayers or brevaries, by which ladies and courtiers who have much spare time, might edify, and be in devotion as they had." "Our Protestant ladies, scandalised it seems at this, Lady Denbigh, sister to the Duke of Buckingham, mov'd the matter to the King, whereupon His Majesty presently call'd Bishop White to him, and asked his thoughts of it". The Bishop named Cosin for the work, and he was enjoined to set about it immedietely. At the end of three months his Collection of Private Devotions was completed, composed as he said "out of the Fathers", and "out of an office published by the authority of Queen Elizabeth a^o 1560, and our own liturgie"¹. (Two hundred copies were printed) Peter Smart in a sermon preached on 27th July 1628, condemned the book, and it was also attacked by Henry Burton, priest of St. Matthew, Friday Street, in a pamphlet entitled a Tryall of Private Devotions or a Diall for the houres of Prayer, and in a tract under

1. Evelyn Diary

p.214,215.

Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth
Parker Soc. 1851.

the heading a brief survey and censure of Mr. Cozen's his cozening devotions written by William Prynne, Gent Hospitii Lincolnensis. In the same year, he was concerned with other members of the Chapter of the Church of Durham, in a persecution against Peter Smart, a Prebendary there for a seditious sermon preached in the Cathedral on the 27th day of July 1628, when he took for his text Psalm 31 v. 7, "I hate them that hold of superstitious vanities", and described Cosin "as our young Apollo who repaireth the Choir, and sets it out gayly with strange Babylonish ornaments". This sermon was subsequently published in Edinburgh under the title the Vanitie and Downefall of superstitious Popish ceremonies.¹

About the same time Cosin took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and on the eighth day of February 1634, he was elected Master of Peterhouse, in the room of Dr. Matthew Wren, newly made Bishop of Hereford in which station he applied himself to the promotion of learning, and to the revival of religion. He served the office

1. P.H.Osmond
Life of J. Cosin
p.58 & 59. London 1913.

of Vice-Chancellor for the University of Cambridge - in 1640, and the same year, Charles I. to whom he was Chaplain, conferred upon him the Deanery of Peterborough, in which he was installed on the 7th of November. He did not long enjoy the office for on the tenth day of the same month a petition from Smart was read in the House of Commons, wherein he complained of Cosin's superstitious innovations in the Cathedral Church and of his own severe persecution in the High Commission Court; whereupon Cosin was ordered to be sent for by the sergeant-at-arms, and a committee was appointed to prepare a charge against him. Soon afterwards he presented a petition to the House which was referred to a committee, and he was allowed bail. On the 22nd of January, however, by vote of the whole house, his ecclesiastical benefices were sequestrated. On the 15th of March, the Commons sent up one and twenty articles of impeachment against him to the House of Lords, which related chiefly to the ceremonies at Durham, and the setting up a New High Altar, candles,

and two organs.

Cosin so vindicated himself in an answer to these allegations "by proving on oath that the innovations had been set up by the Dean and Chapter, whereof Mr. Smart himself was one". Most people acknowledged his innocence in these matters. Mr. Glover, one of Smart's counsel, told him "that he was ashamed of him"¹. The Lords dismissed Cosin, and many of them said openly "that Mr. Smart had abused the House of Commons with a causeless complaint". Cosin describes how "My Lord the Earl of Warwick was pleased to bring me an order of the Lord's House wherby I had liberty to return to my place in charge in the University, or elsewhere until they sent for me again which they never did"¹.

Another motion made in the House of Commons that he had enticed a young scholar, named Mr. Nicholas, to Popery, was after about a month's imprisonment brought to an hearing, and was refuted. Cosin was ejected from his Mastership by a warrant from the Earl of Manchester, dated 16th March 1642, being the first thus to be

1. Cosin's Works Vol.1V.

p. 393 Footnote

L.A.C.T. 1841.

cf. Vol.1. p.XV.

ejected. He withdrew to Paris in the year 1643, being safely arrived there according to King Charles' order and direction, and officiated to such of Henrietta-Maria's household as were Protestants. He here went under another Tryall, only for upholding (under the King in the French Court) the Public Litany, or Common Prayer Book of the Church of England.^I

In Paris he formed a congregation that assembled at first in a private house in the Louvre, probably at Lady Osmond's, and later in the chapel at the residence of Sir Richard Browne.² Evelyn gives us glimpses of the services held in the chapel, and details of an ordination according to the rites of the English Church. Lodgings were assigned to Cosin in the Louvre with a small pension. During his residence there he showed how false, and groundless the imputation was that he was in any way inclined to the Romish Church. He remained steadfast in the profession of his religion, he kept up the English Church discipline, and form of worship appointed by the Prayer Book. He shewed his skill

1. Cosin's Works.
vol.IV. p.397.
footnote.

2. Evelyn Diary.
p.215 footnote

in many controversies which he had with the ecclesiastics of the country, and especially in his correspondence with Father Robinson, prior of the English Benedictines in Paris, whom he put to silence. Many inducements were made to him if he could have been tempted to deny his Mother Church. He composed during his exile many works which Basire describes as weapons against Romanism. Whilst he remained in France, he was the Atlas of the Protestant religion, daily adding many distinguished people to the Church of England. Although he was firm in the discipline and doctrine of his Church, yet he continued a friendly intercourse and correspondence with the Protestant ministers at Char-enton, who held him in high regard, and permitted him sometimes to officiate in their congregations, according to the rites prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer.

For seventeen years he bore exile from his native land, and after the death of Charles I. determined efforts were made by the Queen Mother Henrietta Maria, and her French allies to secure his submission to Rome. Often

he was in dire need for apart from a small pension, he was dependent upon the generosity of friends.

Lord Hatton wrote to Sir Edward Nicholas to petition the King for some pay for Cosin; Sancroft helped him by encouraging friends in England to send aid. In a letter sent to Sancroft, who was living in retirement at Fressingfield, (dated 1659) Cosin wrote "It may well be that in this particular I am likewise beholden to Mr. Gayer, of whose generous freedom and bounty I have had divers testimonies heretofore". Sir Verney also helped him from time to time. John Evelyn in his letter to Mr. Pepys dated 12th August 1689, records "how he himselfe during Cosins exile abroad agreed with him for a considerable part of his library, but his daughter My Lady Garrett thought I had not offered enough." ¹ He was about to sell his wonderful library when both King and Church saved him.

When Cosin returned to his native land at the Restoration of Charles II., he soon again took possession of his preferments and dignities. At the end of July

1. Evelyn Diary.
pp. 699, 700.
"Gerrard"
cf. footnote.

1660, he came to the Deanery of Peterborough, and was the first to restore the old usage, and read the Common Prayer after the times of confusion.

The King designed a little after to make him Deen of Durham, but reflecting upon his distinguished services nominated him Bishop of that See. Accordingly he was consecrated on the 2nd day of December 1660, in Westminster Abbey, the sermon being preached by Sancroft. His entry into the Diocese was by way of Sockburn on the Tees, where he was presented with the ancient falchion of the Conyers. Thus he began his Episcopate, and became one of the outstanding powers in the Church; particularly useful was his Knowledge of the ancient liturgies. He had a definite conception of the position, and witness of the Church of England in relation to the other churches. His skill in the liturgy was recognised when he was appointed to the Savoy Conference "to review the Prayer Book with the most ancient liturgies". He endeavoured to bring the Presbyterians to a spirit of reconciliation, and Baxter wrote of him "as being

1. Cardwell Conferences.

op. cit.

p. 258.

excellently well versed in Canons, Councils, and
¹
 Fathers."

A Prayer Book of 1619 with emanations, and alterations by Cosin in the handwriting of Sancroft may be regarded as that which was laid by him before convocation, and is now in the library at Durham Cathedral. As soon as he was released from his duties at the conference, Cosin returned to his Diocese to find many problems awaiting him. He held his first visitation of the Dean and Chapter on the 19th day of July 1662, and regularly repeated the legal ceremony giving useful injunctions. He re-established the appointments of the officers of the Palatinate, and confirmed to the burgesses of Stockton their Charter for a market and a fair. He chiefly distinguished himself as a steward of the large revenues belonging to the See. A large share of the income of the Bishoprick he laid out in repairing, and rebuilding the various ecclesiastical buildings, demolished, or neglected during the Civil Wars. His generosity was extended to the foundation of eight scholarships at

1. Autobiography of R. Baxter ED.
 p.168.

Cambridge, and towards the redemption of the Christian slaves at Algiers. He is said to have spent £2,000 each year in pious, and charitable causes. In the year 1666 began a contest between the Bishop, and the people of the Palatinate concerning their right to elect representatives in Parliament. In Cromwell's time they had been admitted to that privilege, and were loth to relinquish it. The Bishop entered a protest against it, then the freeholders published their reasons wherefore knights, and burgesses were desired for the county. Cosin in his 12 published reasons against giving consent carried his point, but as a result of his attitude towards this reform lost popularity with many of the people.

His last years were shadowed by affliction, his son John was prevailed upon to leave the Church of England and take orders in the Church of Rome. The Bishop also had four daughters, one was married to Sir Gilbert Gerrard, another to Sir Burton, and the youngest to Dennis Granville, brother to the Earl of Bath, and after-

wards Dean of Durham.

Cosin died in his house in Pall Mall, Westminster, when he was 77 years of age. In his will dated 11th December 1671, he made an open declaration of his faith, and directed that his body should be interred in the vault in Auckland Chapel. His remains were first deposited in a vault in London, and in April 1672 "conveyed to the sepulture in the Chapel of Auckland" where on the 29th day of that month they were interred; his funeral sermon which was preached by Basire is preserved in the pamphlet The Dead Man's Real Speech in which he paid a great tribute to his Bishop in the following well chosen words:- "And now he is dead, and who knows but that God took him away from the evil to come, and as great as he was you must see how small a platt of ground must contain, and confine him, "Sic transit gloria mundi". He can carry none of all those dignities to the grave, only his faith, and good works do attend him to the grave, and beyond the grave his works do follow him. I who have

lived in the Diocese of Durham 40 years never saw it more regular since the sad twenty years of schism and war, and so of confusion". "This great man was greater by his actions and great benefactions, concerning which when in prosecution of his great buildings, he was interpellated by some with the mention of his children, his usual answer was, the Church is my first born; a noble speech, yes a divine sentence, worthy of a King who may envy it out of a Bishop's mouth".¹ T. Taylor, Vicar of Newcastle, writing to Basire said "May the Church of England have many such Bishops, and may every one of them have such encomiastes, canfidly and truly to sett forth their deserved praises, and to commend their good workes to the succeeding generations."²

When Cosin was made Bishop of Durham he brought to the Diocese those who were in sympathy with his policy for the restoration of Church life, and order. One of the most important appointments was the preferment of Dennis Granville, son of Sir Basil Granville, and brother

1. The Dead Man's Real Speech. passim. p. 101.102.

2. W.N.Darnell. Correspondence of I.Basire p. 298,299.

to the Earl of Bath, who had married his daughter Anne.

Dennis Granville who was born of an ancient French lineage, was educated at Eton, from whence he became a gentleman-commoner at Exeter College, Oxford. Here he contracted debts, and was never wholly free from them for the rest of his life. He was ordained by Sanderson in 1661, and soon became a convinced Churchman, and royalist. At the Restoration, although he was young, Cosin advanced him to high preferments. His first appointment was to the living belonging to his own family seat Kilkhampton. Later he was appointed a Prebend at York, from whence Cosin nominated him to the first stall in the Cathedral Church at Durham, in September 1662, and made him Archdeacon of Durham, and later Rector of Tasington. In 1664 he was appointed Rector of Elwick, which he soon resigned for Sedgefield in 1667. He was preferred to the Golden Stall in 1668, but such multiplied preferment did not meet with the approval of Sancroft. King Charles II. appointed him as one of his chaplains in ordinary. He spent some time at Oxford which caused Cosin

to rebuke him, and in 1670 he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. His extravagance led him into many embarrassments; on one occasion he was openly arrested in the cloisters, and carried off to gaol. At the appeal heard in Hampton Court he was pardoned, and given every opportunity to re-establish his credit. For a time he thought it wisest to live as a voluntary exile at Tour d'Aignes in Provence. Granville strove to restore the Daily Prayers in the Parish Churches, but his chief effort was the promotion of the more frequent celebration of the Eucharist, and by ^{his} diligence, weekly Eucharists were restored in many Cathedrals, and Collegiate churches. James II. appointed him to the Deanery of Durham, but the tenure of that office was shadowed by the revolution. During this crisis ^{of 1668} Granville had the courage of his convictions, and when information came to him that the Prince of Orange was preparing for the invasion of England, he was anxious to demonstrate the loyalty of the Bishoprick of Durham, by condemning the right to rebel against a King to whom

the people had sworn allegiance. He then repaired to the Deanery, and summoned the Prebendaries together into their Chapter House, "to lay before them their duty to assist the King" "with their purses as well as their prayers". Then he called together the clergy, but they would not agree to send even a letter to the King. He, then, sent one from himself, and it was intercepted by the Prince's men at York. Events moved swiftly; Lord Lumley entered Durham with soldiers, and there was no opposition, the Dean having been confined to his house.

Granville who had stood alone, left the Deanery on the 11th day of December, never to return. He went to Carlisle, then to Edinburgh, where he sailed for France to join the King. He arrived in March at Honfluer, and later went to Rouen to live with Mr. Thomas Hackett, a British merchant. In February 1689-90, he came to England, where he obtained a small sum of money to assist him, then he withdrew himself from all those who had taken the oath to William and Mary. His needs became

so great that his goods were sold to Sir George Wheler, who offered £221 for his library, and out of the revenues of the arreared rents for the years 1690-1694¹ his wife was paid £20 per annum by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

After the defeat of James II. in Ireland, Granville joined his court at St. Germain, but his attachment to his mother the Church of England, led to his eclipse. In the news-letter of April 23rd 1691, on the death of Archbishop Lamplugh, we find the entry "the late King hath made Dr. Dennis Granville who was deane of Durham, Archbishop of York, but I cannot learn when he will be consecrated".² In spite of the temptation to be welcomed into the intimate circle of the Royal Court by the usual step of a conversion to Rome, he still remained steadfast to his Mother Church. Although loyal to the King, the inner circle of the court was closed against him. This is noticed by Macaulay the historian, who wrote "Dr. Dennis Granville who has quitted the richest Deanery, the richest Archdeaconry, and one of the richest livings in England, rather than take the oaths, gave mortal offence by asking leave to

1. Surtees Soc.No.47.
p.194 footnote.

2. G.W.Kitchin
The Seven Sages of Durham.
p.220. London 1911.

read prayers to the exiles of his own communion; that request was refused, and he was grossly insulted by his Master's Chaplains and their retainers, so that he was forced to quit St.Germains¹". When the consolations of religion were forbidden to those Englishmen who had, like him, given up all for the Stuart cause, Granville withdrew from the court, and found some occupation in writing, not far from the village of Tremblet where he was confined by order of the French Court. In 1695 he came to England once again for financial help, then later retired to a house in the Fauxbourg of Corbeil, the place of his family lineage "where he was supported by an annuity allowed to him by the King of France"² and showed a deep interest in tracing the noble pedigree of his family. He died at the house of Monsr. Mombrun, a French merchant at Paris,³ and was buried in the lower end of the Holy Innocent's Church, Paris, by Dr.Taylor of Sevenstoke, Worcester, the expenses being defrayed by the widowed Queen, who had befriended him in the days of loneliness

1. Ibid.
p.221.

2. Surtees Soc.47.
pp.195-1961

3. Ibid.
p.210.

and need.

Granville was a loyal servant of the King, and Church; a gifted writer whose style resembles that of Swift, and Atterbury. He valued his innocence, and quiet conscience more than the best Bishoprick, or Deanery in England; a gentleman of the world with expensive tastes often never paid for; yet with it all a man of piety, diligent as an Archdeacon, he did his utmost to raise the tone of religious life throughout the Diocese. Lord Lansdowne writing to Granville's nephew in a letter concerning "An enquiry whether the Christian religion is of any benefit, or only a usefull commodity to a trading nation" said, "You had an uncle, make him your example; sanctity sat so easily upon him, that in him we beheld the beauty of holiness, cheerful and familiar in conversation, strict, regular, and exemplary in his piety, accomplished as a courtier" "He gave his life for the Church of England, and sought to restore by diligence, and learning, the spirit of Anglicanism".¹

1. Surtees Soc. 37
p. XLVI.

Cosin, and his Archdeacons were well equipped for the task of restoration, because of their experience in the polity and practice of the English Church. They came to the Diocese when there was need for restoration owing to the miserable state which the Church was in as a result of the Commonwealth. Their task was to bring order out of the chaos which existed throughout the Diocese.

Chapter 4.

The Origin and Extent of

The Diocese of Durham.

The position of the Bishop of Durham as Palatine must be separated from his position as Diocesan.

The first of these jurisdictions was temporal, owing little more than nominal subjection to the Sovereign, the second was spiritual, and quite distinct from the first.

There are many theories suggested concerning the origin of the County Palatine of Durham.

The oldest theory is that the Conqueror, as a matter of policy, deliberately created two strong local authorities in the persons of the Earl of Chester, and the Bishop of Durham. These men were invested with powers of independence, like unto the Margraves of Charles the Great, and exempt from central control. There is not a vestige of evidence to show that William made any grant of privileges to the Bishop of Durham.

The theory suggested by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy is

that the jurisdiction grew gradually, encouraged by the gifts of King Ceolwulf, and Guthred - "No formal creation by charter or deed ever took place"¹, and yet Hardy cites certain inscriptions under the statues of these Sovereigns which formerly stood in Durham Cathedral Choir, but these are of traditional value, and do not prove the grant of lands by Ceolwulf, and Guthred.

The theory propounded by Mr. W. Page is that Durham formed an integral part of the Earldom of Northumbria before the time of Bishop Walcher, and afterwards down to the time of Bishop Anthony Bec, it was only considered a liberty within the county of Northumberland.²

According to Symeon, who based his information on Bede, and certain Northumbrian annals which have since disappeared,³ there is no mention of legal rights by Bishops of Durham previous to the episcopate of Walcher. Before the Conquest, the Bishops of Durham without doubt had privileges over their lands. We know that Guthred granted them soc, sac, and infangentheof, and

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|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|
| | Victoria | |
| 1. G.T. Lapsley | 2. History of Durham. | 3. Surtees |
| County Palatine | Ed. W. Page | p. XVI.. |
| of Durham. | passim. | |
| p. 15. | | |

from the Yorkshire part of the Domesday Book we learn that lands of St. Cuthbert were quit of all custom to the King, and Earl. William the Conqueror tried unsuccessfully to levy a tax upon the episcopal lands, and afterwards confirmed to the Bishops their privileges of being quit of all custom.

Surtees in his History of Durham records that

"There is no colour to think that the Palatinate jurisdiction began there in the Bishop whom King William 1. made Episcopus, and Dux provincial. Before Walcher the county by name of Comitatus Dunelmensis was in lay hands".

It is recorded by Matthew of Paris, and Roger of Wendover, "that Walcher bought the Earldom of Northumbria from William 1. in 1105". They would hardly have said this, if the Bishops of Durham had previously exercised the duties of earls within their own lands. The donation of Guthred on the restoration of the Church of Chester seems the only foundation on

which the claim can rest. Surtees quotes Camden, Prynne, and Selden, in his belief "that the Palatinate did not exist long before the Norman Conquest".¹ The development proceeded under the pressure of two constant forces - the necessities, or the convenience of the people of the province, and the desire of the Bishops to increase their revenue.

William de Carilef, successor to Walcher, exercised the duties of an Earl, and enjoyed the Regalia Juria over the lands of his See. In his foundation Charter of the Convent of Durham, dated 1032, speaking of the lands of the See he states;

"in quibus omnibus sanctus Cuthbertus, et ejus episcopus omnes dignitates, et libertates quae ad regis coronam pertinent ab omni servicio et inquietudine imperpetuum liberas, munitas, et quietas cum omnibus eisdem pertinentibus possideret"

There is further proof that Durham formed part of the Earldom of Northumbria, in the Wapentake of Sadberg

1. Surtees
History of Durham.
Ch.2, p.1V.
footnotes.

containing all the lands between the Tyne, and the Tees. The people of Northumberland claimed the vills of Burdon, Carlton, and Aycliff, with the rights to hunt in the woods of the See, and to take timber sufficient for building a ship. Their claims were set aside by a Charter of Henry 1. 1109, granting all they claimed to the Bishops of Durham. From the proceedings in Quo Warranto of 21 Edward 1., we find that the Bishop had his own chancery, and by his writs and his own justices he pleaded his liberties of Durham, Sadberg, and Bedlington, which it is stated "are within the precincts of the county on this side of the Coket".

Although Mr. Page suggests a single cause for the origin of the Palatinate, namely the local independence of the Northumbrian Kingdom, yet there were other causes which reveal the rise of the power of the Bishops from the time of Walcher, especially the gradual growth of the Bishops jurisdiction. Care must be taken not to confuse the position of the Bishop of Durham as

Palatine, and as Diocesan.

1. The Palatine jurisdiction included the County of Durham, and the outlying districts of Bedlingtonshire, Islandshire, and Norhamshire, which formed ENCLAVES locally within the County of Northumberland. In Allertonshire, and Howdenshire the Bishop was Lord, and chief bailiff, but these districts did not form integral parts of the Palatinate, and were always reckoned as being part of Yorkshire. The Parish of Crayke, on the other hand, twelve miles from York was a member of the County Palatine of Durham. The Bishop as Lord Palatine had certain powers "Quicquid rex habet, extra episcopus habet intra". The Bishop's regality is illustrated in his legal power.

(a) In Imperio. He was head of the Civil Government, and had the same officers as the King. Within the Palatinate the King had no jurisdiction, because the Bishop had the power to hold courts, punish offenders, create corporations, and hold

Admiralty jurisdiction.

(b) In Dominio. The Bishop was universal landlord. He possessed all the mines, the rights of forests, and right of wrecks.

(c) In Jurisdictione. In this the Bishop was supreme, for with him lay the responsibility to pardon, and he alone was able to issue licenses for the amortization of land. All appeals lay to the Bishop alone as he enjoyed the rights, and privileges of royalty.

The Constitution of the Bishoprick.

1. Officers of State.

There were seven in number, the steward, the sheriff, the coroner, the constable, and the officials of the Exchequer, namely, the Receiver-General, the Chancellor, and the Chamberlain.

2. The Assembly.

This was a gathering of men holding land under the Bishop on the lines of the gemot. It was

composed of a Council which was successor to the Witagemot, and its members were paid. The functions of this Council were legal, and the Court of the Exchequer decided financial matters between the Bishop and his people. In the year 1536 Judicial supremacy of the Palatinate was by "an acte for contynuing of certayne liberties, and franchises heretofore taken from the Crown" transferred to the King. Offences in the future were considered as against the King, and not against the Bishop.

In 1646 the Palatinate was abolished, and the lands of the See were put into the hands of Trustees.

At the Restoration of Charles II. it resorted to its former status. Cosin began to exercise all the Judicial privileges enjoyed by his predecessors. In the year 1836 came the abolition of the judicial system, and in 1873 the removal of all legal business from the Palatinate.

2. The Diocese of Durham.

The Diocese of Durham which must not be confused

with the Bishoprick, included the two counties of Durham and Northumberland, most of the latter lying outside the Palatinete, the exceptions being the detached districts already alluded to as ENCLAVES of the County of Durham. Crayke was also in the Diocese and Archdeaconry of Durham, but spiritually Allertonshire and Howdenshire were in the Diocese of York, and subject to the Archbishop. They were, however, outside the jurisdiction of the local Archdeacon, and formed a separate "spirituality" under a CUSTOS appointed by the Archbishop with functions like those of an Archdeacon.

The patronage of the churches in both these districts belonged for the most part to the Prior, and Convent of Durham, who also presented to the prebends in Howden and Hemingborough, after their conversion into Collegiate Churches. The Bishop retained the advowsons of one, or two of the Allertonshire Churches, one of which, Cowesby, was in private patronage.

To all, however, the Bishop instituted, while induction was performed by the CUSTOS. The Cathedral Peculiars, i.e., those districts which belonged to the Prior, and Convent of Durham were subject to their own judges outside the jurisdiction of the usual courts. Sometimes the Dean had his own peculiar as well as that held with his Chapter, until the 19th century. These Peculiars were gradually abolished by the Church Discipline Act of 1840, and finally by an Order in Council of 1845.

It is apparent that the term Bishoprick refers to the County, not to the Diocese, for there were parts of the Diocese which were not in the Bishoprick.

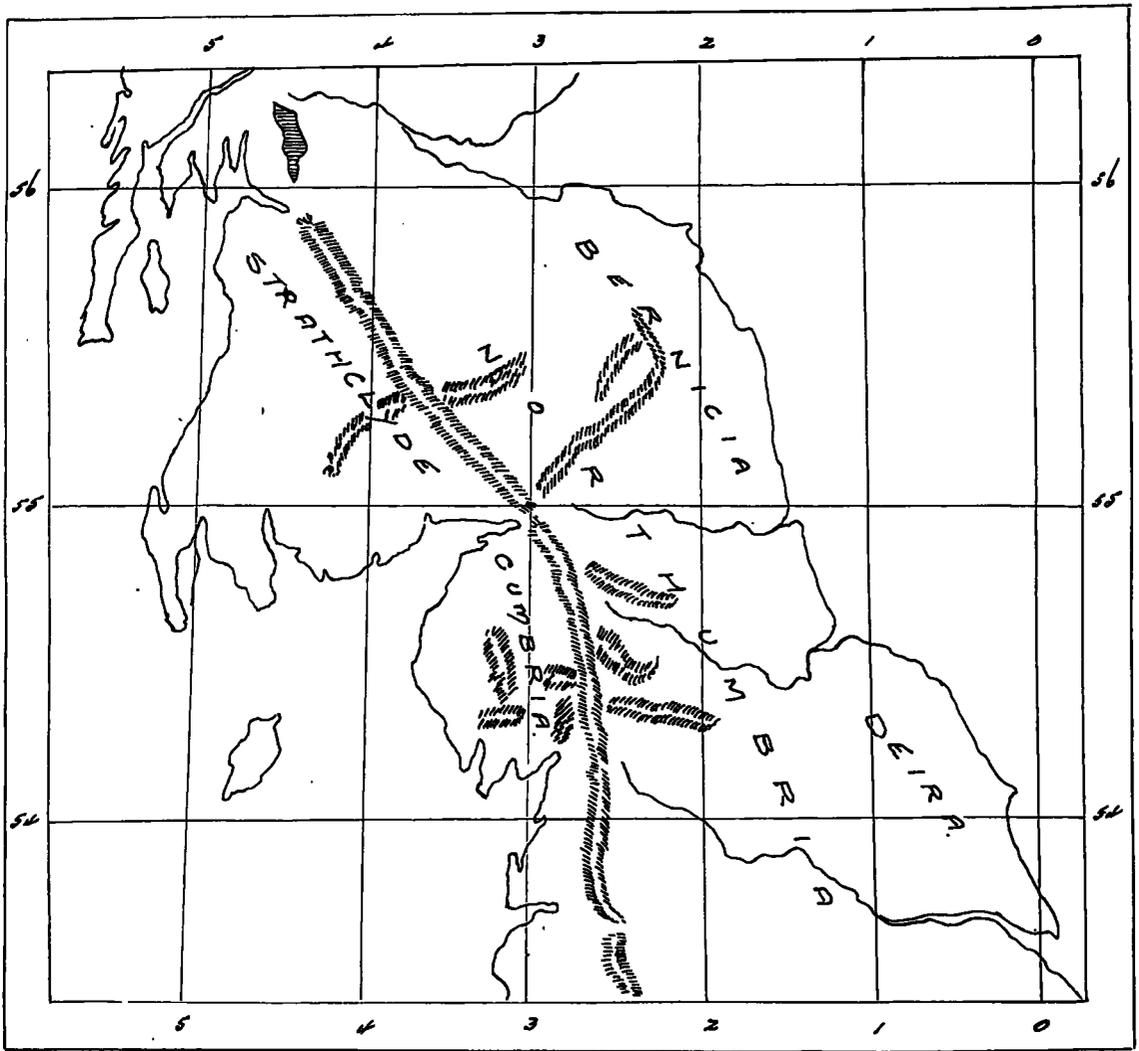
The Diocese was at the period of the Restoration divided into two Archdeaconries.

