



The Founding of Chester Cathedral

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I PROPOSE to trace the history of the Cathedral from its beginning in 1541 through the last six years of Henry VIII's reign and the six years of the reign of his son, Edward VI., until the death of the latter on June 21, 1553. These twelve years were of vital importance not only for the Cathedral but for the whole Church, for they saw the beginning of the Reformation in England, and it will be interesting to see how this great revolution affected the new cathedral, what sort of people the new Dean and Chapter were who took the place of the monks, and what they made of the monastic buildings which they inherited.

Information is scanty, but something can be gleaned from the Treasurer's Accounts preserved in the Cathedral, which, though they have often been consulted by various writers, notably by Dr. Bridge for his paper on Cathedral organists,¹ have never been thoroughly worked. They are unfortunately incomplete and in the period under review the years 1543, 1546, 1548-50 are missing. The other chief sources of information which I have used are Ormerod's History of Cheshire, Dugdale's Monasticon and the Cheshire Sheaf.

S. Werburgh's Monastery came to an end on January 20, 1540. The Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin was founded by letters patent from the king dated August 4, 1541. What happened to the buildings in the interval, and whether any services were held in the church we do not know.² There are two reasons for thinking that

a skeleton staff was maintained; one, the fact that the new Chapter seal was made a month before the letters patent were signed, which shows that there were people on the spot who considered themselves qualified to act for the Dean and Chapter which were to be, and two, the fact that the last Abbot, Thomas Clarke, seems to have remained in the Abbot's lodging until he became Dean, and death overtook him there before he had time to move out. He died in September, 1541, and as his last will⁵ is dated September 14, 1541, he must have made it only a few days before his death. Attached to it is an inventory of his goods. It reveals amongst other things that his funeral cost £20. 12. 2 (£1,000) and that the legal charges for the "erection" of the Cathedral amounted to £141 (£3,525).⁴ The reason why I think the Dean was still living in his old (abbot's) house which the new Bishop had not yet taken over is that in his will he gives the Bishop first refusal of "my best bed on wch. I lye and the bed wthin the second chamber wth hangings aboute the same."⁵ Also there was a chapel in the house, which would be the present S. Anselm's Chapel. Its walls were hung with "coverings," one with two images, one ornamented with "stories," and one with "conies and briddes." There was also "a patched covering wth a unicorne" and a carpet of "deyseyes."

It is unfortunate that all the rooms are not mentioned, though probably all the furniture is. We are however permitted to peep into the Dean's bedroom and see the feather bed upon a wool mattress on the four-poster hung with curtains of sarsenet. On the bed are a bolster, two pillows and two blankets. The sheets, when the surveyor made his inventory, were in a chest in the bedroom. The walls are hung with arras and a hanging of green sey, much worn, together with three painted cloths. An "old worse carpet" is on the floor. The furniture consists of two folding tables, a press, a cupboard, a looking-glass and "2 formes with 2 bankers" (? benches). Noting that there

were somewhere on the premises "xxye score of coles" as well as firewood, let us now go and rummage in a black chest in the second chamber. At the top of it are two grey amices, a rochet and "a greyt surpese," then come a couple of towels, a pair of sheets and "a shurt," 12 yards of linen cloth and another pair of sheets, old ones this time. But between the "shurt" and the linen cloth we find reposing "an English bibel." Whatever can it be doing there? I suggest that the Dean bought it for the Cathedral as ordered by Cromwell in 1538, an order which was repeated on May 6, 1541, but delayed putting it into the church until a chain and staple had been procured. The chain was bought on November 19, 1541,⁶ and the plate and staple on November 25, but there is no mention in the Accounts, (which begin in October of that year) of the purchase of the Bible, which suggests that it had been already bought and put away safely in the chest in the Dean's inner bedroom. Be that as it may, the English Bible lying mixed up with amice and rochet is an eloquent symbol of the transitional period upon which we are now entering.

The inventory also throws some light on the Dean's friendship with Hugh Aldersey and William Goodman, the two friends who conspired to hold some manors for the Abbot during the crisis and return them if the Abbey was not dissolved. Goodman was one of the witnesses of the will, and Aldersey was entrusted with a coffer in which was packed "a box containing evidences" and a set of vestments, which he took away to his own house, no doubt for safe keeping in case the worst came to the worst.

The Abbot's farm at Ince must be briefly mentioned, for the contrast with modern farming is interesting. It was stocked with 506 sheep and lambs and *one cow*. It was worked with five horses, not counting "2 old horses one wth a broken leg and another blind," valued at 6/8 the pair (£8. 6. 8.). It should be noted that the stock on the farm was the Abbot's private property.

THE CATHEDRAL PERSONNEL.

Thomas Clarke's successor was Henry Mann D.D. Born in Lancashire about 1500 he was admitted a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1520, but left it in 1521 to become a Carthusian monk. He rose to be Prior of the Monastery of Sheen in 1535 and took his B.D. and D.D. degrees in 1539. In the same year he surrendered his monastery into the king's hands and received the enormous pension of £166 13s. 4d. (say £4,160). This was the man who became Dean of Chester on October 8, 1541.⁷

The Sub-Dean was not, as we should have expected, the Prior of S. Werburgh's, but Dr. William Wall D.D., ex-Warden of the Grey Friars in Chester, whose house had been dissolved in August, 1538.⁸ He did not die until 1574, so that he must have been quite young when he was made Warden. He is famous in local history for having begun to build a conduit in 1536 to supply his Convent with water from some springs in Boughton. According to the Harleian MSS.⁹ he "began the conduit at Boughton, which came to the Bridge Gate, against Mr. Brerewood's house, along the Dee side, in pipes of lead."

The senior Prebendary was Nicholas Bucksey, who had been Prior of S. Werburgh's. He became Treasurer of the Cathedral, a proctor in Convocation and later on Arch-deacon of Chester. Thus the first three members of the new Cathedral body were all either ex-monks or ex-friars. And what a mixed lot they were,—Mann the Carthusian, Wall the Franciscan and Bucksey the Benedictine. Bucksey and Wall agreed, however, in this, that "whatsoever king might reign" they would keep their stalls in Chester Cathedral, for they managed to conform to the regimes of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth.

Nothing is known of the remaining four prebendaries,¹⁰ Thomas Newton, John Hunt, Thomas Radford and Roger Smith, except that they all died at the end of 1543 or the

beginning of 1544.¹¹ Such heavy mortality suggests an outbreak of plague, though none is recorded in the City annals for those years.

