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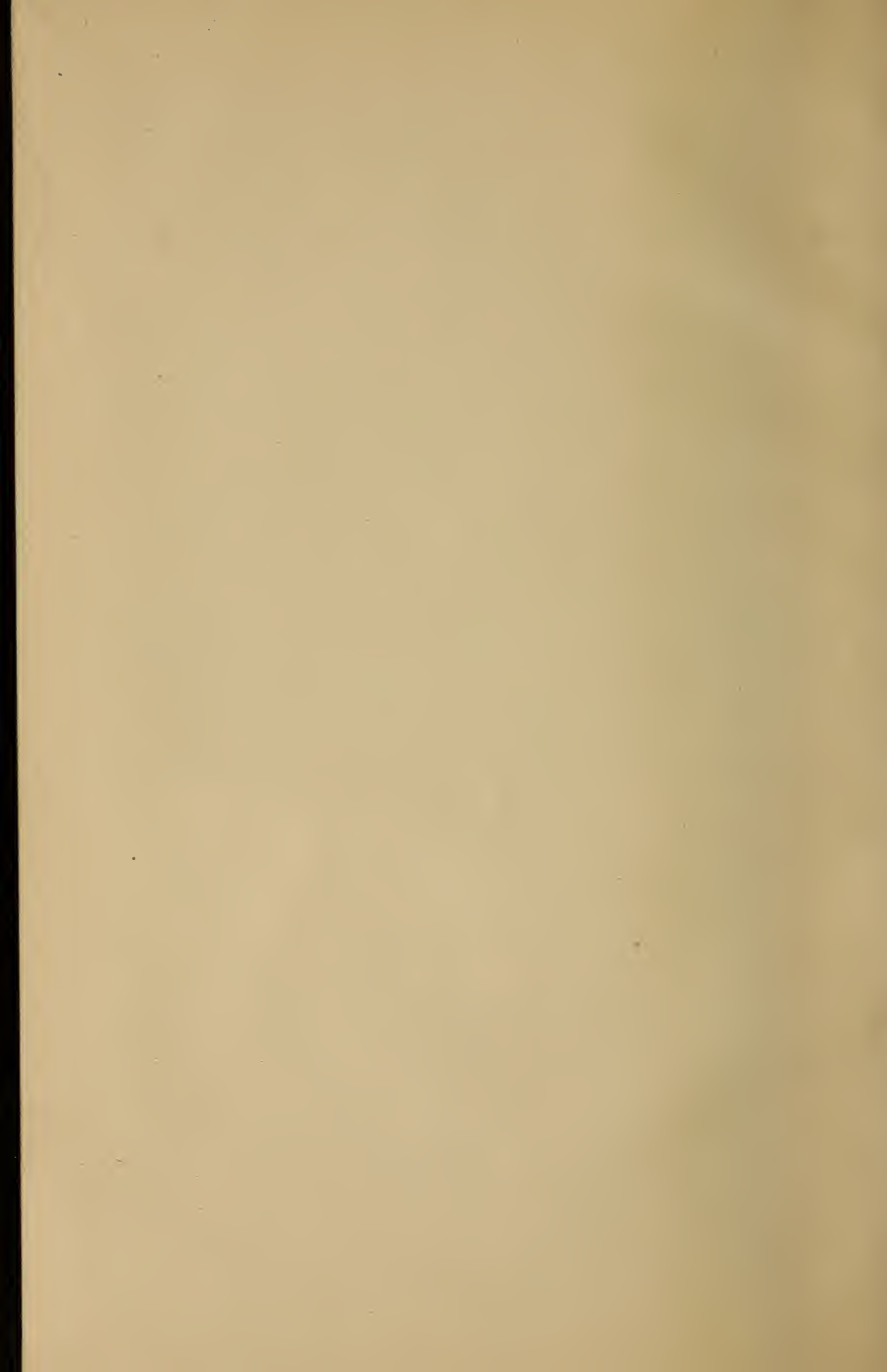

OLD LEEDS:

ITS BYEGONES AND CELEBRITIES.

BY AN

OLD LEEDS CROPPER.

LEEDS:

H. W. WALKER, BRIGGATE.

1868.

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TO

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.,

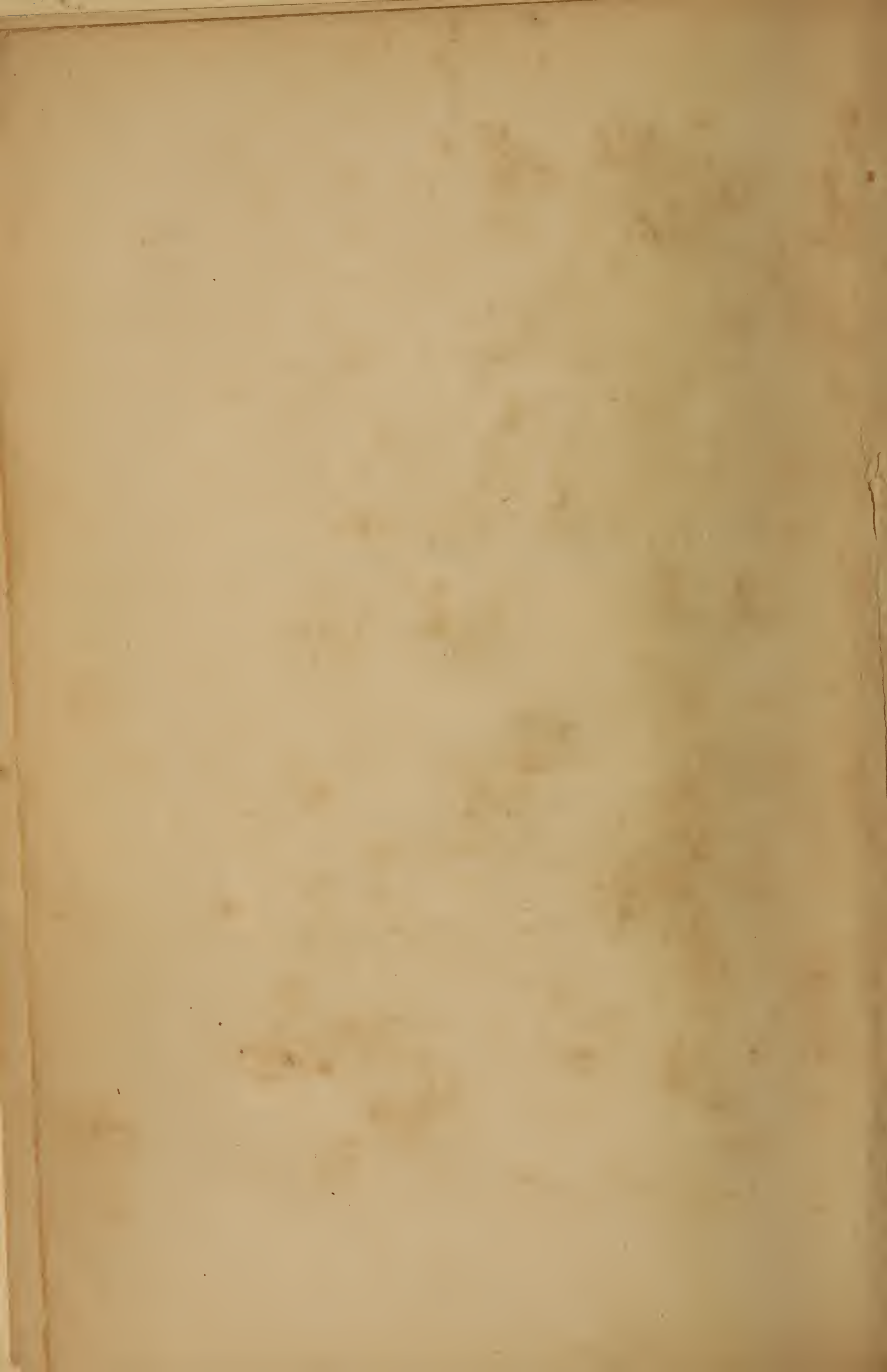
THIS BOOK IS

DEDICATED,

WITHOUT ANYBODY'S PERMISSION,

IN HUMBLE RECOGNITION OF HIS INVALUABLE

LABOUR TO ADD TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE PAST.



I.

INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY.

THE living relic of an age which has become subject for history, having little sympathy with things done around me, but delighting in reminiscences of my early days and in the records and traditions of days more ancient still, it is my desire to preserve the memory of things of old, in some danger of being neglected if not forgotten. Not that much, if anything, is to be found in the pages following which may not be found elsewhere; but facts recorded only in folios which few people read, or dispersed through many volumes whence fewer still care to collect them,

are practically lost to folks in general. And how much that we would gladly know is lost beyond retrieving from the common disregard of Thoresby's principle,—"that if no man write what every man knows, it must at last happen that none will know what none have ever written."

Little did I once imagine that I, a Radical, having imbibed the politics of a cropping-shop, and who shouted till I was hoarse for Milton in the great contest of 1807; little, I say, did I then anticipate living to be aggrieved at a too rapid progress, outstripping my wishes, my ideas and my affections. The destruction of Middle Row and the Moot Hall was to me the rending of a link that joined the age to which I belonged to the one into which my life had extended. It has since required a struggle to control my feelings whenever I gazed upon the blank from Kirkgate end to Briggate top. Such was the effect of this great and long lasting trouble that I was unnaturally callous on the subsequent re-building of the Old Church; though, inconsistently enough, I have ever felt spite at the gales of January, 1839, which blew Trinity spire so far from its perpendi-

cular that it had to be taken down. And now I hear that our main street, instead of sensibly stopping at the Head Row, is to be carried on and on until we may go on seeking the top of Briggate to Gates-head. Poor Queen Anne to be sent again upon her travels! Cannot we even now afford peace to a Stuart? The only consolation for me would be a second Restoration—the restoration of Queen Anne to the ground over which she stood when in front of the Moot Hall. There she would henceforth mark that honoured site; there, an ornament and useful, she would help the aged to cross. Time has given her a possessory title to Briggate, why should she not command her own street, like William the Third at Hull?

I verily believe that this one change would induce me to go and look; for be it known that I do not now go out. Once it was my delight to walk through the fields from the foot of Merry Boys' Hill to Woodhouse Moor, but the changes on that side put a stop long since to my walks westward. Soon, I fear, we shall have nothing but street all the way to Kirkstall Abbey. East and South, as well as West, has the country vanished,

and North Town End is north town end no more. So later, my one stroll was through Lydgate into St. John's Church-yard; and at length even this has been denied me, without the endurance of some scene distasteful to my eyesight. Had any one really commenced pulling down St. John's, I fear that I might have ended my days in an asylum, having been acquitted, on the ground of insanity, from a charge of Wilful Murder. As it is, I can stay content at home, and persuade myself that Harrison's church, once called new but now grown venerable, has not come to harm. Or, rather, I should be content could I protect my ears as well as eyes. When my hostess brings in my dinner, talk she will; and news of a new street, or of an old building demolished, comes as regularly as the salt. Her pet hobby is a remorseless railway which is to cut through all obstruction, chopping up my native town as if it were some unlucky shred between the blades of my own shears. And she has told me that the old Fleece is to come down. How often have I gazed at it from across Briggate —with the adjoining house, and the old spire of Trinity rising behind it, the most picturesque bit

in Leeds—and marvelled that no painter had transferred that scene to canvass. 'Tis a subject on which I dare no longer dwell; lest indignation at the thought of some new-fangled abomination rising upon the ruins of the old Fleece should choke me quite. My great resource is to forget, and to dream that things are as once I knew them. And sometimes my imagination travels back so far, that I fancy the sound of voices and of footsteps heard outside to come from the Leeds bowmen, going down hill to Butts Lane on their way to practice at the Park Butts. Butts Lane, I say; never do I use its new, unmeaning name of Basinghall Street.