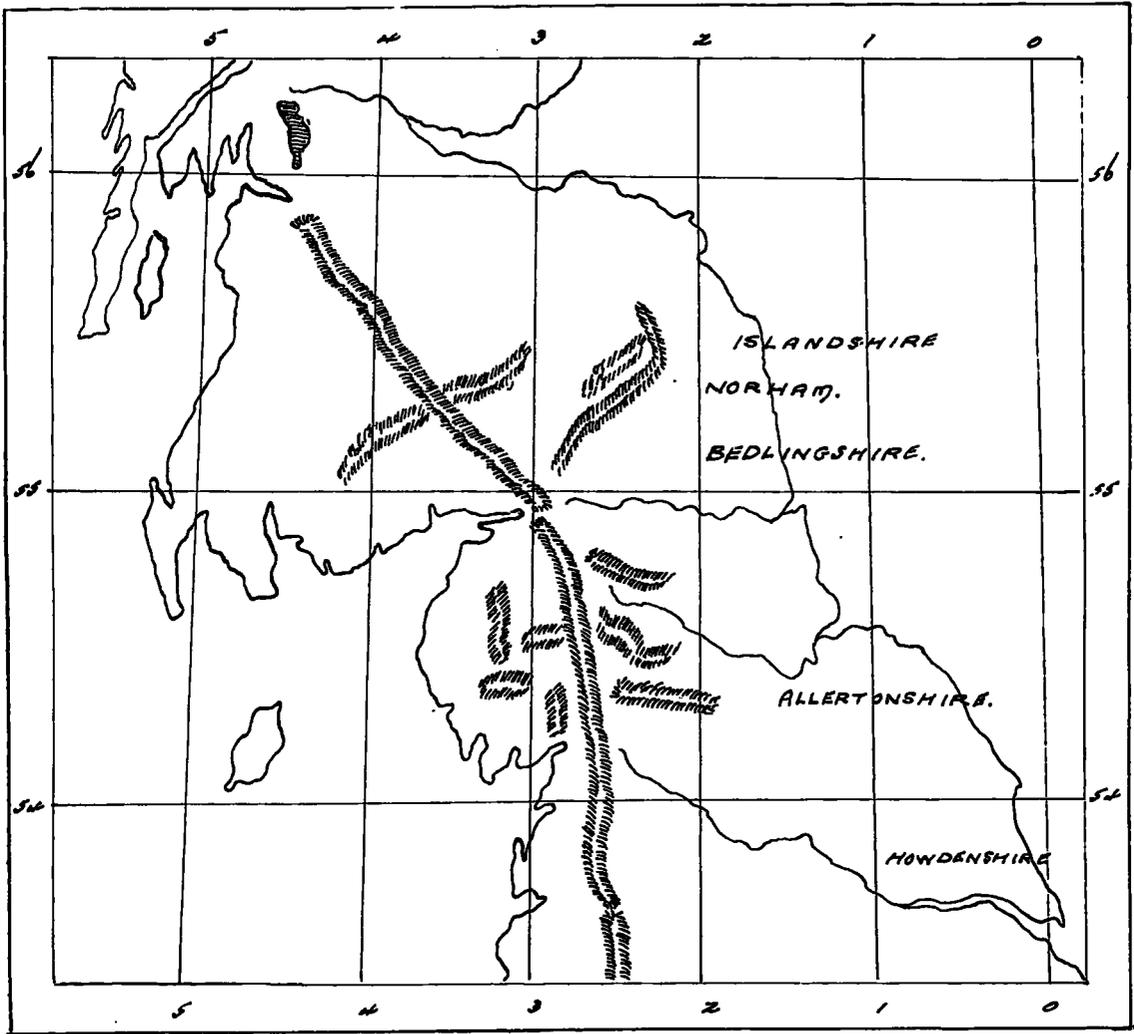
1. Durham over which Granville presided as Archdeacon, comprised four deaneries namely: Chester-le-Street, Darlington, Essington and Stockton.
2. Northumberland over which Basire presided as

Archdeacon, comprised five deaneries
namely:- Alnwick, Morpeth, Bambrugh, Cor-
bridge and Newcastle.

No. 3.

MAP of the DIOCESE
showing extent and enclaves
of the BISHOPRICK.





Chapter 5.

The Ecclesiastical Problem
at the Restoration.

The return of King Charles II. seemed to the people a real harbinger of peace, and freedom from the oppressive rule of the Army. Evelyn records in his Diary under the date of 29th day of May 1660, "that all this was done without one drop of blood shed, and by that very army which rebelled against him, but it was the Lord's doing, for such Restauration was never mentioned in any history, Antient or Modern since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity; nor so joyfull a day, and so bright ever seene in this nation, this hap'ning when to expect, or affect it was past all human policy". Dr. Isaac¹ Barrow Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, wrote an ode upon this great occasion in which he introduces² Brittainia congratulating the King upon his return.

This change from a Commonwealth, to a Monarchy, implied many difficulties. Four subjects of great importance occupied the Convention Parliament from the

1. Evelyn Diary
p. 265.

2. The Theological Works of
Isaac Barrow. Vol. 1. p. XV.
Vol. 8. p. 496. Oxford 1830.

time of the King's return until its dissolution in December. These were :-

- (a) A General Indemnity.
- (b) An Adjustment of the claims for reparation for the Crown and Church.
- (c) A provision for the King's Revenue.
- (d) The Settlement of the Church.

This question of the settlement of the Church was urgent as most of the clergy had been expelled from their benefices by the Long Parliament, chiefly for refusing to take the covenant, amongst whom were Cosin, and Basire. Later greater restrictions were placed upon them by Cromwell's declaration of November 24th, 1656, which declared "that no person, or persons who were ejected ministers allowed to keep school, or teach privately, or act as chaplain, or in anywise officiate, or use the Book of Common Prayer"¹.

The new establishment became nominally Presbyterian, but this type of discipline was very partially introduced, "as yet" wrote Baillie "a presbyterie to this

1. Gee & Hardy
Documents Illustrative of
English Church History.
p. 582.

people is conceived to be a strang monster", In many parts of England Presbyterianism was never introduced, but in Northumberland it was strongly represented.

Some of the Independents obtained livings under the system of Triers. Of the 9,000 benefices, 2,000 were held by Presbyterians, and about 500 by Independents. This led to a state of confusion, in one Parish there was a Presbyterian using the Directory, in another an Independent using no set form, yet both combined to prohibit the Book of Common Prayer, and prosecute those who attempted to use it. The Church was wide enough, yet nothing would satisfy these men but dissent from it.

In the Declaration of Breda before his return to England Charles II. had promised "a liberty to tender consciences and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question for differences of opinion in religion which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation shall be offered

to us for the full granting that indulgence"¹.

To promise liberty of conscience is one thing, it is another to allow those who will not conform to enjoy the benefits of the Church. The King pressed Parliament to give him some power of indulgence, but that body refused, reminding him that his Declaration from Breda had not been a promise to give general toleration, but a declaration to comply with the advice of Parliament.

The moderate party in the Convention Parliament, desired to secure by law the intruders in those benefices where the ejected clergymen had died, but Episcopacy, and the Liturgy had never been abolished by law. With the return of the Monarchy, came the return of the exiled clergy who had endured so much privation for their Church and King. The position in the country was in a state of confusion. Charles II. desired to reconcile the Anglicans, and the Presbyterians on the model of Bishop Usher's scheme of Comprehension. He had already appointed several Presbyterian ministers

1. Ibid.
p. 587.

to be his chaplains, but this attempt at Comprehension failed. To no such plan could the great body of Cavaliers listen with patience. The religious members of that party were conscientiously attached to the whole system of their Church. Her service so often whispered in an inner chamber during the season of trial had such a charm for them that they were unwilling to part with a single response.

The Savoy Conference also failed, and it soon became apparent that the Nonconformists would have to seek their ideals outside the confines of the National Church. It was necessary at the outset to end the confusion, and to restore order by discipline.

With this end in view, the religious settlement was embodied in the Act of Uniformity¹, which received Parliament consent on the 19th day of May 1662, being regarded as a triumph of the cause for which Laud, and Charles I. had died. The greater part of the nation welcomed the Act of Uniformity "which be it enacted by the Kings most excellent Majesty, by the advice, and

1. Ibid.
p. 600.

with the consent of the Lords Spiritual, and temporal, and of the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all, and singular ministers in any Cathedral, Collegiate or Parish Church, or Chapel, or other place of public worship in this realm of England, Dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-on-Tweed, shall be bound to say, and use the Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, Celebration of the Sacraments and all other the Public and Common Prayer in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book annexed, and joined to the present Act".¹

The Clarendon Code was the work of the political authority and not that of the Church itself, in order to prevent the rise of the Roundheads, and to set right wrongs done to Anglicans. This code which was dictated by fear of Nonconformity brought about a great social change. Religion in England was now divided, the Church of England was to be purged of those who refused to take the oath, and make subscriptions on St. Bartholomews Day 1662. Richard Baxter in a sermon

1. Ibid.
p. 603.

of Reptentance wrote "our calamities began in differences about religion"¹. The old ecclesiastical polity, and Liturgy were revived without any modification. Episcopal ordination was now made an indispensable qualification for Church preferment². Most of the ejected were known as Presbyterians, but there were numerous Independents, and a smaller number of Baptists. The last named would have been excluded by the Presbyterians had they been in power. Many of the Intruders left before the Act came into force. Resident Ministers were given every opportunity to subscribe, or leave their benefices, in fact most of them had two years to decide whether to conform, or dissent. The keys of power were left with the Loyalist Clergy; after the Act of Uniformity gave dissent a lawful recognition, but no advantage.

Many of the restored clergy realised the difficult position of the ejected ministers, and cared for them. It is recorded by Ambrose Barnes, a dissenter, how at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, "Vicar Marsh

1. P.H. Osmond
Life of I. Barrow
p. 81.
London 1944.

2. Macaulay
History of England
Vol. 1. p. 87

would step out privately by night and make him respectful visits, throwing the blame of these rigorous proceedings upon the misfortunes of the times".¹

Dr. Bridgeman, rector of Worthenburg, acted kindly to Philip Henry, and the Woburn Papers 1682 edited by Miss G.S. Thomson testify to the practical benevolence of the Earl of Bedford towards twenty three ministers.

The Church had to begin her work with a clergy at least three-quarters of whom were alien to her as well as to her discipline. Granville complains "of the nonconformity, or rather semiconformity of the clergy which engendered that brood which is the author of our own misery", "who did with zeale more than enough, and sometimes too bitterly inveigh against nonconformists".²

The Act of Uniformity did not accomplish all its purposes. Some of the ministers were conformists only in name, several of whom had refused the Covenant, having obtained livings under Cromwell's Triers. When Frampton became Bishop of Gloucester he found many

1. Surtees Soc.50.
p.201.

2. Surtees Soc.37.
p.136.

covenanting priests and intruders who did not use the Prayer Book services. Many of the most prominent of the Puritans went out of the Church, but all did not go out for conscience sake.

The difficulties that faced the leaders of the Church were manifold, exiled clergy demanded re-possession of their benefices, others not ejected, but deprived of admission to their livings which in the interregnum they had been presented to by proscribed patrons claimed their rights.

The Act, or order for Confirming, and Restoring ministers, confirmed in their livings those appointed since 1642, who had not opposed the King's Restoration, or Charles I. It was, however, the Act of Uniformity which firmly established the Elizabethan Settlement, whereby only those with Episcopal Ordination were recognised; clergy were required to make a public declaration of assent, and consent to the contents of the Book of Common Prayer. Therefore, an Anglican Ordination by a Bishop, was sine qua non could hold

any kind of episcopal preferment in the Church of England.

Granville in his tract Compleat Conformist wrote of the deplorable disorder in the Church, and State, "When God's worship, as well as his Holy Sacraments had been thrown out of doors"¹. The Ecclesiastical position in the country at the time of the Restoration was delicate. Kennet tells a story of Heylin which illustrates the difficulties of the position. "I happened to be there when the good Bishop of Durham, Dr. Cosin came to see him, who after a great deal of familiar discourse between them, said, I wonder brother Heylin thou art not a Bishop, but we all know well thou hast deserved it", to which he replied, "much good may it do the new Bishops; I do not envy them"².

These Bishops of the Restoration were faced with a grave task in guiding the fortunes of the Anglican Church against those "who would undermine both Crown, and Mitre". Whilst there were many difficulties in different parts of the country, the Diocese of Durham

1. Granville.
Compleat Conformist
London 1684.
p.8.

2. P.H.Osmond.
Life of John Cosin
p.151. footnote

was full of problems caused by semiconformity, and nonconformity.

The Durham Ecclesiastics found the Diocese in a state of disorder. Grenville in his Visitation Charge of Michaelmas/¹⁶⁸¹summed up the difficulties when he wrote that "the circumstances which the Church of England is in, in respect of the Papist on the one hand, and the separatist on the other, are very deplorable". It was necessary at once to restore law, and order, both in the Church, and in the State, because of the growth of nonconformity. Amongst the problems to be solved, three of outstanding importance concerning the Church were dealt with by Cosin, and his Archdeacons. These difficulties may be summarised thus:-

- (a). The Intruding Ministers.
- (b). Ecclesiastical Organisation.
- (c). Ruined Churches.

The question of the Intruding Ministers was an urgent one. The situation in the Diocese was confused by the large number of Presbyterian ministers in North-

umberland. There were so many intruders without Episcopal ordination, that the people in many cases were ἀποικαντες. In order to obtain a clear view of the situation, it is necessary to see what happened to these ministers after the Restoration, and what kind of ordination they possessed. I have indicated by the attached chart the name of the minister of each parish in 1660, and what type, if any, of ordination he possessed, then what happened to him at the Restoration. From this survey we find that many of the ejected ministers returned to their arts of teaching, medicine, and in some cases to farming, or trades. A large number of the intruders withdrew voluntarily, others invited the old incumbents back to the parish. After the Act of Indulgence in 1672, many of those who withdrew from their parishes were licensed as Presbyterian Ministers, sometimes in their old parishes. Cosin in his dealings with these ministers was severe in implementing the enactments against non-conformists. He was bound by his Episcopal vows, no

less than by conviction to maintain the Act of Uniformity in every detail. Many of the so called conformists were holding livings although they were disloyal to both Church, and State.

At Rothbury about the year 1653 Ambrose Jones, Rector, was ejected from the living, and his place filled by Thomas Cotes, sometime schoolmaster at Stanton. Probably this person received the appointment through the influence of Edward Fenwick, Stanton, Esq. who was Sheriff of Northumberland, during the Commonwealth 1655. The first intimation we get of opposition on the part of the Parishioners to this minister appointed by Parliament is in the evident disregard they paid to his repeated injunctions to attend Vestry meetings. We gather from the Minutes of 1658, and 1659, that no business could be transacted owing to the non attendance of the Churchwardens, Vestrymen, and overseers of the poor. But at the Vestry meeting of April 14th 1660, just on the eve of the Restoration of Charles II., the Minutes of the meeting record "that the names were

called, and all appeared". After reading the ordinary business of the meeting, the Minutes ended as follows, "some other things of Triviall concernment was done" --- and then as if to express their joy at the approaching event, they added "vivat Rex Carolus secundus flore¹at Ecclesia Anglicana," amen. Another piece of local evidence bearing on the subject are the letters B.R. 1660, cut in fine bold relief on the original jamb of an old fireplace in the Black Bull Inn at Rothbury, which are now considered to be the initials of Bernard Rumney, the village poet who was Churchwarden at the Restoration, but never during the Commonwealth.²

James Aird the minister of Ingram was ejected on the title of an old incumbent, and later became a nonjuror. Richard Frankland, who had been selected as Vice Principal of Cromwell's College at Durham was urged by Cosin to be ordained, but declined, and moved to Rathmell in the parish of Giggleswick, where he founded an Academy at the suggestion of Sir Thomas Liddell.

1. Arch.Ael.
NS. Vol.XVI.
p.95.

2. Ibid.
p.95.

It is claimed that Manchester College Oxford, founded at Manchester 1786 clearly traces its ancestry to this Academy opened by Frankland.¹ Later he became a Presbyterian minister in 1672.

Gilbert Rule, of Alnwick, the author of tracts against Stillingfleet, became Principal of Edinburgh Academy, and continued his literary activity on behalf of Presbyterianism.² William Pell of Great Stainton ejected in 1662 became a licensed Presbyterian minister at Durham, although the Darlington congregation desired him. Later Rogers who had been ejected from Barnard Castle, and the Rectory of Coglein in Westmoreland became the first Presbyterian minister at Darlington.

Some of the ministers when they left their incumbences remained in the parish, becoming licensed ministers of the Presbytery, or congregational ministers.

Thomas Wilson of Lamesley, John Hine, of Houghton, Northumberland, and Patrick Bloomfield of Ellingham, remained in their parishes, and homes as leaders of presbyterian congregations, whilst Thomas Trurant, of Ovingham, and

1.C.E.Whiting.

Studies in English Puritanism.
p.459.

cf. History of Durham Cathedral
Library - copy of the Charter in
p.34. the Library.

2.A.H.Drysdale

History of the Presbyterians
in England. p.571.

John Davis of Bywell, remained in the county to establish congregational meeting houses. There were also instances of ministers who returned to medicine and farming. John Lomax, Vicar of Wooler, became a licensed Independent Minister in 1672, and practised as a physician at North Shields.¹ He was held in high esteem by Cosin who tried to persuade him to conform without success, and when Prebendary Cartwright was reflecting upon Lomax among other dissenting ministers in the presence of Cosin, his Lordship said, "hold your tongue; for to my certain knowledge Lomax is a learned man".²

Humphrey Bell, Vicar of Ponteland, although a gifted man desired to remain as a layman, and farmed land near to Morpeth.³

At Bishop Middleham, there was an intruder who ejected the lawful minister, Mr. Redhead in the year 1653. It is recorded that this intruder was a soldier in the army of Cromwell, when a battle took place in the Churchyard which ended in the parishioners securing

1. Surtees Soc. 50.
p. 390.

2. Ibid.
p. 391.

3. Arch. Ael.
Vol. XVII.
p. 250 footnote

the pulpit for their lawful minister, whereupon, the military intruder retreated into the Chancel, and preached standing on the Altar Table with a brace of pistols at his side. Mr. Redhead who was deposed, returned at the Restoration, and after his death, Brabant, the intruder, who had usurped the living, conformed, and was regularly ordained, and presented.¹

There were difficulties with many of those who had conformed. Granville speaks of Josiah Dockwray, curate of Lancaster, who afterwards conformed, "as one who was too rough hewn methought to be a priest"²

John Bowey affords an illustration of the troubles with which Gosin was beset. In a letter written to the Bishop concerning "that imp'dent intruder Bowie who had told the people that he had gotten Elwick", Blakiston wrote, "it was not intend to favore the intruders more than convict them openlie by law" "as their own contiensis had done privatelie I hoped"³ Bowie later became the ruling elder of the Presbytery at Easington.

1. E. McKenzie & M. Ross
History of the Topographical
and Descriptive View of the
County Palatine of Durham.
Vol. 2. p. 318
Newcastle 1834.

2. Surtees Soc. 47.
p. 159.

3. Surtees Soc. 55.
p. 5, 6.

Within the Archdeaconry of Durham, Will Johnson, of Bishopwearmouth, Thomas Boyer, of Muggleswick, and Richard Battersby, of Haughton-le-Skerne, conformed as laymen, the last named remained in the parish as a devoted member of the Church.

In Northumberland, Darnton the intruder of Bedlington, at his ordination later in life expressed regret for having preached twenty years without being ordained, but swore that he had never administered Baptism. He was ejected on the ground that he was a layman. Later, however, he received Presbyterian ordination at the house of Mr. Mitchell of Winterburn, by R. Frankland, O. Heywood, and J. Dawson, then licensed as Presbyterian minister at West Tanfield where he had been an intruder. Raph Ward was presbyterially ordained in the Church of St. John Newcastle (see copy of certificate appended at end of chapter).

Currie the intruder of Longhoughton, was neither instituted, nor inducted into the living he enjoyed, because he had refused any kind of ordination.¹

1. Arch Ael.
NS. Part 46. Vol. XVII.
pp. 254. 263.

Cosin, and his Archdeacons were faced with a new kind of hostility, in the creation of conventicle meetings which caused the authorities much trouble, often issuing in a breach of the peace. In Newcastle the conventicles were well attended, and there is a minute in the records of the Corporation which noted "that a site was granted ~~xxxxx~~ to the Barber Surgeons Company for the erection of a meeting house at Manors, under the guidance of John Pigg, the Puritan Surveyor.¹ It was there, and also at Mrs. Shaftoes house, that John Pringle, the ejected minister of Eglington, and a member of the College of Physicians ministered to a congregation over which William Durant presided, whom Cosin had entreated to forbear preaching, "until he made it appear that he was an ecclesiastical person, as he is not having neither Episcopall nor Presbyteriell ordination".² Guthbert Nicholson, cordwainer before Ralph Jennison, Mayor of Newcastle bore witness that "upon Sunday last there was assembled at the house of Mr. Dewrants in Pilgraham Streete a great multitude of

1. Arch. Ael.
4th S. Vol. 5. (1928)
p. 37.

2. Surtees Soc. 55
p. 36.

people"¹. It is evident from this testimony that the conventicles in Newcastle-upon-Tyne were exerting a great influence over the people who frequented them in those days.

In addition to this notorious conventicle, Richard Gilpin, Rector of Greystokes bought the Manor of Scalesby Castle, in Cumberland, then migrated to Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1665, where he enjoyed the hospitality, and friendship of Ambrose Barnes,² and held a congregation at Closegate, then moved to Henover Square, and finally settled in New Bridge Street in the building once used by the Unitarian Church. The communion vessels of this congregation have the inscription - Church plate - Dr. Richard Gilpin.³ 1693.

There was also a meeting house on the east side of Tuthill Stairs often used by the puritan corporation of the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.⁴

These leaders of conventicles actively opposed the Anglican Church "and most of them had so little of the spirit of religion that it was no wonder men turned

1. Surtees Soc. 50
p. 408.

2. Surtees Soc. 50
p. 443.

3. Memoirs of Bernard
Gilpin. p. 243.

4. Surtees Soc. 50
p. 177. footnote.

Deist, rather than Dissenters". Cosin in a letter dated November 1667, wrote to Stapylton concerning one Ashburnham who had been elected, and appointed to serve the cure of St. John, Newcastle-upon-Tyne without let, or hindrance, "You are to look into this matter, and to lett both town, and Vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne know that it is not in their power to put a man into the Church but nominate him to the Bishop"¹. Newcastle-upon-Tyne was notorious for its conventicle and religious meetings during the years immediately following the Restoration. The Act of Uniformity against schoolmasters was not effectively applied, and some of the ejected ministers became Chaplains to county families. William Henderson refused to be ordained and became Chaplain to Sir R. Delaval, Thomas Benlowes, the intruder of Mitford took silk, and served as courtkeeper to Lord Wharton.

At first nonconformists did not ordain, but when they found that the law would^{not} be altered in their favour they made lists of the ejected, and proceeded to ordain.

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p. 207. footnote.

There are instances of leaders of dissenting congregations frequently leading their people to the Parish Churches, to teach them at hours other than those of the canonical services. Most of these ministers were much better off than the lawful incumbents. At the Restoration there were men holding benefices "who were fellows bred to the meanest occupations, troopers, and others who had served in the rebel army". "Soe far from conforming themselves they preached against those that conformed, and intruded themselves upon their charge by baptising and marrying such as are enemies to the order of the Church of England". Grenville wrote to secretary Cook "concerning one Pell, a preacher in the times of rebellion whoe hath the confidence to sett up a congregation at our gates, and though excommunicated dares to christen children and ventures on other sacred offices"¹. Ambrose Barnes notes in his memoirs, "that during the Commonwealth there grew up a war of notions, and parties"². There are entries in the registers of the Parish Churches of the names of magistrates before

1. Surtees Soc. 47
p. 13.

2. Surtees Soc. 50.
p. 121.

whom, during the time of the rebellion, every ceremony of marriage was conducted. These entries in the registers of the 17th century reveal the strength of nonconformity in the County of Durham at that time.

Also, the Romanists were persistent in their opposition to the Church of England, and gave Cosin no little trouble. They were a considerable body in parts of Northumberland, where they met in private houses, for the hearing of the Masse. There is evidence that regular services were held at Mr. George Collingwood's and "that in several other places of that Archdeaconry Masses were openly said and warning given to the people to come thereto". Bishop Sheldon wrote to Cosin to emphasise the danger which might arise from so many recusants in the country, and "that the recusants are in that, like Presbyterians who cry out persecution, persecution, unless they may do, and say what they list"¹. These Romanists had a large number of adherents in the Northern Counties some clustering around the halls of such gentry as still

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p. 97.

clung to that faith. These Romanists were so many and hard to find out although the most active for Popery were Thomas Riddell of Ffenham, Robert Lawson of Newcastle, merchant, and John Ffenwick, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Bedlington. ¹ Ambrose Barnes speaks of the Recusants who never being in due form convicted keep open assemblies, and go about insulting the Government.

The Bishop and his Archdeacons were troubled concerning these conventicles and unlawful assemblies, within the Diocese. John Elrington, a servant belonging to the Lady Forster of Blanchland, troubled in conscience at the resolutions of those of his own persuasion as separatists, took Lady Mallory into his confidence and by her he was introduced to Basire, Rector of Stanhope, and gave him information concerning secret meetings of these disloyal people, some of whom had fled into hiding in some wild parts of Northumberland.² Although the report of the Darwentdale Plot was groundless, there was much feeling throughout the county, and a strong anti-royalist spirit rankling in the breasts of many who refused to accept the teaching of the Church of England, and had little liking for monarchical rule. Armed associations

1. Arch.Ael.
NS. Vol.XVII.
p.246.

2. Arch.Ael.
NS. Vol.XIV.
p.150.

were formed in all quarters which resulted in the withdrawal of the malcontents. Cosin makes a distinction in his own letters between conventicles, and unlawful assemblies. In 1664 Cosin, as Lord Lieutenant wrote to Basire to find "information concerning those who had served in the late war against the King under the command of the late Parliament"¹. Later on the 8th of December 1668, Cosin wrote again to Basire concerning the religious situation in the Diocese which he refused to confuse with the secular difficulties. In that letter the Bishop noted that the notorious conventicles in Newcastle-upon-Tyne were frequented by the wife of the Mayor.² In their reply to this letter Dr. Thaylor, Vicar of Newcastle, Ralph Jennison, and others reported that "they had put the laws against conventicles in execution and have taken care to prevent these meetings under the pretence of worship"³.