Next to the prebendaries came the minor canons, called petycanons in the Treasurer's Accounts, and it is on these Accounts that we have to rely for the next three years, for the Statutes were not issued until June 4, 1544. The petycanons were six in number and whereas the prebendaries were designated "Mr.," the petycanons are always designated "Sir," that being the inferior title in those days. The choir was composed of six lay clerks or conducts and eight choristers. One of the former, Sir Richard Davis, seems to have been a priest, for he appears as "Vyker of St. Oswald's" in the Survey of 1540 and drew a pension from the Abbey of 33/4. The deacon and sub-deacon, called also gospeller and epistoler, are also designated "Sir," though they would probably be only in minor orders as their title implies. The office of gospeller survived at the Cathedral until the late seventies and at Durham until 1884-5, and under the name of "deacon" was mentioned in Bishop Jayne's Visitation of 1899.¹² It is interesting to notice that in April 1542 the Gospeller was Sir John Mayre, who must surely be the monk, John Mayer, returned to his old home with a pension of £6 p.a. in his pocket. From 1544 onwards he appears in the list of petycanons. As he was still drawing his pension in 1547 he seems to have been more worldly wise than his brother monk, William Milner, who worked it the other way round.

The organist was John Bircheleye, formerly school-master in the monastery. He too had a pension of £6.

What we may call the domestic staff of the Cathedral consisted according to the Statutes of two vergers, two porters (one of whom was to be a barber) one butler and two cooks. But the Accounts show that in 1541 three years before the Statutes were issued, there were three butlers, one for the Dean, one for the Canons, and one for

the Petycanons, and no fewer than five cooks, one for the Dean and two each for the other two bodies. There was also a baker, (Robert ap Willy'm) and a water carrier.

(Dec. 24, 1541) to Hughe Hey wattercarior for s'ving the
Deane and Canons of water - - - - - 10s.

(March 31, 1542) to the Smythe for shoeing the water horse
this dim. yer paste - - - - - 5s. 4d.

One of the porters was Edward ap Gryffyn who kept the gate of the monastery and carried on there during the interregnum. The Petycanons' cook was another link with the past, for he was Thomas Goose or Gose, formerly servant of Abbot Clarke and tenant of Cellarer's Meadow "with all the tithes of hay and corn in the Bache."

Last of all must be mentioned the six bedesmen who were to be nominated by the Crown and assist the Vergers in the Cathedral. "They must be poor and indigent persons, or who have been disabled or mutilated in battle, or otherwise disabled and reduced to poverty and wretchedness."

In the Accounts they are entered as "almsmen," and sometimes as "King's almsmen." They received £6. 13. 4 a year.

THE CHAPTER SEAL.

The first business of the Dean and Chapter was to devise and make a seal, without which no business could be done. They produced two, a seal and a counter-seal, so different in design and execution that some explanation is called for, but has not hitherto been forthcoming. I must therefore treat the subject in some detail.

The brass matrix of the seal "is from the hand of a superior, perhaps even royal, medallist; for there is much feeling and character in the design and the execution is both vigorous and artistic."¹⁵ The matrix of the counter-seal, on the other hand, seems to be of copper and is of very inferior workmanship, while the inscription round the edge of it is lacking except for one word. It is evidently the work of a different hand and of a different date. The seal proper depicts the Virgin Mary kneeling at a desk with an



THE CHAPTER SEAL



THE COUNTER-SEAL

open book before her, a house with pillars in the background and a figure of a man holding a cross appearing to her. Above her head is a scroll with the words SALVE . . . SCT . . . PARENC. The inscription round the edge of the seal is SIGILLU . . . COMMUNE . . . CATHED . . . ECCLESIE . . . XPI . . . ET . . . BEATE . . . MARIA . . . CESTRIE . . . 1541. XPI must be the Greek capitals CH.R. I. as we find on the sixth century font in the Cathedral, and the translation of the inscription is "The Common Seal of the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Mary of Chester 1541." The scene depicted on the seal has long been a puzzle, but inquiries made at the British Museum have revealed that it represents a mediæval legend and is not Scriptural at all. The subject is Christ appearing to His Mother after the Resurrection, and the words on the scroll . . . "Hail, Holy Mother" . . . are the opening words of an introit in the mediæval Mass. It is easy to see how the Dean and Chapter reasoned. They would require a seal bearing on it a representation of both Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, but would be unable to find in the New Testament any suitable scene which included them both, and so would fall back on one which though un-Scriptural was probably very well known.

The counter-seal is even more puzzling. It depicts Henry VIII sitting on a throne under a canopy, holding in his right hand a sceptre and in his left the orb. A saint stands on either side of him and at his feet are two kneeling figures. Above the King are the letters HR and the figure 8; below him are D and C, and between the two kneeling figures are the letters H.B. There is also a V against the saint on the King's left. The only words of the inscription which are extant look like DEI. GRACIE. Some light is thrown on the problem of this seal by the discovery that it is not the same as the one at the British Museum. The wax impression which they have there has the inscription nearly intact, there is an O against the saint on the King's right, instead of D and C there are the letters T and D and

there is no H.B. The explanation seems to be as follows.¹⁴ The impression preserved at the British Museum must have been made from the original matrix which has been lost, perhaps during the Civil War. Dean Henry Bridgman (1660—1682) had another matrix made from an imperfect impression on some old document and had his own initials added. The engraver no doubt did his best, but the seal he copied must have been a poor one and lacked the inscription which on the British Museum seal is FACTUM . . ANNO . . GRACIE . . 15 . . JULII . . ANNO . . HE . . “Made in the year of grace 15 . . July in the . . year of Henry.” The supporters of the King are S. Oswald and the Virgin Mary and the two kneeling figures in the foreground are two ecclesiastics, probably representing the Dean and Chapter, while T. and D. probably stand for Thomas (Clarke) Decanus.

THE FOUNDING OF THE KING'S SCHOOL.

Most monasteries had a school attached to them and that S. Werburgh's was no exception to the rule is shewn by the fact that at the Dissolution John Byrcheley, “teacher of the children”, received a pension of £6. That there were children in the Monastery is revealed in the evidence given by one John Brassie of Tiverton in 1575 in a lawsuit about the tithes of Hilbre. He deposed that his father was the Abbey bailiff for Tilstone Fernall and that he himself about 54 years ago (1531) “was one of the boys of his chambre to Abbot Birchenshawe.”¹⁵ But the monastery's schools were generally open to boys outside the monastery as well as to those within. It was therefore very natural that Henry VIII in founding the new cathedral and endowing it with monastic lands should lay down that the Dean and Chapter should maintain a school as the monks had done, and also send four scholars to the university, two to Oxford and two to Cambridge.