Another solace has been the composition which I now venture to print. That none may question the authenticity of its relation, I have, so far as practicable, and at the risk of being additionally tedious, given my authorities for my several statements. Where none are specified in most cases I rely on Thoresby, and I have endeavoured, as much as might be, to let my authorities speak in their own words. But though none need therefore trouble themselves about my identity, in regard to their

reliance upon my book, it would scarcely be courteous to my readers, if I be so fortunate as to have any, did I close this chapter without some slight outline of my history.

According to a family tradition, my great-grandfather was the son of a Royalist, ruined by the civil war. Fortunately he, my great-grandfather, had a good, practical knowledge of the clothing trade, and sense enough to make the best of his fallen position. He commenced attending the market as a clothier before its removal from Leeds Bridge to the lower end of Briggate. Combining shrewdness and talent for business with economical habits and much energy, he emerged from the condition of a clothier and became a merchant. On his death, his entire property fell to my grandfather, who also inherited much of his talent; but unhappily not his prudence, or I might at this moment have ranked with a Blayds or a Denison. After many years success in business—during which he became possessed of a mansion in Kirkgate that I should be proud to point out if it still existed—he must needs embark in some colonial speculations; and instead of becoming a millionaire in no time, as I

suppose that he intended to do, he lost all but a comparative remnant of the really large estate which he and his father had got together. The disappointment of his too exalted hopes was too much for him. He died; and my father might have lived comfortably, but undertaking to retrieve our losses he eventually lost what remained to us. He, too, sunk under his misfortunes, left his affairs on the verge of bankruptcy, and my mother to face the world as best she could, with me, a child. Selling all, she left the Kirkgate mansion and retired, with the pittance which remained after paying my father's creditors, to a small rural cottage near Lawyer Buck's Well.

Here we had lived some time, when having one day run out during the preparation of my matutinal porridge, a man approached me bearing on his shoulders an immense pair of shears. Terror struck, I ran shrieking into the house, much to my mother's amusement when she had ascertained the cause. Becoming re-assured during her few minutes friendly chat with the man, I ventured up to him also. We became friends. Once he took me to his cropping-shop to see the big shears at work, and

ultimately I grew ambitious myself to control so gigantic an instrument. My mother consented, not knowing what better to do; for in our humble and somewhat remote dwelling we were forgotten by our old acquaintance, and my mother had no near relatives of her own. She was an orphan who, when my father married her, was in the unenviable position of companion to an old lady with a long purse and a short temper. The crusty dowager, annoyed at being left, though a husband was the consideration, never saw my mother more. And thus I became a cropper.

Innocent of many attainments which I am told are now necessary for a gentlewoman, my mother made our little home comfortable. She was a capital cook, an accomplished needlewoman, and she understood English. All these qualities I hold in grateful remembrance. She supplied my wants, bodily and mental. She was my one companion. None had more enjoyment than I when, in an evening, I listened to her stories of those days which were indeed to her the good old time; when she knew no want, and lived, socially, in a station which she was well qualified to fill. She well remembered

the seven years' war, and would tell how, when here, as elsewhere, folks were mad with vexation at Admiral Byng's desertion of Minorca, the effigy of the unlucky Admiral was taken in procession to a lofty iron gibbet, where it was hung first and burned afterwards, amid general applause. Then, again, she would recount the glories of the memorable Bishop Blaise pageant, specially held on the 24th of January, 1758, in honour of the 46th birthday of Frederick the Great. Our ally had then triumphed at Rosbach and Leuthen, and great was his popularity. A wool-comber in royal robes personified the great Prussian King, and never had so magnificent a Bishop Blaise procession been known in Leeds before. But I dare say all this, and more, may be found in the news-sheet of the time, and I must come to an end or my chapter won't. Almost the only thing of value which my mother preserved was my grandfather's copy of the *Ducatus;* and to this and her well-remembered stories, it has been my delight to add every scrap of information about my native town on which I could lay hold. But for this, I doubt that I should ever have risen from the state of apathy into which I fell when

left in the world alone. But for this, my remaining life would have been a blank indeed. As it was, I lost all ambition; but I saved as much from my wages as purchased the annuity of forty odd pounds a-year which now supports me in my humble lodging. It is no great income, but it has been honestly won; and, independent, I contemplate with satisfaction the shears which hang over my chimney-piece, at rest but not rusty. They may hereafter find a home at the Museum of our Philosophical Institution.

Nevertheless it is not without some trepidation that I now print my book, which, if unfortunate, may take from me some small but accustomed luxuries for the rest of my life. To publish I am resolved, at least it can do no harm to any but myself, and I trust to the public for some patronage and for charitable criticism. Old-fashioned I am, as the cut of my coat testifies, not to mention my nether-clothing; but I am neither envious nor misanthropical, and my peculiarities are accounted for by the incidents of my life. So I encourage myself to hope that this my story of Leeds byegones and

celebrities, may meet with a sufficiently favourable reception to gladden the remaining days of a well-nigh worn-out cropper.

JEREMIAH ODMAN.

Merry Boys' Hill, *February*, 1868.

II.

"Ledis, 2 miles lower than Christal Abbay on Aire Ryver, is a praty Market, having one Paroche Chirche, reasonably welle buildid, and as large as Bradeford but not so quik as it. The town stondith most by clothing." JOHN LELAND.

It was on the 12th of July, 1536, that Leland, the Librarian of Henry the Eighth, got leave to commit his rectory of Poppeling, in Calais marches, to the care of a curate, and to start upon his travels under a commission which the King had granted him three years before. He was empowered to enter and search the libraries of all cathedrals, abbies, priories colleges and all other places wherein records, writings and whatever else were lodged relating to antiquity. And it must have been within four years from the above that he entered in his Itinerary the note at the head of my chapter, his head-quarters being in Kirkstall Abbey; for by the end of 1540 the Abbey had shared the fate of similar institutions and surrendered to the Crown.

Notwithstanding his "not so quik," I decline admitting that Leeds was then in any degree less important than Bradford, though I will not discuss the point. With grave misgivings as to the propriety of my indulgence in this publication of venerable gossip, I raise for it no claim to the dignity of local history, and it is not my wish to dispute with anybody.

Going back to the time of the Doomsday Inquest, 1080 to 1086, I will set out with an assertion not likely to be contradicted. Leeds, with its ten acres of meadow, its church, priest, and mill of four shillings' annual value, and a population whose extent, wealth and pursuits are indicated by their recorded possession of fourteen ploughs, was not then what Leeds is now. Perhaps, though, I am not so secure from contradiction as I have assumed; for Leeds was then an improving place, and according to some people's notion of improvement, it is so still. Its manorial value in the reign of Edward the Confessor was only estimated at six pounds a-year, and at the time of the Great Inquest it was declared seven; while Bradford, in King Edward's time worth but four

pounds yearly, had not improved anything, so that in Doomsday Book we have a good set off against Leland's indefinite "not so quik." Yet the Leeds public in the reign of William the Conqueror doubtless thought with regret of the Saxon times. Would not the very "villains" inwardly resent their transfer from Saxon to Norman domination, and see in Ilbert de Laci and his sub-tenant, Ralph Paganel, a new cause for grumbling? All would feel it to be an injustice and degradation when, in the second year of the second Norman King, the said Ralph, restoring the ruined Priory of Holy Trinity at York to subject it to the French Abbey of St. Martin's, Marmoustier, Tours, subjected the Church of St. Peter at Leeds to the Benedictines of Holy Trinity. The Pope confirmed the transaction, and Jeremiah Odman will not sit in judgment upon it; but when the French Abbot appointed the Prior of Trinity, and the Prior of Trinity chose a parson for Leeds, at the same time abstracting the greater portion of the revenue appertaining to our Church of St. Peter, I see reason for thinking that Leeds folk were dissatisfied with the arrangement. It may be that "Radulphus, Paganellus cognomina-

tus," as his classical conveyancer would have us believe, had heard how Moses set up the Tabernacle, how David projected and Solomon built the Temple, and how the sanctuary was restored in the days of the Maccabees, and that he was therewith prompted to undertake our double subjection, being inflamed by the fire of divine love and ambitious of treasure in heaven. But recollecting that it would make no difference to Ralph Paganel whether the parson of Leeds or the Prior of Trinity had our ecclesiastical revenues; and that, as a result his donation, our rectorial tithes pass away from us to Christ's Church, Oxford, some of us, even now, may be disposed to sympathize with our predecessors of the 11th century if they regarded with not over charitable feeling the charity of their immediate lord. Whether to the satisfaction of Leeds or not, it continued under the Paganels; though Robert the son of Ilbert de Laci bringing trouble on his family, by taking part with the Conqueror's eldest son against Henry the First, the superior lordship went for a time into other hands. To the Paganels Leeds most likely owed the erection of its castle, of which the former existence and situation is known to us with a

certainty downright tantalizing, insomuch that we know nothing more about it. Our castle may have been built before the reign of Stephen, in which castles sprung up and disappeared again like so many mushrooms; but it was not the Leeds castle which King Stephen took in 1139, though Thoresby and others after him have said it was. That was the castle of Leeds in Kent, which, with the castles of Dover and Bristol, Henry the First had given to his natural son, Stephen's great antagonist, the Earl of Gloucester. The charter of Maurice Paganel, hereinafter spoken of, was "given at Leeds," and it may have been in his castle that Paganel signed it. Hardyng's statement that Richard the Second was sent to Leeds by Henry the Fourth, his supplantor, "there to be kepte surely in privitee," makes one think that there would be a castle here to keep him in. But our actual knowledge of it is obtained from a document in the Record Office of the time of Edward the Third, which speaks of a Fulling Mill near the Castle. A trench which has been taken for the castle moat has more than once come to light during excavations near the west end of Boar Lane, but any other trace has so completely passed

away that the hill on which our Castle stood is not named from it but from the neighbouring mill. Yet street, lane, row, place and square commemorate the more fortunate park. The conjecture that the building of the Castle caused a sensation in Leeds is nevertheless a safe one; and when—the Lacies having regained the royal favour and part of Ilbert's great barony — Kirkstall Abbey arose under the auspices of Henry, son of Robert the unlucky, a new topic for conversation was furnished to Leeds folk concurrently with the accession of Henry the Second. Beside the Abbey remains which constitute his great monument, there is a link between Henry de Laci and our own times in the double crosses upon the buildings which enjoy the liberty of Temple-Newsam. By him was confirmed the gift of Whitkirk and Newsam by William de Vilers to the Knights-Templar. "I have done this," said Henry de Laci, "for my soul's health, and for the souls of my father and of my mother, and of all my friends living as well as dead, that life everlasting may be given to us all." Let not his sincerity be questioned. We know nothing of Henry de Laci — in great

favour with Henry the Second and his mother Empress Matilda—to render any stretch of charity needful for the concession that in his munificence his piety was sincere. Besides, the exemption of the double-crossed houses from soke liabilities, long before their redemption in 1839, operates with directly opposite effect to the loss of our tithes by Ralph Paganel. Then, there are the ruins at Kirkstall. What would Leeds be with ten Town Halls and no Kirkstall Abbey? Within its walls were laid the remains of its Founder, and of his son Robert, the last of the race, and peace be with them.