Field conventicles were prevalent in the northern part of the Diocese where a man called Veitch maintained a number of them. Basire in his History of English and

1. Surtees Soc. 55
p. 108.

2. Ibid
p. 197.

3. Ibid
p. 198.

scotch Presbytery 1659, chapter 1., "paralleled the Covenanters with the Jesuits"; "now the discipline of the Covenanters is far from the practice of the other churches. They take no care of order, but of their liberty to convert all".

From 1662 onwards when the re-established Episcopal Church of Scotland put pressure on the Covenanters to conform, it was natural that they should seek refuge across the border in those districts of Northumberland, where Presbyterianism already had some hold, and the authorities were tolerant. One called Gabriel (Semple) Semphill, the outed minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham, near Dumfries, had lain hidden in a friendly house on the English side of the Cheviots, and ventured forth to preach at a sacrament arranged by Henry Hall. These men were supported in their activities by Justice Henry Ogle, of Eglington, who had sat in Parliament for the County, and had been active in local administration under Cromwell. Semple made his home at Ford, then a more populous place than it is today, in which were many

families of Scotch descent, for the most part recent immigrants. The Church stood empty, for the elderly Rector was generally absent at his cure of Ancrum. A vacancy occurred, and as Carr the owner of Ford Castle had failed to appoint, and the succession to the estate was in dispute, the King chose James Scott a royalist, bred near the border in Yarrow, to fill the living. Ford was no prize, as the church was in bad repair, lacking a Vicarage House. In the year 1665 he was instituted to the living of Ancrum amid stormy scenes which deepened the rift between protesters, and royalists. Scott preferred to live at Ancrum, leaving his Northumberland parish to take care of itself. Meanwhile, Gabriel Semphill found himself free to use Ford Church, and spoke of the Vicar as "the curate, a simple body, and melancholy".¹ In this Church Semphill dispensed the sacraments to hundreds of his conventicle followers.

There were meetings in the fields which often overflowed into seditious assemblies, as at Flodden Field, which provoked someone in the neighbour-

1. Arch.Ael.
4th.S. Vol.LX.
p.6. 1932.

hood to petition Lord Clifford, secretary of State concerning it. The immunity enjoyed by the Dissenters was in large measure due to the personal influence of William Carr, afterwards Recorder of Berwick, who allowed outed ministers to preach in his house, though he was too discreet to take part in field conventicles. Semple the leader who married Carr's sister was ably supported by Veitch, of Stanton Hall, where he maintained a large assembly.¹ The extent and influence of these Conventicles can only be measured by the Crockham affray which was a sequel to the defiant attitude of the dissenters. Irregularities increased to such a degree that Lauderdale promoted an Act of Council 1676, that made heritors liable to fines when a Conventicle was held on their lands. These provocations caused the Durham Ecclesiastics to pay special attention to conventicles, and seditious meetings. In his correspondence Cosin draws the attention of the Archdeacons and officials to this menace. Writing to the mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, he says "I tooke the best care I

1. Arch.Æel. Vol.1X.
op.cit.
pp. 3-11.

could thereupon to have an address made unto you, -
 Mr. Mayor, to desire you that --- you would not suffer
 any such scandalous and offensive meetings to be held
 among you contrary to the known Laws of this Church and
 Realm of England.¹

Cosin as Lord Lieutenant was responsible for the
 maintenance of public order. From time to time there
 were disquieting rumours, such as those connected with
 the fire of London, when Cosin issued prompt warnings
 of a possible rising to his deputy-lieutenants, who in
 turn instructed their officers to double their guards,
 and to keep their patrols constant in the night.
 There was much disquiet in the Diocese; in a further
 account sent by Samuel Davison, and Cuthbert Carre to
 the Lords of High Majesty's privy Council, it was re-
 ported that at Muggleswick dangerous and seditious
 persons against whom information had been received by
 one Elrington, nine of them had been committed to gaol,
 others had escaped to Scotland, or the private parts of
 Northumberland ---- "Captayne Thomas Gore (as wee are

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
 p. 200.

informed) is now in London" ---- "of whose abode wee conceive that John Joplinge, --- and Paul Hobson his great friend are able to give accompt"¹. Hobson lyeth secretly at Thomas Lomes house at the sign of the Mermaid in Lothbury. Ambrose Barnes under the date of the 10th January 1661 notes in a letter written by William Delaville Gateshead to Edw Grey, London, that "a treacherous party of 150 horse tried last night to surprise Newcastle-upon-Tyne, but failed through fear," "most of the disbanded forces lie about Newcastle and would join the fanatics to raise a new war."² Barnes also noted that the merchants dispersed infinite quantities of powder, and shot in the northern counties, and Scotland. In a letter sent from York to the Bishop of Durham, dated 11th August 1662-3 the writer said "the disaffected have sent lately into the Bishoprick, and there are dangerous persons in Sunderland whence they are to be furnished with powder, Durham and Newcastle should be searched"³. A letter dated 13th October 1663 speaks of hot alarms in Newcastle,

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p.105.

2. Surtees Soc. 50.
p.387.

3. Ibid
p.393.

and how "Sir James Clayenger (Clavering) the vigilant Mayor has ordered the officers to two companies to be ready"¹.

Cosin realising the need for strong action reported the Mayor of Newcastle to the King in Council who sent peremptory orders to his worship "to execute the severity of the laws", but as it was not expected that the first Conventicle Act would be renewed, and as the Mayor's wife herself frequented these assemblies no rigorous action was taken. The last we hear of the northern conventicles is Basire's report concerning Richard Gilpin, who by travelling between Carlisle, and Newcastle evaded the authorities. The Bishop wrote to the Mayor "Public peace being the life of the Kingdom, and execution the life of the laws it hath been my endeavour to procure, and observe both, as in my Diocese in general so in your Corporation in particular --- witness my frequent letters to you in order to these good ends --- I would fain vindicate the town of Newcastle from the foul imputation of being the nursery of faction in these northern parts, which, as

1. Surtees Soc. 50
p. 394.

things now stand I cannot do; but rather must, and according to my duty will report the contrary to the King, and his Council, and then anyone may easily foresee the evill consequences. Meanwhile, in hope that you will make good use of this, my last warning tendered to you, out of my tender care for the welfare of your Towne, I commend you all to the grace of God¹".

In a letter written to Basire, Cosin asked, that "he should require all vicars and curates within his jurisdiction with the assistance of the Churchwardens, and constables of their respective parishes to make diligent search, and enquiry about all conventicles, and unlawful assemblies"². He also requested Basire to give information concerning "what persons in your parishes of Stanhope, and Egglescliffe, that have served as officers, and soldiers against the King, and whom you judge to be loyal, and ready to do the King service if need shall require"³. It is evident from this correspondence that Cosin as Lord Lieutenant was faced with real difficulties and often it proved difficult for him to differentiate

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
pp. 206. 207.

2. Ibid.
p. 206.

3. Ibid.
p. 108.

between the zeal of the sectaries on the one hand, and the disaffection of the rebels on the other.

A great inconvenience was caused by a section of the Clergy who were called Lecturers. In the year 1628 Laud presented to the King James 1. certain considerations for the better settling of Church government, and in them we find some curious particulars as to Lecturers. "That special care be had over Lecturers in every Diocese which by reason of their pay are the people's creatures, and blow the bellows of their¹ sedition". These Lecturers had been a thorn in the side of the Church for many years, and had acquired an additional prominence in Charles 1's time by being purchased by lay impropiators. Cosin made strict inquiries concerning them in his Articles of visitation exhibited to the Charchwardens, and sidesmen of every parish within the Diocese of Durham. Among the questions asked the following may be noted "Is there any lecture preached in your Parish"? "Is he who preacheth it allowed so to do by the Bishop"? "Doth he before

1. Surtees Soc. 50.
p. 313.

his lecture read the public service of the Church - appointed for the day by the Common Prayer Book"? The reason for Cosin's concern was that these lecturers who were freelances in the Church, were often critical of Church order. Parliament allowed lecturers in Cathedral Churches, where they were permitted to have the pulpit on Sunday afternoons without interference, and also on market days. These lecturers often were leaders of resistance against episcopal order, which led in many cases to a lecturer party being raised as against a Vicar party. Barnes records how "Cole, Marley, Davison, Tho Liddall, Cock, Liddall junr., procured a mandate (9th Oct.1639) to place George Wisheard, a fugitive, and an incendarie, to be Lecturer in the towne (at All Saints), and thereby violently forst him uppon them against the minds of the parishioners"¹. Most of the appointments were those of Lecturers acting on the advice of parishioners as in the case of Mr. John Knightsbridge, who received a call from the elders of St.Nicholas Church, Newcastle-upon-

Tyne, of whom Davenport the Bishop's Chaplain wrote to Sancroft on 15th July 1662 "That My Lord suspended¹ Mr. Knightsbridge because he refused to read prayers".

After the petition of the Parishioners of the Parish of Stepney, the House of Commons ordered on 8th September 1641 "That it shall be lawful for the parishioners of any parish in the Kingdom of England, and the Dominion of Wales to set up a lecture, and to maintain an orthodox minister at their own charge to preach every Lord's Day, where there is no preaching, and to preach one day in every week when there is no weekly lecture"². So it was possible to hear Canterbury speak in the forenoon, and Geneva in the afternoon.

The Lectureship was a ~~new~~ creation which needed regulating, and this was provided in the 36th, 37th and 56th canons. There was also legislation on the subject by Acts of Parliament in the time of Charles II. "that in all parishes in the afternoon the sermon may be turned into catechising by questions, and answers,

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p. XVlll.

2. Constitutions and Canons
(S.P.C.K. 1900)
Nos. 36. 37. 56.

when, and wheresoever there is not some great cause apparent to break the ancient, and profitable order". "That where a lecture is set up in a market town it may be read by a companie of grave an orthodox Divines, and that they preach in gowns, and not in cassocks as too many use". "That if a corporation doe maintain a single lecturer he be not suffered to preach, till he do profess his willingness to accept a benefice with a cure of souls in the same Incorporation, and that he actually take such a benefice or cure soe soone as it shall be fairly procured for him"¹.

An instance of a vicar being also appointed Lecturer of his Church occurs in the Corporation Records of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. "When by ordinance dated the 26th May 1645, they displaced and removed Yeldart Alvey, from the said Vicarage for notorious delinquency, and ordayned the said Dr. Robert Jennison, to be vicar in his stead --- do hereby order that the said Dr. Robert Jennison, shall over, and besides the said Vicaridge be lecturer on the weekeday, and preach each Thursday, in

1. Ibid. Burtees Soc. 50
p. 313

the forenoon at St. Nicholas Church. Out of the revenues of the town he was to receive £100 extra per annum, as Lecturer¹".

The endowments of the Church were not affected by these appointments, but the incumbent was called upon to lend his Church. Sometimes the intrusion was resented by the Vicar who did not approve of the Lecturer appointed. At Finnes, the curate took up all Sunday to prevent the Lecturer who had been sent from preaching, but Parliament compelled him to give up the Church at 3 o'clock.

We have records of the appointments of Lecturers within the Diocese of Durham. At Gateshead-upon-Tyne the Churchwardens and people desired to appoint either Mr. Will Cole, Mr. Rich Prideaux or Mr. Knightbridge as lecturer. They stated their case in a document entitled Diatrephes but Mr. Thomas Weld refused the request²".

At Newcastle-upon-Tyne according to the Corporation Records of May 30th 1645, "Whereas there hath byn a

1. Arch. Ael.
part 53. Vol. XX1.
p. 249.

2. Surtees Soc. 50.
p. 376

great defect, and want of able ministers to supplie the severall charges of this towne both in respect of Lecturers, and others to take Pastorall care, and charge within the several parishes". "And whereas Mr. Cuthbert Sydenham, and William Durant were recommended unto this corporation for their learninge, and integrity of life, such uppon good, and sufficient tryall had of them they have approved to this Corporation. Therefore, wee, The Mayor, and Aldermen, Sheriff, and the rest of the Comon Councell do hereby order that the said Mr. Sydenham, and Mr. Durant be appointed, and established Lecturers in this Towne, And to have, and receive out of the Chamber of this towne, several yearely pencons for the same. That is to saie, a pencon of one hundred pounds p^a Anna to be paid unto the said Mr. Sydenham, and a pencon of four score pounds p^a Anna, to be paid to the said Mr. Durant quarterly, by even, and equal porcons, their several pencons to begin from 25th day of Merch 1645, and to continue so long as they, and either of them continue

their faithful, and religious discharge of their
several places in the exercising thereof att such
tymes, and places as the Comon Counsell shall think
fit to appoint. And we do further order that a
quarters payment, that is to say Midsummer Quarter
next ensueing be forthwith paid to either of them,
and Tenn pounds guven to such of them for their
charges in coming to the towne" Henry Warmouth Mayor. ^{1.}

It is evident from this agreement that these lecturers
in the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne were provided for
from the revenues of the Council, and were not epis-
copally ordained. One notable case was that of the
appointment of Ashburnham to the perpetual curacy of
St. John, in 1667 by the Mayor, and Corporation with-
out any reference to the Bishop, who on the 23rd of
November 1667 wrote to his secretary "I have seen a
writeing --- and Common Councill's hands at Newcastle,
wherein they elect and --- Ashburnham to serve the
cure at St. John's" --- "You are to look into this
matter, and to lett both the Towne, and the Vicar know

1. Arch.Ael.

Vol. XXI. p. 250. footnote.

that it is not in their power to put a man into the Church, but to nominate him only unto the Bishop, or els they make themselves Bishops which is a strong¹ spice of the Presbiterians and Independents".

At St. Nicholas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, one Richard Prideaux, although he held the office of lecturer was not ordained until 1663 when he became curate of St. John in that town. John Knightsbridge, who was lecturer in the same Church at first refused to use any part of the Liturgy, but later he conformed, and was ordained on the 28th day of March 1663, by the Bishop of Sarum. In addition to these lecturers there were others nominated by Parliament. William Morton, became lecturer to All Hallows, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Timothy Batt, claimed the pulpit at Bishopwaermouth, and Nathaniel Burnard, held the office at Ovingham which was a strong centre of Independency.

These lecturers were a source of inconvenience to Cosin, and his Archdeacons, because they were able through easy access of the Parish Church to exercise a

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p. 207.
footnote.

ministry often against the Church. For the most part they were puritan preachers out of sympathy with the teaching, and tradition of Anglicanism. Durant of Exeter College and Frideaux were examples of the kind of men Gosin had to deal with; the former who was not in orders, he forbade to preach, the latter he persuaded to be ordained. It was impossible for the Bishop to control these lecturers, unless he first removed them from their office by bringing them directly under his jurisdiction. Grenville in his tract Compleat Conformist wrote of these lecturers, and Nonconformists thus "the Church took care to tie the priest to a prescript rule leaving no liberty for variation, not because of the inability of the priest, but that all men were very apt to abuse the liberty that was granted to them, therefore the Church set bounds, and limits". For the most part the Lecturers "were not conformable to the laws, and orders of the Church of England", frequently holding services at times other than the usual

hours of Church Services.

There were also other irregularities especially among the conforming ministers, many of whom were holding on to their benefices because of their security. These conformists have been described by Granville as "ministers who for little despicable temporall conveniences, and satisfaction change the customary hours of God's worship, and sometimes lay it aside that they, and their people may go to a horse race, or some idle sport, or diuertisement"¹. Many of these who conformed in 1662 had no real sympathy with Anglicanism. They took oaths but did not honour them, neglected the use of the Book of Common Prayer, refused to catechise the Children, and suffered the Churches to fall into a state of grave disrepair. There was a multitude in England among our clergy "who proclaimed by their practice that they were not hearty lovers of Episcopacy, and our establishment". Basire records that in many places of his Archdeaconry there were unruly congregations, and clergy who ordered their service with no

1. Burtees Soc. 47.
p. 24.

regard to the directions of the Book of Common Prayer.¹
 Many had obtained orders who were not suitable for
 their calling. A large number were impoverished by
 their circumstances so that they were not far removed
 from the condition of the day labourer.

These conformists "thought more of tythe, than of
 principle, and lived in constant omission of any one
 clear law of the rule of their conformity, i.e., their
 Common Prayer Book. Granville reminds them that "e
 comparative conformity does not denominate us as true
 conformists"². Within the Diocese of Durham, there
 were many who subscribed to but did not accept the
 principles of Anglicanism, yielded but a reluctant con-
 sent to Episcopal, and Archdiaconal injunctions.
 Some remained in the Church, and did not even technically
 conform. Granville writing concerning these diff-
 iculties said that "of all nonconformists, I confesse,
 I have most indignation against these than can accept
 of a fat benefice, and preferment upon pretence of
 conforming, and giving consent and assent to our order
 bitterly inveighing against all dissenters from our

1. W. N. Darnell
 Correspondence of I. Basire.
 p. 281.

2. Granville
 Compleat Conformist
 p. 22.
 cf. p. 10.

rule which they most scandalously neglect themselves.¹
 A number of the clergy were lazy, and careless rather
 than disloyal. Within the Dean and Chapter the
 Bishop found evidences of sloveness and slackness,
 which he sought to eradicate by injunctions and visit-
 ations.

The state of the Church in the Diocese at the
 Restoration was at a low ebb. Many of the Churches
 were unprovided of ministers, "or provided with such
 as are no ministers, and are so far from conforming
 themselves that they officiate like one Thomson at
 clandestine marriages, baptised children in their
 homes, and churched women in their chambers which is
 a direct running counter to the Church's designs, or
 institutions". In one of his notes Grenville speaks
 of most of the children born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne
 being christened privately in their homes, and when
 so christened, the lawful christening of the same is
 never afterwards certified. A mandate addressed to
 Isaac Basire, esq., official of the Archdeaconry of

Northumberland, speaks of this neglect. Cranville also records the slovenly behaviour of the minor canons at the Cathedral, and the inattention to the rubrics. Education was at a low ebb, many of the clergy could not read the service,¹ others neglected the offices of the Book of Common Prayer. Cosin found difficulty with certain members of the Chapter, because six of the old regime had been reinstated. Puritan influence lingered for a time in many parts of the Diocese especially at Durham. Granville has left in his own handwriting a glimpse of life in the Cathedral in his day "people making the Church a common thoroughfare, and walking about the Church in the time of service. Boys playing rudely in the Cloysters even on Sundays, and sometimes on other days". Singing boys, and men seldom wearing their gowns under their surplices and of preachers who remained in the vestry until the sermon²".

In the Cathedral, the weekly Sacrament never had been kept up, and brought into a monthly one. "The

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p. 35.
footnote

2. Surtees Soc. 47
p. 162.

daily prayers to be said in all Parish Churches, or at least in the minister's family where he resides are not observed in more than four places in the Diocese. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper which is to be administered so many times in every parish so that every parishioner may have opportunity to receive at least three times in the year is not administered in most places above three or four times in the year which renders it impossible soe to do¹.

At Gateshead the parishioners who were denied the comfort of both sacraments by their minister Mr. Weld, held a meeting under the chairmanship of a Mr. Mitford, and sent a petition to the commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel asking "that a certain provision may be made for the administration² of the Sacraments".

There were many problems concerning the organisation of the Church which needed immediate attention, in addition to the negligences occasioned by the omissions of the intruders and so called conforming

1. Surtees Soc. 47.
passim
p. 23. 24.

2. Surtees Soc. 50.
p. 375. 382.

ministers.

In addition there was the poverty of the ministers who often were unable to obtain a respectable living. Chaplains were regarded by their patrons as servants, rather than ministers. The duties of catechising had been omitted, and the whole parochial system had been allowed to fall into decay, through the negligence of many of the semi-conforming ministers who were not in sympathy with the principles of Anglicanism. This disorder was aggravated by the disuse of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Holy Sacraments over a period of fifteen years, during which time it was illegal even to receive the Communion. Evelyn describes how during the Commonwealth while "Mr. Gunning was giving us the Holy Sacrament the chapel was surrounded by soldiers, and all the communicants --- kept prisoners". This resulted in a lack of reverence for the Church, and her mysteries amongst many people especially the young who were never taught the value of liturgical worship. Grenville commented upon the situation when he wrote .

1. Evelyn Diary
p.254.

"we do not want a Laodicean temper of Lukewarmness; which is the result of the kind of conformity we find in most churches"; "for where the greatest liberty hath been taken, there conformity hath al-¹ways more visibly deblined".

There were other problems concerning the re-establishment of Anglicanism, of which the question of the ruined churches was by no means the least.

During the Commonwealth most of the Parish Churches had either fallen into decay owing to the neglect of the fabric, or had been rathlessly damaged by soldiers, or fanatics. In the resolutions of the House of Commons on Ecclesiastical innovations 1641, it was commanded "That the Churchwardens of every parish, and chapel respectively do forthwith remove the Communion Table from the East end of the Church, chapel or chancel into some other convenient place, and they take away the rails, and level the Chancels as heretofore they were before the late innovations"².

1. Granville
Compleat Conformist.
pp.19. 23. 24.
passim.

2. Gee & Hardy
Documents Illustrative of
English Church History.
p.551.

1

The Bishop of the Diocese of St. David writing to Basire referred to the sad destructive times which had left so many of the ecclesiastical buildings in ruin. This was especially true of the Churches of the Diocese of Durham. A letter addressed to Basire by James Scott of Ford, and Alex Davison, curate of Norham, stressed the need of the visitation of the Church in those northern parts. Basire himself gives a description of the condition of buildings within his Archdeaconry when he describes churches as having leaking roofs, "Chancels without windows, altars without coverings",² and in some cases the lack of altar fonts, and bibles. Granville the Archdeacon of Durham also commented upon the state of the Churches and Chapels in his Archdeaconry "as altogether ruinous, and in great decay and cannot be gotten repaired without visitation.

Bishop Cosin when he came to the Cathedral found that most of the screenwork, stalls, organ, and monumental effigies had been destroyed by the Scots who accord-

1.W.N.Darnell
Correspondence of I.Basire
p.217.

2.Ibid.
p.281.

ing to the MSS.Gough, Durham 12, quoted on page 163 of the Rites of Durham "came into England in September 1640, and staid untill the 20th of August 1641, at which time they went away. On Midsummer Day 1641, which fell out that year to be on Corpus Christi Day, and not till then did they use any violence, or harm to the organs in this church, but then they fell on, and broke them, and tore up all the great keys of ye great organs, which had been finished, and set up at the latter end of the said year 1621, and the said Midsummer Day they pulled down, and destroyed the old font". This Manuscript also records that the Cathedral became a prison for the Scotch prisoners, and that they did burn all the organ cases,"and all the seats, and wainscott, and all the wood they could find in the Cathedral Church"¹. In addition some of the fabrics had been stolen, and there is evidence that the fair rich velvet pulpit cloth, with the "colledge" arms fairly embossed in silver, and gold upon it, and several ornaments, and utensils were embezzled by Isaac

1.Rites of Durham.
Surtees Soc.107.
p.163.fotnote.

Gilpin, undermaster of the Cathedral School.¹

Alderman Milbank of Newcastle-upon-Tyne tells of the destruction wrought in the Churches of that city by the Scots. He records how a certain Cuthbert Maxwell, when he saw the Iconoclasts smashing up the bowl of the font at St. John's Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, hurried to the Church of St. Nicholas, took the font to pieces, and hid them in the vestry; the Credence Table must also have been removed; but the font cover suffered considerably.²

A survey of the Churches grouped under their respective deaneries of Newcastle, Morpeth, Alnwick, Bamburgh, and Corbridge, comprised within the one Archdeaconry of Northumberland was found in a collection of Manuscripts in the possession of a Mr. Woodman. This survey containing valuable notes appended have been abridged from the minute book of the visitations of Archdeacon Singleton. In this survey it is possible to obtain an idea of the state of the Churches in Northumberland at the Restoration. Most of the Churches

1. Surtees Soc. 107.
p. 163.

2. Arch. Ael.
4th. S. Vol. LX. 1932
p. 128.

were in need of repair, some were hardly fit for use. a bird's eye view of the state of the Churches in the Archdeaconry may be obtained from quotations out of this minute book which is noted in the Appendix B to this chapter.

The Patrons of these Churches showed no interest in the fabricks, and some of them refused to offer assistance for repairs. At Hepburne, in the Morpeth Deanery, which was in the patronage of the Duke of Newcastle, the chancel was kept up with thirteen rough hewn props. Help from the Churchwardens towards the cost of repairs was difficult to obtain, because they being "yett not sworne" disclaimed any responsibility. Basire wrote "I have prevailed for the repairing of some as Felton by name in the Deanery of Alnwick which was down body, and chancel, but have found all now leaded and seated"¹. Bishop Rainbow of Carlisle, the impropiator of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, refused help for the restoration of this Church, and Chancel.

In addition to the ruined Churches, Cosin found

1.W.N.Darnell.
Memoirs of I.Basire.
p.281.

many official and ecclesiastical buildings in need of repair. The Chapel at Auckland built by Bishop Beke, was pulled down by Sir Arthur Hazelrigge, in order that he might obtain materials for his new palace on the east side of the old castle. At Durham, "the castle¹ which the Scots spoiled and ruined with gunpowder" was in need of restoration. Besides all this, the Bishop was obliged to maintain Stockton Castle, and the house at Darlington as official residences. The former fell into disuse, the latter was repaired for the benefit of his family. Howdenshire also was part of his patrimony, where he was obliged to send his secretary Mr. Stapylton, to look after the reconditioning of the Staiths.

The whole of the Diocese was in need of restoration, because it had suffered much by its close proximity to the borders of Scotland, and the neglect occasioned by the churches passing into the hands of the intruders, and sectaries. The destruction wrought by these factions left most of the Churches destitute of any interiors, or

1. Surtees Soc. 55
p. 94.

decorations. Such was the condition of the Diocese when Cosin became Bishop in 1660. In a letter to Sancroft dated 17th September 1661, he wrote "I am so full here of the Bishopric affayres I have not leisure for anything els"¹.

The time was ripe for Restoration. Granville in his addresses and injunctions speaks of the shortcomings on the clergy and of their excesses in powders, periwigs and long hair, and of all the novel practices which required, in his judgment, repression by the hand of authority. The Durham Certificate quoted in the Appendix bears evidence to the condition of the Diocese at this time.

To this task of Restoration, Cosin and his Archdeacons addressed themselves with firmness and insight. The first years of Cosin's Bishopric were full of many difficulties, but the Durham Ecclesiastics began what proved to be an era of reconstruction in the work of the Church in the Diocese.

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p. 31.

Chapter 6.

The Policy of the Durham Ecclesiastics
and how they dealt with the problems
of the Diocese at the Restoration.

Thorndike, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in his tract The true principle of Comprehension, written in reply to Corbetts pamphlets, sums up the Policy of the Church of England divines, when he affirmed "the restoration of the Church" as being "only the restoration of that which may appear to have been from the beginning".

At the Restoration, the Bishops, and clergy resumed their preferments, and sought to restore the dignity of the Anglican Liturgy, which had been neglected during the days of Puritanic Domination. This policy, the Durham Ecclesiastics pursued with vigour upon their return from exile.