The Statutes of 1544 (cap. 26) lay down that the foundation scholars should be “poor friendless boys; they were not to be younger than 9 (unless they were choristers) nor

older than 15, and they must be able to read and write and understand just a little of the rudiments of Grammar." They were expected to learn to speak and write Latin in four years. . . "But if any boy shall appear remarkably dull and stupid and naturally averse to learning, we will that that boy after full trial be expelled by the Dean and sent elsewhere, lest like a drone he should devour the bees' honey."¹⁶ School began with prayers at six o'clock in the morning and ended with prayers again at five o'clock in the evening. Whoever drew them up took care that the Royal Founder should not be forgotten, for the psalm (XXI) and the responses refer to the King.¹⁷

The Accounts show that the School must have begun with the founding of the Cathedral, for the boys were paid a quarter's exhibition at Christmas. It consisted of a master, an usher and 24 scholars. The eight choristers attended the School but had a master of their own to teach them music, who was one of the petycanons. The Statutes laid down (cap. 25) "For instructing them and inculcating in them as well good manners as also skill in singing we desire that one person should be elected by the Dean or (in his absence) the Vice-Dean, besides the six clergy above-mentioned, [petycanons] who is of honest repute, of upright living, skilled in singing and playing the organ, who will apply himself diligently to teaching the boys, playing the organ at such time as he chooses (*suo tempore*) and to singing the divine offices." This is not quite what we find in the Accounts of 1541, for the post was given to one of the petycanons and as the stipend was only £4 . 6 . 8 this is quite intelligible. The difference is this, that whereas the Cathedral started with an organist and a Master of the Choristers, the Statutes combined the two offices into one. The Headmaster of the School was paid £16 . 13 . 4 p.a. (say £400) and the Usher £8 (£200). The value of the scholars' exhibition was £3 . 6 . 8. Probationers were added to the choristers from time to time, called "demi-choristers" who received only £1 . 13 . 4. Today all six-

teen boys in the choir receive the same treatment, but only the first eight have the privilege of wearing a blue silk tassel to their "squares". Both Grammar School boys and choristers were boarded, if necessary, with one of the canons or petycanons to whom their exhibitions were paid, but more frequently the exhibition was paid direct to the scholars themselves, indicating that they were day boys.

CHORISTERS. November 3, 1541.

John Traver	Rafe Becket
Thomas Parker	Edward Morecroft
Matthew Wright	Richard Hough
Thomas of Prestbury	Thomas Wilcock

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Schoolmaster :— Mr. Richard Wrench

Usher :— Richard King

Scholars :—

John Hulme	Rafe Morton
Edmund Hulme	Thomas Thornley
Robert Jackson	William Johnson
James Boothe	Thomas Rogerson
Thomas Newton	Richard Manering
Richard Broster	Alexander Elcock
William Ball	Robert Prestwich
John Shaw	William Ward
Thomas Manering	Richard Ward
John Traver	Christopher Coven
Robert Ap John	Henry Morecroft
William Bostock	Richard Kettle.

It will be noticed that John Traver appears in both lists.

When the Statutes were published the system of boarding the boys with individual Canons probably came to an end, for the Statutes established a common table and laid down elaborate rules for it. All the Cathedral officers, except the Dean and Chapter, were to feed together in the "common hall," which presumably means the refectory. The minor canons and the headmaster were to sit at the first table, the deacon, sub-deacon, lay clerks and the usher at the second, and the boys at the third. The servants had their meal after the others had finished.

The first exhibitors at the University mentioned in the Accounts are as follows :—

The vi daye of Decemb. to Mr. Paule Boswell the Kyngs skolare student in dyvynytye for his q'rters exhibition to be due at Christmas next - - - - -	xxxiiis iiij ^d
To Sr. Thom's Francisse for his dim. yers ex- hibition - - - - -	iiili vis
[April 16 1542] to Mr. Typpying for his exhibition - - - - -	xxxiiis iiij ^d

Sir Thomas Francisse, whose title shows that he must have been in Holy Orders, was still drawing his exhibition in 1545, but the other three are new, Bradman and Roger and John Hulme. The last-named headed the list of the King's School in 1541.

It is not known where the School was situated. It can hardly have begun in the Refectory, if I am right in thinking that was the "common hall" where the school dined.

It appears from a document which has just come to light¹⁸ that the School did not use the Refectory until the year 1571 and then only for a short period. This document contains the evidence given at a Visitation of the Cathedral by the Archbishop of York in 1578. The headmaster, Thomas Purvis by name, deposed as follows :—

"To the ninth (article) he answereth, not only the church is ruinous but also the schole where he teachethe, insomuch that stones diverse times dropping out of the walles have broken the schollers heades, wherof is no amendmente although ther have not wanted complaintes; and truly it cannot long stand unless it be presently looked into. But now in his fading yeares [he was 40 years old] he feeleth more force of winter stormes there than he is able to abide, and likewise the children, which for the most part be sklenderly clad."

After this harrowing description of his present quarters, which may have accounted for him feeling "too old at forty," he goes on to say that the Refectory or Frater was formerly used as the School and is now standing empty and in danger of falling into ruin.

“ Againe the fraty in some partes MINATUR RUINAM, which as the best and most auncient of the city doe say, soone after the erection of this college by King Henry the eight of most noble memory was the schole and so appointed to be Anno 1571 about the xiith of September by the right reverend and honourable my lord of Yorke’s grace his visitors, together with the consent of my L. bushop, and Doctor Pears then Deane of Chester, as it appeareth by such monumentes of ours as ther have beene suffred to remaine. To say the trueth a much fitter place to so good a purpose than that we have; although it have been spoyled since that day more and more. And to drive us quite out made it little better than a common privie, yet it self such as cost many hundreds the buildinge.”

He then waxes eloquent about the bad state of his own house. It would seem then that the School did not begin its career in the Refectory, but moved into it “soone after the erection of” the Cathedral and were officially settled there in 1571, but that they left it again for other premises before 1578, when the Refectory was left derelict. Its further wanderings are outside the scope of this paper, but it may be briefly stated that it was at one time on the west side of Abbey Square between the two gateways; thence to the abandoned Nicholas Church (now the Music Hall Cinema); which had become the Common Hall in 1545;¹⁹ then to S. Oswald’s Church which was in the south transept of the Cathedral, where it is mentioned in the Churchwarden’s accounts for the years 1612-14, and at last in the second half of the 17th century it returned to the Refectory where it remained until 1876.²⁰

THE CATHEDRAL. 1541.

As soon as the letters patent were signed the newly-constituted Dean and Chapter were able to set to work literally to put their house in order. There was evidently much work to be done. It is not likely that the monks would have spent much in repairs after they knew that their days were numbered, and a year and a half had elapsed since they had vacated the buildings.

From Nov. 7 to Dec. 24, 1541, Thomas Wysall, mason, did 3 days work and Richard Haselwell, mason, did 9 days work at 5d a day. In the same period William Geste, bricklayer, worked for 4 days. All three men had a labourer to assist them, who received 3d a day. Also two glaziers named Daubye, father and son, did 5 days work, receiving the same rate of pay as the masons and bricklayers, and in addition we read,

- Nov. 7, to the said Henrye for mendyng wyndowes in the churche & in the Dean' logyng - - - - - iii^s viii^d
- Nov. 19, to Henrye Daubye for mendyng the glasse wyndowes in the Churche ii dayes & di. at v^d the daye - - - - - xii^d ob

The Petycanons' lodgings were evidently a priority job. The chimney had to be rebuilt and both mason and bricklayer worked 6 days at it, supplying 500 bricks at 4/4 a thousand. A new door to their dining-room was also necessary and Edmund Gee provided 4 boards for it for 10d. Meanwhile the carpenters were busy repairing the roof.