In 1186, three years before the death of Henry the Second, that king had more bishopricks vacant than he found it easy to fill up; among others, the bishoprick of Carlisle. And while in that city, says Roger de Hoveden—that is of Howden, so that he was a Yorkshireman and worthy of credit—King Henry "caused Paulinus of Leeds to be elected to the bishoprick of Carlisle; which, however, the said Paulinus declined. On this, in order that Paulinus might be willing to accept of that bishoprick, the King offered to enrich it with revenues to the amount of three

hundred marks yearly, arising from the church of Bamborough, the church of Scarborough, the chapelry of Tickhill and two of the King's manors near Carlisle." There was, then, a Leeds man whom King Henry the Second thought so fit for a bishop that King Henry tried to bribe him into becoming one. Do any ask why Paulinus, like King Stephen's siege, may not belong to another Leeds? Let any other Leeds establish a better title to him and I'll give Paulinus up; until then, I claim him for our own. Let any sceptic look into the Ducatus, and read of Paulin-flats as near as Knowsthorp. So called, says Thoresby, "not from Paulinus the Archbishop of York, but Paulinus de Leedes, of Maurice Painel's charter." This Paulinus might be another member of the family, or the Bishop-elect himself. Whether he scrupled to accept preferment from the opponent of Thomas à Becket, or he had no wish for a diocese exposed to Scottish visitation, as Carlisle cathedral had then good cause to know; and whether he held out or in the end gave way, I cannot tell. Roger says no more about him. Instead of Paulinus, Hugo de Bello Loco is placed third in the list of

Carlisle's Bishops ; but he was not consecrated until the 24th of January, 1218, so there is a long blank to account for in some way.

Let me hasten to that red-letter day in the calendar of my native town, the morning of St. Martin, the 11th of November, 1207; when Maurice Paganel followed the example set by Roger De Laci, at Pomfret, and did, by charter with his seal affixed that it might "remain ratified and uninfringed to posterity," confirm to his burgesses of Leeds and their heirs the rights and privileges in the charter set forth. Besides liberty and free burgage, each burgess had secured to him his homestead, with a half acre of arable land, on the reasonable condition of freely, peaceably and honourably paying sixteen pence every Whitsuntide and Martinmas to Maurice Paganel and his heirs. Saving his lord's superiority, the burgess might sell, or, if generously disposed, give his landed possession, the transfer being effected by surrender and re-grant, as in the case of copyhold property at this day. The purchaser was to pay a penny to the lord's agent, whom the Latin charter dubs a prætor. By paying to him annually the sum of fourpence, any burgess possessing more than one

house might be a landlord himself; but so great a man as the prætor must not be spoken of incidentally only. His municipal reign was from Whitsuntide to Whitsuntide again. His right to office was indisputable, for it had to be bought and paid for; but the burgesses were secure against any stranger prætor, unless an outsider outbid the highest offer which any burgess made. At the same price the burgess had the preference, and what in reason could he ask for more? Had Maurice Paganel engaged not on any consideration to admit a stranger, his interests might have suffered by collusion among the burgesses; on the other hand it is possible that sometimes outside bids might be other than *bonâ fide.* On the expiration of his year of office the prætor had to account for the lord's rent received by him; but he was more thân mere rent-collector for Maurice Paganel and his successors. He had judicial functions. Only "for the pleasure of the Crown" were the burgesses of Leeds to go out of the borough on account of any plea or complaint against them. In other cases, the burgess charged with an offence was to be tried before the prætor, by "twelve lawful men;" and if any one in the prætor's service were the ac-

cusor he must produce a witness or the burgess could not be called upon to answer. If charged with "the shedding of blood," the accused had to find seven compurgators to join with him in swearing that he was innocent. Charged with a less serious breach of the peace, three compurgators were sufficient; but twelve were required when a burgess was the accusor. Nothing is said of hanging as a punishment, ominous as is the name Gallow Hill. Heavy penalty was imposed for non-payment of lord's rent, five shillings being added to every farthing left unpaid; and larceny was treated more seriously than bloodshed. "If any burgess," said Maurice Paganel in his charter, "be impleaded of larceny from another, we will judge him in our borough with the help of the lord's servant, he making one compurgation for the first offence with thirty six compurgators." If thus impleaded a second time, an appeal to arms or an ordeal by water was the only defence allowed to him. Oh! that some thirteenth century man had left us a sketch, how rude soever, showing how Leeds folk fought to prove that they were not thieves; or how one of us was occasionally thrown into water to see whether innocence would keep his head above-

board, or the weight of his guilt sink him. Then, too, we might have had depicted the sort of shop which a burgess was allowed to erect upon his land in order to make up lord's rent. Whatever the shops were like, certain it is that commerce flourished in our town, and an Aire navigation was not unknown. "It shall be lawful," declares the charter, "for all burgesses to convey grain, by land or by water, wheresoever they may think proper; and all other merchandise, without toll or bar, unless they are forbidden by the lord or his bailiffs." Moreover, no toll was to be paid on account of any woman "to be sold for slavery"—an early instance of free-trade legislation which ought not to be overlooked. Maurice Paganel released his burgesses from all toll and custom throughout the whole of his lands belonging to the borough; but, said he, "the burgesses aforesaid, shall continue to bake in my oven as they have been accustomed;" and centuries later there stood near the upper end of Kirkgate, with the prison for neighbour, the common bakehouse having a soke annexed to it. There are some details of the charter which I have passed over. It is not light reading; and they who desire its further acquaintance have it already published both

in Latin and in English. It is dated in the ninth year of the coronation of King John, regnal years being then computed from the sovereign's coronation, not, as now, from the death of his predecessor. All honour to Maurice Paganel for granting Leeds this charter; to its very witnesses, Adam de Reinville Ivone de Lindenses, Wilmot de Stapelton, Adam de Beiston, Hugo de Swillington and William Pictaviculus. I cannot find the name of Paulinus de Leedes which Thoresby mentions as in the charter; and as neither Dr. Whitaker nor Mr. Wardell would intentionally omit it, I conclude that Thoresby knew some copy unknown to them, or to Jeremiah Odman. But one name there is which does honour to our town, the name of Radulph de Leeds, who wrote the charter, "and many other charters." Who can deny Leeds a high place in the annals of literature, when so long since as the year 1207 she had a son who could write charters? Could I but assert that, eight years later, he wrote Magna Charta, what glory would be ours!

Maurice Paganel deserves a statue, though there might be difficulty in procuring an authentic likeness, and political troubles soon ended our connexion with

the family. In Stapleton's history of Trinity Priory, it is told how "in 1217 Maurice de Gaunt, who had been taken prisoner at the battle called the Fair of Lincoln, ceded the manors of Leeds and Bingley to Rannulph, Earl of Chester and Lincoln, as the price of his ransom." But, as the poetical Robert of Gloucester sings :—

> "Randulph, the noble Erle of Chester, deide suththe (after) al so
> As in tuelf hondred zer of grace, and thretti and to."

The husband of the second of Earl Ranulph's four sisters and co-heiresses, Hugh de Albinei, Earl of Arundel, succeeded him; but he too died, leaving no progeny, and we then returned to the Lacies, that is, to a new family who represented the old one, and preserved the name. John de Lacy, descended from the widow of Kirkstall Abbey's founder by a second husband, married Margaret, Earl Ranulph's niece; and by this marriage he not only acquired for his family the Earldom of Lincoln, but greater honour still, the lordship of the manor of Leeds.

With the loss of the Paganels we did not also lose the Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity. In the year 1242, no one less than Archbishop Walter de Grey, who built the oldest portion of the present Minster

at York, judicially assigned to Holy Trinity Priory and to Leeds vicarage each its respective share of the parochial tithes and altarage, in order to end "great contention thereabout." We learn from his award that our parish church was then endowed with glebe land as well as tithes; and that in place of the one mill of Doomsday Book, Leeds, in the reign of Henry the Third, had mills belonging to the Earls of Lincoln, and other mills beside. It was by the same Archbishop Walter who settled our tithe dispute that four thousand marks were expended in munificent hospitality at the Christmas of 1252, when Henry the Third's daughter Margaret married, at York, Alexander the Third of Scotland. At the first course alone of one of the Archbishop's dinners sixty fat oxen were served up; and I dare say there were Leeds folk among the guests, Vicar John de Faversham for one. And I am equally confident that some Leeds folk had a share in causing the royal nuptials to be celebrated, the day after Christmas day, "early in the morning, secretly and before it was expected, because the multitude of people rushed and pressed together in an unruly manner in order to be present and behold the grandeur of such marriage." So sayeth Matthew Paris.

Another marriage in which Leeds, as it proved, had an interest, caused discontent instead of rejoicing. John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, died in 1240. His heir and only son, Edmund, who was then a minor, was never Earl of Lincoln, for his mother through whom the title came, outlived him. Yet Edmund de Lacy was a youth of excellent prospects, and while a minor and ward of the Crown he was furnished with a wife by King Henry the Third's unpopular consort, Eleanor of Provence. The bride, Alice, daughter of an Italian marquis, was a near relative of the Queen; and the match added to the odium which Eleanor had incurred by making provision for her foreign connexions. To this marriage Edmund de Lacy doubtless owed, in some measure, the court favour which procured for him, in 1251, a grant of Free Warren for his manor of Leeds, and other manors, thus becoming entitled to hunt the game thereon. Seven years afterward he died, leaving a son, Henry, who on the death of his grandmother became Earl of Lincoln. The manor of Leeds passed to Edmund's widow, the fortunate Alice, who out-lived both her husband and son. For Henry, Earl of Lincoln, died in 1310, and in the following year his mother quit-

claimed to the Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity whatever interest she had in the advowson of St. Peter's at Leeds. She also confirmed a grant of Aberford Mills to one John Sampson, and Thoresby had the deed in his collection. In the Inquest of Yorkshire and other counties which was taken after the manner of Doomsday Book, from 1284 to 1290, by a Commission, at whose head was John de Kirkby, treasurer of King Edward the First, the Earl of Lincoln is said to hold directly under the Crown the fourth part of a Knight's Fee in Leeds. For this he was assessed at ten shillings in an "aid" to the said King. Roger, of North Hall, Leeds, was also assessed at five shillings for the eighth part of a Fee, which he held as sub-tenant, not "in chief." The remainder of this Fee seems to have been held by the Abbot of Kirkstall and John Scott of Calverley. Another of our great men of the day is also mentioned in the Inquest, Alexander de Leedes, who held one carucate, or the sixteenth of a Fee, at Gipton. Nor should I pass over the name of Hugo de Swillington, beyond reasonable doubt a descendant from the Hugo de Swillington who helped to witness Paganel's charter.

A broken statue of Henry, Earl of Lincoln, may still be seen above the gateway of his ruined castle at Denbigh, where his son, Edmund, was drowned in the castle well. If it be true that another son, named John, was killed by falling from the turrets of Pomfret Castle, the accident at Denbigh must have been a second; for Speed calls Edmund an only son, and says that the Earl of Lincoln, in his distress, stopped the completion of the castle. His daughter Margaret also died before him; but in 1292 his daughter and heiress Alice was married, in her tenth year, to Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster and nephew of King Edward the First, aged eleven. And by this marriage the manor of Leeds passed to the House of Lancaster. Earl Thomas cannot have held it long. As I have said, the Earl of Lincoln's mother was still our Lady of the Manor in 1311, and in 1321 Earl Thomas was beheaded at Pomfret as a traitor. But in a return entitled Names of Towns, made in 1315 or 1316, "Ledys" with its adjuncts is assigned to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. Much scandal was reported of his wife, the heiress Alice. Whether it were true or false, she was not too disconsolate

a widow to marry again; but the manor did not go with her.