Cosin, Dean of Peterborough, was appointed to Durham, and his entrance into the Diocese may be described in his own words, contained in a letter to Sancroft, "I received yours of August 13th, immediately

after my solemne reception into the Church, singing the Te Deum, there, wherein there was nothing wanting but your assistance. The confluence, and alacrity both of the gentry, clergy, and other people was very great; and at my first entrance through the River Tease there was scarcely any water to be seen for multitude of horse and men that filled it, when the sword that killed the dragon was delivered to me with all the formality of trumpets, and gunshots and acclamations, that might be made. I am not much affected with such shows but, however, the cheerfulness of the country in the reception of their Bishop is a good earnest given for better matters which, by the grace and blessing of God may in good time follow here among us all".¹

The ancient ceremony of the offering of the falchion veils some gallant exploit with at least, writes Surtees, "an adumbration of truth".²

When Cosin came to Durham as Bishop he was sixty six years of age, and did not enjoy the best of health. His power was great, he was not only an ecclesiastical

1. Surtees Soc.55.
p.21.

2. Ibid.
p.21. footnote

ruler, he was also a great landowner - a temporal lord, and it was customary to bestow upon him the office of Lord Lieutenant of the County Palatine, in virtue of his position. To this office Cosin was appointed on 29th day of August 1661; and the names of deputy lieutenants nominated by him are to be found in the State papers. He lost without compensation, the ancient feudal rights of wardship, which still attached to the See, similar rights elsewhere being at the same time surrendered by the King in return however, for a money payment. To one remaining privilege, Cosin clung; his right to be the sole representative of the Bishopric in Parliament.

Further proof of Cosin's tenacity in clinging to the rights of his See can be found in the State papers of 1665-6, where letters from Dr. Carleton, Dean of Carlisle, and others, complain that the Bishop has usurped royal rights, and flouted the King's authority in the matter of Sir Henry Vane's estate. It seems, however, that the difficulty was

settled without further incident.

Cosin began the exacting duties of his office under difficult conditions. The whole Diocese was in need of visitation, because of the decay of church life, and organisation, during the days of the Commonwealth.

It was to such a task Cosin, and his Archdeacons addressed themselves with so much success. He began by a careful exercise of his patronage to the mutual benefit of Cathedral, and Diocese, when he persuaded the King to appoint to a Prebendal Stall, and also to the Rectory of Brancepeth, Daniel Brevint, a native of Jersey, Chaplain to Monsieur de Tarenne, whom he had presented for ordination to Thomas, Bishop of Galloway, in the Embassy Chapel at Paris on Trinity Sunday 1650,¹ who later published The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice. Cosin also appointed to Houghton-le-Sprang, William Sancroft, his friend, who later became Archbishop of Canterbury. The fourth appointment to the Chapter was that of John

1. Surtees Soc.47.
p.37 footnote.

Durel, Chaplain to the Duke de la Force, who like Brevint, a native of Jersey, had been ordained in the Chapel at the Embassy at Paris, and later he became Dean of Windsor, and Wolverhampton.¹ He helped Sancroft in the translation of the Latin Prayer Book, and also himself wrote the Common Prayer in French for the benefit of the Channel Islanders. Davenport, Cosin's domestic chaplain, succeeded Sancroft at Houghton-le-Spring, and proved to be a strength not only to his Bishop, but also to the Diocese.

Cosin, and his Archdeacons were resolved to revive the spirit of Anglicanism throughout the Diocese. They sought uniformity through obedience to the Rubrics, and Canons of the Church, more especially through the clergy of the Diocese. Upon this they acted, and found in the Act of Uniformity an opportunity to restore order. In the series of notes attached to his Prayer Book of 1619, Cosin sets out two guiding principles, firstly, deference to Catholic antiquity, secondly, agreement between the Church of

1. Evelyn Diary.
p.205.

England, and Latin Church, though decided opposition¹ to peculiar Roman teaching. He states clearly that "we have not erected a frame of some new religion"--- "we have continued the old religion, and the ceremonies we have taken from them that were before us, are not things that belong to this or that sect, but they are the ancient rights, and customs of the Church of Christ". A godly resolution was taken by the Church of England to remove only such things as were new, and superfluous, retaining the rest that were old, and behoveful for the edifying of Christian² people".

These Ecclesiastics realised that the proper function of Uniformity served a twofold purpose:-

(a) It is in the first place a precedent condition of all common action.

(b) It is the bulwark against encroachments of self assertion.

These were the principles that guided their action, and they determined to tighten the cords of discipline

1. The Works of John Cosin.
L.A.C.T., Vol.V. Oxford 1851.
pp.13. 14.

2. Ibid.
pp. 13. 14. 15.

which had been discarded during the rebellion. Their note of urgency was conformity, and this became the watchword of their ministry. Granville emphasized the difficulties of the situation when in his sermon Compleat Conformist (1684) he traced the irregularities in God's Public Worship to

1. Contagion of Conventicles.
2. To our own people and clergy, spawn conform-
1
ist.

How did these Ecclesiastics deal with difficulties they found in the Counties of Northumberland and Durham. They set out to make possible the Revival of Anglicanism by:-

1. The Revival of Traditional Organisation.

Cosin's first care was a solemn confirmation, when numbers flocked to be confirmed "a whole generation having sprung up without witnessing, or participating in the act". He preached every Sunday in the Diocese, and convened an ordinary Synod at Durham, and Newcastle. "I shall preach among them, and pyt them in some order

1. Granville's
Compleat Conformist.
p.10.

if by any means I can"¹. In another letter Cosin speaks of a synod of the clergy which he kept at Newcastle.

Cosin believed in Synodical action, and convened his clergy to ascertain their views concerning important matters connected with the Diocese. In a letter to Sancroft, he speaks of a synod of the clergy which he kept at Newcastle. "On Tuesday I kept the Synod of the clergy, and made them my assessors in it, treating them, so I hope (and they assured me all as much) they are well pleased with their Bishop even Mr. Durant"². It is possible Cosin made this synod a deliberative assembly in which problems such as those raised by the position of Mr. Durant, and Mr. Ashburnham, might be considered. This synod may be compared to the synod of Kilmore convened by Bishop Wm. Bedell, in which the clergy were considered as fratres, or compresbyteri.

Synods were a regular feature in some Dioceses even before the Restoration. Humphrey Prideaux, .

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p.31.

2. Ibid.
p.36.

Archdeacon of Norwich, in his Directions to the Churchwardens for the faithful discharge of their office (Sept.1712) wrote "And I here cannot omit taking notice that till the rebellion anno 1641 these Diocesan Synods were kept up in this Diocese of Norwich, and all the clergy constantly met every year, those of the Archdeaconry of Suffolk at Ipswich, those of the Norfolk, at Norwich, but on the Restoration of Charles II. these synods were "let down" by Bishop Reynolds, a former Presbyterian"¹.

Thorndike in his tract The true principle of comprehension wrote that "the original right of the Bishop should not be liable to any judiciary but the Synod". Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, considered that the Synod was necessary to hinder tyranny, and the authority of the Bishop to prevent confusion.

In the next year, Cosin held his primary visitation of both Diocese, and Cathedral. The articles of visitation exhibited to the Churchwardens and Sidesmen on this occasion are of special importance, as

1. p.117.

Printed London 1723.

being certainly those which Cosin proposed in Convocation for general adoption. These articles of Inquiry were printed at London by T. Garthwait 1662.¹ In addition to the usual questions those of greater importance may be grouped as follows:-

a. He is anxious to know -

1. If there is a partition between the Church and the Chancel.
2. If there is a desk whereat to say the Litany in the midst of the Church according to the injunctions set forth in the time of Queen Elizabeth.
3. If Rogation Days are observed by a perambulation of the Parish.
4. If the prescribed Bidding Prayer is offered before sermons, and clergy wear canonical habit.
5. Is there any lecture preached in your parish? Is he who preacheth it (one or more) allowed to do so by the Bishop. Doth he before the

1. The Works of John Cosin.
L.A.C.T. London 1851.
Vol.IV. p.507.

preaching of his lecture constantly observe the form of prayer which is enjoined hym in the 55th canon of the Ecclesiastical Canons.

b. He also enquires concerning the position of the Font and the Holy table. "Is there a font of marble or other stone decently wrought and covered, set up at the lower part of your Church for the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism. Is there a partition between your Church, and your Chancel, a comely fair Table there, placed at the upper part of it for the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper". "Are there two fair and large coverings for it, one of silk stuff, or fine cloth, another of fine linen, with a plate or paten, and a cup or chalice of silver and two fair flagons or pewter or purer metal, belonging to it".

He inquires also concerning the use of the surplice, the episcopal ordination of the minister, the reading of the 39 articles after induction, the use of the Book of Common Prayer "without omission or alteration",

the observance of Holidays, and fasting days, kneeling at the reception of the Blessed Sacrament, and "decent" veiling of women at their churching.

He also asks questions referring to the damage done to the Churches during the Commonwealth. The Bishop is anxious to know what has happened to the bells, the leads of the roof, if any of the fonts, screens, Holy Tables, or communion vessels have been destroyed or purloined, if the sanctuaries have been defiled.

The Articles of Inquiry first exhibited to the Cathedral Officials in Cosin's first visitation reveal his interest in the reputation of the foundation of which he was once a member. Basire records that the Bishop was exacting in his demands, but the need of action was urgent, for not only were the houses of the Chapter in a state of decay, but the fabric of the Cathedral Church was in a ruinous condition, through neglect. Cosin asks "Are you about to renew the organ, and where do you intend to place it". "Is the

Communion table or Altar recovered out of their hands who took it away, and is it now ready to be set up where it was before?

What has become of the wood and lead of the two great bwoaches that stood upon the square towers at the west end of the Church?

How have the same been disposed, and employed, and what account hath been made thereof to the Dean and Chapter?

By what other persons hath any parts of the Church fabric, Altar, Font, Organ, Pulpit, doors, partitions, or stalls, and seats in the Quire been destroyed?

Search out and name them if by any means you may to end that ----- the Law may compell them to make res-
titution¹".

In the answer to these Articles of Inquiry the Minor Canons, Clerks and other ministers of the Cathedral Church of Durham set out what they had accomplished. They discovered that the velvet pulpit cloth with the Colledge Arms, together with other

1. Surtees Soc. 37.
p. 252.

divers ornaments had been "imbelzed" and taken away by Mr. Isaac Gilpin, the Undermaster of the Cathedral Grammar School" and as for the lead and timber of the great broaches at the West end of the Church, Mr. Gilbert Marshall can give the best account how they were employed".¹

In addition to enquiries concerning the fabrics and furnishings, Cosin sought information concerning the behaviour of the Minor Canons, and singing men. The Precentor is examined concerning the arrangement of the services, and the Sacrist is asked about the books in the Library, and those that have been "embexxled". It is evident from a Manuscript drawn up by Granville, in 1665, that much irreverence, and slackness still persisted at the Cathedral, and that the Bishop found it necessary to pursue his inquiries along much the same lines in his second visitation. He asks if "the seven petty canons places confest to be void, (besides one lay singing-man's place), for the supply whereof the Bishop hath expected these

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p. 121.

five years together, and yet nothing done, which is contrary to their Statutes, and their oaths" - "They say there hath been no want of due care to supply them". All other collegiate and Cathedral Churches have by their care got the full number of their quire, and taken order sufficiently to maintain them" - "only the Church of Durham is defective therein". "The service is not yer performed so often in the Quire as it was before". The song books are torn and not renewed. "The Lectern and Litany desk are mean and uncomely" "the Altar is cloathed with a coarse country cloth, the Treasury and Registry are undigested into order. The inventory of goods belonging to the Church is not yet perfected". The floor of the Church is broken, the tombs of the benefactors are left disfigured. The pinnacles as well at the east as at the west end of the Church, and on the north side thereof are not repaired¹".

The Dean and Chapter claimed freedom from repairing the Bishop's seat in his consistory^{court}, as they have

1. Surtees Soc. 37.
pp. ~~XXV~~. 262. 252.

done his seat in the Quire. Difficulties between the Bishop, and the Chapter concerning the refusal of the latter to grant certain leases to the former resulted in the Bishop placing his case before the King, who summoned the Dean to London. The King asked the Dean if it were against his conscience to confirm these leases, and on the Dean beginning his answer "No, but ---" His Majesty interrupted, "If it is not against your conscience I will have no buts" so go home, and confirm it".¹

After his third visitation of the Cathedral, held in 1668, Cosin still found much to be done, repairs were needed within and without the Cathedral, the vacant Minor Canonries were still vacant although Basire had reported, that he had sought "at London, Southwell and elsewhere, and invited divers but could not prevail". In the year 1671, the Chancellor visited the Cathedral, and it was evident from his observations that Cosin's efforts had only met with partial success.

State Papers.
June 1666. Oct. 1667.

In addition to his formal visitations which proved of such great value in stimulating order, and discipline, Cosin paid personal visits to the parishes; he made progress through the larger part of the Diocese, preaching on every Sunday in several churches, and being received with great joy, and alacrity". "The Sunday after his return to Auckland he went abroad to Evening Prayer in a country church three miles off, and there both catechised the youth of the Parish himself, and enjoined the minister of the Church, where catechising had been formerly omitted, diligently to perform the religious duty hereafter"¹. A few days after he went to the chief parish of Auckland, and there took order, having prepared for it before, that three children past infancy, and two of them well-grown in years, should be solemnly baptised, with the consent of their parents who had formerly neglected it and been misled from the Church, but are now by the Bishop firmly converted to it"².

Cosin was anxious that all things should be-brought

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p. XVll.

2. Ibid.
p. XVll

to something like order with as little delay as possible, in order that the Church might bear her witness effectively. Nor was he less careful to secure the due performance of the service, and a seemly decorum on the part of those who ordered them. With this end in view he sought

2. The Revival of the Ministry.

The most important public measure of the year 1662 was the passing of the Act of Uniformity, to which was attached the Book of Common Prayer. In a letter written by Mr. R. Neale, to Mr. Stapylton, dated 29th April 1662, he wrote "The Puritan Lords are much troubled at it, but the Commons are resolute, and will passe noe Bills of Concernement, (as for money or like) till the Bill of Uniformity be passed".

Popish Recusants, and Nonconformists were numerous in the County of Northumberland where the former clustered around certain gentry, and the latter established many field conventicles. These sects, and factions caused many irregularities to arise, and it

became necessary to insist upon the observance of the enactments of the Act of Uniformity. Thorndike, writing concerning these difficulties said, "Popish Recusants, and the new lights of Independent congregations shall be obliged either to concur to those laws or remain liable to the penalties that shall appear competent to reduce them to obedience"¹. As Bishop, Bosin insisted upon conformity to the Book of Common Prayer, and his attitude towards Nonconformists was at first rigorous, but his experience among the French Protestants disposed him to a certain degree of forbearance, although he was vigilant concerning the question of Episcopal Ordination.

The whole question of Ordination was of greatest importance to the Church of England at the Restoration. Thorndike in his petition entitled The true Principle of Comprehension against the Presbyterian request for a Comprehensive Act in 1667, makes mention of two schemes of Comprehension which never matured. The former, although drawn up by Sir Robert Atkins, was

1. Thorndike.

The True Principle of Comprehension.

p.340.

never printed, or brought to the House, nor did Colonel Birch dare to bring it in that session. The other proposal came from Sir Orlando Bridgeman, supported by Sir Matthew Hale, and the Earl of Manchester, a friend of the Presbyterians. Negotiations were carried on by Baxter, Dr. Manton, and Dr. Bates, on the one side, and Dr. Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, and Burton his Chaplain, on the other. Pepys, in his diary under the date of January 31st 1667 records how Colonel Birch referred to the impossibility of justly excluding Romanists from a fair scheme of toleration, and how Dr. Seth Ward of Salisbury, opposed it.

It was necessary at the outset for the Bishops of the Church "not to oblige both parties, but to oblige both parties to stand to that, which it may appear that the Ancient Church is agreed upon"¹.

The question of ordination formed one of the greatest difficulties because so many men put into livings during the Commonwealth had only Presbyterian

1. Ibid.
p.329.

ordination, others none at all. Some men from Foreign Protestant Churches held office without being episcopally ordained. There was however, a great difference between foreign imperfect churches which had the misfortune, through no fault of their own to have no Bishops, and men who denied episcopacy, and set up a new method of ordination. The official attitude of the Church of England to the question of ordination received explicit sanction from the State in virtue of the Act of Uniformity of 1662, by which it was expressly declared that episcopal ordination was to be indispensable for all presentees to a benefice, and for everyone holding any "ecclesiastical promotion or dignity whatsoever. In 1604, Convocation^{had}/issued comprehensive regulations forbidding any Bishop to institute a presentee to a benefice who had not been ordained by himself, without first producing letters of orders. Conditional ordination was never permitted by the Prayer Book to which every minister was required to swear obedience.

In an able pamphlet now usually ascribed to Dean Prideaux, but generally given at the time to Dr. Kidder, who had been a dissenter, is the following passage, manifestly showing that although a decided advocate for Nonconformists "he looked upon Episcopal Ordination as among the essentials of the Church of Christ".

Cosin who had spent many years in exile found Friendship among the French Protestants at Charenton, where he did with the consent of the ministers, solemnly, in his priest's habit with his surplice, perform the various offices of his own Church.¹ He also refuted the arguments of Father Robinson, Prior of the English Benedictines in Paris, concerning the validity of English Orders, in a controversy held to satisfy the doubts of some considerable person.

When Cosin returned to England he found many French ministers admitted to the care of souls in the Church of England, entered upon their benefices without re-ordination, but such proceedings were in defiance

1. Works of J. Cosin
L.A.C.T. Vol. IV.
p. 397.
footnote

of the law and custom of the Anglican Church.
Writing concerning their ministrations, in a letter to Mr. Cordel at Blois, he said "though we may safely say, and maintain it, that their ministers are not so duly and rightly ordained as they should be, by those Prelates, and Bishops of the Church, who, since the Apostles' time, have only had the ordinary power, and authority to make and constitute a priest; yet that by reason of this defect there is a total nullity in ordination, or that they be therefore no priests or ministers of the Church at all, because they are ordained by those only who are no more but priests and ministers among them, for my part I would be loath to affirm, or determine against them, and these are my reasons, Firstly, I conceive that the power of ordination was restrained to the Bishops, rather by Apostolical practice, and perpetual custom, and canons of the Church, than by any absolute precept that either Christ and His Apostles gave about it.
Secondly: There have been both learned, and eminent

men --- who have held and maintained it for good, and passable divinity that Presbyters have the intrinsic power of ordination "in actu primo", though for the avoiding of schism (as St. Heirome saith); and preserving order, and discipline in the Church they have been restrained ever since the first times, and still are (but where they take a liberty to themselves that was never duly given to them) from exercising their power "in actu secundo". I take it to be utterly a fault among them --- for this particularly "inorderly ordination, and defect of Episcopacy amongst them".

Thirdly: If upon this ground we renounce the French, we must for the same reason renounce all the ministers of Germany besides".

In a letter to Gunning who complained of Cosin's attitude to Presbyterian ordination, Cosin cites the opinion of Overall, and makes it plain when he wrote "The question only is whether there be such an absolute necessity, and precept in that jus divinum in all places

and at all times as where it cannot be put into practice, there is such a case of necessity, the ordination of a Presbyter, by a college of Presbyters (though altogether against the ancient and apostolical canons for which they are to answer), shall be utterly void, and invalid to all effects whatsoever, (as you know who hold our administration to be when a lawful Presbyter cannot be had, or found to perform it) - whether in such a case, if you were a Bishop, you would ordain the Presbyter again, or no; which was never yet done in the Church of England but in Mr. Drury's case alone, and that upon his own earnest desire, and pretence of conscience, though all the world saw he looked the other way; whether the Church of England hath ever determined the French and German ordinations by Presbyters or Superintendents, to be null and vain? and hath not rather admitted them, and employed them at several times in public administration of the Sacraments, and other divine offices amongst us? - yea, whether there was not a law made

c.12.
(13th Eliz²) to allow such an ordination then questioned by some persons, whereof I could tell you a long story out of the records in the Church of Durham, which I have heretofore diligently perused. I could tell you another of Bishop Overall's judgement herein, who was as great a patron of antiquity and the Church of England as any Bishop or Priest that ever lived in it and was wont to say". Though we are not to lessen the jus divinum of Episcopacy where it is established, and may be had, yet we must take heed that we do not, for want of episcopacy where it cannot be had, cry down and destroy all the reformed churches abroad both in Germany, France and other places, and say they have neither ministers or sacraments, but all is void and null that they do"¹. This is all the letter drives at, and nothing else; which truly I cannot apprehend how it either hurts the jus divinum of Episcopacy, or excuse their voluntary and transcendent impiety, that have endeavoured to destroy it in the Church of England, contrary to the Laws of God, and his Universal

1. Works of John Cosin
Vol. IV. op.cit.
p.448.

Church the Mother of us all"¹.

It should be noted, however, that the Act 13 Eliz. c.12 to which Cosin referred in this letter simply insisted that those wishing to be admitted to a benefice must subscribe to the Articles of Religion, and did not concern itself at all with the validity of their ordination.² (CHS Tract 1V11. B.Denny.S.P.C.K.pp 39)

The other reference in his letter to the long story out of our records in the Church of Durham, no doubt refers to Whittingham, who without orders became Dean of Durham, a post with no care of souls, which had formerly been held by laymen.³ Cosin also quoted in a letter which came into the possession of Colonel Birch, Overall's attitude towards a Dr. de Laune, a presbyterian, who, being presented to a living, and coming to a Bishop at Norwich was asked where he had his orders. The Bishop advised him to take opinion of counsel, "whether by the laws of England he was capable of a benefice without being ordained by a Bishop". Later Dr.de Laune was admitted to

1. Works of John Cosin
Vol.1V. op.cit.
p.448.-450.

3. Ibid.
p.449

another benefice without any new ordination.¹ Cosin made it plain to Gunning by citing Overall's opinion, "I am very loath that there should be the least difference of judgment in that matter between us, nor by the words that you express of it, do I perceive that you dissent from me at all. For you shall not find (if the copy of the letter be true and entire, that I ever said Presbyters had any power of rightful ordination ~~in~~ the judgment of Antiquity, nay you shall find the contrary, and that I greatly blame them, saying they will never be able to answer it for presuming to take a power upon them which was never given, or committed to them" - "and nothing but a case of necessity, (reserving their wonted desire of Bishops, where they are by no means to be had or permitted) can excuse them".²

He had borne in mind the difference between Foreign Imperfect Churches which had the misfortune to have no Bishops, and men who denied episcopacy. Hooker had insisted "that the whole Church visible

1. Surtees Soc. 55
p. XLV.

2. Works of John Cosin
Vol. IV L.A.C.T.
p. 448

being the true original subject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than Bishops alone to ordain!¹ Ordination is an act of the whole Church as a body, not the prerogative of its officers ---- "But where part of an Ecclesia claim right to secede, it forfeited the corporate, and sacramental grace by act of schism, and their orders could not be recognised". Cosin affirmed that all ordination by Presbyters void according to the strictness of the Canon, not simply void in the nature of the thing.

A contrast between the points of view of Bramhall and Cosin, concerning Ordination, reveals the importance of Episcopal ordination. Just before the year 1660, the prospects of a regular episcopal succession in Ireland was in doubt. Hyde, in Brussels, in July 1659, wrote to Dr. Barwick concerning the problem of the maintenance of the Episcopal succession in the Anglican Church, as there had been no consecrations since the year 1644. Hyde himself felt that the matter was urgent owing to the advanced age of the

1. Works of R. Hooker
Edited Isaac Walton Oxford 1841.
Vol. 11. p. 403.

consecrating Bishops which he says had put him into many a fright in case death should take them "before the succession had been secured".

Bramhall's Attitude.

The Bishop of Derry had advised to consecrate all who were designed for the Episcopate in England to the vacant sees in Ireland, and then translate them to English Sees. Bramhall visited York in 1660, and was authorised by the Dean and Chapter of York, to confer ordination during the vacancy of the See. One of his doubtful cases was a young presbyterian minister, whom he ordained only after consultation with the Bishop of London. Bramhall's attitude to the Presbyterians was one of sympathy, but he insisted upon their letters of orders. "When the benefices were called over at the visitation several appeared, and exhibited only such titles as they had received from their late powers. He told them "they were no legal titles, but in regard he heard well of them, he was willing to make such to them by institution, and induction - which they thank-

fully accepted", but when he found that some had no other but their certificates of ordination by some Presbyterian classes or presbtery, which he told them did not qualify them for any preferment in the Church. Upon this the question arose "Are we not Ministers of the Gospel" - To which His Grace answered "that was not the question". "I dispute not the value of your ordination nor those acts you have exercised by virtue of it, what you are, or might be here when there was no law, or in other Churches abroad does not affect the question." He pointed out that the National Church is limited by law, which among other things takes chief care to prescribe about ordination. Bramhall sets out the logical position thus "As I am desirous that the Church of England may have your labours, and you such portions of her revenue as shall be allotted to you in legal, and assured way, the Bishops must insist on Ordination".² Bramhall did not dispute the value of their previous ordination, but could not see how they could recover their tithes unless they were episcopally

1. The Works of John Bramhall
L.A.C.T. Vol. 1. p. XXIV.
Oxford 1842.

2. Works of John Bramhall
op. cit. p. XXIV.
cf. p. XXXVII.

ordained. He put the case on legal, not theological grounds, and the reasons why Bramhall insisted upon ordination were -

1. That if the ordination of the Presbyterians do not possess what the Canons of the English Church regard as essential to its ministry, he will ordain them episcopally to supply that defect.

2. To prevent the occasion of schism.

3. To satisfy the consciences of the faithful, Bramhall's offer of ordination was diplomatic, churches without episcopacy he esteemed as churches not completely formed.

This matter of re-ordination was a great difficulty in the 17th century. Some writers said that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of 1689 proposed some latitude in the affair, and "that Archbishop Bramhall had furnished them with a precedent for so doing by the manner in which he had received some Scotch presbyters into the Church". The specific case quoted will be best seen in the letters of orders which he gave to Mr. Edward Park-

inson. It is certainly not a little remarkable that a concession so carefully guarded should have been elsewhere made the foundation of a very serious and groundless misrepresentation. It has been however asserted, and upon the strength of the incident given, that with regard to any ministers who had received Presbyterian orders during the confusion of the Great Rebellion the method employed by Archbishop Bramhall, was not to cause them "to undergo a new ordination but to admit them into the ministry of the Church by a conditional ordination, as we do in Baptism of those of whom it is uncertain where they were baptised or not. But this assertion is not supported by the statement of Bishop Vesey upon the subject, and the document alleged by him; on the contrary it is directly opposed to both. For they give us to understand that the Archbishop did ordain "the persons in question as the law of the Church required; therefore not conditionally, for the law of the Church recognised no conditional ordination".¹

1. Works of John Bramhall
op.cit.
p. XXXVII.

Cosin's Attitude.