- Nov. 19, to Laurence Massye for iiiii dayes & di. wt. the peticanons ——— le daye - - - iis vi^d
- The same daye to John Ashton carpentare iiiii dayes & di. wt. the peticanons - - - iis vi^d
- The same daye to Laurence Massye for di. c latts boght by hym for the peticanons v^d
- (Ditto) for spykyng nayles boght by him iiiii^d
- (Ditto) for small nayles - - - - - iij^d

The smiths also played their part, albeit a small one.

- Nov. 13, to Sprag the smythe for a loke & a keye to the dor that goethe into the clauster - - - vi^d
- Nov. 19, to Willy'm Hu'tyngton smythe for a crampe of yron for a dore cheke & for shapenyng the masons tools - - - iiiii^d
- Nov. 25, to Rog'r Sprag smyth for the loks & keyes for the petye canons - - - - - iis viij^d

In the same month the horse pond was scoured.

Nov. 13, for castyng & makyng cleane the ponde
in the courte - - - - - viis —

A pencil note inserted in the Accounts states . . . " This was a large pond in the Abbey Square close to the great gate, in which the Abbot and his numerous guests watered their horses. In 1505 there was an inquest held on the body of Roger Ledsham, " Keeper of the Great Gate of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, lately drowned in a certain pit called " Horse-pole." It was filled up and levelled in 1584."²¹

In December attention seems to have been concentrated on the church. Henry Daubey and Son had already spent two and a half days each upon the windows, and on December 2 paid 1/2 for 3½ lbs of "sother" (solder) "for to mende the wyndowes in the churche". Evidently they were in a pretty bad condition. However, by the end of the year the fabric of the church had probably been put in order—the xxd paid to " the Tylare " on January 4 was no doubt a normal item in the winter when heavy rain or snow found out the weak places in the roof—and the Dean and Chapter were able to turn their attention to the furniture and fittings. From their expenditure we are able to glean something of the nature of the services which took place in the new cathedral during the last six years of Henry's reign, and we get the impression that they were identical with those of the old monastic days. It is true that a chain was procured for the English Bible which we discovered hidden away in the Dean's spare room;

Nov. 19, to Elys Byrche for a cheane for the byble
in the churche - - - - - iid
Nov. 25, (to Roger Sprag, smythe) for a plate &
staple for the byble in the churche - - id

Also on December 3 the two carpenters were paid 5/- for "makyng a pue to stand in the Chapell of Sainte Peter."²² But as one swallow does not make a summer, so

one Bible and one "pue" do not make a Reformation, and the Old Learning, as it was called, went on as before as the following extracts show :—

Dec. 5, to a goldsmyth for polishing of ii payr
censors in the churche - - - - viiid

Dec. 14, to John Harteswall Carver for makyng an
angell for the sacrament - - - - iis ivd

This would be the carved figure of an angel to surmount the pyx containing the Reserved Sacrament which hung above the altar.

Jan. 2, to Henrye Banks for oyle wax candels &
other necessarys for the churche - - xiiis xid

March 10, for xxvii yards di. of lynen to make albes
for the churche - - - - xiiis xid

1544-45.

There is unfortunately a gap in the Accounts here and we have to jump to 1544-45, by which time only two of the original Chapter are left, William Wall, the Sub-Dean, and Nicholas Bucksey, ex-Prior of S. Werburgh's. The new prebendaries were Peter Mainwaring, George Cotes, John Gibbs and John Lepyngton.

Peter Mainwaring was made a Canon of the Collegiate Church of S. John Baptist, Chester, on May 22, 1543, and moved to the Cathedral on February 1, 1544. But he seems to have retained his canonry at S. John's, for he is included in the list of canons there in the survey made in 1548 after the College was dissolved.

Of John Gibbs and John Lepyngton nothing is known, but George Cotes was evidently a personality. He was to succeed Bishop Bird as Bishop of Chester in 1554 and earn an unenviable notoriety for condemning George Marsh to be burnt alive at Boughton, the only Marian martyr in the north of England. In 1523 he had been elected a Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and in 1526 a Fellow of Magdalen. He was at first a strong supporter of the Old Learning and was denounced to Cromwell by

Bishop Latimer in 1535 as "wilfully witty, Dunsly learned, Moorly affected, bold not a little, zealous more than enough; if you could monish him, charm him, and so reform him, etc., or else I pray you, inhibit him my Diocese."²⁴ This seems to mean that he was a disciple of Duns Scotus and had followed the example of Sir Thomas More in not subscribing to the King's supremacy of the Church. But he was not prepared to die for his principles as More had done and evidently Cromwell succeeded in monishing, charming and reforming him to such good purpose that in 1539 he was appointed Master of his old College, Balliol, much to the disgust of the Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln, who wrote to Cromwell's secretary:—

"Remember the matter of Baglive College. If Cootes should obtain it I reckon the College undone. The man is so wilful and factious that there would soon be few in that house but of his countrey [Yorkshire], and some of those now there should have little quiet."²⁵

In reply Cromwell asks the Bishop to accept Cotes, reminding him that he can be expelled "if he transgresses the ordinances."²⁶

Such was the man who filled the fifth stall in the Cathedral in 1544.

We return now to the Accounts for that year. We may presume that by this time the Cathedral was in working order and that any repairs which are recorded are the result of ordinary wear and tear. For example, the silver censers were giving trouble.

(Jan. 31, 1545). Itm for mending the ryng of the sylver senc'	- - - - -	iiid
(May 21). Itm for ryng to the sylver sence'	- - - - -	vd

and later on:—

"Itm for mending the shayne of the sylver sencer iiiid"

I wonder if this was one of the pair of silver censers which the Dean and Chapter were reported by Edward VI's Commissioners (in 1553) to have sold in 1548 to enable them to repair their houses.²⁷

Other items of interest are :—

Itm for Russhes to the churche per an'	- -	iiis	ivd
Itm to the ryngers one all soles nyght	- -		xiiid
Itm for repayryng of the broken albes	- -		viid
Itm for lace & gyrdelle to albe and amyse	- -		xid
Itm to a brotherer for vi days	- - - -	ivs	viiid
Itm for vi yards of canvase to the same	- -		xxd
Item for rybbands & threde	- - - -		xd
Itm for (blank) yardes of fryngs	- - - -		xiiid
Itm for lynynge to the coverynge of the lect'rne ²⁸			viid
Itm for a frynge to the coverynge of the deske			xid

A certain amount of money was spent on repairing service books, which of course would all be in manuscript.