The attainder passed against Earl Thomas, after his execution, was reversed, on the accession of Edward the Third, in favour of the Earl's brother, Henry. He left a son of the same name; but this second Henry, Earl of Derby and afterward Duke of Lancaster, died in 1361 of a plague then raging, and he left no male heir. His daughter Blanche had a few years before married John of Gaunt, and thus that renowned son of Edward the Third became Duke of Lancaster and Lord of the Manor of Leeds. He is said to have killed in hunting the last wolf known in our neighbourhood, a notable addition to his fame. He died in February, 1399. In September following his son became King Henry the Fourth of England; and, with the other possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster, the manor of Leeds passed to the Crown.

Did Henry the Fourth, by sending Richard the Second to Leeds *after* his deposition, enable us to boast of a royal visit during the Middle Ages? It is our only ground of claim to that honour. Kings often travelled through Yorkshire on their way to

and from Scotland or the Scottish Border; but they made for York, and at most came no nearer than Pomfret, while sometimes the shrine of St. John at Beverley led royalty still further astray. As royalty had not the discernment to come here, it is the more likely that Leeds folk went from home to see royalty, as many would, about the 21st of August, 1328, when Edward the Third married Philippa of Hainault at York. The revels lasted three weeks, and had the wedding been at Leeds I would have told more about them. It is singular that the one King said to have taken special notice of us is Richard the Second, who in the end was brought here a prisoner. Thoresby states that John Snagtall, who on the 12th of June, 1394, became our vicar, owed the appointment to the said King. It is not very probable that the Prior of Holy Trinity had suffered his right of presentation to lapse by delay in using it; but a word in favour of John Snagtall from Richard the Second to whom York is indebted for its Lord Mayor, could scarcely fail to decide the choice of the Prior and Convent. Only five years previously the King had established another claim to the grati-

tude of York, by settling disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Snagtall was still our vicar when King Richard was in captivity at Leeds, and surely he was mindful enough of former favours to attempt to visit his fallen benefactor. To do more than attempt might be beyond his power, as Richard was "to be kepte surely in previtee." Let not anyone dare to suggest that Leeds was chosen for the purpose as an out-of-way sort of place.

Leeds appears generally to have been out of the way of the Scots, but in this it was fortunate. When the news came how Scarborough, Northallerton, Richmond, Beverley, Boroughbridge, Ripon, or Skipton had been handled, or how the Scotch invaders were encamped before the very gates of York, I dare say that Leeds was content to be overlooked and to help to fight the Scots at a distance. For in his charter, Maurice Paganel did not forget to stipulate,—"And when our Lord the King shall demand aid of the cities of England, my burgesses of Leeds aforesaid shall give unto my lord the King reasonable assistance." And from the 11th of April, 1291, when Edward the First

issued his summons at "Derlington" to the Sheriff of Yorkshire and others (Henry, Earl of Lincoln, signing it with other attesting nobles), and called on all who owed the King service to meet him at Norham; from this date, I say, downward, Leeds doubtless made repeated contributions to Scots-opposing armies. The occasion when our town itself is least likely to have got off Scot free was in 1322, when Bruce had defeated Edward the Second at Byland Abbey, near Malton, and a party of Scots wintered so near to us as Morley. The East Riding suffered chiefly; but if none in Leeds were hurt, at least somebody was frightened, and I wish that I could say who buried those coins of Edward the First and Edward the Second which were subsequently found on digging a Kirkgate sewer near Thoresby's house. Of course they found their way to his museum. Where are they now? Their hider perhaps regretted that his beheaded lord of the manor, Thomas of Lancaster, was not living, and just then maintaining his alleged treasonable understanding with Robert Bruce.

The Parish Church was at this time—as it has been supposed from the evidence of certain frag-

ments, found when our latest "Old Church" was pulled down—a Norman building which had superseded the still older church of Doomsday Book. Nothing is known of the circumstances under which the Norman church was first encroached upon by the Old Church of our own days, of which the oldest part, the nave, referred us by its architectural characteristics to the time of Edward the Third. At this very period, the list of vicars given by Thoresby bears token of incompleteness, so that I cannot so much as give with any certainty the name of the vicar under whom the church known to us was commenced. But as there are no facts to enlighten, neither are there any to trouble me, and I can speculate at will. The supposition that the Norman church had, in the aforesaid year, 1322, suffered from a Scotch visitation, and required repair or rebuilding, is admissible but needless. I will therefore suppose only that Leeds out-grew its Church accommodation; that after the Parliament held at York, on the 1st of March, 1328, in the second year of King Edward the Third—in which Parliament Bruce was acknowledged King of Scotland —the danger of any more Scotch visitations was

thought to have passed off; that the impetus given in this reign to commerce and manufactures, especially of cloth, helped on the building of the new nave—indeed in the forty-seventh year of King Edward, the fulling mill near the Castle, with nine acres of land, produced no less a yearly rental than £1 13s. 4d.; and lastly, I will suppose that the nave was finished before John Snagtall became our vicar. When he died in 1408, Robert Passelew, apparently a Leeds man, succeeded him. Perhaps a Passelew had subscribed towards the church building, and the Prior of Trinity had the grace to acknowledge it by making this appointment. There certainly was a Leeds family of the name, with property in the parish; but of how they came by it, or came here themselves, I know no more than I know when they disappeared. In Matthew of Westminster's account of Henry the Third's reign the name of Robert Passelew occurs repeatedly, from the year 1233 to 1253; and this Robert may have been an ancestor of our Leeds vicar.

If the history of our town were to be written in vicariates, that of Thomas Clarell, which com-

menced on the 8th of March, 1430, would have an important place. Between him and Robert Passelew we had four vicars in quick succession, the last of whom resigned and went to the church at Kellam; but Thomas Clarell remained Vicar of Leeds forty years, and then he died. That he took great interest in his church is beyond question. He adorned it with new pictures. He founded there a chantry, at the altar of St. Katherine, virgin and martyr. But the grand event which signalized his vicariate was the donation of William Scott, senr., of Potternewton; who at that suburb, on the 10th February, 1454, did give, concede and by deed confirm to Robert Nevile, Esq., Thomas Clarell, Vicar of Leeds, John Elcock and John Douse, chaplains, "*unum Messuagium & unum Gardinum*," thenceforth known as Vicar's Croft. The boundary on the north is specified as a burgage, that on the east as a tenement, belonging to William Passlew; on the south, as the King's street called Kyrkgate, and on the west as a King's highway unnamed — but soon called Vicar Lane. The deed was witnessed by Sir John Langton, Brian of Beeston, John Hopton, Esq., William Passlew, John Kylynbeck, and many others. From this ever

memorable incident of Vicar Clarell's vicariate I turn with comparative indifference to the War of the Roses, which took place in his time also. Leeds itself was never the scene of conflict, but some stirring events came to pass in the neighbourhood. It would require all the attraction in Vicar Clarell's new pictures, if they had then appeared, to draw Leeds folk to church on Christmas Day, 1460; for news must then have arrived of the fight the day before, between Sandal Castle and Wakefield, in which Richard, Duke of York, was slain. And as in later times some of us have been led to York by the attraction of a hanging, before, among other improvements, we got hangings at home, it may fairly be supposed that Vicar Clarell had parishioners who went to York to see the head of the said Richard, derisively ornamented with a paper crown, and stuck over Micklegate Bar. And there would be some excitement in Leeds when the son of the said Richard, who on the 4th of March following became King Edward the Fourth, arrived at Pomfret with the great Earl of Warwick and 50,000 men, to oppose the still larger force with which Margaret of Anjou strove to retrieve the downcast fortunes of the House of Lan-

caster. How we should discuss the repulse of the Yorkists, under Lord Fitzwalter, at Ferrybridge, by the Lancastrians under Lord Clifford. Then the crossing of the Aire at Castleford by the Yorkists under Lord Falconbridge, and the defeat of Clifford, who was himself killed in the fight. And when Good Friday came on the 3rd of April, 1461, Leeds could not possibly have got over the Battle of Towton, fought near Tadcaster on the previous Sunday, and fatal to the Lancastrian cause. We should be as unfit for church as on the Christmas day after Wakefield fight, forgetting Vicar's Croft itself in our talk of the battle and its results; and of the many "on sad Palm Sunday slain, that Towton Field we call," as said in Drayton's Polyolbion. Can any doubt that some relic of this battle was to be found in the museum of Thoresby? That collector of "auld nicknackets" entered in his catalogue "a stirrup of very odd form, and so strait as to admit only part of the foot. It was lost by one of the ancient family of Vavassours in crossing the River Cock, then discoloured with blood, at the battle of Towton."

Nine years afterward, on the 1st of March, 1470, died Vicar Clarell. The removal of the Communion

Table when the Old Church was pulled down, in 1838, revealed his grave-stone, with inscribed brass plate, of which Thoresby told.

Among the host of noblemen and knights slain at Towton was Sir Ralph Evre. His brother, William Evre, Bachelor of Divinity, succeeded Thomas Clarell as Vicar of Leeds. Following up the munificence of his predecessor Vicar Evre founded the Chantry of St Mary Magdalen, which, or the house appertaining to it, stood at the corner round which we pass from Briggate into Upperhead Row. If, as Thoresby thought, it was a building of "some magnificence," a cropper's malediction upon its destroyer! In 1482 William Evre resigned the vicariate, which he perhaps found incompatible with his precentorship at York Minster. His successor was a Scotch prelate, John, Bishop of Ross, whom political troubles had driven south of the Tweed. The first years of his vicariate saw the War of the Roses ended. In the year after he became Vicar, Edward the Fourth died; then came the short reigns of Edward the Fifth and Richard the Third; and on the 22nd of August, 1485, the battle of Bosworth gave the crown to King Henry the Seventh, the first of the Tudors. John of Ross held the Vicar-

age of Leeds until 1499, when he is supposed to have returned to Scotland. Our next vicar was Martyn Collins; but he only stayed here a year, becoming Chanter, Canon Residentiary and afterward Treasurer of York Cathedral. Robert Wranwash followed, and he remained Vicar of Leeds until his death in 1508. Then we had a second William Evre, grandson of Sir Ralph who fell at Towton, and uncle of William, the first Lord Evre, whom Henry the Eighth made peer. How long he remained our vicar I know not; but it was probably in some way owing to his Leeds appointment that his uncle, John Evre, a younger son of Sir Ralph, was buried here in 1524. The Reformation drew near though little expected by the monks at Kirkstall, who had recently raised a tower upon their Abbey and gloried in a new east window. Old things passed away like our old Norman Church, and the second William Evers—for even the spelling of surnames changed—was the last vicar of note whom we received from the Prior of Holy Trinity.

III.

"John Harrysonn of Paudmyre had a child christened, 16 Aug. named John."—Parish Church Register, A.D. 1579.

If "the ever famous John Harrison," as Thoresby calls him whose christening is thus recorded, had, like Thoresby, left us a diary, and prefaced it with what he heard, or might have heard, from Leeds folk who were old when he was young, his good deeds would have been one more than they are. Then, we should have had a contemporaneous account of doings at Leeds during the Reformation of the 16th and the Rebellion of the 17th centuries. But this was an omission from the benefactions of John Harrison; or, if he left us so precious a legacy, it stopped short of its destination. Little I know, much am I left to imagine, about my native town in those eventful times. Harrison's manuscript entitled "The Government of the town

of Leeds before it was made a Corporation" may have given some light upon the subject; but although it figured as an 8vo., No. 260, in the catalogue of Thoresby's collection, it has no place whatsoever in the catalogue of Jeremiah Odman's. And Ralph Thoresby himself could not so much as say with certainty that Paudmire, otherwise the top of Briggate, was mire no longer when Harrison was born. Anxious to show that Leeds had then advanced in civilization as far as paving stones, he could only plead that Paudmire had been so called after, indisputably, it was paved; and, as if conscious that his argument was inconclusive, he then went to Canterbury for an excuse, in case of need, for non-pavement. That very ancient city, he declared, was acknowledged to have been unpaved about a hundred years earlier. More to the point would it have been had he cited the bequest of one Thomas Waid, in 1530, of all his tenements in the Head Row, of his own burgage-house and one adjoining it, for the maintenance of highways leading to Leeds; and the purchase by the town, in the very year of John Harrison's birth, of two houses at Pitfall with their appurtenances, for a similar good purpose. Here's

evidence incontestable that Leeds folk in the 16th century took heed to their ways.