Cosin, who had never refused to join with Protestants at Charenton in all things wherein they join with the Church of England, as his letter to Mr. Cordel shows, realised when he returned to England, the need for implementing the Act of Uniformity, but his intercourse with the Huguenots of Paris may well have convinced him of the wisdom of Bramhall's plea "for some allay, and a more gentle moderamen --- since the constitution of the Church of England is eminently sweet, and merciful, ---- having neither the fierceness of the Roman tyranny, nor the licentiousness of some Democratical, or popular reforms." Granville in his Compleat Conformist expressed the view that "it is a bad piece of service to unchurch soe great a part of Christiandome as they of the reformed Churches which want Episcopall government. As to their want of Episcopall Government, and ordination, they are still in such circumstances that they could not then retaine it, nor can now have it if they would".¹

1. Granville
Compleat Conformist or
Seasonable advice concerning strict conformity and
frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion. London 1684.
passim.

Du Bose, the French Pastor of the Reformed Church in Caen, wrote in 1660 A.D. ^{a letter} / which is quoted in J. Durel's Government, and worship of the reformed Churches, "I think not that any of my brethren will contradict me if I say that a well ordered episcopacy hath most important and considerable utilities which cannot be found in the Presbyterian discipline. If we have followed the last in our churches it is not for any aversion that we have against the former. It is not because we hold episcopacy to be contrary to the nature of the gospel, or because we think it less convenient for the good of the Church, ---- but it is because necessity hath obliged us to it. If there be any in England at this time that be so rigidly partial for Presbyterian parity as to jostle against the ancient order of Episcopacy, and seek to root it quite out to the prejudice of the Church, and State, they cannot but be very much blamed for it".¹

Another French writer condemned English Presbyterianism in strong words when he said, "I conceive that

1. Douglas
Constitutional Episcopacy cf. Burtees Soc.47
passim. p.35.

the best remedy for such a disorder and confusion, will be to reduce them all under Episcopal Government". Cosin pointed out in his letter to Mr. Cordel that "the true question between us is not whether there ought to be Bishops in the Church or no, as whether their Presbyters be true Bishops. They must defend themselves for want of subordination, than of ordination itself".¹ Cosin believed that the Church of England took her stand on the ancient episcopal Succession. On the Catholic theory of ordination the Presbyterian ministers had not been ordained at all - re-ordination was not required as the Presbyterian ministers had only been set apart for a Presbyterian Ministry. Episcopal Ordination was the essence of the Anglican system. Nonconformists in their objection to re-ordination nullified their former ordination. Cosin, when he became Bishop of Durham, was exact in his dealings with the Nonconformists in his Diocese. The position in the Diocese was confused because of the hostile attitude of the Romanists, sect-

1. Works of John Cosin L.A.C.T.

op.cit.
Vol. 1V. p.406.

aries, and semiconformists. Some of the ministers remained in possession of their benefices until 1664, isolated cases held possession to an even later date. The attempts at comprehension had failed, and it was necessary in such a state of confusion, to put into action the Act of Uniformity. Cosin insisted on re-ordination, and tried to persuade some of the non-conformists, men like Lomax and Frankland, to be re-ordained; others he forbade to preach until such time as they conformed, and were ordained.

He sought to have the Church system full implemented with order, and beauty of Ritual, using "vigorous powers to bring men to outward conformity". The early years of Cosin's episcopate were full of various difficulties, but his first work of restoration was the establishment of a regular and settled ministry. This resulted in a great attachment by the people to the rules, and worship of the Church. But this was only possible by the removal of those intruders, and ministers who were a law unto themselves. "They who

had made their own will the supreme law for so long, found it most difficult to obey the law of the Church and State".

Those who dissented in the 17th century denied "in toto" the existence of any visible Church at all, and were not in sympathy with the doctrines of the Anglican Church. Consequently, the Prayer Book had fallen into disuse, and godly ministrations to the people in most places were overlooked. A survey of the records of the Parishes in the Counties of Northumberland, and Durham, shows that by the year 1664 every intruder who had not subscribed to the Book of Common Prayer, and conformed, had been removed from his cure. There was still much to be done, but this was the second step, necessary to the return of a strong parochial life, which is the real foundation of the Revival of Anglicanism.

The Restoration of Ecclesiastical Buildings.

Cosin found most of the Ecclesiastical Buildings in a state of decay, owing to the confusion of the

past years. He realised the necessity of restoring not only the ancient Ecclesiastical buildings, but also of refurnishing those churches which had been destroyed either through neglect or fanaticism.

Durham House, built by Bishop Hatfield on the site now occupied by the Adelphi, had been alienated by Bishop Morton, who permitted a bill to be brought into Parliament for the settling of it for ever on the Earl of Pembroke, and his heirs, under the fee farm rent of £200 per annum. Cosin protested against it passing out of the hands of the Bishop, but later was persuaded to rent a house in Pall Mall. Durham House fell into disuse in the 18th century, and the sale of the stables connected with it was by Act of Parliament (1606) let to the Earl of Salisbury, who built upon the site, the New Exchange.

When Cosin came to Durham he found that all his official residences had suffered severely. Stockton Castle had fallen into disrepair, and Cosin made no attempt to adapt or repair it. This castle was used

during the days of the rebellion to hold prisoners. Darlington House was restored by Cosin as a residence for his daughter Lady Gerrard, but in later years it was allowed to fall into decay. A great share of his revenue Cosin laid out in the repair and restoration of the Castles at Durham and Auckland.

Durham Castle had been "spoilt and ruined with gunpowder" by the Scots, and had since been sold to Mr. Thomas Andrews, Lord Mayor of London, who had done nothing to preserve it. Cosin proved a wise restorer of this building which owes much to his personal interest in the work. We are able to follow the details of his alterations since the papers in which everything is specified with great care were collected by Mr. Mickleton, a Durham Antiquary. In these agreements, and correspondence with Miles Stapylton, his secretary, and Thomas Arden, his steward, and others engaged in the work, we learn something of the extent of the Restoration,¹ extracts of which are noted in the Appendix to this chapter.

1. see Appendix.
 Surtees Soc. 55.
 Appendix. p. 356.

One of the most important acts of Restoration was that of the Chapel at Auckland.

During the Commonwealth, Auckland Castle had been bestowed upon Sir Arthur Hazelrigge, commander of the Parliamentary forces in the North, who, designing to make it his country seat, and not liking the old fashioned building, decided to erect a new fabric. To obtain materials he pulled down the Chapel built by Bishop Beke, and erected his new palace on the East side of the Old Castle. Cosin at first thought he would use it, but refused it as his habitation because it was built with the stones of the old consecrated chapel. Dr. Raine in his historical account of Auckland Castle decided that "Cosin rebuilt the south walls, added the clerestory to the middle aisle, put in new windows to suit the level of the new windows in the South, repaired and ornamented the eastern gable, repaired the nave, aisles and altar-platform, and out in the new screens and general woodwork"¹. Marble from Amsterdam was ordered for the adornment of the chapel. Cosin took

1. Arch. Ael.
NS. Vol. XVIII.
p.133. 151.

12 years to remove Hazelrügge buildings, and seems to have begun with the chapel. In a letter to Robert Morley, of the craft of Freemasons, he gives minute directions as to "buttresses, ashlar works, and sends patterns"¹. In 1663 he entered into contract with the glaziers for the decorative painting; he engaged John Baptist Van Ersell, of the city of Durham, and the sculpture was executed by Henrick de Keyser, of Bishop Auckland. The roof was painted a blue ground, and coat of arms in colours. This decoration was later obliterated by Bishop Barrington, and the ornamental woodwork which adorned the State room, and is certainly of Cosin's time, was removed during the Episcopate of Barrington, on the advice of Wyatt. The Corporation of Newcastle showed their interest in this work of restoration. Ambrose Barnes² notes that they made a gratuity of £200 towards the building of the chapel.

Cosin furnished the "new built chappell with several vessels of faire gilded plate, crosses, bibles,

1. Surtees Soc. 55
p.375.

2. Surtees Soc.50
p.394.

service books, falls, fronts, carpets, and other decent and useful ornaments to the value of £1,000".

Davenport, Chaplain to the Bishop, records in one of his letters how he spent Christmas of the year 1662 at Auckland watching the progress of the Chapel. Auckland Chapel was consecrated on St. Peter's Day when "the Dean and Prebendaries, and many other clergymen, and abundance of gentlemen and gentlewomen were present"¹. In his sermon on that occasion Davenport "craved all the clergy and laity to be persuaded by the sight of the beauty of the Chapel, to repair and beautify their own churches and chancels, and pressed it so fair on them that at length I onerated the Bishop's conscience, and his Chancellors and Archdeacons with care of seeing it done". He speaks of building going on in every part of the Diocese, and in his correspondence, he records "My Lord is hugely busy in building both here at Auckland and at Durham"².

Cosin also rebuilt the east end of the chapel in Peterhouse College, Cambridge, of which he was formerly

1. Arch.Ael.
3rd S. Vol. IX
p. 17 (1913)
footnote

2. Arch.Ael.
3rd S. Vol. IX.
pp. 1, 9.

Master, which cost £120.

At this time the Dean and Chapter also took a keen interest in the work of reparation, and expended a large sum in the repair of the Cathedral and Chancels under their patronage. Granville quotes the figure of £4,306. 3s.1d. for repairs, and ornaments during the years 1661-3. In addition there is a figure of £3,616. 7s.3d. for repairs to houses and Chancels. Cosin helped generously in the restoration of the Cathedral, and amongst other gifts, presented the choir stalls, a chancel screen, which was removed in 1844 to open a vista of the Neville Altar Screen, a marble font which was at one time removed to Pittington Church, and now returned, with a towering canopy, a lectern, a litany desk with the Bishop's arms carved at the ends, and communion vessels, including a paten which he described "as a faire large scollopt paten, silver and gilt with a foot, and a cover of fair embossed work".

The correspondence of the Bishop shows how much

of time and thought he bestowed, not only upon his own Chapel, but also upon many other buildings within the Diocese, directly under his control.

In the 17th century there are many entries in the Churchwardens' Minute books and accounts, which show the varied character of their duties, mostly concerned with the fabric, and services of the Church. Granville in his Miscellanea, noted that "the fabric of many Churches and Chapels are altogether ruinous and cannot be gotten repaired - nor will Churchwardens not being yett sworne contribute any assistance for the supplying of those defects"¹.

With the appointment of Cosin to the See of Durham, began the opening of a new page in the history of the Diocese. It was the beginning of the Revival of Anglicanism throughout the Diocese. Cosin encouraged the work of restoration by visitation and example. The record of this work is carefully noted in the minute books and Churchwarden's accounts of the Parish Churches of the Diocese. It is clear from

1. Surtees Soc. 37
Granville
passim.

a careful selection of entries taken from these books and accounts, that there must have been a considerable amount of adornment and restoration of churches and chapels during the Episcopate of Cosin. In his visitation of 3rd July 1668 at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, we read of his determination not only to repair the churches but also to beautify them. Cosin was anxious that the Parish Churches should become centres of beauty and worship. His policy was the reconditioning of many of the Churches, and in most cases the repair of the chancels, which had been allowed to fall into disuse. At Newcastle-upon-Tyne he enjoined the Vicar and Churchwardens "to take down the stairs of ye chancell, and wall them up again. To remove regular seates to ye chancell, and to translate the seates now yre into ye body of the Church. To make the High Pews uniform in height. To flagg ye broken flaggs in ye chancell, and bind Biziers to swepe up the flaggs after burial, and to take up ye old seates at ye bottom of ye church, and to flagg"¹.

1. Surtees Soc.55
 XXXIII.
 footnote.

The chancel screen which supported the organ gallery was erected at this time, probably from a design by James Clement who was responsible for similar woodwork in Durham Cathedral.¹

An illustration of the restoration of a Parish Church on the lines of Cosin's work, at Brancepeth is described in the records of Haughton-le-Skerne. In a minute dated 27th July 1662 it is recorded "whereas there is great necessity of repairing the Church, and of buying lead and other materials for that end, the Porch was used as a lumber place until the Restoration; the pews in the nave, the Dado in the nave and Chancell, the font canopy, the two pulpits, the clergy desks, the choir seats, the communion rail, the Holy Table beneath the frontal, and the sanctuary chairs are Jacobean, and date to the 17th century. These were the work of a craftsman called Cleminson, and a cess of thirty shillings in the £ for reparation of the Church, and other necessary uses thereabouts"² was imposed. During the later Restoration, all furn-

1. Arch. Ael.
4 S. Vol. LX. 1932
p. 129.

2. Minute Book of Haughton-le-Skerne . Minute dated 27th July 1662.

iture was taken up and stored in the tithe barn.

The Parish Magazine of July 1893 contains the following note:-

Much of the fine oak pannelling of the Dado along the sides of the nave has unfortunately perished from the dampness of the walls, and cannot I regret to say be used again, but nothing of interesting work which can be restored will be destroyed, but refitted into the place from whence it came,---- the old oak pews will all admit of restoration, seat ends sufficient for every pew in the nave of the restored church. The Pulpit on the north side was then used as a reading desk, now a lectern; it is original except the stair hand rail, post-platform, and two poppyheads. The canopy over the Holy Table is a continuation of the Dado, and the woodwork of the Aumbry, and piscina are Jacobean. Formerly, the clergy stalls faced eastwards, there is a small archway on the left of the circular arch especially assigned for the priest. It formerly possessed a gallery¹".

1. Parish Magazine of Haughton.
July 1893.

In a letter written by Mr. Lonstaffe of Gates-head-on-Tyne, dated 3rd June 1877, he records:- "How Mr. Greenwell and he saw the Church and its beauty, from the gallery" and asks "for a picture of the Church to be taken before Ichabod". Writing later to Mr. Ord in a letter under the date of the 11th July 1877, he says "Your Gallery most artistic thing Greenwell ever saw, but the portion above the High Altar is its richest portion"¹. These items of information are contained in the Ord private correspondence and papers, in which is detailed the controversy concerning the taking down of the gallery in the Church.

At the Restoration John Marsh was Rector, and he was influenced by Gosin to begin the work of restoring and beautifying the Church, which has the special feature of two pulpits of equal size, similar to the layout of George Herbert's Church and Auckland Castle Chapel, "lest the people exalt the pulpit at the expense of the Desk". In the minute Book of 1661 (16th April) provision is made for a "clothe for the Communion Table"

1. Ord.MSS.

and in August 1665 an assessment of 8s. was collected for repairing, and lyneing of the font".

Granville, Rector of Hasington and Archdeacon of Durham, was influenced by the example and work of Cosin. This inspired him to refurnish the Parish Church of Hasington, and he employed James Clement of Durham, who had designed the oak stalls in the Cathedral, to design the oak fittings for his own Church. This included a carved oak screen, a pulpit against the eastern most pillar on the south side, and a set of carved oak seat ends. In 1857 the oak screen was removed, and Mr. C.Hodgson Fowler remembers it laid in the yard of Mr. Robson, builder of Durham. The Pulpit, or part of it, is still in the Church, and also some seat ends, a portion of the screen which was preserved at the west end of the Church is now fixed on the east wall as a canopy over the altar.

The Parish Church at Egglescliffe was the scene of the ministry of Isaac Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, who was also greatly influenced by the example of

Cosin. This Church is a good example of 17th century restoration. The Chancel is 28'6", and the nave 46' by 20', the chapel is 26'8" by 8'6". The woodwork and fittings are chiefly of Cosin's time, where the nave is of Jacobean pewing, open backed, and doors filled with short turned balusters, and turned knobs on pew ends. The principals of the Chancel are of the same century, and may be ascribed to the Episcopate of Cosin. Several of the Bosses of the roof are angels holding shields, but all the shields are blank. The stallwork of the Chancel, and the Chancel screen are of the same period, the clergy desks face eastwards. Six benches ends are surmounted with poppyheads; two of them adorned on the sides with carved pear, apples, pomegranates and bunches of grapes. Two chairs, one Charles II, the other Queen Anne, are placed in the sanctuary.

At Darlington Parish Church there is evidence of restoration. The Churchwardens' Accounts record the expenses connected with the "decorating of the Church

after the guards had been in it"¹, and also the circumstances concerning the re-erection of the font. This font is now in the South Transept of the Church having been replaced by a modern one. There were also some curious Jacobean pews in the North Transept with beautiful iron scrolls. These were discarded together with the communion rails in the 1862-5 restoration.

At Houghton-le-Spring, Davenport Chaplain to Cosin, and Rector, spent much time and thought on the work of the restoration of the Chancel. The Churchwardens Accounts contain items of expenditure for the mending of the readening desk, and under the date of 7th May 1663 "A new carpet of cloth for the table, a white damask cloth for the communion table, and two large chalices". Sir Nicholas Cole told Cosin "that for building he is outgone by none but his own Chaplain"². Davenport also raised funds for the building of Bow Church, and records in his correspondence "We are about to build Bow Church by the Cathedral the expense whereof

1. Churchwardens Accounts
of the Parish Church
of Darlington.

2. Arch.Ael.
3rd S. Vol.IX
p.9.

will amount to £400. I am chief beggar, and I think I shall get the money".

The amount of restoration carried out by Cosin, and his Archdeacons and Davenport, must have been considerable. Cosin took no part of the £20,000 fines to his private use, but paid them out on repairs, and other pious uses.

At All Saints Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, there are many entries in the Churchwardens Accounts, which describe the restoration and adorning of the Church. In "1661 the 4 and 20 assembled in consequence of the east wall and other parts of the Church becoming ruinous" - £200 was raised by cess. "August 1st. the font of All Saints was set up this day by C. Maxwell, of the town, mason, who had saved it about 20 years before from the barbarous hands of the Scots army who endeavoured to break it up". Ambrose Barnes in his Memoirs of a merchant of Newcastle named John Otway, who was moved to present to the Church of All Saints, a marble communion table, gives the description in the following words - "Feb. 6th 1684 All Saints, a marble

communion table presented by John Otway, merchant. -
 On large panel above the Altar siz.I.H.S., with a
 cross proceeding from H, a dove above that, and the
 Hebrew name of God in a golden glory above that
 again. On the top of the East end of the Altar
 above the things mentioned are the representations
 of three large candles which are an emblem of the
 Gospel, which either is, or should be, read at the
 Altar; on the South side of the Altar is the pro-
 thesis that the priest according to the rubric may¹
 more conveniently place the elements on the Altar".

The Churchwardens Accounts of the Parish Church
 of Gateshead-upon-Tyne, which I have appended to this
 Chapter, record much restoration work. This set out
 in sequence gives an idea of the amount of work done.
 Such entries as these are found in most of the minute
 and Account books of the Parishes within the Diocese,
 which testify to the amount of restoration work accom-
 plished during the latter part of the 17th century.

Cosin and his Archdeacons were determined to restore

1. Surtees Soc. 50.
 p. 426.

dignity to the services of the Church. They believed that each Church should be solemnly consecrated, and with this end in view, Cosin not only drew up a form of consecration which was used for the first time at Christ Church, Tynemouth, on Sunday 5¹th July 1668, but also devised a service of reconciliation for such churches that had been used for secular purposes during the Commonwealth.

These Durham Ecclesiastics believed that the Liturgy of the Church could only be rendered with solemn dignity in an edifice which had been made beautiful by the gifts of the faithful. The centre around which they lived was the Liturgy, because they saw in it a powerful means of creating a strong and no less active church. The restoration of the Churches, and the careful furnishing of them was but a prelude to a definite movement known as the liturgical movement.

The Revival of the Prayer Book Offices.

Evelyn in his diary under the date of December 3rd 1654, wrote:- "There being no office at the Church, but

1. Surtees Soc. 55.
p.192 - 194. 175.

extemporie prayers after the Presbyterian way, for now all forms were prohibited, and most of the preachers were usurpers. I seldome went to Church upon solemn fast days, but either went to London, where some of the orthodox sequestred Divines did privately use the Common Prayer, administer sacraments etc., or I procur'd one to officiate in my house¹".

This note in Evelyn's Diary records a true account of the state of religious life in England just prior to the Restoration. What is recorded in this diary was prevalent within the Diocese of Durham when Cosin became Bishop. Cosin and his Archdeacons not only faced the problem of the decayed Churches, but also the neglect of the Liturgy, whereby a whole generation had grown up in ignorance of the offices of the Church. They resolved not only to restore the Churches, but were minded to revive the order and dignity of the English Liturgy, by separating the Chancel from the nave, and the introduction of the Credence table.

Their first care was to restore the Bidding Prayer.

1. Evelyn Diary.
p.242.

They enjoined the Bidding Prayer contained in the Canons of 1603 to stop extemporary prayers.

In his Articles of Inquiry exhibited to the Dean and Chapter, Prebends, Minor Canons, and Clerks of the Cathedrall Church of Durham, the first made by the Right Reverend John Lord Bishop of Durham, July 19th 1662, he asks:-

"Doe they use that forme onely of inviting, and exhorting their auditors to prayer, and give thanks for all estates of men in the Church, and Kingdom, which is prescribed by the Injunctions and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, and been heretofore accustomed through later tymes disused, and left off by some men who prefer their own Volunterie and private prayers"¹.

In his Notes and Collections on the Book of Common Prayer, Cosin comments that "all Public Prayers in the Church should be prescribed and nothing left arbitrary to the minister whose spirit they say, and gift of prayer is not to be quenched"².

1. Surtees Soc. 47
Appendix 11.

2. Works of John Cosin
Vol. V. (1855) L.A.C.T.
p. 402.

- Hooker in his Ecclesiastical Polity wrote:-

on

"Now albeit the Admittioners did seem at the first to allow no prescript form of prayer at all, but thought it best that their minister should always be left at liberty to pray as his own discretion did serve; yet because this opinion upon better advice they afterwards retracted, their defender, and his associates have sithence proposed to the world a form such as themselves like".

Dr. Samwaies in a letter to Archdeacon Granville wrote "I look upon it as a huge decay of Christian piety to place all or most of our religion in the hearing of a sermon ushered in with a private prayer which among some is valued above the Church's public devotion".

Granville discussing the matter in his tract Compleat Conformist. (London 1684) wrote:-

The Church took care to tie the priest to a prescript rule leaving no liberty for variation, not because of the inability of the Priest, but that all men were apt to abuse the liberty that was granted to

1. The Works of Richard Hooker
 Edit. G.I. Walton
 p. 518.

2. Surtees Soc. 47
 p. 73.

them. There can be no liberty of an address to God in a preaching way in a pulpit before the sermon, but the Church enjoined a certain form of Bidding Prayer by way of exhortation to the people very particularly designed to affect the King's title and by a methodical enumeration of our greatest obligations in relation to Public Prayer to prepare us the better to offer up to God the Lord's Prayer".¹ In his Journal dated at London 1683 Granville quoted Sir William Heywood as saying that "Dr. Steward, author of the "Old Puritan detected and defeated" was a zealous supporter of Bishop Cosin and other clergy that were abroad with the King at the Palace Royal, where they did unanimously observe Bidding Prayer, and those chaplains who lived to return with the King, did hope to have given check to the contrary practice in England by introducing the observation of the 55th canon in the King's Chappell".²

In the sermon Dead Man's Real Speech, Basire speaks of Latimer, Hooper, Jewell, and Andrewes, as

1. Granville
Compleat Conformist.
p.18.

2. Surtees Soc.47.
p.111.

using no other form of prayer, because they realised it was so comprehensive. He also records that "our late Bishop did much to reform and regulate the good behaviour and Canonical habit of the clergy under his government. He did also regulate their office in the Bidding Prayer before their sermons according to the commonsense of our Church's Canon 55; and confined their conceived prayers, too much abused and groundless in our liturgy, and also contrary to the ancient practice of the Church".

Granville insists upon the strict observance of the very letter of the law of our Common Prayer Book, and in his duties of the Priest clearly set forth in his Compleat Conformist he wrote:- "There is no place left for private prudence unless where it is supposed and specified".

Cosin was anxious that the Canon of the Church concerning the Bidding Prayer should be carried into effect within his Diocese. In his Articles issued to the Churchwardens and swornmen of his parishes, he asked the question:-

Doth your minister, preacher, or Lecturer use the bidding prayers only, enjoined before his sermon without conceiving long forms of his own".

The Bidding Prayer is recited every Sunday in Durham Cathedral, and in most Collegiate Churches. Beveridge in his essay Concerning the Necessity and Advantage of Public Prayer, writing of the promise recorded in St. Matthew's Gospel 18 v.19 said, "It is plain that the promise belongs to public prayers. But where the minister useth only extempore prayers, how many people soever may be present at it, there are no two of them who agree what they shall ask; that is left wholly to the minister. But --- all the clergy in England by their procurators in Convocation, and all the Commons by their representatives in Parliament agree together touching everything that should be asked everyday in the year. And so do all that come to the prayers". He also pointed out that all public prayers in Church should be prescribed, and not left arbitrary to the minister whose spirit they say, and gift of

prayer is not quenched.¹ Cosin considered the Bidding Prayer, and the legal forms of worship, essential to the public worship of God, and strove with success to re-establish them. The restoration of the Prayer Book services and the Bidding Prayer would make for unity in the Church, precluding both Presbyterian and Independent sectaries from ordering a service according to their own inclinations.

The Sacraments had been neglected during the period of the Commonwealth, with the result that many of the devout were denied the comfort of the Sacraments. Some of the faithful were able to receive the Sacrament in secret, others were imprisoned for their consistency in worship. Evelyn (in his Diary) and Ambrose Barnes (in his Memoirs) have recorded many instances of loyal churchpeople who were persecuted for their attendance at a Prayer Book Service.

When the Puritans came to power in the Commonwealth period, the use of old fonts was forbidden; baptism was to be administered out of a bason for which a bracket,

1. The Works of W. Beveridge L.A.C.T.
Oxford 1846. Vol. VIII.
p. 512.

near the minister's seat, was provided. The destruction of the old fonts began immediately on the issue of the Presbyterian Directory. Within the Diocese of Durham there was much destruction of the ancient fonts. There are numerous entries in the Churchwardens Accounts, of orders for the removal of fonts, and the substituting of flaggs and portable seats. During these troublous times Alderman Milbank gives an account of a certain Cuthbert Maxwell,¹ who seeing the destruction wrought to the font in St. John's Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by the invading Scots army, rushed to the Church of Saint Nicholas, took down the font, and hid it from the destroyers. At Darlington Parish Church, the font had been destroyed; an entry in the Churchwardens Accounts described the negotiations and costs of the new font - this may be found in the Appendix to this Chapter. However, later the font was erected, and a tall canopy, considered to be the tallest of those in the Parish Churches of the Diocese of Durham, was made by Leonard Pilkington. At the Restoration

1. Arch. Ael.
4th S. Vol. IX.
p. 128.

the Bishops resolved to restore the sacraments to their rightful place, fonts were restored, and where they had been destroyed new fonts with tall canopies were built. According to the rubrics of the service "of the ministration of Private Baptism in Houses", the Curates were required to admonish the people that they defer not the Baptism of their children longer than the first, or second Sunday next after their birth, and also warn them "that without like great cause, and necessity they procure not their children to be baptised at home in their houses".

Wheatly in his Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, writes, "that the moderation of our Church in this respect is exactly conformable to the ancient practice of the primitive Christians who had so great a care that none should die unbaptised, that in danger of death they allowed such persons as had not gone through all their preparations to be baptised at home; but laying an

obligation upon them to answer more fully if God
restored them"¹. (page 362) (1867).

The Revival of the Sacraments.

The Durham Ecclesiastics sought to restore the Sacraments of Baptism by insisting upon the primitive custom of the Church, and exhorting the laity to realise their obligations in this matter. In the Minute books and Churchwardens accounts of the Parishes within the Bishoprick of Durham, there are interesting accounts, and items of expenditure concerning the rebuilding of the fonts which had been destroyed.