Itm for a Hymner to the quyre	- - - -		viiid
Itm to Robert Bower for correctyng the olde boke of the quere	- - - -	ijs	jd
Item to the same for a pressioner and an hymn'	-	iis	viiid

A processioner was a "book containing directions for the various processions, with the words and music of the antiphons etc. then chanted, together with certain offices connected with processions."²⁹

Itm for w'tynge the legente of J'hons' & Mary and for p'chement to the same	- - - -		xiiid
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This refers to the writing out upon a new piece of parchment of a Breviary lesson connected with S. John and S. Mary. The First Lesson for S. John's Day refers to the scene at the Cross where both S. John and S. Mary are mentioned. Probably this was a replacement.³⁰

Itm to Raff Bent for a prycksonge boke	- -	xxvis	viid
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This seems to have been a very expensive item, £26 in modern money. Mention has been made of an altar dedicated to S. Peter. There was also one dedicated to S. John.

Itm for viii yards of lynn & clothe for an albe to Saynt John's altar	- - - -	vs	viiid
--------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------	----	-------

Each altar had its own vestments which were kept in a locker or aumbry alongside it.³¹

Wafers for the Mass were of two kinds. The large wafer used by the celebrant was called "singing bread" and cost 6d a thousand. Altogether 3,500 of these were bought on three different occasions during the year, which gives us some idea of the number of Masses which must have been said at the Cathedral on the eve of the Reformation. The smaller wafers for the congregation were called "housesing bread" and only 8½d was spent on these in the same period, although 8/7 was spent on "housesing wine."

Another very interesting entry is:—

Itm for ii paxes to O Lady alt' & Saynt John' alt' viiij^d

The Kiss of Peace, which was part of the ritual of the early liturgies, was discontinued in the 13th century and for it was substituted the kissing of an object called a pax which was passed round to be kissed by all in turn. It was commonly made of wood or metal or ivory and often had the representation of the Crucifixion on it. At Durham the cover of the Gospel book was used for this purpose.³²

The services in Holy Week were very elaborate in character. Then, as now, the gospel for the day contained the story of the Passion, beginning on Palm Sunday with St. Matthew's account followed by S. Mark's and S. Luke's on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. The clerks who sang it were called "Passioners" and were recompensed with some form of drink. In the procession on Palm Sunday the Sacrament was carried under a canopy and a boy dressed up as a prophet chanted certain texts. All this is referred to in the following entries.

Itm upon palme Sondag to the passioners in wyne	viiij ^d .
Itm for iij days following - - - - -	xiij ^d .
Itm to iiij men which cariad the canaby - -	iiij ^d .
Itm for a payre of gloves to the p'phet on palme	
Sondag & for his breakfast - - - - -	iiij ^d .
for his breakfast - - - - -	iiij ^d .
Itm for iiij staves to the canaby - - - -	vd.

On Maundy Thursday the commemoration of the Last Supper took the form of a supper for which special dainties were bought.

Itm for iij pounds of almonds ad mandat capith -	xiiid.
Itm for iij pounds of reasons - - - - -	viid.
Itm for iij galans of bragot [mulled or spiced ale]	xiiid.
Itm for iij dozens of spysed cake - - - - -	xviiiid.
Itm in wyne & ale - - - - -	iiis. ijd.

In the margin is written "*In cena dom [domini]*" which was the liturgical description of Maundy Thursday. Cakes and ale remind us of Sir Toby Belch's rebuke to the Puritan steward, "Thinkest thou that because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?" but we are a little surprised to find them figuring in the middle of Holy Week.

Another event on Maundy Thursday was the consecrating of oil and cream by the bishop.

Itm for iii pewt' potts oyle & creme w'th a spone	iiis.
Item for holly oyle & creme - - - - -	iiiiid.

The pewter pots are the ampullas for the oil of the sick, the oil of the catechumens, and the cream or chrism for baptisms. The pots were commonly of pewter, and the spoon was to mix the chrism with before it was consecrated.

At Easter the paschall was erected. This was a movable candlestick used only at this season in which the great Easter candle was placed and lighted with new fire from a flint.³³ So just before Palm Sunday we find this entry,

Itm for mendynge the pascall case to Ric. Pedle - -	xiiid.
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This was probably in 1544, and there are no further entries connected with the worship of the church until after the death of Henry VIII, which occurred on January 28, 1547. This is referred to in the Accounts.

Itm for syngynge to the king's dirige - - - - -	xiiid.
-------------------------------------------------	--------

In January, 1548, the Dean and Chapter were very busy building a "hovell" in the precincts.

Itm to labor'es and weme' [women] for clensyng ye new wark & caryng away the hyll of romell w'thin our pr'synke - - - - -	viiis ijd
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------

One would suppose that the women did the cleaning and the labourers carried away the rubbish. But no.

Itm to ii weme' for caryng out of romell fro' the
library & the stere for a day & a halfe - - - vid

Women, it seems, were paid 2d a day.

Itm the same xv day to Richarde the mason for
brekyng downe the lytle dore in the courte gettyng
lyght to ye stere vi days after v^d a day - - - iis vid

Meanwhile a change of Deans had occurred. Dean Man was consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man on February 14, 1546. He relinquished his pension but was allowed to retain his Deanery and the two benefices of which he was rector, S. Mary-on-the Hill in Chester and Finningley in Nottinghamshire. However, he did not avail himself of this permission for long, for he resigned S. Mary's in 1546 and the Deanery in 1547.

The new Dean was William Cliffe LL.D. In 1529 he was Archdeacon of London, and in 1533 Archdeacon of Cleveland. The following year he was made Treasurer of York Minster and Rector of Waverton in Cheshire.³⁴ In 1537 he was a member of the Committee which drew up the *Institution of a Christian Man*, commonly known as the *Bishop's Book*, an official exposition of the Christian Faith. Ten years later on the accession of Edward VI Cliffe was induced to surrender the treasurership of York with all its possessions into the King's hands, and four days later he was appointed Dean of Chester. It is difficult not to see some connection between these two events, and it is generally supposed that his promotion to Chester was a reward for his surrender at York. The fact that he conformed to the Protestantism of Edward VI and the Papalism of Queen Mary shows that he was not of the stuff that martyrs are made of, though in this he was like most of his brethren, but he is chiefly remembered for the way in which he was bullied into surrendering the Cathedral lands into the hands of Sir Richard Cotton (see below, p. 61).

Before this happened, however, the new Dean was successful in recovering for the Cathedral an annual grant of £19. 10. 0 which the Crown had been accustomed to pay to S. Werburgh's Abbey and which had not been paid since the founding of the Cathedral. It is recorded in a document dated November 26, 1545, being a decree of the Court of Augmentations, which states that the Dean and Chapter having certified that the Abbey used to receive "by the hands of the receiver of the Chamberlain of Chester £19. 10. 0 which sum has not been paid from the time of the erection of the said Cathedral until now; the Court therefore decree that the said Dean and Chapter "shall receive the above sum with arrears.³⁵ The sequel to this can be read in the Accounts for the year 1547.