The surmise that Leeds houses were then of timber has more support than has the pavement of Paudmire. Red Hall is said to be the first brick-built house in the town, so those built before it must have been of stone or timber. The more ancient Hall of the Rockleys was, we know, of timber, as doubtless others of less importance. For in Leland we read that the greater portion of the Charter-House at Hull "was buildid with Brike, as the Residew of the Buildings of Hulle for the most part be;" that "the hole Toune of Dancaster is buildid of Wodde, and the Houses be slatid: yet is there great plenty of stone thereabout;" and under the head Wakefield, that "the building of the Towne is meately faire, most of Tymbre but sum of Stone." Yet of Leeds he says not anything but that it was "reasonably welle-buildid," wherefore I conclude there was not anything more to be said; the houses, though respectable, being old-fashioned and of wood, and Leland seeing no cause for surprise thereat as he did at Doncaster. We have confirmatory evidence in the old houses of St. John's place, which have only

a brick facing over the original wooden structure. Finally, there was Austrope Hall, Holbeck, concerning which Dr. Whitaker said in a note to the Ducatus published in 1816,—"One wing of this mansion, probably the last of the old timber houses in the town, was pulled down about fifteen years ago."

What matters the material? Timber Leeds flourished. Thoresby, when relating Bishop Tonstall's address to King Henry the Eighth, at Haslewood, in 1541, talks of "the cloathing trade, which was then inconsiderable;" but he meant in comparison with what it afterward became, and he spoke of the district generally. Though comparatively inconsiderable it were, Leeds had a good share of it, notwithstanding John Leland's foolish "not so quik." Else, why did William, a younger son of Richard Sykes, of Sykes Dyke, near Carlisle, (whose servants wore the branded bull as a badge) choose Leeds when, as Thoresby tells us, he "came into these more populous and trading parts, where he improved himself considerably in the clothing trade?" The wisdom of the choice is evident, for his son Richard, who married in 1561, had a son

of the same name who became a Leeds Alderman. Leland testifies to the migration of cloth-making from a more northerly town,—"There hath bene hard by the farther Ripe of *Skelle* a great Numbre of Tainters for Woollen Clothes wont to be made on the Town of Ripon; but now idlenes is sore encresid in the Town, and clothe makeing almost decayed." The distinction which he draws between Leeds and the neighbouring towns in which cloth-making had settled, is this,—"Wakefield stondith by Course Drapery;" and again, "It stondith al by Clothyng;" Bradford "standith much by Clothing;" Leeds "stondith most by Clothing." That is, as I interpret it, Leeds, unlike Wakefield, was not dependent on the cloth trade only, but had more of it than the other town. "As large as Bradeford" quoth Leland; I should think it was!

"Not so quik" indeed! The records of the Duchy Court of Lancaster tell another tale. A most convincing proof of the prosperity of Leeds at this period is the extent of its litigation. From the thirty-second year of King Henry the Eighth—when John Spenser, claiming exemption from tolls as an inhabitant of Leeds, brought his action against

William Twhayts, of Barnsley Baillie, for illegal seizure of goods—to the close of the century, Leeds waged war against fair and market tolls throughout the kingdom. John Spenser was quickly followed by a Kollynbeck, who, along with others, fought a like battle against the Mayor, Brethren and Inhabitants of York city. In the fourth year of King Edward the Sixth, Thomas Marten, of Leeds, resisted the seizure of cloth which he had sold, by Sir Robert Bradlyng, Kt., and other Aldermen of Newcastle; and another Leeds man, Henry Coldale, had a contest with the Bailiff of Newark. In the twenty-first of Elizabeth, the year in which John Harrison first saw daylight, William Caldecote and other Leeds men asserted their right of exemption from tolls "throughout England," against the bailiffs of Hull and Beverley. Rowland Eastborne afterward raised the the same claim; and in the thirty-sixth of Elizabeth he headed his townsmen against one Edward More, of Lancaster, and claimed a free passage over Colne Bridge. The year after, Henry Moxon and Ralph Wade had a trial with Robert Tubbe, Deputy of the Countess of Rutland, who demanded tolls for passing and re-passing through Rutland town and Wapentake.

And the year after that there was another trial, in which James Mylnes of Leeds was plaintiff, against the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of London, and John Russell. Besides these there were other and kindred cases, Leeds against Otley, Boroughbridge, Bradford and repeatedly against Ripon; and one against Doncaster, in the forty-first of Elizabeth, in which exemption was claimed from payment on packing wool.

Doth all this law work denote a slow town? And the testimony of the Duchy Court to the quickness of Leeds men is not yet exhausted. They objected to tolls at home as well as abroad and gave trouble thereby to the Crown Bailiff. Thomas Thompson, who in this capacity served King Henry the Eighth, in 1533 or 1534 had a toll trial with William Baynes and other tenants of the Manor. Fourteen years later, his successor, Henry Ambler, maintained the interests of Edward the Sixth against John Harryson and James Kyttson, of Pottarnewton and Worteley, whom he charged with breach of custom by non-payment of the King's toll on corn and wool. In the same reign he brought an action against Richard Blades, for tres-

pass on the King's right of toll, stallage, piccage and profits of stalls, booths and standings within the markets and fairs in Leeds. Then, John Cooper disputed his toll claims on wool; and in this case Henry Ambler is described as King's Bailiff of Pumfret Honor and Ledes Manor. He continued in office under Queen Mary, and he showed strict impartiality in serving Protestant and Roman Catholic Sovereigns. For having brought his action for tolls on corn and wool in the first year of King Edward, he brought an action for tolls on wool and corn in the first year of Mary. His office devolved on George Ambler, probably his son, who so late as the fortieth year of Queen Elizabeth, 1597-8, had to invoke the Duchy Court to stay proceedings before the Lord President and Council of the North, which had been taken by two inhabitants of Leeds, William Baynton and Alexander Robinson, enemies of the tolls. This was not the first occasion of Bailiff George Ambler's appearance in Court. Six years before he stood forth in defence of the common bakehouse. Some Leeds men, whose names may for me rest in oblivion, had set at nought that venerable institution, ungratefully disregarding

Maurice Paganel's injunction :—" bake in my oven." The oven triumphed. In the same reign it was farmed by John Metcalf at £12 a year; in the next, £120 was declared to be its yearly value. But after this, none need be surprised to hear that the farmer of the King's Mills had an uneasy time. In the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, Laurence Lindley, of Leathley, then farmer of the Mills, alleged hindrance to suit and soke against Thomas Fowkyngham, doubtless him of North Hall. Then there was seventeen years' peace; for the next case was in the sixteenth of Elizabeth, when John Lyndley demanded suit, soke and mulcture from Thomas Cranmer and Agnes Whalley, mill owners, Kyrstall Abbey and Busshingthrop. He brought a second action in the same year, for breach of injunction, against Thomas Cranmer, Richard Fisher and others, inhabitants of Leeds. Who was this Thomas Cranmer? Not the Archbishop of Canterbury, for he had been burnt in Queen Mary's reign. Yet it is said that, on the Dissolution, Kirkstall Abbey was granted in exchange to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer—a notable coincidence in locality and name. After another appeal to the Court, John Lindley parted with his troublesome

tenancy. In the twenty-second of Elizabeth, Christopher Boyse and William Morryese demanded their right as farmers of the mills. Yet in his retirement John Lindley could not have peace. He had a contest with Thomas Falkingham, the old opponent of his father, Lawrence, about some mills and a mill dam on "Shipcarbecke River." Perhaps in despair of getting free from litigation, he took the Queen's Mills once more; and from the twenty-fifth to the thirty-ninth of Elizabeth's reign he often sought the aid of the Duchy Court to enforce suit and soke. Two years more and the fight was renewed by William Lindley, the inheritor of a father's and a grandfather's rights and troubles.

Lawsuits of a private nature further prove that Leeds was very "quik" indeed. Lands and a mill on Eyre Water were the subject of dispute in the reign of Henry the Eighth; cottages, lands and tenements in that of Edward the Sixth; Peter Banks and William Dyneley quarreled about the possession of a mill in that of Philip and Mary; and in Elizabeth's reign there was a newly-erected fulling mill, there were tenter steads or tenter places, and miscellaneous lands, tenements and rights of way, about which

certain Leeds people thought it necessary to appeal to the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster. They who desire particulars may consult the Bills, Answers, Depositions and Surveys which form its Pleadings. Therein they may read of places known still by a modern version of the names which they bore three hundred years since—as "Lyttell Woodhouse," and, fit name for a law-suit, "Quarrel Hill;" and of others now forgotten—Leeds Wroys, Aplegarth and Margetholmes, the waste ground called Lady Flatte and King's Balke, and "The Marsh" at Woodhouse-in-the-Fields. In these lawsuits Thomas Falkingham bore a prominent part. Sprung from a family in Lincolnshire, he had married Jane, daughter of Thomas Pigot, of North Hall, Leeds, and widow of Sir Giles Hussey. Through her, Falkingham came to the property for which he went to law; but I suppose him to have done battle for the public as well as for himself. He was defendant in a case of destruction of fences in The Marsh aforementioned, which looks much like the assertion of a right of way; and there is another of his lawsuits which makes me wish that he were still alive. In Queen Mary's reign he prayed "for a

commission as to the stream and course of water of a mill, upon Northalbecke brook, and if the same were a nuisance to Leeds Manor." Couldn't I find work for him now! Who now dare belaud our river as Drayton did two centuries and a half since, telling how the Aire

> "By Skipton down doth scud,
> And leading thence to Leeds, *that delicatest flood*
> Takes Calder coming in by Wakefield."

But on the 15th of June, 1593, Thomas Falkingham was left in quiet at our church of St. Peter. To end this long story of our litigation under the Tudors, there were some disputes which evidently arose out of the Reformation. In the first of Mary, William Barnby of Leeds disputed a title to lands and tenements connected with Farnley Chapel; in the seventeenth of Elizabeth there was contested a purchase from the Abbot of Kirkstall; and in the thirty-third of her reign there was a trial concerning lands relating to St. Mary's Chantry, Leeds Church.