Granville records in his Compleat Conformist "that all God's Public Worship as well as his Holy Sacraments had been for many years together thrown out of doors". "the inexcusable neglect of administering the Holy Eucharist hath sadly increased indevotion"¹. These observations indicate the state of the Church at the time of the Restoration. Within the Diocese of Durham, there were few if any

1. Granville
Compleat Conformist
p.8.

Churches in which the Sacraments were administered when Cosin became Bishop in 1660. He realised the need for the immediate revival of Anglicanism by the restoration of the Liturgy, and in this he was ably supported by his Archdeacons, and Chaplains. In his own Private Prayer Book of 1617 he follows Archbishop Laud in giving directions concerning the position of the Holy Table.

"The table alwayes standing in the midst at the upper end of the Chancell (or of the Church where the Chancel is wanting), and being at all times covered with a carpet of silk shall also have at Communion time a faire linen cloth upon it with Paten and Chalice, and other decent furniture meet for the Holy Mysteries there to be celebrated".

He also indicated the position of the Celebrant as follows:

"At the North end with an Epistoller, and Gospeller in attendance, the Creed to be .

directions are clear.

"Then shall the Bishop ascend towards the Table of the Lord, and there kneels down at his falstool before it, his Chaplains following him, and placing themselves at each end of the table. When he is at the North shall begin the Communion Service" The Bishop was the Celebrant for it provides that he shall reverently offer upon the Lord's Table the deed, or Act of Consecration, the bread and wine, and his own ob-^llations".

Cosin records in his works "that after the offertory which is sung whilst the people go up to offer at the Altar, they which are to communicate stay in the Choir, the men on the right side, the women on the left. Beveridge in his article The great Necessity and Advantage of Frequent Communion makes special mention of this custom. "The Minister" invites the people first to "draw near", thereby putting them in mind that they are now invited into Christ's more

1. Surtees Soc. 55
p. 188.

especial presence, to sit down with Him at His table" --- "and therefore as an emblem thereof should come from the remote parts of the Church as near to the said Table as they may"¹.

An illustration of Restoration Ceremonial was enshrined until quite recently in the services of the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Haughton-le-Skerne which provides evidence of the influence of Cosin not only in its furnishings, but also in its offices. I am credibly informed that formerly the service began with an Introit during which the Verger according to custom brought in the Chalice, and Paten covered with a white veil, and these were placed by him upon the Holy Table. The Celebrant then took his place at the north end² until the consecration prayer. It appears from local evidence that at one time the bread and wine brought by the people were offered in one of the Alms Basins now upon the Holy Table. At the words "Draw near with faith" the people "that were minded"³ moved up into the Chancel

1. The Theological Works
of Wm. Beveridge.
Vol. VIII. L.A.C.F.
p. 599

2. Surtees Soc. 55
p. 188

3. Book of Common Prayer
Rubric before the Communion
Surtees Soc. 47.
p. 180.

in order that they might be conveniently placed to receive the Holy Communion. This custom of drawing near to the Altar during the words of invitation is still observed at the Parish Church of Leeds. In the minute book of the Parish Church of St. Mary, Gateshead-upon-Tyne, dated 1684 "The Four and Twenty order that certain wayleave rents etc, shall go for erecting new seats in the Chancel for the convenience of hearing God's word, and receiving the Holy Sacraments".¹ The approach to the Altar at the words "Draw near with faith" seems to have been customary in many churches during the 17th century.

One considerable matter Cosin left uncompleted was the question of the weekly Sacrament, which later Granville, his Archdeacon, pursued with zeal.

The neglect of exact order, and observation of the rubrics in Cathedral Churches, and particularly the scandalous neglect of the chief of all these rubrics, the celebration of the Holy Communion on every Sunday at least, is not observed in more than

1. Surtees Soc. 50.
p. 426.

two Cathedrals, and two or three chapels at most in all England". Writing in his Compleat Conformist, Granville recorded that there is scarce a Church in England that may more justly expect than the Church of Durham, a Communion Table well furnished with guests, and devout people crowding to the Horns of the Altar in as great numbers on our ordinary Communion Days which are often too thin to scandal, as we usually have on our high, and greatest Festivals, when there is Feasting at our own tables, and none at the Lord's". The Clergy of the Durham Chapter were noted for their hospitality, and to this Granville refers in his statement concerning the possibility of the restoration of the Sacrament in the Cathedral Church". There was great need of the revival of the Sacraments, "when those that showed great zeal for sermons, (in many places daily), were contented without a sacrament yearly. Those that would have three or four sermons on a Sunday did not once in some places celebrate the Lord's Supper in 13 or 14 years together.

The diligence of Granville in the matter of the restoration of the weekly Sacrament is revealed in the correspondence which began his enterprise. This correspondence is a series of letters written to persons of standing, and authority. In his memo dated 30th November 1680, he wrote "that I did this day send by Mr. Davison my official to Mr. Dean and the Chapter of Durham a proposal in writing, concerning the revival of that important though neglected Rubrick of Weekly Sacrament, blessing God for stirring me up for so good a work".¹ Writing to Mr. Oley of Worcester (November 30th 1680) Granville informed him of the enterprise he had begun to restore the weekly Sacrament in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and Colleges, "the omission of which he had judged most unaccountable, and of very bad consequence to the neighbouring Dioceses, in making a breach of rubric so authentic, as no ordinary can censure a clergyman for neglecting the rule of his Common Prayer,

1. Surtess Soc.47
p.46.

when the Cathedral gives no better example"¹.
Granville pays tribute to the work of Oley who was largely responsible for the reform of this irregularity in the Cathedral at Worster. In his reply, Mr. Oley wished Granville "Good luck", and pointed out that the "puritans dare not deny that it was the primitive practice to celebrate the Lord's Supper on the Lord's Day. I never read any protestant that blamed the Church of Rome for quotidian celebration of the Sacrament, but for single masse"². Oley asked Granville to procure the help of Gunning, My Lord of Ely, and commended the counsel contained in Thorndike's book Forbearance, which expressed indignation against Presbyterians, who have two sermons every Lord's Day, and a communion three times a year. Granville in his anxiety concerning this enterprise wrote to Basire on St. Andrews's Day 1680. In this letter he reveals his desire to bring about the change in the New Year, but feels this will be impossible. He enclosed a copy of the appeal he had

1. Surtees Soc. 47
p. 48.

2. Ibid.
p. 60.

sent to the Dean and Chapter, and thought that Basire might be able to help him. Granville realised that it would be objected against him that "he is a young man, and that the setting up of this practice here would reproach most of the Bishops, and Cathedrals, in the country". He thought fit to strengthen his case by asking Basire to procure the assistance of My Lord of London, and My Lord of Canterbury also; and ~~tho~~thugh this work Granville "by the grace and strength of God determined to go" in occasioning Weekly Sacraments in more Cathedrals than our own, and in setting up Dayly prayers in more jurisdictions than ~~our~~^{my} ~~own~~¹". He then wrote to My Lord of Oxford for counsel concerning the notorious breach of a clear rubrick, namely that of the weekly celebrations of the Eucharist in Cathedralls, and especially at Durham. He feared some opposition from a certain boisterous brother, Prebendary Cartwright, who said "it is not providentiall at this time to begin such innovations". Granville asks Oxford "to assist

him with some arguments that may further this pious-undertaking" knowing that both at Oxford, and Worcester this holy practice is observed. The reply of the Bishop of Oxford was both practical and sound, he wrote "If some of your fraternity disagree they I presume will admit of amicable debate. If there should be a number of persons whose devotion should prompt them to desire a weekly sacrament, I think no minister would refuse them. "The whole difficulty rests on the probability of having a constant attendance on the duty as may support the dignity of it".

When Basire died Granville was in the midst of this enterprise, and confessed that he had lost his oracle. In his difficulties he turned to Samwales, the Rector of Bedelb, who was formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and asked him for advice concerning the introduction of the Weekly Sacrament, and Daily Prayers. In his letter he pointed out that the Metropolitan Church at York gave no better example, and urged that with the advice of My Lord's

Grace of York, this error might be redressed". As regards Durham, Granville pointed out in his letter to Samwaies that, "I dare not use my authority by way of compulsion they having gotten one argument -- which I cannot tell how to answer, namely, that they can with safer consciences omit dayly prayers, than our Cathedrals omit the weekly sacrament"¹. Samwaies gave a considered reply in which he wrote "I look upon it as a huge decay of Christian piety to place all or most of our religion in the hearing of a sermon ushered in with a private prayer. It is the duty of the clergy to have dayly prayers, for the sacraments are never amongst us celebrated without company, the objection of the men of the Cathedral to weekly sacrament is wrong"². Samwaies believed that what the Church enjoins should be performed by all the sons of it. Although "the Cathedrall men" might complain of the backwardness of the people, yet by conforming to the Rubrick the difficulty would be removed.

Mr. Richard Webster, writing on behalf of the Lord

1. Surtees Soc. 47.
p. 56.

2. Ibid.
p. 73.

Bishop of Norwich, offered Granville some timely advice. In this letter "He thinks that so good a practice as a weekly communion ought by all means to be maintained in Cathedral Churches - in his own Cathedral it was celebrated once a month"¹- but circumstances alter cases, and adds "that the punctual observance of every little formality may occasion greater mischief". In some cases it might be difficult to maintain a sufficient number of communicants for each celebration. In his zeal to further his enterprise Granville addressed a series of questions to Dr. Comber who later succeeded him as Dean of Durham. In his reply, Comber wrote "The Rubrick is plain" - in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches where there are Priests and Deacons they shall all receive the Communion with the Priest every Sunday at least, except they, (that is some one or two of them have a reasonable cause to the contrary), the rubric supposes a Priest in those Churches weekly celebrating, and also on short warning to the sick". He believed that "if

1. Ibid.
p. 71.

the people rightly instructed, and moved by rational¹ sermons to frequency they might be brought oftener". Comber speaks of the past neglect of the Sacraments, and how generally it was laid aside in the late times. He considers that the project of Granville will take twenty years to bear fruit, and suggests that those who come monthly, should communicate weekly, those who come at festivals should be encouraged to attend monthly. Then he proceeds to discuss the authority of the Rubric. "I do not think", he wrote, "that command of weekly sacrament to be any more than a command of the Church", and pointed out the difficulty of² having this frequency in remote districts.

Granville further enquired advice of Dr. Allestree, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, 1660, and Regius Professor 1663, concerning the question of conformity. Writing from Eaton, Dr. Allestree offered his opinion freely, and pointed out four essentials -

1. that the Common Prayer Book is the rule of our conformity in God's Publique Worship.

1. Ibid
p.86.

2. Ibid
p.87.

2. That all the Priests are under obligation ;
to observe this rule.
3. Obligation presses rather priests in Cath-
edralls.
4. That Prayers, and Prayses are the chiefest
part of God's Worship.

Having obtained advice and counsel, armed with the authority of learning and prestige, Granville renewed his application to the Dean and Chapter of Durham. His humble address, as he styles it is dated 20th November 1681. "This proposal which I humbly tendered last year concerning weekly celebration of the Blessed Eucharist in Cathedralls, the reasons which I offered not being in all respects satisfactory to the Deane, and certain of the Church (not only my superiors, but some wise and learned men of the body, of another mind) as to desist from pressing the point until I had consulted some great and eminent Divines (namely the Bishops of Ely, Oxford, Norwich, Drs. Basire, Allestree, Samyayes, Bury, Comber and Oley), and now

having better studied the point, and being convinced of the expediency of such a practice - I am encouraged to renew my former motion". Granville hoped that they would be convinced by such reasons as he had produced in writing. His evidence, and correspondence with the learned Divines was supported by the writings of clergy like Thørndike, and Beveridge who pressed the necessity of weekly communions because they never expected to see the Church settled, primitive Christianity revived, and true piety and virtue flourish again among us, until the Holy Communion be oftener celebrated than it hath been of late in all places of the Kingdom. He pointed out that he had laboured "both by head, and heart for the space of sixteen years towards the reformation of the irregularities in our Cathedrals "in having a priest daily officiating at our Residence Table, and yet none at God's Altar"¹. Moreover, he was persuaded that he could effect monthly celebrations in considerable places if the Cathedrals had a weekly one, and

1. Ibid.
p.90. 91.

suggested that in all large towns, and villages the monthly celebration should be considered as a duty. "We ought" he wrote, "to afford devout people every opportunity of communicating to save them from the penalty of the law".

Brevint, Rector of Bramceth, wrote a letter to the Dean and Chapter in support of Granville's scheme but it was never sent.¹ From part of a Journal kept by Granville during his stay in London in 1683, we learn that he had much converse with My Lord of Canterbury, and other noted Divines concerning his project of the establishment of the Weekly Celebration in the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. He was also advised by Beveridge who pointed out that our Church had taken care that the celebration of the Holy Communion may be used every day in the week as appears from the rubric immediately before the proper lessons. "Note also the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel appointed for Sunday shall serve all the week where it is not in this book otherwise.

1. Ibid
p.92.

Francis Turner, Bishop of Rochester, was zealous concerning the revival of the weekly sacrament and enquired whether it was yet begun at York, as it was being gradually introduced into the Province of Canterbury, and one more Cathedral named Gloster had begun the good order. This correspondence reveals the earnestness of Granville and his friends, for the restoration of the Weekly Sacrament. They believed that when the Church of England rejected the Mass at the Reformation, it neither condemned nor rejected the frequent celebration of the Holy Communion. Moreover, they understood that the rubric of the first book of Edward VI. "both supposeth, and ordained even a daily communion". "Since I have been Archdeacon" Granville wrote "I have tried to see the injunctions put into practice, and encourage the frequent celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper that it should be administered in every church so frequently, that all persons might have an opportunity to participate so often at least as the law requires under penalty", which

is three a year. Sundry of the Clergy do not do so in spite of visitation. Granville reminded the clergy that they would not be so guilty if they would strive to introduce the weekly sacrament. This could be effected gradually by celebrating monthly in all considerable towns and villages, and in this way it would be easy to restore decayed piety, and the Holy Communion. He considered the restoration of a weekly Communion not more than necessary. Pat Robertson, formerly curate to Granville at Sedgefield, wrote "I hope my next journey to Durham will give me the satisfaction of soul to see that Church in better order, and the Table of the Lord furnished every Lord's Day with guests that desire to serve God after the primitive manner, or as near as they can¹".

The Durham Ecclesiastics strove to restore the Sacrament to its rightful place, and the result of their efforts is summed up in the words of Granville who wrote "We have lived to see the Monthly Sacraments not onely in many Cathedrals very well, and in all

1. Ibid.
p.130.

Cathedrals reasonably well frequented, but also in Parish Churches¹ not onely in great cities and towns, but also in the country, (whereof God be praised in this Diocese we want not some instances), and if diligent we shall see the Lord's Table well furnished once a month in country parishes, as it hath been of late in some Cathedrals, and weekly sacraments in them e'er long". The labours of Granville ultimately gained some measure of success, although he had to possess his soul for a few years more as he still found the most practicable canons and rubricks contemned by most even to this day. A letter from Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, (dated 7th April 1685) to the Dean and Chapter, concerning the weekly sacrament was a direct command. He asked them to consult the rubric in the Communion Service concerning the weekly receiving of the Sacrament. "Your inclinations" he wrote, "may save me the labour of forcing what the law required". "I shall expect that after next Easter that the Holy Communion be duly administered every Sunday".²

1. Leeds Parish Church
had a monthly celebration.

2. Surtees Soc. 47
p.132.

The revival of the weekly Sacrament was effected by the Bishop in October 1685. It was not only revived in Durham Cathedral, but also in the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury which is noted in a letter to Dr. Tillotson, Dean. In the same year the Archbishop of York issued his commands to have the Sacrament administered every Lord's Day in the Cathedral at York, commencing April 26th; so that gradually the weekly sacraments were restored to the Cathedrals of our country. This restoration of the weekly sacrament was a real contribution to the revival of the spiritual life of the Church of England. Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, the Lord Bishop of Durham, summed up the importance of this restoration of the weekly sacrament, in a letter to Granville, when he wrote, "I question not, but you will find by this a great increase of piety, which will be not only an advantage to the receivers but also a satisfaction to those who attend God's Altar in this sacred administration"¹.

In addition to the restoration of the Sacraments

1. Ibid.
p.132.

to their rightful place, these Durham ecclesiastics sought to promote a desire not only for dignity in worship, but for the revival of learning. They realised the importance of a well informed clergy, which could only be possible as the result of reading and training. The state of affairs in many of the Churches of the Diocese was due to those clergy who lacked the background of an adequate education. To encourage reading Cosin had established a library at Durham on the Palace Green. The building cost him £500, and books to the value of £2,000 were housed there. He settled an annual stipend of £20 upon it, and appointed Davenport, his Chaplain, as Keeper of the library. When accommodation became too small he desired to obtain extra room for MSS., maps, and geographical books. It is recorded that he became impatient of Blakiston his librarian, who had taken so long to catalogue but a few books. He sought to obtain copies of rare MSS. and sometimes failed because of lack of money.

1. Surtees Soc. 55
p. 227.

The Revival of Learning.

These Ecclesiastics sought to build up a succession of well-trained clergy to serve the Church in the Diocese of Durham, and three schemes were suggested by them.

- (a) They advised the younger clergy to study their Prayer Book, to consult the Fathers, and to be diligent in their use of the scriptures.
- (b) They desired to make the Cathedral Church of Durham the centre for a Seminary.

Granville's idea was to have a seminary of ingenious young men to be minor canons. We learn from his correspondence that "he got the order passed in Chapter that what preferments the Church had to dispose of, the minor canons, according to their seniority, merits and deserts should have the option before any other". The College library he intended as their storehouse of knowledge and research in their labours. This desire for the encouragement of learning he further implemented by extending an opportunity for fellowship

between the Clergy and the laity of the Diocese.

The zeal of Granville is recorded in

3. "the Proposall concerning a monthly meeting of some sober clergy and laity to conferre about matters of discipline, and especially about Orders and rules of the Common Prayer Book, according to the practice of Dr. Samwales, and Dr. Comber, and other clergy in Yorkshire, with some rules and orders concerning the same"¹.

"Mr. Deane of Carlisle, the Archdeacon of Durham, Mr. Marsh, Vicar of Newcastle, Mr. Rowdon, Dr. Brayshaw, Mr. Cock, of St.Oswald, Durham, Mr. Sowerby, Rector of Ryton, Mr.T.Davison of Norton, Mr.C.Basire, rector of Boldon, Mr.Beaumont, Rector of Elwick, surrogate; An ingenious and sober man to be chosen for a scribe, either clergyman or layman, and if relating to Ecclesiastical Courts the better"².

Amongst the outstanding of these rules the following may be noted.

1. That Durham shall be the place of our meeting.

1. Surtees soc.47
p.171.

2. Surtees Soc.47
p.171. 173.

- 2; That the day be the 1st Thursday in every month.
3. Morning prayer, and dinner without appearance of pipe or pot.
4. That each shall entertain thee rest in order.
5. That at every meeting there shall be a question propounded against thee next meeting.

Mr. Deane of Carlisle to be Moderator.

The papers became the property of the Society. That evryone shall be obliged to read over his Common Prayer Book once in the yeare at least, and mark down ----- things worthy of consideration, and discourse and expose these papers to the public view of the Assembly which will prove helpfull in th¹e study of the Liturgy".

In this way Granville sought to perpetuate a desire for more knowledge concerning the Rubrics and Offices of the Church. The whole purpose of Granville's work is summarised in his letter written from Easington dated 3rd May 1682 "of adoration, or bowing etc., at our entrance into a Quire or Chancell etc". "The Church of England in her Establishment both as to her

1. Surtees Soc.47
p.171 - 3.

Articles, Canons and Liturgy is without all doubt the most unexceptionable of all Christian Churches. There is no Church so happily reformed, and reduced so nigh the primitive state of the most pure and flourishing times". "If any Liturgy deserves to be pitched on for the Universal it is that of the Church of England". "And whoseever is a true and right conformist who frames to say his Holy Offices with more and more understanding takes the most effective and thriving course for his soule to grow"¹.

He considered that it was the duty of Priests to labour both by learning, and practice, to restore the power of the Church amongst the people.

In his Compleat Conformist Granville sets out in detail his rules for the faithful Priest in which he affirms:

1. There is a prescribed Rule of God's Public Worship according to the Antient Canons.
2. Rule (examined by Convocation), confirmed by Act of Parliament which allows no man

1. Surtees Soc. 47
p.93.

to take on care of souls without declaring publicly his resolution to practice it.

3. An exact conformity in subscription of the Articles contained in the 36th canon.
4. All Ministers are by their promises at their ordination bound to obey their ordinaries and other chief ministers' godly admonitions.¹
5. The strict observance of the very letter of the Law of our Common Prayer Book.

It was in this way that the Durham Ecclesiastics sought to revive Anglicanism in the Diocese of Durham. Their task was difficult, but they did much to restore the ruined Churches, to furnish the decayed interiors and to re-establish the Sacraments of the Church, which had been so neglected during the days of the Commonwealth. They made an important contribution to the revival of Anglicanism which resulted in the restoration of order, dignity, and of the Liturgy which was the centre of their worship. Around the Liturgy they built the Church, thinking of it not as a collection

1. Granville
Compleat Conformist.
p. 18 - 19.

of individuals, but as an organic body, embracing the whole national life.

In one of his addresses to his parishioners at Easington, Granville writes of his "people who are so happy to have the opportunity to worship God"--- early in the morning, and late in the evening"¹. He also bore witness to the improved condition of things in the Diocese since the return of the King, and Bishop. He believed that the Bishoprick had become more famous than other parts for conformity, and "outstripped them in good order, and regularity of worship, and some country parishes have enjoyed monthly communions". At this time Granville was the chief force in the Diocese, and when he became Dean he was successful in bringing the Cathedral services up to the standard he desired. He also attracted the best young men, revived Lenten sermons, encouraged study and drew tight the reins of discipline.

Sir Wm. Dugdale spake much in commendation of Bishop Cosin, and Dr. Basire, highly commending the

1. Surtees Soc. 47.
p. 123.

conformity of the Diocese, and more particularly the observance of the 55th Canon. "We had some discourse concerning Newcastle, and found that it had been brought to a very great degree of conformity by the zeal of the Archdeacon of Northumberland"

In the preface to his sermon and letter written under the title The Compleat Conformist, dedicated to Bishop Cosin; Granville wrote; "So I am confident it must needs be an extraordinary satisfaction to the Regular Clergy of your own Diocese, where conformity hath flourished in a high measure ever since the Restoration* to see the establishment of a more frequent Parochial Celebration of the Holy Communion."

The results of their work became apparent throughout the Diocese, by the restoration of Parochial life, and the revival of the Synods and Sacraments. In this way they revived the spirit of Anglicanism, and were careful to emphasise the distinctly Catholic character of their own Church, affirming the changeless

Catholic faith, and discipline, as both have filtered through the medium of a national history, and found expression in a national Church. They restored the Liturgy in all its magnificence, and proclaimed the Church to be the ultimate guide in human life. The results of their labours are embodied in the Literature, Liturgy and dogma of the Church of England. Within this Diocese they laid the foundation for a revival of Anglicanism. As a great Cathedral exhibits examples of many schools and periods of architecture, so the English Church bears on her the mark of these movements. She is other than she would have been without them. The contribution of Cosin, Basire, Granville and Davenport, has entered into her standards, guided her worship, and formed her distinctive point of view.

In a book of exceptional distinction, John Inglesant, the writer, himself a nonconformist, puts into the mouth of his hero, an appreciation of the English Church, which is illuminating; "You will do

wrong - mankind will do wrong - if it allows to drop out of existence", "an agency by which the devotional instincts of human nature are enabled to exist side by side with the rational. It is like the Divine Being Himself whose sun shines upon the evil, and good". "Shall we throw this aside. It has been won for us by the death, and torture of men like ourselves in bodily frame, infinitely superior to some of us in self-denial and endurance. If we cannot endure as they did, at least do not let us needlessly throw away what they have won. It is not even a question of religious freedom only; it is a question of learning and culture - as a Church it is unique; if suffered to drop out of existence nothing like it can take its place".

The Durham Ecclesiastics were architects in the great, and noble Church of England, and by their diligence inspired the Revival of Anglicanism in this Antient Bishoprick of Durham.

1. John Inglesant
p.383.

Appendix Chapter 2.

COPY of TANNER MSS.

The Annual certaine rents and revenues belonging in the 4 wards thereto, (whereunto the whole County Palatine is divided) namely Darlington, Chester, Easington, and Stockton, amounted to £1961.12s.0d. The Parks, lands, rents of cole, lead, quarries, shops and houses amounted to £1063.16s.3d. In Rents from Allertonshire, Holdenshire, and rents of Durham House and the New Exchange, £890.0s.0d. making a total of £3,915, 8s. 3d.

Out of which sum these deductions are to be made and charged upon the Bishop, yearly to be paid by him from his former rents and revenues -

For decay of rents in the four wards, in Allertonshire and Howdenshire.	£ 49. 18. 4.
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For Repayre of the Staiths there communibus annis.	250. 0. 0.
--	------------

A pension assigned by the King to the Queen Mother.	880. 0. 0.
---	------------

Tenths paid to the King.	182. 0. 0.
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Fees, annuities, allowances, expenses and first fruits.	859. 13. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$
---	--------------------------

Sum.	2221. 11. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$.
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which deducted out of the former sum of £3,915.8s.3d.
remains only to the Bishop of Durham de clare £1693.16s.8½d.
But when in any year there is a subsidie to be paid
unto the King of 2s. in the pound, the Bishop's
revenue will be less by £182, making the clear sum
£1,511. 16s. 8½d, and if the subsidie be rated at 4s.
in the pound the revenues of the Bishoprick will be
but £1,329. 16s. 8½d. being a decrease of £182 more.

But these uncertaine profits which amounted to
about £160 (which are gathered with so much trouble
and expence) and most commonly a great part of them
lost or pardoned, will be spent and taken of againe
by feeing of lawyers, attorneys, solicitors and
officers, to attend and look after the Bishop's rights
in them all, together with the charges of his lieu-
tenancy in the County Palatine, so that upon Accompt
at the end of the year there will be left little or 0.0.0.

The Royalties of the Bishop's Wardships, Liveries,
marraiges and reliefs, licenses of Alienation, and
outer le mains, pardons and respites of homage;

these were all taken away from him by Act of Parliament passed A^o1660, and in lieu thereof the Excise (which is now let out to farms in this County Palatine at £2,100 per annum) was given to the King without any recompense made to the Bishop who had as great profits by these wardships as all the revenues of his Bishoprick are now worth. For it appears from former accounts that they were worth to the predecessor of the present Bishop about £2,000 per annum. In this loss whereof (till recompense be made that the Bishop promised) this Bishoprick suffers more than all the other Bishopricks in England, the impositions and charges laying upon it being still as great as before. The King in recompense released under his seal £880 paid to the Queen Mother until her death in 1669. Besides the former uncertaine profits there are to be reckoned -

1. The Bishop's Fines and Compositions for renewing leases of which leases he that is now Bishop (entering in December 1660) found the most considerable and greatest number of them, lett out by his predecessors,

for three lives, such as (except onely one) are still in being, and like to continue beyond his time.