Itm to Vaudre for his fee paying the castle mone	x ^s .
Itm the quietans off ye receide ye on part in hys boke & ye other delyvryde us	xiii ^d .

The way this money was made up is not without interest.

1. Ancient alms payable annually to the Abbot on the Feast of S. Martin for providing a lamp in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary of Hideburgheye	10 0
2. The tithes of the fishery of Dee Bridge	5 0 0
3. Recompenses for certain tithes at Frodsham relinquished by the Abbot of S. Werburgh to the Abbot of Vale Royal at the request of Edward I.	4 0 0
4. The tithes of the City of Chester	10 0 0
	<hr/>
	£19 10 0
	<hr/>

It is unfortunate that the Accounts for the reign of Edward VI are incomplete except for the years 1551 and 1552, so that we have not a full record of the changes which were made in the services of the Cathedral and have to be content with a hint here and there of what was going on.

[Dec. 6, 1550]

Paid to Richard Hasilwell and his servant
and for iiij berers (bearers) of stones from
the alters for iii days and half after v^d. the day vs. viid. ob.
And to the mason Hasilwell and his servant
for vii days at the alters and about the wall
between Doctor Coots and Doctor Wall and
in the caleyard for hym self viiid. the day
and his servant v^d. a day - - - - - vis. vid.

[Dec. 13]

Paid to Turner for making the table in the
quere for v days - - - - - iis. ix^d.
Itm for a spare (spar?) to the table - - - vid.
Itm to Hasilwell the mason helping the
laborers to ley the greate alter stone - - - iiid.
Itm for thride to the vestre and mending
the vestments - - - - - iiid.

[Christmas Eve]

Itm to the glaseor for mending the wyndow
afor the table in the p'ish church and for
his glass - - - - - xxid.

[March 19, 1551]

Itm for rsshes against Aester - - - - - iiij^d.
Itm for wyne to the Communion in mavmesey
x quarts in secke xv quarts in claret xxij
quarts - - - - - xiiij^s. viiid.
Itm for a quart to put in the wyne the ould
quart remaynyng for sowder - - - - - xx^d.

[April 5, 1551]

Item for singing at Easter - - - - - viiid.
Item for rosyn and chaulke - - - - - id.
Itm for Mr. Turner the precher for his dyner iiij^s.

[After S. John Baptist's Day 1551]

In primis for iiij lodes of woodde to the bonfire xv^{is}.
Itm for fagotts - - - - - xiid.
Itm for the fire in the playe tyme - - - - - xv^{id}.

[July 9, 1551]

Payd to ii wemen for clenning the dortir and
for mending the way under Mr. Gybbes
house - - - - - xv^{id}.

[After Michaelmas]

Itm layd dune for the peticanons table for
11 monethes - - - - - vii.

There is one entry in 1551 which is of great historical interest. It will have been noticed that Richard Hasilwall's wages in the last extract were 8d a day and his servant's 5d a day. In 1541 a mason was paid 5d and his servant 3d (p. 49). This rapid rise in wages (and still more in prices) was a well-known phenomenon of this decade and was due in part to the depreciation of the coinage by Henry VIII. and his son. Silver coins issued in 1551 contained only one-seventh of the silver they had contained twenty-five years before and the weight of copper coins had also been lowered.³⁶ In 1551 a halt was called to this spendthrift policy and a reform begun which was completed by Elizabeth. On July 9, 1551, a Royal Proclamation announced that henceforth a shilling would be worth only 9d and a groat 3d. On August 17 the value of the shilling was lowered still further to 6d and the groat to 2d.³⁷ The practical effect of these proclamations on the Cathedral revenues is shewn in the following entries under July 9, 1551.

Itm lost in the abbatting or demynishing of the money nono die Julij the some of 163 ^{li} . 5 ^s . after the loss of vs. in the pound or the fourth part - - - - -	xlii. xviii. iiid.
[August 17]	
Itm lost in the seconde change of money	xlix ^{li} .
Itm more lost in twopenses, pens and hal- pens wheren the half was abbatede - - -	iiii ^s . ix ^d .

The Accounts end in 1551 and when they begin again in 1555 Queen Mary is in the middle of her reign. The rest of the story of Edward VI's reign as it affected the Cathedral is soon told. At the beginning of 1552 the Second Prayer Book was authorised by Parliament. In contained no Ornaments Rubric and consequently all the ornaments and vestments with which the churches were filled became redundant and were confiscated by the Crown. A Royal Commission for this purpose visited Chester on May 20, 1553, and made an inventory of the spoils. The best of the vestments were sent to the King's Wardrobe and the

remainder sold for £5 . 11 . 3. The list of what was left in the Cathedral gives some idea of what the Reformation meant in terms of worship.

2 chalices and patens.

3 table cloths.

2 long towels.

1 "pillo" for the Communion table made of an old tunicle.

A carpet for the Dean's stall.

A covering for the pulpit.

A covering for the Communion table, one side of crimson velvet and the other green satin and white —.

3 carpet cushions for the choir.

A pair of organs.

3 bells in the steeple by the choir and a clock.

2 great bells in the new steeple.

— coffers or chests.

It was also reported that the Dean and Chapter had sold a great bell "which hanged in the new steple there, whiche bell was taken downe and solde by the Dean and Chapter of the same Cathedrall Church the 4th of May, 4 Edward VI (1551) for the somme of xxxiii li. and the said somme is alledged by them to be paid unto the Ministers of the said church for there stypend." This is probably the bell now in Conway Church, which bears the following inscription:—

"Ave fidelis domina Werburga Sanctissima
Felix in Choro Virginum
Ora pro nobis (ad) Dominum
Joh'nes Byrchynshaw Abbas Cestre."

They had also sold a cross and two silver censers on January 31, 1548, for £3 and used the money for the "reparacon of their houses."³⁸

Further light is thrown on the sale of the bell by a note contributed by Thomas Hughes to the *Cheshire Sheaf* in 1879 (I. 152) which is as follows:—

In the Treasurer's Accounts for 1550-1 is the following :—

“ Recevyd off Mr Will'm Aldersaie and Sethe
 Rosomgreve off the cite of Chestur, for a Belle
 wegghyng xvij hundredthe pounde, everie
 hundredthe pownde at xxxvij^s. the iij daie off
 Maie 1551, the sume of xxxiiij^{li}; for the odde
 iiij^s. the saide Mr. Aldersaie and Rosomgreve
 wolde not paie - - - - - xxxiiij^{li}
 Rec'd off Mr Deane 3 May, the above xxxiiij^{li}
 p' me Will' Wall.”