Lacking the manuscript which John Harrison ought to have bequeathed to us, we are left to imagine what passed in Leeds during the several stages of the Reformation. Doubtless Leeds had

more parties than one; and when on the 24th of July, 1533, the door of our parish church, like others, bore the King's instruction that thenceforth his Queen was to be styled Princess Dowager, unquestionably we had keen discussions upon the rights and wrongs of Catherine of Arragon. The subsequent posting of the King's "provocation" to a General Council must have given new impulse to excitement, and higher still would it arise the following spring, when, if King Henry's order were obeyed, our Vicar preached weekly on the Pope's usurpation. Then came October, 1536, when there sprung up the insurrection known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace;" when Lord D'Arcy of Temple-Newsome secured Pomfret Castle until joined there by Robert Aske, head of the movement. I know not that Leeds favoured Aske as York did; but the Bailiff of Leeds, perhaps the very Thomas Thompson who a short time before had striven to enforce the King's toll, was one of the leaders of the revolt. Its failure, its attempted renewal, and the hanging of Aske at York were closely followed by the memorable first of August, 1537, Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, when the choir of our St. Peter's was

furnished with Miles Coverdale's Bible for public use—if, again, the King's order were obeyed. Thus, events enough had happened to interest Leeds in the great change going on, when its attention was directly summoned by the surrender to the Crown of Holy Trinity Priory, the appropriator of Leeds tithes and the nominator of Leeds Vicars from the days of Ralph Paganel. This surrender took place on the 11th of December, 1538. That of Kirkstall Abbey soon followed, but there is a question as to the year. The deed of surrender, given by Dugdale from the original possessed by Thoresby, is dated the 22nd of November, in the thirty-first year of King Henry the Eighth, and in the year of our Lord, 1540. But the 22nd of November, thirty-first Henry the Eighth, is in 1539; so I choose to say with Thoresby in his last publication, the *Vicaria*, that Kirkstall Abbey surrendered the year after Holy Trinity. Agreeing further with Thoresby in that "I love not to dwell upon sores," I enter not into discussion upon the charges brought by Drs. Legh and Leyton against the inmates of these monastic institutions, though certain to have caused, at the time, discussion in Leeds. But I imagine that a damp was cast upon

the ardour of some who favoured these enforced surrenders, fondly hoping that our parish would regain Paganel's donation to Holy Trinity, when they found that King Henry had granted the advowson of Leeds vicarage to one Thomas Culpepper. Here again is a question as to the date of the grant, the 15th of October, in the thirtieth year of King Henry —the surrender of Trinity Priory being on the 11th of December in the same year. Thus, the grant to Culpepper seems to anticipate the surrender; yet, in the deed, the advowson is said to have been formerly in the possession of the late monastery of Holy Trinity. I leave others to settle the difficulty, whatever the year the act is the same; and in the thirty-eighth of his reign King Henry gave the remainder of Ralph Paganel's alienation, the rectorial tithes, to the newly founded Christ's Church, Oxford. Christ's Church still has them, but the advowson eventually got home. The son of Thomas Culpepper, Alexander, who lived in Kent, sold it to Rowland Cowick of London. I know not whether the sale were before or after the appointment of Christopher Bradley to the vicarage, in the reign of Philip and Mary, the former vicar, John Thornton having resigned; but

Rowland Cowick had not long to wait for a vacancy. On the 22nd of August, 1559, the first year of Elizabeth, he gave Alexander Fawcet the vicarage, Bradley having died. Four years afterward Cowick sold his right to Thomas Preston, citizen and draper, of London, who held it six years to no purpose—Vicar Fawcet lived on—and then sold it again to another Londoner, Edmund Darnellye, citizen and haberdasher. Him, as hereinafter to be related, we have cause to respect.

As Leeds had less to do with the possessions of Kirkstall, I will speak of the portion only that enriched Ralph Thoresby's museum. There, were to be seen Kirkstall's stone salt-cellar with its eight triangular salts around the stem, and a hollow at the top for a silver one; the Abbot's cast iron stirrup, seven inches broad at the sole; above all his drinking glass, nearly a foot deep and nine inches round, with its waved stripes of white enamel. There, too, from the Abbey, were a brass seal-ring and an iron pix; and, as supposed, an altar-piece, thirteen inches by nine, with eight alabaster figures, parcel gilt, representing the entombment of the Saviour by Joseph of Arimathea. Another of Thoresby's treasures was

significant of those troubled times, for it was found concealed "in a double-bottom ark" near a Leeds Chantry. Most valued by the hider, we may well believe, was a manuscript treatise "Of the Werldes unstabilnes and maners of Men yat yere in is," with a further dissertation on Death, Purgatory, Doomsday, the "tokyns yet before sall come" and the pains of Hell. With it was a priest's habit, adorned with St. Peter and two others "delicately wrought in silver and silk of divers colours." But part only of this became Thoresby's; for, as he explains, part fell into the hands of one who "burnt it merely for the silver's sake, though she had too much before." The dismantled Abbey of Kirkstall met with treatment as irreverent and utilitarian as this habit of a priest. Not left to peaceful ruin beneath the hand of time, it served to some extent as a quarry for the neighbourhood. This we learn from "The Boke of Accompts maide and begun by the Churchwardens of the Towne and Parish of Leeds in the yere of our Lorde God 1583." Therein they made record of the economy of their administration in the building of "greice," or stairs, on the west side of Leeds Bridge in that said year; informing posterity that the workmen's wages

were 6d. a-day, and that the stones used were brought from "Christall Abbey." Thoresby had this account-book also, as well as the first Leeds register of Births, Weddings and Burials, old as the reign of Henry the Eighth. With these, in the now lost museum, were the Letters Patent whereby the said King Henry made peer Sir William Evers, nephew of the second Leeds vicar of that name. Why should not Leeds take interest in the ennobling of a family so associated with the town? When Lord Evers' son, the brave Sir Ralph, with the aid of a few servants only held Scarbro' Castle against Robert Aske, Leeds folk cannot have heard of it without remembering his relationship to their late vicar. Nor, again, could they be indifferent to the news of his fall at Ancrum Moor, in Scotland, fighting against the father-in-law of Lord D'Arcy's successor at Temple-Newsome. For be it known that this Sir Ralph, who was a Lord of Parliament, is the "Keen Lord Evers" of Sir Walter Scott's Eve of St. John, and the "Lord Ewrie" of an old Border ballad which Scott has preserved; and that after the beheading of Lord D'Arcy, 20th of June, 1538, Henry the Eighth granted Temple-Newsome to the Earl of Lennox, whose wife was the daughter of

Earl Angus, the victor at Ancrum Moor. She was also the niece of King Henry; and, as well-known, at Temple-Newsome she bore her son Lord Darnley, in 1541. Many Leeds folk living at the time would be living still, when in January, 1569, scarce two years after Lord Darnley's murder, the captive Queen of Scots passed through Wetherby and Pomfret on her way to Sheffield Castle.

Coincident with the Reformation, very likely in some measure owing to it yet apparently the work of a Roman Catholic, was the commencement of our Grammar School. A return of the ecclesiastical revenues of Leeds about the time when monasteries were put down contains the name of William Sheffield, as the priest officiating at St. Catherine's Chantry, founded by Vicar Clarell in the century before. A manuscript quoted by Thoresby also tells that Sir William Sheffield was appointed to the Chantry by the trustee of the foundation, Sir John Neville, Kt., of Liversedge. And in the sixth year of King Edward the Sixth, otherwise, 1552, or the beginning of 1553, "Syr William Sheaffield," Priest, made a will by which he vested in Sir John Neville, Kt., and others, two copyhold closes of eight acres and a rood near

"Shipscar Bridge," one close of a rood in measurement leading thereto, and several houses in the Vicar Lane. The trust thus created was "for finding and sustentation of one honest, substantial, learned man, to be a schoole maister, to teach and instruct freely for ever all such young scholars, youths and children as shall come and resort to him from time to time, to be taught, instructed and informed in such a school house as shall be founded, erected and builded by the Paryshioners of the said town and Parish of Leedes." It may well have been that the great change in which chantries as well as monasteries came to an end aroused Sir William's apprehension for the future, and led him to make this provision for educating Leeds in time to come. With what feelings other than apprehension he viewed the change we can only guess. Attached to the Church of Rome by old association, yet evidently a sensible and generous man, my own guess is that he saw much on both sides to disapprove of. In 1555, Sir William Ermstead, chaplain to Queen Mary, gave lands and tenements at Wyke of four marks yearly value, toward the maintenance of a priest learned enough to teach a Grammar School in Leeds. And Leeds folk did

the duty assigned to them by Sir William Sheffield. They did not erect a school house, but what they did would perhaps have pleased Sir William more, had he but known it. In 1558 they purchased for their Grammar School a building called New Chapel, the site of which became the Pinfold of a later generation; and as they purchased from the Crown there is good reason to accept Thoresby's conjecture that New Chapel was a surrendered chantry. Dedicated to "Our Lady," said Thoresby, whence Lady Lane; but the vulgar, his contemporaries, traced that name to Lady Hussey, of the neighbouring North Hall.

Thus it was when Harrison was born. Three years before, a new revolt in the northern counties, under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, had been suppressed. The Reformed Church was at length established; though Mary, Queen of Scots, still lived a captive, at Sheffield Castle, the hope of plotters against Church and State. Leeds had in Alexander Fawcet a Protestant for Vicar, who renounced the Pope's authority and acknowledged Queen Elizabeth's supremacy when her Commissioners, on Cowick's presentation, admitted him to the vicarage. In the next reign he was said to have

become old, blind and unable to discharge his duty; but this was in a Bill of Complaint to the Court of Chancery, and complaints to a court of any kind don't often understate the case. Old and blind he may have grown, he may have been unable to officiate when Harrison was christened; but I doubt that he was altogether so incapable and useless as, from the said Bill, we might suppose. The Churchwardens' account-book already mentioned has the following entry in 1583:—"Two thousand and a hallf of Breades to serve the Parish withal, 8s. 4d. Item, for Wyne to the same Purpose, £5 16s. 6d." This expenditure for the sacramental bread and wine, when labourers were paid with 6d. daily, denotes a number of communicants scarcely credible were Vicar Fawcet quite a dummy. At least he must have had the wit to keep a good curate. And Leeds had successors in training against the time when the old Vicar at length should die. Robert, the son of William Cooke, of Beeston, was in his thirtieth year at the time of Harrison's birth, a Fellow at Brasenose College, Oxford, a Master of Arts and in Holy Orders. His younger brother, Alexander, was at the same time a scholar at the Grammar School which Sir William

Sheffield founded, and close upon fifteen; for he was born some four months after Shakespere, in 1564.

John Harrison was but seven years old when the Queen of Scots was beheaded; but the talk which it caused—especially at Leeds, so near Lord Darnley's birth place—was most likely remembered by him in after life. Still more the commotion of the following year—the year of the Armada. Staunch Protestants as Leeds folk had then become, I doubt not that the Queen's appeal for contributions towards a ship of war against the King of Spain was cheerfully responded to; none dreaming of a stir about it like that which afterward made Hampden famous. The inscription upon one of our old church bells, "God save His Churche," may have had its origin in the apprehension caused by the Armada, or in the triumph at its destruction; for the inscription is dated the same year, though, why I know not, the figures are reversed—8851. And who knows but the Spanish King's attack on this stronghold of the Protestant religion, may have aroused that energy amongst us which secured for Leeds the advowson of its vicarage. Anyhow, it was at this time that Leeds folk "did frequently meet and consult of some convenient means, how,"

after the death of Alexander Fawcet, "they might be furnished with honest, learned and able Ministers to succeed in the said vicarage." They applied to Oliver Darnley, who asked £150 for the advowson. But Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North and Lord Lieutenant of this and other northern counties, took up for Leeds. His mediation brought the price down £20, Oliver Darnley being made acquainted with "the Godly design of the Parishioners, and being well affected thereto." Honour, then, to the Earl of Huntingdon, who, not content with this good deed, next year "sent certaine Boukes to the Schoulmaister, to be taught in the Schoule at Leedes," as the churchwardens' account book testified. Honour to Oliver Darnley, who, when he abated £20 knew as well as other folk that Vicar Fawcet was an aged man. And honour to Vicar Fawcet, who, good old man, did not long keep Leeds from the exercise of its new power. For, saith the Parish Register,—"Sir Alexander Faucett, Vicar of Leedes, dyed upon Setterdaye, the 7th of February, 1589, betwixt the hours of eight and nine of the clock before noon, and was buryed upon Sunday, the 8th of February, 1589, before noon."