Among them all some few tenants have herd, and there renewed one life that was void for lease then one year's value, 3 of them 2 lives for lease then 3 year's value.

As to the rest of the leases that had been let for 21 years and were expired, they were most of them so meane that 110 of them have afforded anyone fine above £50, (some 3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,15,20) amounting in all, one with another, to no more than £2,556. 13s. 4d. And all fines above £50 (being 69 in number) have risen no higher than £9,400.

Summa Totalis £11,956. 13s. 4d.

The necessary expenditure of the Bishop amounted to £12,652 of which sum he spent £7,202 on the rebuilding of Durham and Auckland Castles, £3,000 more for the completion of the building operations, and £100 for the recondition of the Bishop's house at Darlington.

"The Grand lease of the lands, and coal mines in the hands of Newcastle townsmen that was heretofore let

by Bishop Barnes for 99 years, and confined to the Dean and Chapter hath yet 18 years in it to come. There is also another lease of the tolls and meadows in Gateshead let heretofore by Bishop Tunstall for 450 years which will weare out 20 Bishops."

This statement, indorsed by Bishop Cosin's own hand gives an account of the state of the Bishoprick in 1660.

It appears from these accounts that the revenue of the Bishoprick had been adversely affected by taking away by Act of Parliament, the Wardships and other rights. There was also the ruined state of the Episcopal Property, which was to cost according to Cosin's own estimate over £10,000. The decay of rents, and the accumulated fees, or annuities amounted to the sum of £2,221. 11s. 6¼d.

The expenses for repairs and charities were on a large scale. A true account made by the Bishop of Durham of his expenses in the Repayres of his Castles, and in other charitable uses from the year 1660 wherein he was ~~the~~ first consecrated Bishop, to the year 1668, and of his receipts for fines and leases during the said is printed from the Tanner MSS. XC11⁴ by Canon Ornsby

(Surtees Soc 55.p.171). The following items of interest appear in these accounts.

For the repairing and perfectly furnishing the two Episcopal Castles at Durham, and Auckland, and the Bishop's House at Darlington. £17,000

For the furnishing of the new built Chappel with several vessels of faire gilded plate, organs, bibles, service books, palls, fonts, carpets, and other decent and useful ornaments. £ 1,000

He has likewise finished the building of a faire new library upon the Bishop's Palace Green Durham, next to his exchequer £ 500

He has furnished the same library for publick use with books of all sorts to the value of £ 2,000

He hath also, for the well keeping, and preserving of that library, given and settled an annual stipend of £20 sterling upon it, which at 17 years purchase cost £ 340

In addition to this expenditure Cosin

Repaired the Bishop's Court of Exchequer and Chancery, rebuilt two antient schooles, built an hospital for eight poor and aged people upon the Palace Green cost £ 1,680

He also provided and gave to his Cathedral Church in Durham a faire carved lecterne, and a litany Desk

for the use of the Quire there, and a large scollopt paten silver and gilt with a foote and a cover of faire embossed work for the use of the Holy Communion there £ 45

He hath further newly erected and built an Almshouse at Auckland for foure poor and aged people, and endowed the same with a perpetual pension of £20 which cost £ 410

At Auckland he restored the Colledge of Dissolved Prebends which was valued at £ 320

He hath also provided £16 per annum to be added to stipend of the curate of Auckland Parish Church - valued £ 250

He also provided three scholarships at Caius College Cambridge of £28 per annum which cost £ 550

He also provided for St. Peters College in the same University (of which college he was sometime Master) five scholarships at the annual value of £58; He menewed of the east end of the Chappell, and hath given to the Public Library of that college 1,031 volumnes of good books fairely and well bound - All these gifts cost £ 1,540

For the relief of British captives in Algiers £ 300

In his Fines for leases he abated and pardoned his tenants of the proportion which those leases were justly worth the summe of £12,000

He hath given to the relief of the distressed loyal party, and poor students in the Universities, at least

£ 500

He hath further expended in repairing and rebuilding the bancks upon the river of Owse in Howdenshire alone

£ 800

Summa Totalis

£39,235

Besides all this he hath expended -

1. On necessary fees and charges in coming into his Bishoprick

£ 700

2. Paid in benevolances to His Majesty

£ 1,400

3. Furthermore he contributed to the building of St. Paul's London

£ 50

4. Additional charges for the repairing of the episcopal property

£ 500

The summe of these additionals is

£ 2,650

So that, the former summe being

£39,235

The Total summe is

£41,885

And all this he hath lay'd out, and pay'd, besides tenths, subsidies, royal sides and pensions to the King and Queen Mother, which since the time he was made Bishop have arisen to the summe of at least

£12,500

So that the summe of altogether is

£54,385

The total receipt of all his fines for leases in years and lives during the first seven years after he was made Bishop of Durham afforded him no more than £19,800

So that he hath allowed and expended in Publick and charitable works over and above what he received during his first seven years, for fines and lease the summe of £34,585.

Memorandum: That by an Act of Parliament 1660 the Bishop of Durham's Court of Wards, which afforded his predecessors above £2,000 was taken away from him. In some recompense whereof His Majesty has graciously pleased to release under his Greate Seale the yearly pension of £880 paid to the Queen Mother during her life, who died in 1669.

Later Cosin increased the Annual value of the See by £1,340. Altogether £17,500 was spent in repairing and rebuilding Auckland and Durham Castles and consecrating a faire new chappell at Auckland Castle.

Summary of a Financial Statementmade by Bishop CosinExpenditure 1660 - 1667(Baker MSS. XXX 377.ff)

In Charitable and Public works	£27,430
Fees at his election etc.	£ 700
Two benevolences to the King shortly after consecration	£ 400
First fruits and tenths (a double subsidy 1663)	£ 360
New Year Gift to the King	£ 231
Royal aids granted by Act of Parliament and pension to the Queen Mother brought to	£39,376. 16.7d.

Receipts for seven years fines for 200
leases.

£20,000

Rents at £2,650

£18,550

Total

£38,550

Financial Statement (continued)

Thus

- (a) By procuring after death of the Queen Mother in 1669 in compensation for the loss of feudal rights in the release of a pension of £880 which had been paid by the See to the Crown since Elisabeth's reign.

- (b) By skilful manipulation of leases Towards the discharge of his household expenses, and hospitality in his Bishopric he had allotted the following receipts.

Royalties	£	200
Rent of Desmesne Lands	£	500
" " Durham House and)		
New Exchange)	£	240
Howdenshire	£	400
Allertonshire	£	235
		<hr/>
	£	1,575
		<hr/>

So that during the last few years of his life £2,915 was available for household, and Assize expenses, and costs of suits-at-law, and of going to, and from Parliament.

Accounts relating to Ironworks
in which Bp. Cosin was engaged.

(Mickleton MSS.XC1. 29)
(August 16th, 1664)

John Hodshon's Account of the Profitts and Charges
of the Iron Furnice.

The Charges.

Imprimis paid by John Hodshon for the repaires
of the furnice as appears by his account of
the particulars thereof. £41. 7. 4.

Item paid by him for the charges of getting
ironstone, and coales for the blast last
somner, and the founders for casting the
iron, and other charges as appears by
the account above said. £219. 18. 1.

Summe £261. 5. 5.

Profitts.

There was cast into rough iron last somner
45 tons 2 hd 2qs 5 lbs.
per tunne comes to £215. 5. 0.
Soe that John Hodshon was out of purse more
than the rawe iron was worth, the
summe £ 45. 10. 5.

But he helps to repay himself by his haveing
sold six tunne and a half of rawe iron at
£1 per tunne, which was cast into the smelt-
ing haerthe at the furnice, and 3 tunne drawn
into hares, which will reimburse him about
£40 when received.

Into this stock My Lord putt in money	£50
In Ironstone which lay upon Hunwick	
Moore.	£20
and 7 tunne of bullets and granadoes	£28
and a yeares rent for furnice and	
ironstone.	£ 2
Summe	£100.

And there is more due to My Lord this present 1664,
for 1,000 cord of wood which he took
out of Bedburne and Birtley wood. £ 50

For a yeares rent of the furnice by a
new bargain made with John Hodshon
this present year 1664 £ 10

Summe due to My Lord £160 of which
paid by John Hodshon to Edward Arden
and accounted in his book of dis-
bursements. £ 50
Due from John Hodshon to be paid
at Martinmas next. £ 50
More paid by him at Pentecost 1665. £ 55
which makes summe total £160.

The Annual perquisites, and profits of the Bishoprick
of Duresme that are cayal onle, and uncertaine:-
Perquisites in his ten Halmot Courts, communibus annis.
Fines upon originall writs, and post fines in his
Chancery.
Forfeiture of Recognizances at the Assizes and
sessions.
Forfeiture of Recognizances in his Court of
Common Pleas.
Forfeiture upon Statutes of praemenire, and other
penall statutes.
Forfeiture of felon goods.
Fines and Amerciaments imposed at the Assizes and
Sessions.

Extracts and falls in his County Court.
Issues of Jurors at the Assizes and Sessions.
Issue of Green wax~~s~~ sent out of the King's
Courts at Westminster.
Forfeiture of Copyholds.
Sherriffe turnes.
Forfeiture of unland and unaccustomed goods.
Fines, and compositions for unfranchising
Tradesmen, and Apprentices.
Wrecks, and Royalties at see, by right of
Admiralty waives and strays.
Deodands.
Licenses of dividing tenants commons and fields.
All of which may be worth communibus annis about £160.

Surtees Soc. 55
p.318.

Appendix Chapter 5.

CHART OF MINISTERS and INTRUDERS.ARCHDEACONRY of DURHAM.Deanery of HARTLEPOOL.

<u>NAME of PLACE.</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION.</u>	<u>FATE.</u>
1.Castle Eden	Thomas Branger	Episcopal	Vicar until 1673.
2.Hesleden (St.Mary)	Joshua Wood	Presbyterian	ejected 1660 when former incumbent returned.
3.Elwick Hall	John Bowery	Presbyterian	ejected 1660 and became ruling elder of the Classes at Stockton
4.Gretham	John Muke	Episcopal	succeeded by Patrick Drummond 1662
5.Hart	John Bowery	(see Elwick Hall) above.	
6.Hartlepool St.Hilda	- Boyd	Episcopal	retained Vic- arage until 1669
7.Stranton	John Allen	Episcopal	died 1661 succeeded by J.Smith.

Deanery of STANHOPE.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION.</u>	<u>FATE</u>
1. Edmundbyers	Francis Forster	Episcopal	succeeded by John Durie 1661.
2. Muggleswick	Thomas Boyer	no account of ordination	ejected, after wards con- formed.
3. Stanhope	(a) John Bewick	Presbyterian	sequestrated Rector restored in 1660-Bewick became Moder- ator of the Presbyterians, later conformed and became lecturer at St. NICHOLAS, Newcastle 1662
	(b) Andrew Lamont	Episcopal	left for Long Newton on return of Basire
4. Wolsingham	(a) Ralph Ward	ordained by Presbytery in St. John's Church Newcastle 1658.	ejected and went to Hartburn.
	(b) William Bickerton	No ordin- ation.	ejected 1660 later con- formed ordain- ed priest 22nd Sept. 1662 Lecturer of All Saints Newcastle 1667.

Deanery of DARLINGTON.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION</u>	<u>FATE</u>
1. Aycliffe	George Spooner	Episcopal	no record of any vicar from 1658-1679
2. Coniscliffe	William Richardson	Episcopal	succeeded by R. Robinson 1662
3. St. Guthbert Darlington.	Thomas Clayperton	Episcopal	succeeded by George Bell Sept. 6th 1661
4. Denton	no curate from 1657 until 1663		John Jackson 1663
5. Dinsdale	Geo. Shawe	Episcopal	M. Wetherell presented by Charles II. 1661
6. Sockburn	William Harrison	Episcopal	succeeded by W. Hutton 1662
7. Haughton-le-Skerne	Richard Battersby	no record of ordination	later conformed as a layman
8. Heighington	Arthur Squire	no record of ordination	ejected 1660 conformed later, and became Rector of Handsworth, Yorks.
9. Hurworth	Leonard Weistell	Episcopal	conformed and presented again 1662
10. Sadberge	Luke Cotes	Episcopal	curate till 1662 later became V. of Kirby Ravensworth Yorks.

Deanery of GATESHEAD.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION</u>	<u>FATE.</u>
1. Gateshead St. Mary	Thomas Weld	Congregation- alist at first ordained priest 2nd March 1618 by Bp of Peter- brough.	ejected 1660
2. Lamesley	Thomas Wilson	Intruder	ejected 1662 and became Presbyterian Minister at Lamesley 1672

Deanery of AUCKLAND.

1. St. Andrew	Richard Falkland	Presbyterian ordained 14th Sept. 1653.	ejected 1662, and became Presbyterian Minister 1672
2. St. Helen	(a) John Mascall	Episcopal	succeeded by T. Timpson
	(b) John Timpson	immediately ejected but conformed later and was ordained priest 7th Oct. 1663	
3. Escomb	Robert Thompson	Episcopal	succeeded by Thomas Trotter 1662.
4. Merrington	John Ladler	Intruder no record of ordination.	ejected 1660 succeeded by J. Thompson.
5. Whitworth	Stephen Hogg	Episcopal	On May 12th 1660, I. Stephen Hogg began to read the Book of Common Prayer.

Deanery of AUCKLAND.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION.</u>	<u>FATE.</u>
6. Witton le Wear	Stephen Windle	Episcopal	succeeded by Francis Gurd 1667

Deanery of BARNARD CASTLE

1. Barnard Castle	John Rogers	Intruder- no account of ordination.	ejected 1660 be- came R. of Coglin ejected 1662 first Presbyterian Minister at Darl- ington 12th August 1672
2. Gainford	(a) -Grewould	Intruder	ejected 1661 for non-conformity.
	(b) George Sand- erson.	Intruder	ejected 1662 for non-conformity.
3. Middleton & n Teesdale	Timothy Tullie	Episcopal	succeeded in 1700 by J. Allison.
4. Staindrop	Samuel Feake	Episcopal	ejected 1660 and became V. of St. Michael, Coventry 1662.
5. Whorlton	Henry Armytage	Episcopal	succeeded in 1677 by J. Moresby
6. Winston.	Richard Thursby	Episcopal	succeeded in 1662 by Cuthbert Marley

Deanery of DURHAM.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION.</u>	<u>FATE</u>
1. St. Mary the Less	Richard Wakelin, clerk officiated here in 1646. The Church continued without a regular Minister until 1685.		
2. St. Nicholas	Jonathan Devereaux	Presbyterian	Episcopal Ordination 21st April 1664
3. St. Giles	Elias Smith	Episcopal	
4. St. Oswald	Joseph Holdsworth	Presbyterian	Presbyterian Minister at Wakefield 1672.
5. St. Margaret	John Durie	Episcopal	Vicar until 1666
6. Witton Gilbert	Henry Hutton	Episcopal	conformed and retained curacy.
7. Lanchester	Josiah Dockwray	Intruder	conformed and ordained deacon 21st Sep. priest 20th December 1663.
8. Brancepeth	Henry Leaven	Intruder	ejected.

Deanery of CHESTER.

1. Chester le Street	Robert Hunter	Episcopal	continued curate till 1673.
2. Ryton	John Weld	Intruder	ejected 1662 Presbyterian Minister at Lamesley 1672

Deanery of CHESTER

7.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION.</u>	<u>FATE</u>
3. Whickham	Nicholas Stote	Intruder	conformed became R. of Tollington 4th Feb. 1662.
4. Washington	Edward Wilkinson	Presbyterian.	

Deanery of EASINGTON.

1. Easington	Denis Granville	Episcopal	later Dean of Durham.
2. Sherburn Hospital	John Fenwick put in by his father.	Intruder	ejected 1660
3. Kelloe	Thomas Dixon	Intruder	Presbyterian Minister at Durham 1672.
4. Trindon.	- Fisher	Episcopal	
5. Seaham	John Esterlie	Episcopal	succeeded by Henry Dobbins 1662
6. Houghton-le- Spring	John Barwick	Episcopal	succeeded by William Sancroft 1661
7. Dalton-le-Dale	Matt Cooper	Episcopal	succeeded by Sam Bolton 1662

Deanery of JARROW

1. Boldon	Robert Plaisance	Presbyterian	ejected 1660 Presbyterian Minister, Bishop Auckland 1672
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Deanery of JARROW.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION.</u>	<u>FATE.</u>
2.Jarrow	Francis Beattie	Presbyterian	ejected 1662
3.South Shields St.Hilda	Thomas Lupton	Intruder	ejected 1660 conformed and priested 1663 became R.of Bentham.

Deanery of LANCHESTER.

1.Ebchester	M.G.Wrightson	Episcopal	until 1680
2.Esh	Timothy Baines	Episcopal	

Deanery of WEARMOUTH

1.St.Peter	Robert Hicke	Episcopal	succeeded by John Hicke 1662
2.St.Michael Bishopwearmouth	(1)Will Johnson	Intruder	conformed as a layman.
	(2)Samuel Hammond	Intruder	ejected 1660
	(3)William Graves	Intruder	ejected 1660
3.Whitburn	J.Richard Hicke in Artibus Baccalaureus curate Ecclesiae parochialis de Whitburn sub doctor Triplett	Intruder	conformed and ordained 22nd Sept.1661 succeeded as Vicar 1662

Deanery of STOCKTON.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION</u>	<u>FATE</u>
1. Billingham	Christopher Borke (1603)	Episcopal	succeeded by R. Clerkson 1662
2. Bishop Middle- ham.	John Brabant (1652)	Intruder	later conformed and ordained 22nd Sept. 1661 succeeded the regular minister
3. Bishopton	David Miles	Episcopal	succeeded in 1661 by John Buckley
4. Stainton	William Pell (1655)	Presbyterian	ejected 1660 Presbyterian Minister at Durham 1st May 1672.
5. Egglecliffe	(1) Isaac Basire	Episcopal	during Common- wealth exiled but returned at the Restoration
	(2) Daniel Bushell	Presbyterian	later conformed and (ordained 1660) R. of Normanby.
6. Elton	Tobias Martindale	Episcopal	died 1668 succeed- ed by H. Doughter
7. Grindon	R. Bowes	Presbyterian	conformed 1662
8. Longnewton	R. Tunstall	Episcopal	died 1660
9. Norton	Robert Brough (1643)	Presbyterian	ejected 1660

Deanery of STOCKTON.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION</u>	<u>FATE</u>
10.Redmarshall	John Kidd	Episcopal	deprived, sub- scribed, then conformed. V. of Marske 1662
11.Sedgefield	Philip Hunton	Intruder	ejected 1661

Archdeaconry of NORTHUMBERLAND.

1.Tweedmouth	William Mene	Presbyterian	ejected 1660 Presbyterian Minister at Lockrulton
2.Ancroft	John Forsyth	ejected 1660	became the head of a conventicle
3.Norham	Edward Ogle	Intruder, later Presbyterian	1660 ejected forbidden to preach by Lord Widdrington.
4.Cornhill	Henry Erskine (1649)	Presbyterian	ejected 1660 Presbyterian Minister at Earlston, Berwick
5.Alnwick	Gilbert Rule (1646)	Presbyterian	ejected and became Principal of Edinburgh Academy 1660
6.Wooler	John Lomax	Presbyterian	ejected 1660 Licensed Indep- endent Minister 18th Nov. 1672- practised as a Physician at North Shields.

Archdeaconry of NORTHUMBERLAND.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION</u>	<u>FATE</u>
7. Bedlington	- Darnton (1656)	no ordination recorded until 1672	ejected 1660 ordained Presbyterian Minister 30th Sept. 1672 (by R. Frankland, O Heywood, J. Dawson, at the house of R. Mitchell, Winterburn.)
8. Bolam	Robert Lever	Presbyterian	ejected 1660 became Pres- byterian Minister at Brancepeth.
9. Stamfordham	John Owens	Presbyterian	ejected 1662, licensed Presbyterian Minister 1672
10. Ingram	James Aird	Episcopal	ejected on the title of an old incumbent and became a nonjuror later.
11. Alurnton	M. Strong	Intruder	ejected 1660
12. Houghton	John Hine	Presbyterian	ejected 1660 - ministered to Dissenting houses.
13. Great Benton	Alexander Whyte	Presbyterian	ejected 1660
14. Edlingham	John Murray (1657)	Presbyterian	ejected 1660 became Presbyterian Minister in Edinburgh.

Archdeaconry of NORTHUMBERLAND.

<u>NAME of PLACE.</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION</u>	<u>FATE</u>
15.Bothal	John Thompson (1647)	Congregational	ejected 11th March 1661
16.Bywell	John Davis (1658)	Congregational	ejected 1662 became Con- gregational Minister at Alston Moor.
17.Chatton	James Duncanson	Episcopal	ejected 1662 but later re- turned, became troubled in mind.
18.Ellingham	Patrick Bloomfield (1655)	Presbyter- ian.	ejected, became Presbyterian Minister at Harehope 1672
19.Knaresdale	Samuel Ellwood (1651)	Episcopal	became V. of Bishopton.
20.Ponteland	Humphrey Bell	Congregational	ejected 1662 became a farmer.
21.Mitford	Thomas Benlowes	Congregational	became a councillor at law and court- keeper to Lord Wharton.
22.Kirkharle	Robert Blunt	Presbyterian	ejected 1662 Presbyterian Minister at Alnwick and Ovingham.

Archdeaconry of NORTHUMBERLAND.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION</u>	<u>FATE</u>
23. Tynemouth	Alexander Gordon	Episcopal	ejected for irregularities
24. Earsdon	William Henderson	Presbyterian	ejected 1660- Chaplain to Sir R. Delaval.
25. Whittingham	Abraham Hume	Presbyterian	ejected 1660- licensed Presbyterian Minister in Drury Lane, London.
26. Woodhorn	Thomas Lupton	Episcopal	became R. of Bentham.
27. Warkworth	Archibald Moor	Episcopal	ejected 1660, and went to Ireland.
28. Eglington	Richard Pringle	Presbyterian	ejected 1662 became Pres- byterian Minister in Newcastle -led conventicles.
29. Felton	John Seaton (1658)	Presbyterian	ejected 1661 became Pres- byterian Minister at Limpfield.
30. Ovingham	Thomas Trurant (1645)	Congregational	left 1662, became Con- gregational Minister at Ovingham..

Archdeaconry of NORTHUMBERLAND.

<u>NAME of PLACE</u>	<u>MINISTER in 1660</u>	<u>TYPE of ORDINATION.</u>	<u>FATE</u>
31. Long Houghton	Samuel Lane	Presbyterian	ejected 1660
32. Rothbury.	Thomas Cotes	no ordination.	
33. All Saints (Newcastle)	Richard Prideaux (1645)	Congregational Judgment	conformed and ordained 1662-1663 be- came curate of St. John
34. St. John	Henry Ashburnham	no ordination until 1662	became V. of Tynemouth 1662.
35. St. Nicholas	(1) William Durant	no account of ordination	1661 forbidden by Cosin to preach.
	(2) John Knightsbridge	not ordain- ed until 1663 by Bp. of Sarum 28th March.	refused at first to read the Prayer Book then later conform- ed.

Addition to Appendix (Chapter 5)

COPIES of the COUNTY CERTIFICATES.

Northumberland Certificates.

13th December 1645. Letter and paper from Newcastle concerninge Presbyteriall government.

For the right honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the honorable house of Commons. These present Right Honourable

Wee, according to the contents of ye letter directed to us for the settling of the Presbyteriall government in this County of Northumberland, have called unto us such godly, and able ministers as are among us wch (God knowes) are very few, whose advice may appeare by these particulars enclosed wch wee humbly pray may bee presented to the Honble howse of Commons. Wee humblye conceive that the condition of this county is such as noe County in ye Kingdome can show the like sad president, that in 60 large parishes we cannot rayse above one classis, wherefore wee hope that the Honble parliament will cast some commiserating

thoughts on ye deplorable condition of this County,
both in providing sufficient maintenance, and alsoe
by sending downe able ministers among us ,for the
whch favour ye whole County willbe bound to pray for
you, and after ages blesse Their memory, and wee
shall Remayne

Yr honours much obliged servants

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Rob Fenwicke | Rich Fforster | William Shafto |
| Henry Ogle | William Armerer | John Hall |
| Alex Collingwood | Ralphe Dalkeld. | |

Newcastle 13th December 1645.

Wee whose names are subscribed being called by the Committee of Northumberland according to Mr. Speakers letter to them directed for settling Presbyteriall Government in ye County of Northumberland, presented to ye Committee or advice in these ensuing particulars

In regard of ye paucity of godly, and able ministers in this spacious Countye contayninge 60 large parishes, or ther abouts, and for ye present there being not above such a number as may make up one classis.

viz., Mr. Thomas Wolsall, of Stamfordham, Mr. Nathaniel Bernard, of Morpeth, Mr. Mark Wallis, of Long Horsley, Mr. Eleazer Gilbert, of Eglington, Mr. Shafto, of Wardall, all in orders; Mr. Alexander Davison, of Whalton, Mr. Thomas Frewren, of Ovingham, Mr. Owens, of Belsy, not in orders; wee humbly conceive ye whole County can make up noe more than one classis.

(Extract from letter)

signed by Thomas Walsall

Nathaniel Burnard.

Durham Certificate.

To the Right Hon William Lenthall Esq.

13th December 1645.

Noble s^r

According to your lre of the 22nd of September last we have at severall tymes called together divers godly ministers, and others of the County of Durham to consider how the said County may be most conveniently divided into distinct classical Presbiteries, and what ministers, and others are fitt to be of each classis. And upon serious debate, and consideration thereof we have performed the same as we could for the present, and we do by this inclosed scedule certefy the said divisions, and persons so nominated for each classical presbitery. And we make further bolde to certefy that of the many other Churches within the County divers are destitute of any ministers at all, others that have ministers but some of them so weake, and others so scandalous, or malignant (or both) that we cannot as yet recommend any more to be added to the severall classis

in respective divisions. But we hope by God His Blessing, and your further pious care, and wisdom to see these defects supplied with all speed, and conveniency as the houses shall think fitt. All which we humbly submitt, and recomend to their consideracions, and so we rest

Your humble servants,

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| H. Vane | Lionel Maddisone |
| R. Belasys | Wm. Onez |
| Geo Lilburne | G. Vane |
| Wm Heath | Thomas Bowes |
| The Sanderson | A Fulthorpe |
| The Shalsworth | Richard Lilburne |
| Time Whittingham | |

Enclosure with Durham Certificate.Durism Classis

Ministers:- Mr. Anthony Laphorne, Mr. Patrick Pforbes, Mr. Ruben Esthorpe, Mr. Henry Lever.

Elders:- Mr. John Hall, Mayor, Sir Richard Belosis, Mr. William Sedgewick, Mr. Isaac Gilpin, Mr. Tho Delavale, Mr. Timothy Whittingham, Mr. Tho Sanderson, Mr. Richard Lee.

Darlington Classis

Ministers:- Mr. John Vincent, Mr. John Marsh, Mr. John Hamilton, Mr. Linsey.

Elders:- John Middleton, Gent., William Prescott, Gent., Geo Wardall, Gent., William Wardle, Gent., Francis Anderson, Christop Rayne, Robert Robinson.

Chester Classis

Ministers:- Mr. Devorox, Mr. Richard Hicke, Mr. Robert Browne.