This has every sign of being an authentic extract from the Accounts, but it is not to be found there now.

There can be little doubt that the depreciation of the currency with the consequent rise in prices and wages was the reason why the Dean and Chapter had to resort to this method of raising money. In fact at Westminster, where the same thing happened, this is definitely given as the reason. “In 1550 it was resolved to sell certain of the remaining articles of plate in order to pay the costs of alterations in the quire and elsewhere. A further sale of a similar character was ordered in the same year on the ground that the depreciation in the value of money had resulted in the fact that the treasurer had not enough in hand to pay the wages of the officers of the church.”³⁹

We who live in a time of rising prices can sympathise with the Dean and Chapter in their predicament.

THE RAPE OF THE CATHEDRAL LAND.

It may have been this report of the Commissioners that first suggested to Sir Richard Cotton a way in which he might enrich himself at the expense of the Dean and Chapter. It is an amazing story and throws a lurid light on the unscrupulous and greedy “ lords of the nobility ” who supported the Tudor Despotism for their own ends. Sir Richard had seen his elder brother acquire Combermere Abbey at the Dissolution and no doubt was on the lookout to enrich himself in the same way.

In 1552/53 the Dean of Chester, William Cliffe, and two Prebendaries "were imprisoned in the Fleet, by procurement of Sir Richard Cotton, comptroller of the King's household and under intimidation granted to him most of their lands in return for a fixed annual payment of £603. 17. 0, although the rents of the property amounted to over £700." Such is the account given by Ormerod,⁴⁰ based on the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

It is now possible to supplement this account with some details from the Acts of the Privy Council which were not available when Ormerod wrote.

Cotton's appointment as Comptroller on September 4, 1552, carried with it a seat in the Privy Council and this gave him his chance. The minutes of that body record that at a meeting held on November 8, 1552 the following business *inter alia* was transacted.

"Letters to the Deanes of Chester and Peterborough to repayre hither and bring with them ij of theyr Chapter to aunswer to the taking downe of leade, according to the minute. A lettre to [blank] to repayre to Chestre to examin and trie out (*sic*) what leade, iron or other thinges have byn within these two yeres taken downe from the Cathedrall Church there, who were the doers thereof, and to whose use the same was converted, and to certify hither what they shall have tried out. A lyke lettre to [blank] to repayre to Peterborough for the lyke purpose."⁴¹

And at a meeting on February 14, 1552/53, Sir Richard again being present, it was recorded:

"The Dean and two Cannons of Chester committed this day to the Flete for taking downe the leade of theyr church and other disordred doinges."⁴²

On March 6 of the same year:—

"A letter to the Warden of the Flete to set the Dean of Chester, being dangerously syk of the gowte, at his lybertie; commaunding hym to gyve his attendance on the Lordes of the Counsell to answer to that is layd to his charge."⁴³

This looks as though the Dean had been kept in prison for twenty days without a trial. His two companions remained in the Fleet for another ten days, making a month in all.

On March 16, 1552/53 :—

“ The Prebendaries of Chester made their apparaunce this day.”

There is no further mention of them, so that presumably they were released, and nothing more is recorded about the Dean of Peterborough.

Shortly after this, *i.e.* before the death of Edward VI. on June 21, 1553, the Dean of Chester granted the bulk of the Cathedral property to Sir Richard Cotton on the terms already stated.

Such are the facts, and putting two and two together it is natural to assume that Sir Richard was the informer against the Dean and that it was he who brought him before the Council, and that there was an obvious connection between the Dean's release from prison and his alienation of the Cathedral lands. But was the Dean guilty? A writer in the *Cheshire Sheaf* calls it “ a trumped up charge,”⁴⁴ but it was not an unheard of thing for Deans in those days to rob their own cathedrals; the Dean of Peterborough was apparently suspected of doing the same thing and Dean Cliffe had already confessed to selling a bell and a pair of silver censers. A man who could do that was quite capable of selling a little lead. Furthermore the Council took no action until they had a report from their own agent who had been sent from London to investigate, though Sir Richard Cotton might have bribed him to make a false report. It looks as though the Dean must have done something *ultra vires* to give Sir Richard a handle against him. On the other hand, this zeal on the part of the Council for the preservation of lead on church roofs is a little unconvincing when they themselves were busy stripping it off the roofs of abbeys all over the country.

The whole incident is an interesting illustration of the power of the Privy Council under the Tudors. As dispensers of the Royal prerogative they could take cognisance of any case, great or small; they were above the law of the land, and there was no appeal from their decisions.

No wonder Cranmer when he was drawing up the Litany in 1544 thought fit to include a petition for "the Lords of the Council and all the nobility."

The conclusion of the story belongs to the reign of Elizabeth and will be told at a later date.

APPENDIX.

CATHEDRAL STATUTES.

NO. 26. OF GRAMMAR SCHOOL BOYS AND THEIR TEACHERS.

(Translation). In order that piety and sound learning may for ever flourish in our Church and in their own time bear fruit to the glory of God and to the benefit and adorning of the Commonwealth; . . . we decree that by the election of the Dean, or (in his absence) the Vice-Dean and Chapter, there may be for ever in our Church of Chester twenty-four poor and friendless boys to be maintained out of the income of our Church, of good capacity (so far as is possible) and capable of learning; and we do not wish these to be admitted before they can read and write and understand just a little of the first rudiments of grammar, that is, in the judgment of the Dean and the Headmaster; and we will that these boys be maintained at the expense of the Church until they have attained to a moderate knowledge of Latin Grammar and have learned to speak and write Latin, for which purpose they will be given four years, or if the Dean and Headmaster think fit, up to a maximum of five years. But we will that none, unless he is a chorister of our Church of Chester, be chosen as a poor pupil of our Church under the age of nine years or above that of fifteen. But if any of the boys shall appear remarkably dull and stupid or naturally averse to learning, we will that that boy after full trial be expelled by the Dean and sent somewhere else, lest like a drone he should devour the bees' honey. And we lay it on the conscience of the teachers that to the utmost of their ability they apply themselves diligently to their work, whereby all the boys may

make progress and become proficient in their studies. And that they may not permit any boy who is conspicuously lazy to remain too long uselessly among the rest, they shall report at once the name of that boy to the Dean, so that after his removal one more suitable may be chosen by the Dean, or (in his absence) the Vice-Dean and Chapter, to take his place.

We ordain moreover that one be chosen by the Dean, or (in his absence) the Vice-Dean and Chapter, learned in Latin and Greek, of good reputation and virtuous life, skilled in teaching, who may perfect in virtue and equip with sound learning these twenty-four boys of our Church as well as any others who come to our School to learn grammar. Let this man be the first in our School and be Headmaster and principal Teacher. Again, through the Dean, or (in his absence) the Vice-Dean and Chapter, we will that another man be chosen, of good reputation and virtuous life, and learned in Latin, skilled in teaching, who under the Headmaster will teach the boys the first rudiments, that is to say, of grammar and will therefore be called the Usher (Hypodidasculus) or Second Master.