Leeds soon made choice of Robert Cooke, who thereupon gave up his Fellowship to be our vicar. Before he quitted Oxford he had been chosen Proctor, and he had become Bachelor of Divinity. He had become, also, says Anthony Wood, "the most noted disputant of his time." The choice for vicar of one thus reputed, tells plainly that Leeds folk were then staunch Protestants, as I have said. A scholar and a native—for this alone he made a vicar for the parish to be proud of; but I suspect it was the "noted disputant" the Protestant champion, more than either native or scholar, who was made vicar of Leeds. Leeds had no cause to repent the choice. After his life was ended, Robert Cooke was spoken of in a Chancery decree as "a famous and learned man;" and Thoresby declares him to have been "a singular blessing, not only to the Neighbourhood where he was born, but also to the Nation and even to the learned world in general." His vicariate corresponds with the bright period in England's history which lies between the final triumph of the Reformation and the troubles that culminated in the execution of Charles the First. Yet even the course of Robert Cooke was not altogether a smooth one.

Before long he was involved in a tithe dispute with Christ's Church, Oxford, as his predecessors had been with the Prior of Holy Trinity. And as, in the 13th century, Walter Grey, Archbishop of York, had settled the matter, so did Archbishop Matthew Hutton again take it in hand in 1596. His award was similar to Archbishop Grey's.

The close of the century was marked by an act of grace, concerning our neighbourhood, by Queen Elizabeth. On the 4th of June, 1599, she granted to John, Lord D'Arcy, grandson of him who lost his life and lands for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, the parks of Rothwell and Roundhay. For these, which the former Lord D'Arcy had from the Crown, in reward for services against the Moors in Spain, had not been given with the other forfeited lands to the Earl of Lennox. Not four years afterward, on the 24th of March, 1603, died Queen Elizabeth, and that Earl's grandson reigned in her stead.

As James the First passed from his old capital, Edinburgh, to his new one, London, he stayed in York from Saturday, the 16th of April, until the following Monday, duly attending service at the Minster on the Sunday between. But he then went

on his way, as other Kings had done before, without making the slight divergence that would have brought him to Leeds, and have enabled him to visit his father's birth-place; his own property, too, as heir-at-law. He had business on hand of more importance, and I must admit that his father's memory was not entitled to the highest reverence. It was not long before King James parted altogether with Temple-Newsome, granting it to his Kinsman, Esme Stuart, Duke of Lennox, who soon after sold it to the ancestor of its present owner. Sir Arthur Ingram, Kt., the second son of Hugh Ingram, a London merchant, also purchased the Manor of Leeds-Kirkgate, which thus became conjoined with the manor of Temple-Newsome. King James's consort, Anne of Denmark, with their eldest son and daughter, followed him in June, and like him neglected Leeds though she did not refuse its Manor when it was given to her. But when in the summer of 1604 Lord and Lady Dunfermline and Sir Robert Carey brought with them King James's second son, afterward Charles the First, but then a sickly child from three to four years old, York was a victim to the plague and they came through Leeds for safety.

Leeds was to have its turn also of the Plague, whereby, as we learn from a decree of the Court of Quarter Sessions, the townsmen were "enforced to keep watch and ward about the infected houses." So great was the alarm that Leeds' markets were intermitted, and in lieu thereof were authorized two markets, "the one upon Hunslet Moor, on Monday, and the other upon Chapeltown Green, on Friday, unto which place," said the Court, "the country shall bring corn &c., to supply the town." Those, and those only, who had "tickets or notes under the hand of Robert Cooke, clerk, vicar, Edward Savile, gentleman, high constable, John Harrison, John Metcalf, W. Lodge, or two or more of them," certifying the bearer free from infection, might visit fairs, markets, or other business places, to carry wool to the spinner and to bring yarn from thence. Of course the stringent regulations necessary were not quietly submitted to by everybody. One William Lawson, "having carried himself in a most dissolute and contemptuous manner," was ordered to be "imprisoned within the prison of Leeds" and "kept fast locked there for three days," then, "upon his good carriage in that time," to be let out, otherwise to have

"six days imprisonment upon spare diet." Should the Plague increase, Justices of the Peace within five miles of Leeds were, in case of need, to assess for its relief; and the inhabitants were authorized "to erect, to make and set up lodges on Woodhouse Moor, to place their visited people in."

If Thoresby guessed right from the figures of the Parish Register, under dates 1573 and 1575, and again in 1587, this was the fourth time within forty years when Leeds suffered from the Plague, or other contagion. It must have been an anxious time for Robert Cooke, and he was not the sort of man to desert his parishioners. Of his popularity with them we have the proof of a well filled church. The churchwardens' account-book told, in the year 1608, of a new stall made for Thomas and Peter Jackson, "because they had no room anywhere in the Church to sit in," this entry being in the handwriting of the Vicar himself. And, says Thoresby, "at length all the vacant places being replenished with seats, and the Nave of the Church also galleried quite round, it was yet found too small for so numerous and unanimous a congregation in those happy days." So far well, Ralph Thoresby, yet Robert Cooke with

the Plague to help him could not bring everybody into good behaviour. An order apparently issued by the Court of Quarter Sessions soon after the Plague had passed away, sets out with a complaint of gatherings where the people "use unlawful gaming, drinking and quarreling to the great injury and hurt of those who there doe not only lose at gaming, or spend in drinking, all the money they can get or come by," but also are often "drawn into such lewdness, as they neglect their own necessary occupation, and greatly do disquiet and trouble their honest neighbours." Therefore, none were to attend "any such garrays or merry nights," and offenders were to be tried "at the next General Quarter Sessions."

Robert Cooke had more on hand than the work of his parish. In 1610 there was a learned disputation between him and a noted Romish priest, called Cuthbert Johnson (alias Will Darrell), before the King's Council at York. Thoresby had a summary of it in manuscript, but it was never published. And the title of "Captain Minister of the Yorkshire Preachers" given to Robert Cooke in a Roman Catholic treatise shows that his preaching was not confined to Leeds alone. No wonder that in his declining years

the Vicar needed the help of his brother, Alexander, who took much of the parochial labour off his hands and left him more leisure for the completion of his great work on counterfeits of the ancient authors, commonly called "The Fathers." It bore a Latin title, *Censura*, &c.; and it was first published in 1614, with a dedication to Dr. James, Bishop of Durham, by whom its author was collated to a Prebendary in Durham Cathedral on the 20th of July in the same year. The Prebend's stall was soon vacant for another. Robert Cooke died on the first of January, 1615, and he was next day laid in the chancel of his church. His book reached a second edition in 1623, and so famous did it become that two or three editions were published in Germany. The last year of his life was remarkable for a long drought, succeeding a snow-storm, and lasting from April to the 20th of August. It is stated in Drake's *Eboracum* that hay was then sold in York at 30s. and 40s. the wayne load, and in Leeds at £4.

"Coming events cast their shadows before," and on the death of Robert Cooke we may discern in a dispute about the appointment of his successor a shadow of the approaching troubles. According to

Thoresby's account, the purchasers of the advowson wished to treat it as their private property. Instead of a Trust having been properly constituted, the parishioners, who by a voluntary contribution repaid the purchasers the £120 paid by them to Oliver Darnley, relied chiefly upon the integrity of a Mr. Thomas Foxcroft, "a religious and substantial free-holder." He was very likely worthy of their confidence, but he died; and when the parishioners, on Cooke's death, required the execution of a Trust-Deed, the surviving purchasers, headed by a Mr. Birkhead, offered the advowson for sale. Declaring the income of the vicarage to be £300 a-year, they valued the advowson at £1400 or £1500—a good profit on the purchase from Oliver. A portion of the parishioners thereupon applied to Dr. Tobias Matthews, Archbishop Hutton's successor in the See of York, on behalf of Alexander Cooke; and Archbishop Matthews appointed him to the vicarage. On this, Mr. Birkhead, as patron, made choice of Richard Middleton, chaplain to Prince Charles—no bad stroke of policy, for it is to be supposed that he had court influence wherewith to back him, and he became a man of note, known in print. A thick duodecimo

entitled *The Key of David*, published after this dispute, in 1619, was adorned with his portrait, representing him in a ruff and with a great beard. The Archbishop rejected him, and he then made out his writ against the Archbishop and Alexander Cooke. The case was decided by the Lord Keeper, the great Lord Bacon. Alexander Cooke was confirmed in the vicarage. Robert Birkhead and his co-purchasers were ordered to sign over the advowson to Sir John Savile, Kt., Sir Philip Cary, Kt., Sir Arthur Ingram, Kt., Christopher Danby and others, twenty-five in all; and to complete the settlement, Archbishop Matthews consented to a measure for extinguishing a latent claim to the advowson by the Archbishops of York. For Henry the Eighth in an excess of generosity had granted it to that See after his grant to Thomas Culpepper. But there was more in all this than an attempt of Birkhead and his co-purchasers to defraud the parish. The Chancery decree recites that Alexander Cooke had been made vicar by the Archbishop, "at the request of the best and most religiously affected of the parishioners." A petition addressed to Queen Anne, as Lady of the Manor, and purporting to be from many hundreds of Her

Majesty's tenants and inhabitants of Leeds, alleges that Alexander Cooke had been presented "by the means and greatness of Sir John Savile;" who, also said the petitioners, had got inserted as trustees of the advowson such persons as were likely to establish Cooke in the vicarage, to the disturbance of the peace and quiet of the said parish." For, they further informed Her Majesty,—"The said Alexander Cooke, having heretofore been deprived of a former benefice for non-conformity and not subscribing, &c., and continuing the same schismatic disposition, doth still stir such grief and make such factions among the parishioners that divers of the richest and greatest traders of the said towne, who set on work above five hundred of the poor people, are ready to forsake their habitations there, and will leave the same rather than endure such a factious person to be their Vicar, who was thrust upon them during the said contention and came not in by their consent." To prevent this great impoverishing of Leeds, and the disturbance and disquieting of a great number of good subjects, all of them Her Majesty's tenants, the petitioners begged the Queen's mediation with the Lord Keeper, to stay the execution of his decree; and that Queen Anne

herself would nominate "some learned and godly divine" in Cooke's place. To get rid of him, they would be "contented to allowe the said Cooke to have some reasonable sum of money, elsewhere to provide himself."

The truth seems to be that Alexander Cooke was what the petitioners asked for—"a learned and godly divine;" but that his strong antipathy to the Church of Rome led him somewhat toward the Puritan party, and raised against him enemies. He took his first degree at Brasenose College, on the 25th of June, 1585, while his brother was still there; and his attainments led to his being chosen for a Percy Fellowship at University College, in 1587. He then took his degree of Master of Arts, and Holy Orders also before his brother left Oxford for Leeds. On the 26th of May, 1596, he took the further degree of Bachelor of Divinity. He was celebrated while at Oxford as a preacher, and he obtained a living. I know nothing about his vacation of it, except what is said in the petition; but if Robert Cooke had much disapproved of his brother's proceedings he would scarcely have employed him as he did, at Leeds. The Archbishop's support of Alexander

Cooke also speaks in his favour. By some, however, he was charged with Calvinism; and any one who has read his *Pope Joan*, first published in 1610, may credit Anthony Wood's statement that he was hated by the Roman Catholics. On his part Alexander Cooke deplored the falling away of some of his contemporaries to the Church of Rome. His Epistle, Dedicatory of *Pope Joan*, to Archbishop Matthews, thus commences,—"It is lamentable to consider how many starres are fallen of late from heauen, how many Goddesses on the earth haue departed from the faith, and giuen heed vnto the spirit of errors, and doctrines of slanderers, to wit, the Papists."