Elders:- Mr. James Clavering, Mr. Geo Gray, Mr. John Smart, Ralph Lumley, John Readshall, Rolland Harrison.

Easington Classis.

Ministers:- Mr. Philip Nesbett, Mr. William Johnson, Mr. Edward Young, Mr. John Bowie.

Basinton Classis(cont)

Elders:- Mr. Nicholas Heath, Mr. Geo Lilburne, Mr. Robert Sharpe, William Young, Mr. Sedgwick of Castle Eadon, Mr. Robert Bromley, Anthony Gilson, Thomas Shappe.

Stockton Classis

Ministers:- Mr. Ralph Tonstall, Mr. Robert Crough, Mr. Henry Doughty, Mr. Daniel Bushell.

Elders:- Christopher Ffulthrop, Esq., Mr. Clement Fulthrope, Mr. Samuel Rend, Mr. William Scurfield, Mr. Thomas Morley, Mr. George Heighington, Mr. James Cooke, Mr. Tho Chipchase.

Staindrop Classis

Ministers:- Mr. Edward Agas, Mr. John Bewick, Mr. John Rogers, Mr. Sem Coxe, Mr. James Junesse.

Elders:- Sir Lionel Maddison, Sir George Vane, Mr. Richard Lilburne. Mr. Tho Bowes, Mr. George Barney, Mr. Henry Goodeare, Mr. Geo Marley, Mr. Anthony Mackindale, Mr. Matthew Stoddart, Mr. John Reyne.

Appendix B. Chapter 5.

Quotations from the Minute Book of the
visitations of Archdeacon Singleton.

"At Tinmouth "that chapel is unfinished".

At Shilbottle "There was a long list of gravamine,
the minister had no gown, the chancel no windows,
the communion table was at the lower end of the
Chancel, above, no carpet, under full of bookes."

Ford "the Quire altogether ruinous without any
roofs, the body of the Church little better, with-
out doors, and windows, faulty in the roofe so
that none can sit dry in church in time of rains ---
the flouer not paved, noe font, noe communion
table, no cloth, noe vessels thereto belonging,
no desk, noe surplices, noe register, noe chest,
noe vestrye"

South Gosforth "The chancel had nothing remaining
but sorry walls."

"That chapels of North and South

Gosforth destitute".

Benton "Church ruinous".

Bothal "The old church at Shipwash is entirely
gown down, and the font is in the Rector's yard".

Newburn "The church is in a most discreditable
state, roof beams, pews, and coverings all neg-
lected".

Alnwick "A goodly fabric ready to fall down".

Howick "Both Church, and Chancel were ruinous
but the Chancell repaired by the Archdeacon".

Corbridge "in the late wars ye sects did burn
all the seats".

"The chancel which belonged to the Dean and
Chapter of Carlisle is very ruinous".

Hdlington "The Church is ruinous so is the chapel
of Bolton".

Embleton "The Church is out of order".

Chollerton "The Chancel is so ruinous that it is
ready to drop down".

"The Impropriators in North Northumberland were generally
recusants".

Appendix to Chapter 6.

Extracts from the papers of Mr. Mickleton
relating to the restoration of Durham Castle.

"The Porch or Frontispiece into the Hall, the flagging for the Hall floor, the cant buttresses supporting the Hall, the wainscot of the gallery, the new water supply, the containing wall of the court, the new wall leading to the exchequer, the refurnishing of the Chapel Tunstall built, all these are minutely regulated. The chief glory of Cosin's work was the great oak stair case which was built under the special directions of the Bishop".

Extract from the Churchwardens' accounts
of the Parish Church of Gateshead-upon-Tyne.

1660-1. "Joyning works to font, laying the stone steps about the fonts, and setting it upp, gilding font £3.

1661-2. "An assessment for repair of the Church,

Appendix to Chapter 6. (contd).

and the providing of a communion table cloth, surplice, and cushion, and cloath for the pulpitt".

Paid for the Communion Table Cloath of Damaske 18s.

A Carpet Cloth £3.18s.6d., gilding the pulpit head £4."

1662. Removing the gallery.

1664. "Mr. Trollope (Trollup) for communion Table £5.7s.0d.

The wherryman and labourers for bringing up the ballisters 6s.

Timber for the Chancel 14s.

Coullering the Quire £1.3s.0d.

1684. "the 4 and 20 order that certain way leave rents etc., shall go for erecting new seates in the Chancell for the convenience of hearing God's word, and receiving the sacraments".

Appendix to Chapter 6.(contd).

"At Winston, County Durham, and assessment of tenn shillings p. pound laid by ye consent of ye parson, ye church, and ye parishioners for things necessary for ye church. Also an assessment of 6s.8d. p. pound".

Extract from the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish Church of Darlington.

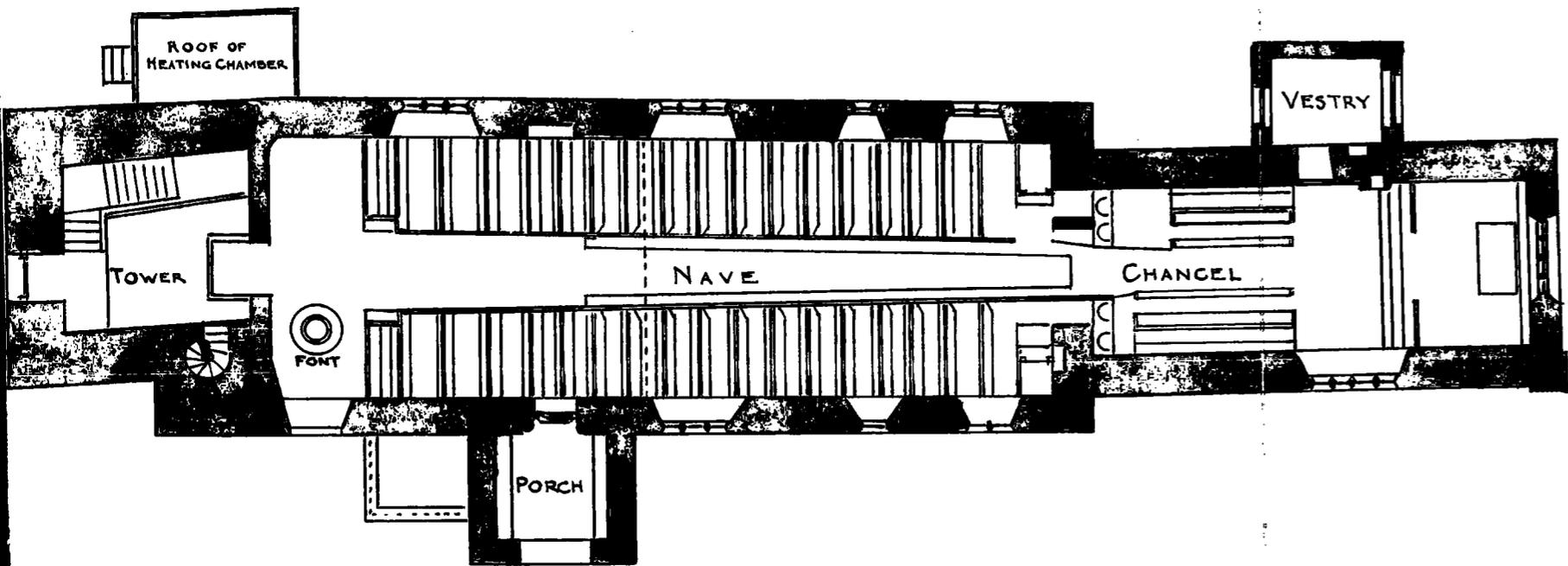
1662	bringing two loads of stones to the font.	16s.6d.
	To the Mayson for the stones and setting up of the font.	£2.18s.8d.
1663	For Leonard Pilkington charge to Transpeth(Brancepeth), and Ferryhill to enquire for workmen to make a font cover.	3s.6d.
	When Robert Bamlett and Bryan Heaviesides came over, and because of their dearness we could not agree with them they had for their charges.	6s.0d.

A Form of Ordination of a Minister
that may illustrate the working of Presbyterianism in
Newcastle-on-Tyne during the Commonwealth.

For as much as Mr. Ralph Ward hath addressed himself to the Classical Presbytery, within the town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, (according to the order of both Houses of Parliament of August 29th 1648 for the ordination of ministers by the Classical Presbytery), desiring to be ordained a Preaching-Presbyter, for that he is called to the work of the ministry in Wolzinhams Church in the County of Durham, and hath exhibited unto the Presbytery a sufficient testimonial now remaining in their custody of his compleat age, of his unblameable life, and conversation, of his diligence and proficiency in his studies, and of his fair, and direct call to the fore-mentioned place.

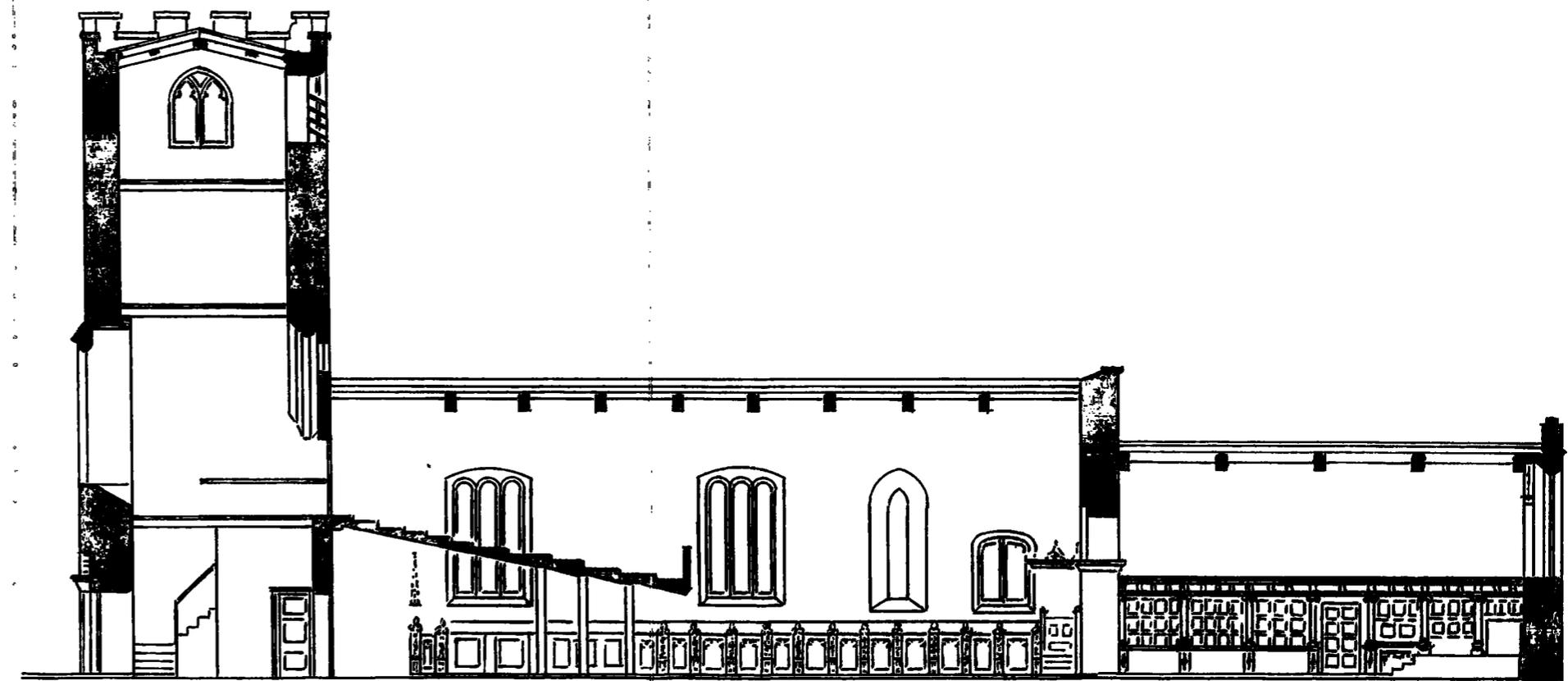
We the Ministers of the said Presbytery have by appointment thereof examined him according to the tenor of the said Ordinance and finding him to be duly qualified, and gifted for that Holy Office and employment (no just exception being made against his ordination or admission) have approved him, and accordingly in the Church of St. John

SAINT ANDREW, HAUGHTON LE SKEPNE.



Ground Plan of Church
before Restoration in 1895.

SAINT ANDREW, HAUGHTON LE SKEPNE.



Longitudinal Section
before Restoration in 1895.

in Newcastle upon the Day and Year hereafter expressed have proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of a Preaching-Presbyter, and work of the Ministry with Fasting and Prayer, and the imposition of hands. And do hereby (so far as it concerneth us) actually admitted him into the said charge, there to perform all offices and duties of a faithful minister of Christ.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names this 14th Day of September Anno Domino 1658.

John Bewick, Moderator

Richard Prideaux

William Coley

Anthony Japthorn

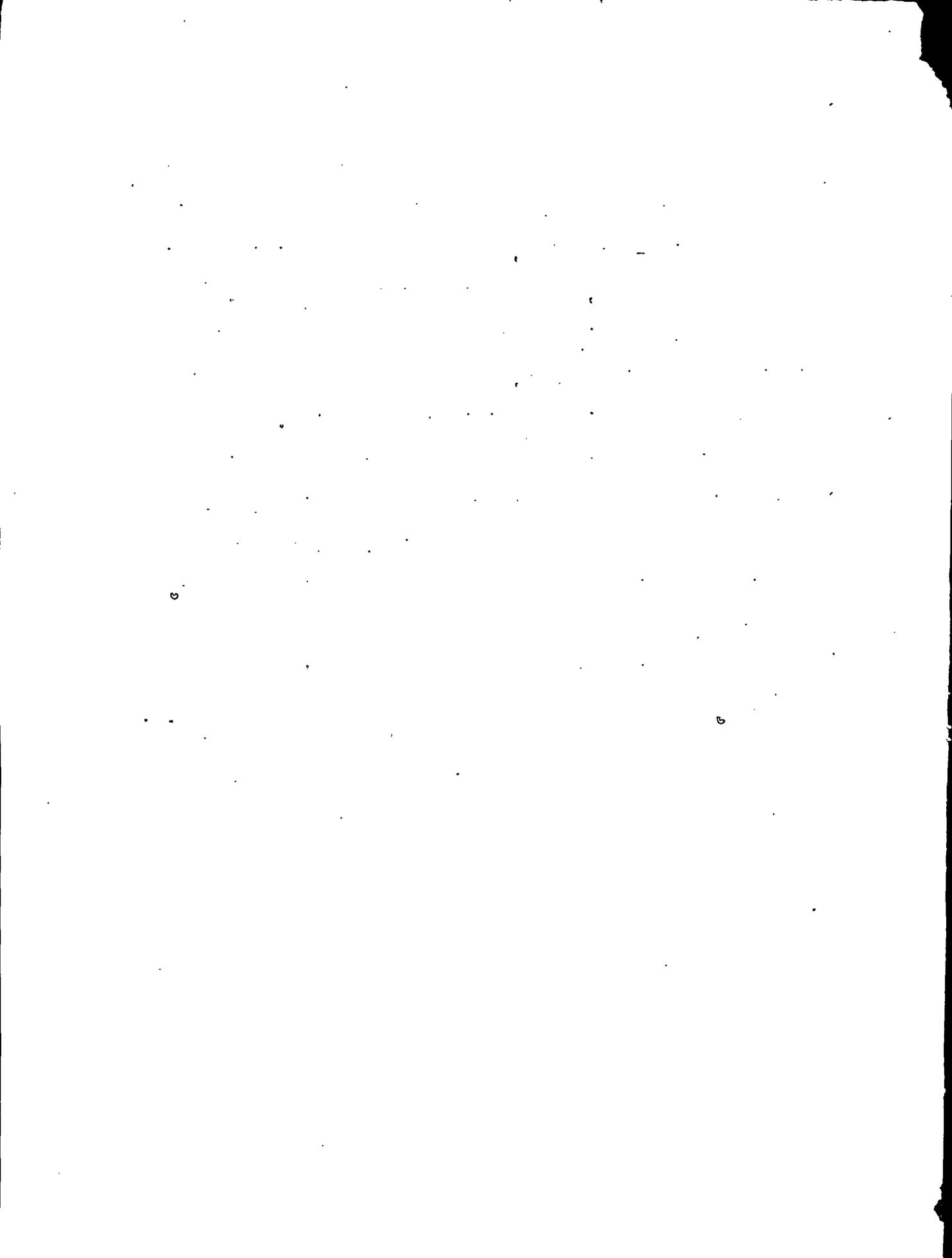
John Marske

Robert Plaisance

Will Henderson

Henry Lever

Thomas Hubbert.



No. 1.

DRAWING OF THE PARISH CHURCH

of

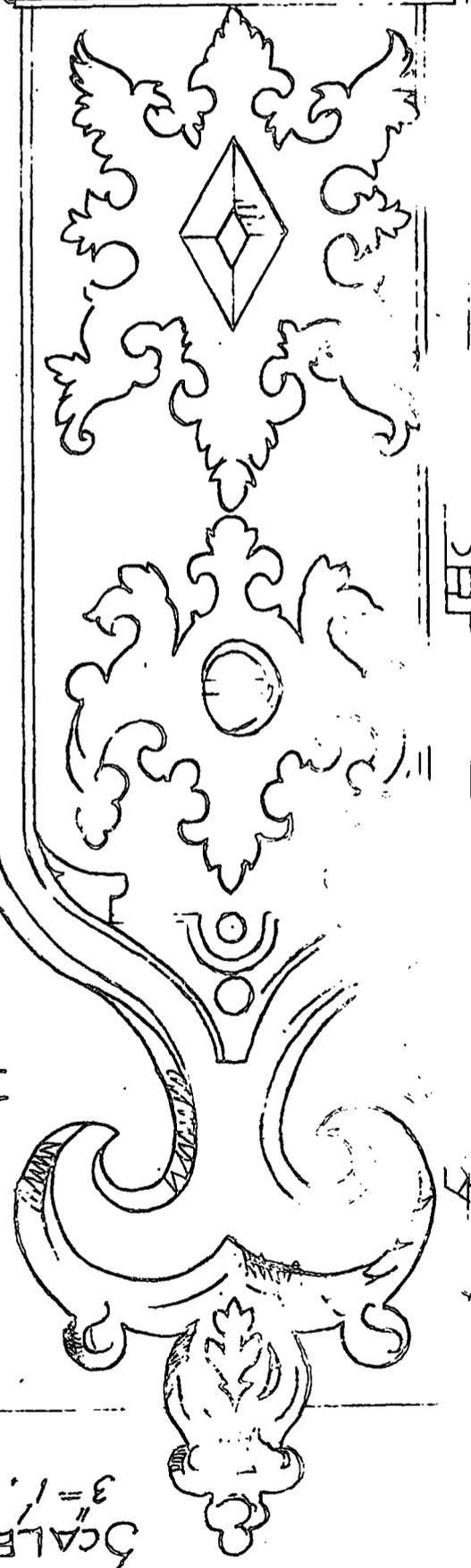
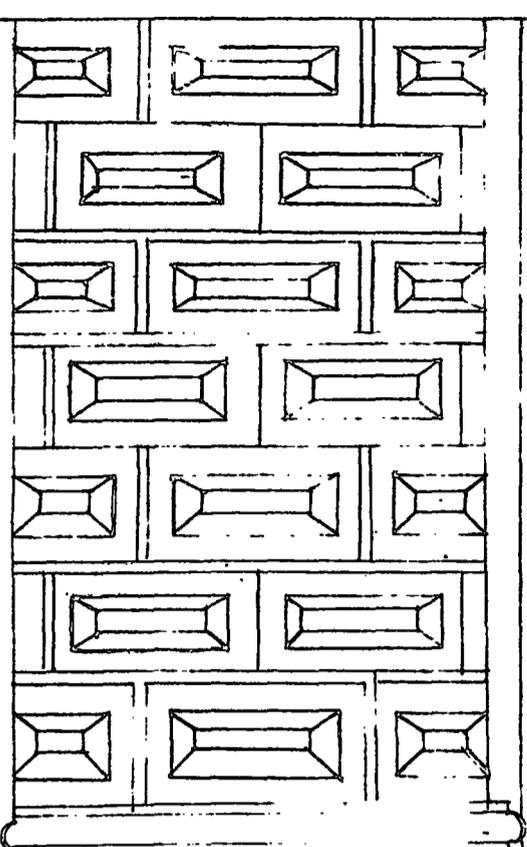
HAUGHTON LE SKERNE

showing the interior

before the restoration

of the Church.

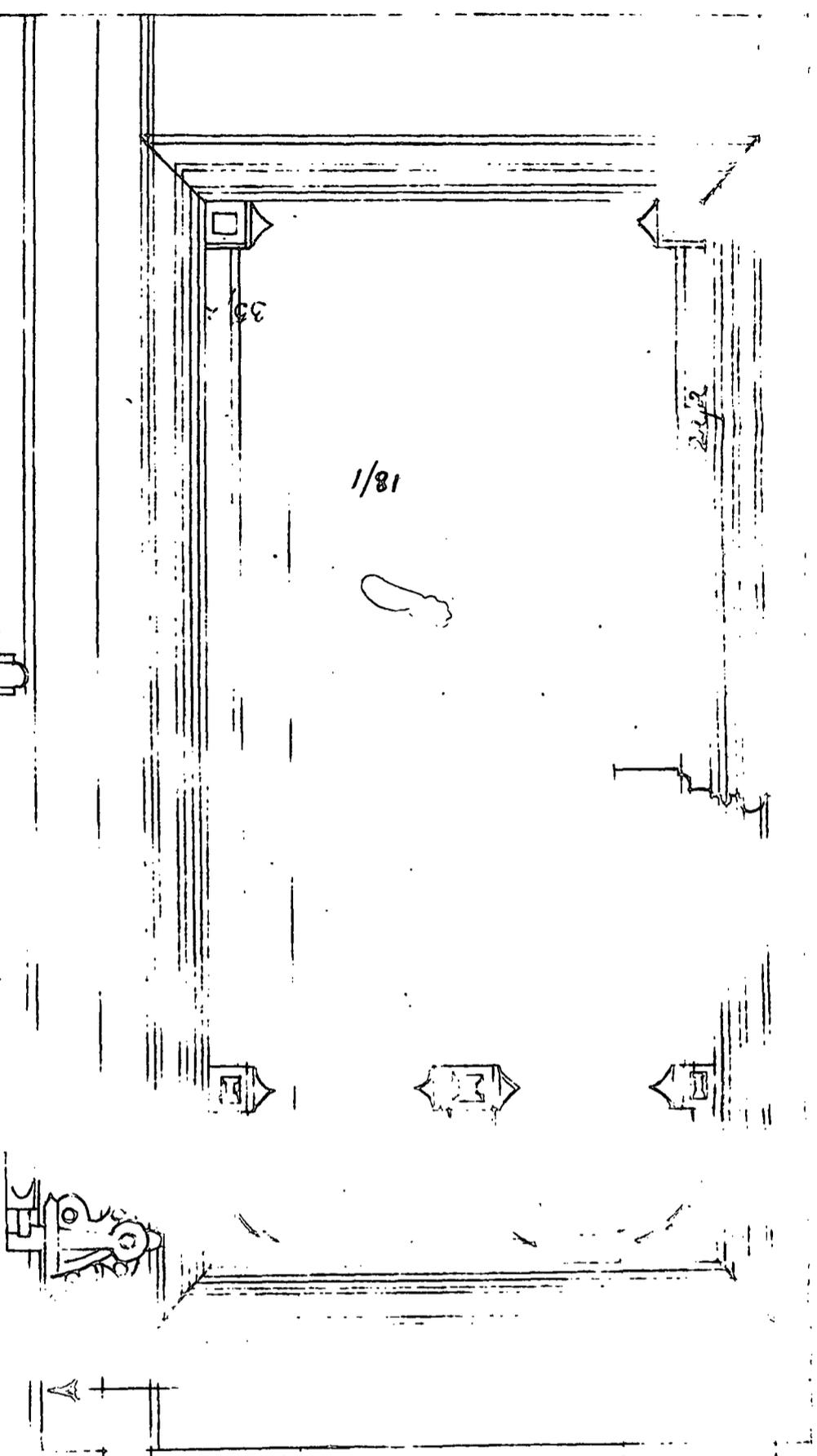
SWINDEN. ARCA LOND. 30 JUNE 1937.



4'4"

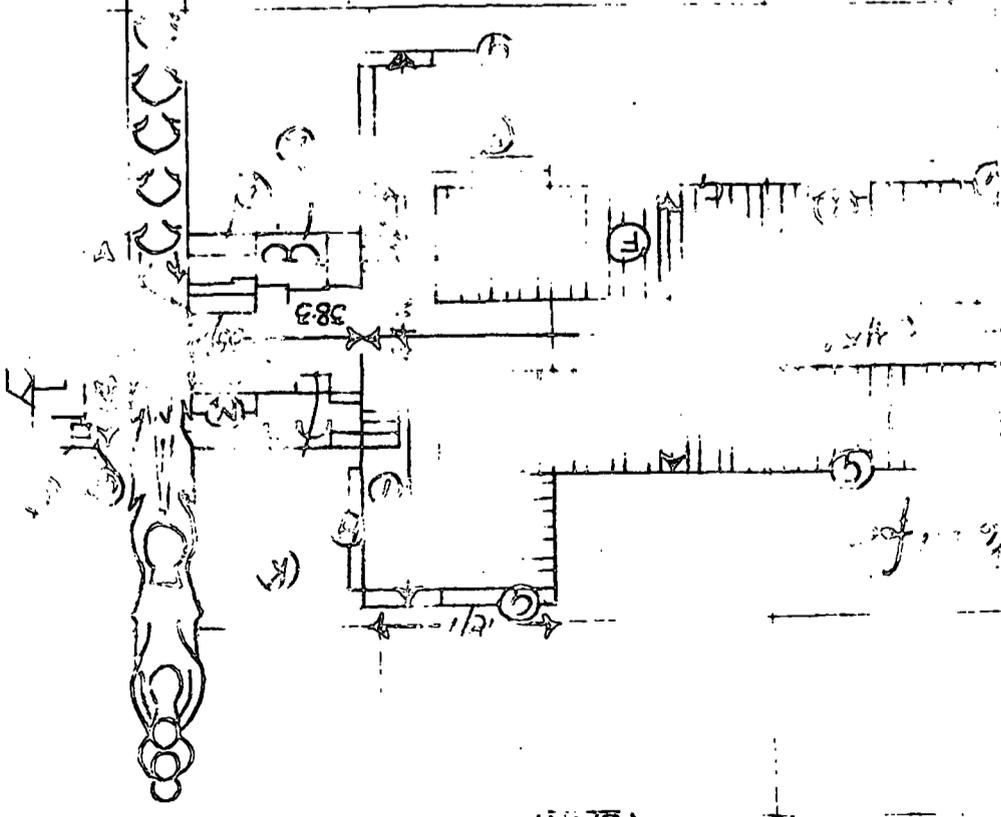
SCALE 3/8" = 1'

St ANDREW'S CHURCH.



18/1

33



383

1/2

Door & Recess HEAD

MAN PLOW (CAN)

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learned Societies and Monographs, and
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