But we will that these schoolmasters shall diligently and faithfully observe and follow the rules and order of teaching which the Dean and Chapter have considered should be prescribed. But if they are found lazy or negligent or unfitted for teachers, after the third warning by the Dean and Chapter let them be moved and dismissed from office. And they will promise with an oath that they will faithfully fulfil all the duties relating to their office.

THE KING'S SCHOOL PRAYERS.

The following is a translation of that part of cap. 39 of the Cathedral statutes which deals with morning prayers at the King's School.

“ At 6 a.m. the Usher entering the school shall say with all the scholars by alternate verses the psalm “ The King shall rejoice in Thy strength, O Lord etc.

Lord, have mercy upon us, Christ, have mercy upon us,
 Lord, Have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven etc.

O Lord, show Thy mercy upon us etc.

O Lord, save the King etc.

Be unto him, O Lord, a tower of strength from the
 face etc.

Let the enemy prevail nothing etc.

O Lord, hear us etc.

We beseech Thee, Almighty God etc.

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings etc."

The choice of the psalm (21) and of the responses show that the School prayers were intended to be for the benefit of the royal founder rather than for the benefit of the School; evidently the King expected to receive in prayer value for the money he had spent. The boys were to be his bedesmen. For the psalm deals mainly with the king and contains such verses as "Thou shalt give him everlasting felicity and make him glad with the joy of Thy countenance. And why? because the king putteth his trust in the Lord, and in the mercy of the most Highest he shall not miscarry" and much more to the same effect. The responses are even more revealing. They are all to be found in the Prayer Book, but could not have been taken from there, for the statutes were published in 1544 and the Prayer Book not until 1548. The compilers of these prayers took them from the Sarum Liturgy. The third one, "Be unto him a tower of strength," comes from the Visitation of the Sick and refers there to the sick person, but its position here immediately after "O Lord, save the king," makes it refer to Henry VIII. They can be found in our own Visitation of the Sick, where of course they are used properly.

Of the two prayers which follow, the first seems to have been the collect for the Fifth Sunday in Lent, but Cranmer slightly altered the original (which we have here) in his translation for the Prayer Book. Where he writes "We

beseech Thee, Almighty God, mercifully to look upon Thy *people*” the Sarum Rite had *family* which is much more appropriate to a school, and it goes on “That by Thy great goodness they may be governed in body, and by Thy protection may be guarded in *mind*,” which Cranmer has altered to *soul*.

The second prayer is also from the Sarum Rite and may be found in our Prayer Book among the Post-Communion prayers.

NOTES.

- ¹ *Chester Archæological Journal*, N.S. XIX, pt. II, 63.
- ² There is the same lack of evidence at Westminster. “Whether there was any kind of continuity between the old and new foundations cannot be determined. It is not even possible to say if services were being carried on in the cathedral church. But that the Dean and Chapter had some kind of existence before the date of the patent is clear from the fact that Chapter meetings were being held, but there is no record of these until March 3, 1542.” Westlake, *History of Westminster Abbey*, I, 217.
- ³ *Chetham Soc.*, XXXIII.
- ⁴ Throughout this paper I have multiplied by 25 to arrive at pre-War (1939) values.
- ⁵ In the letters patent the rooms in the house which the Bishop was to take over are enumerated and among them are “another chamber lately the Abbot’s there, with two *nausalia* and a more private chamber adjoining”. Ormerod, *History of Cheshire (Helsby’s ed.)*, I, 95.
- ⁶ S. Mary’s, Chester, bought “a cheyne to the byble” in 1545. J. P. Earwaker, *History of St. Mary’s-on-the-Hill, Chester*, 224.
- ⁷ *Cheshire Sheaf*. 3rd Ser., II, 11.
- ⁸ Ormerod (I, 268) must be mistaken in saying that Wall was ever a Canon of S. John’s, Chester. A Franciscan would not have been a secular canon.
- ⁹ No. 2125 quoted by Morris, *Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods*, 282.
- ¹⁰ The number was cut down from six to four by Act of Parliament (3 and 4 Victoria) and at the same time the name was changed from prebendary to canon.
- ¹¹ Ormerod, I, 268. It is a curious coincidence that at Westminster of the six monks who became prebendaries five were dead by January 14, 1542. Westlake, *History of Westminster Abbey*, I, 211
- ¹² He asked, “How do matters stand with regard to the Office of Deacon of the Cathedral?”
- ¹³ *Sheaf*, O.S., I, 53.
- ¹⁴ Suggested by Mr. F. Wormald of the British Museum.
- ¹⁵ *Sheaf*, 3rd Ser., I, 7.
- ¹⁶ For the full text see Appendix.
- ¹⁷ Statutes, cap. 39. See Appendix.

- ¹⁸ By the courtesy of the Rev. J. S. Purvis, archivist at York Minster
- ¹⁹ *Notitia Cestriensis*, I, *Chetham Soc.*, VIII, 112
- ²⁰ Information supplied by J. H. E. Bennett, F.S.A. To-day the Dean and Chapter no longer support twenty-four "poor friendless boys," but discharge their obligation by paying £297 annually to the King's School instead.
- ²¹ See *Sheaf*, O.S., II, 180.
- ²² Nothing is known of this chapel apart from this entry.
- ²³ Ormerod, I, 314, 266, note.
- ²⁴ Strype, *Ecclias. Memorials*, I, ch. 39, quoted in *C.A.J.*, N.S., XVIII, 83.
- ²⁵ *L. & P.*, XIV. pt. 2. No. 477.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.* No. 543 (ii).
- ²⁷ Morris, *op. cit.*, 152.
- ²⁸ *Rites of Durham*, *Surtees Soc.*, CVII, 12. A lectern in the choir "where the monks did sing their Legends at Mattins and at other times".
- ²⁹ *Durham Account Rolls*, Glossary, vol 3, *Surtees Soc.*, CIII, No. 103.
- ³⁰ Inf. ex Prof. E. C. Ratcliff. cf. *Rites of Durham*, p. 14.
- ³¹ *Rites of Durham*, p. 2.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 9 and note on p. 200.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 201.
- ³⁴ Ormerod, I, 789.
- ³⁵ *Sheaf*, 3rd Ser., VII, 43.
- ³⁶ A. D. Innes, *England under the Tudors*, 180.
- ³⁷ Stowe's *Chronicles*, July 9, 1551.
- ³⁸ Morris, *op. cit.*, 150 ff.
- ³⁹ Westlake, *op. cit.*, I, 217.
- ⁴⁰ I, 254.
- ⁴¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, *Rolls Ser.*, 163.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 218.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 230.
- ⁴⁴ *Sheaf*, 3rd Ser., III, 20.