Whether or not Anne of Denmark ever attempted the unconstitutional interference with the jurisdiction of the head of the Chancery Court which her petitioners asked for I cannot tell; but Alexander Cooke, continued Vicar of Leeds. He continued his publications against the Church of Rome, under titles characteristic of the man and of the age that he lived in. *Work for a Masse-Priest*, appeared in 1617; *More Work for a Masse-Priest*, in 1621; *Yet more Work for a Masse-Priest*, in 1622; *The Abaitment of Popish Braggs, pretending Scripture to be theirs*, and

The Weather-cock of Rome's Religion, with her several Changes: or the World turned topsie turvie by the Papists, in 1625; *Work, more Work, and a little more Work for a Masse-Priest; with an Epistle from an Unknown Priest, and an answer thereto,* in 1628. All were quartos, and all published in London. The last named was dedicated to Thomas, Lord Viscount Savile, and it reached a second edition in 1630. Thoresby had them all, and he mentions another called *Rome's Weather Cock* which he had not seen. But more famous than all the rest was *Pope Joan,* of which a second edition was published in 1625. It was also translated into French by J. de la Montagne, and printed at Sedan in 1633, with verses laudatory of *Le Grand Cooke* instead of the Epistle Dedicatory to Archbishop Matthews. The book was written to maintain "that a woman called JOANE was Pope of Rome: against the surmises and objections made to the contrarie by Robert Bellarmine and Cæsar Baronius, Cardinals; Florimondus Rœmondus, N. D., and other Popish writers impudently denying the same." It was in the form of a dialogue between a Protestant and a Papist, so written that the subject might be more fully discussed, "and that it might be better

understood to common readers, who are sooner gulled with continued discourses."

It is not likely that the threatened exodus of some of the greatest traders of the town was put in execution. Anyhow, Leeds continued to make progress, though a native poet, author unknown of *Pasquils Palinodia*, published in 1619, thus laments over its squabbles and byegone happy days :—

> "And thou my natiue towne, which was of old, *Leede*
> (When as thy bonfiers burn'd, and Maypoles stood,
> And when thy wassall-cups were vncontrol'd)
> The Sommer bower of peace and neighberhood,
> Although since these went down, thou ly'st forlorn
> By factious schisms, and humors overborne,
> Some able hand I hope thy rod will raise,
> That thou maist see once more thy happy daies."

Days were in store anything but happy, and faction was to flourish, but Leeds flourished too. We lost our royal Lady of the Manor in February of the year of the above mournful ditty ; but in the next, 1620, the Moot-Hall arose, to be adorned near a century later with the statue of another Queen Anne. In 1624 Dr. Samuel Pullen, future Archbishop of Tuam, became the first Head Master of the Grammar School, newly built by John Harrison; and he married, on the 8th of June, Anne Cooke, the Vicar's daughter. The

building yet stands, but not, alas! as then, in "a pleasant field;" and its desecration as a workshop troubles Jeremiah Odman only less than the demolition of the Moot-Hall does. I could call like Edward Fairfax when James the First died, the 27th of March, 1625, on all who have eyes to weep. And having already given a specimen of our native poetry, I here give another of the poetry of Tasso's celebrated translator, for the sake of his residence in Kirkgate :—

> "All that have eyes, now wake and weep;
> He whose waking was our sleep
> Is fallen asleep himself, and never
> Shall wake more, till he wake for ever."

Be it not forgotten that Edward Fairfax, who wrote these lines, once lived in Leeds.

The next reign was still new when our town was advanced in dignity, as, with its Moot-Hall, it well deserved to be. On the 13th of July, in his second year, Charles the First granted Leeds a Charter of Incorporation, appointing Sir John Savile the first chief Alderman—since styled Mayor. From his armorial bearings Leeds derived those birds of wisdom which adorn its own; but his work was done for him by John Harrison. Harrison also joined eight others in

purchasing Leeds Manor. It had reverted to the Crown on the death of Anne of Denmark, and two years after giving us his charter Charles the First gave the manor to the City of London, which Jeremiah Odman declares to be the most indefensible thing that the said King Charles ever did. Such grant there was, for the records of the Duchy of Lancaster testify thereto; but Leeds, or rather one of our Leeds men, interposed, bought the manor from the Crown, and the grant fell through. The purchaser, in the first instance, was Richard Sykes, grandson of him who had wisely settled in Leeds in the previous century. Thoresby, who married the great-grand-daughter of Richard Sykes, says that "he at the request of Mr. Harrison, the Grand Benefactor, let him and a half dozen other gentlemen come in as joint-purchasers with him; because if in a single person it would have given him too great superiority, which the good old gentleman not being ambitious of, reserved only one share for himself and another for his son, William Sykes, Merchant, admitting the rest as he had contracted for it." Five of the other half-dozen were Aldermen of the new Corporation:—Samuel Casson, the first

successor of Sir John Savile and John Harrison; Thomas Metcalf, son of him who had farmed the oven, and the builder of Red Hall in 1628; Joseph Hillary, Benjamin Wade and Francis Jackson. Wade filled the office of chief Alderman once only, in 1631-2; the rest all lived to hold it a second time, and that in nearly like rotation. In 1633 John Harrison became chief Alderman in name as well as deed, succeeding Francis Jackson, and he was again followed by Casson. Then came Richard Sykes, Thomas Metcalf, Joseph Hillary and Francis Jackson, each having been chief Alderman before. But in the first instance a Robert Benson came between Casson and Sykes; in the second a John Hodgson between Metcalf and Hillary. The said John Hodgson again took office at the end of Francis Jackson's second term, Hodgson was then followed by Ralph Crofts, and these were the chief Aldermen of Leeds from the grant of the Charter to the outbreak of civil war. The remaining purchaser of the Manor, whom I have not yet named and not Alderman at the time, was William Marshall, jun. Thoresby's account of the purchase is creditable to Richard Sykes, and John Harrison's share in the

business is not the least of his merits. The "Grand Benefactor" will figure prominently to the end of my chapter.

John Harrison was an only son. He had two sisters—Edith, married to Thomas Gledhill, of Barkisland; and Grace, to Alexander Robinson, a Leeds merchant who lived in Briggate, and whom she left a widower in 1607. How far John Harrison derived his wealth from his father, from his mother, the daughter of Henry Marton, of Leeds; or how far he owed it to his own success in business, I do not know, but like his father he was a merchant. By whatever means, he became the owner of considerable property in his native town. From the Falkinghams he purchased the North Hall estate and others, including the old Hall of the Rockleys, near to which Richard Falkingham, the last male heir of the family, was slain at the age of twenty four. He was grandson of the Thomas Falkingham who married Sir Giles Hussey's widow. His death might be accidental, but I know not anything more about it except the date of his burial, 21st December, 1615. John Harrison, in a codicil to his will made nearly forty years afterward, speaks of "the

mutual love and affection betwixt me and the said Richard Falkingham, who would have ventured his life for me, if there had been occasion." When this was written, John Falkingham, father of Richard, was dead also, for he outlived his son scarce half-a-dozen years. But Richard Falkingham had left two daughters, his co-heirs, who married; and to their eldest sons Harrison bequeathed the profit, and something more, which he had made by re-selling part of his purchase from the family. This bequest in itself shows the kindly feeling which had existed between them.

In Harrison's will there is mentioned a "messuage, house, or tenement in Pawdmire," then occupied by Timothy Coates and Robert Hirst. There is little doubt that it was the house in which he was born, and it seems from this to have been divided, unless the two named were tenant and sub-tenant. For himself, Harrison built what Thoresby afterward described as "a good old fashioned house, with a quadrangular court in the middle." This mansion, with its garden, orchard, garden-house and other appurtenances was in Briggate, opposite to the end of Boar Lane. There John Harrison lived,

and there he died. He married a lady named Foxcroft, from the neighbourhood of Halifax, perhaps a relative of the Thomas Foxcroft who took a leading part in buying the advowson of our vicarage. But she died as early as the 5th of May, 1631; and Harrison, a widower and childless, bestowed his affections on a fine breed of cats, for whose convenience he is said to have had holes cut in the doors and ceilings of his house, that they might wander through it at will. So Thoresby compares him with London's renowned Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Whittington; and John Harrison has renown of his own, substantially founded. His benevolence extended beyond cats, and it was not restricted by a narrow idea of charity. He cared for the poor, but what he did for them was only part of his scheme for the good of the whole town. When the market-tolls of Leeds were referred for apportionment, in 1600, to Baron Savile of the Exchequer, ancestor of the Earls of Mexborough, he gave a third to the Bailiff, another to the poor, and another to the market-stead and highways. Harrison supplemented this decree by alms-houses, with a chapel, and other gifts to the poor; by an

endowment for the highways, and by adorning the market with a cross which Dr. Lake and Thoresby pronounced "stately," and which cross existed until replaced by another in 1776, which in the end perished with Middle Row and the Moot Hall. The pavement at Briggate top for some time preserved an outline of the site; but now, even this is gone and not a trace is left behind. The third object of Harrison's benevolence was not the Bailiff, nor his successor the Alderman, but the Grammar School of which I have before spoken. For rich and poor, young and old, and to relieve the over crowded Parish Church, be built St. John's. It was begun near the time when his wife died and shortly before the death of the vicar whose appointment had been so much contested. Alexander Cooke was laid near his brother in the chancel of the Old Church, on the 23rd of June, 1632. He had outlived about two years the honorary Alderman whom Harrison represented, and to whose "means and greatness" Alexander Cooke's opponents ascribed his appointment to the vicarage. Sir John Savile was made Baron Savile of Pontefract in 1628, and he died in 1630. His gift of the site

for Headingley Church adds to his title to remembrance in Leeds.

Alexander Cooke needed help, like his brother, in his declining years, finding himself unequal to the preaching of two sermons in a day. In Richard Garbut, B.D., he met with a helper "every way to his liking." Garbut was a Yorkshireman who became Fellow of Sidney College, Cambridge, and so esteemed by the Master, Dr. Ward, that he chose Garbut to accompany him to the Synod of Dort. On taking his B.D., in 1624, Richard Garbut made several vows, one not to hold his Fellowship longer than December in that year. He resigned it accordingly, and having no other engagement he then lived for a short time with a grandchild of Archbishop Matthews to whom he had been tutor. About the beginning of 1625 he was engaged by the Vicar of Leeds, to whose offer of £50 a year he answered "it is enough;" and until his marriage he found a home with John Harrison. His sermons were well studied, and written almost verbatim before he preached them. At first, some of his hearers thought them too academical and begged for an alteration of their style, and in this he tried

to please his critics; but fearing after all that he failed to do the good which he desired to do, he resolved to leave Leeds, and he only remained here at the appeal of some of the poorer parishioners. In the delivery of his sermons he was earnest and too animated for his physical strength, for it led to the breaking of a blood vessel. He died from consumption in 1630, having hastened his death by a disregard of his physician's advice not to preach any more. He again ventured, renewed the bleeding and did not recover. These particulars are to be found in a preface to two of his sermons, published long after his death with the title *One come from the Dead*, &c., and where it is stated, "The year before his death he said to some that he doubted his Ministry had not that effect he would have it, and he feared the cause was because some paid towards his maintenance by way of Collection for him; I am resolved therefore I will not have a penny Collected for me, but will depend upon God, for I know that those that get good by my pains will not see me want Necessaries; and for the rest that get no good, I will have none of their Monies." This preface is by a Thomas Hard-

castle, and, beside it, there is an epistle to the reader dated London, August 23rd, 1675, by Richard Baxter. Garbut was succeeded in his lectureship by Robert Todd, afterward Minister of St. John's.

There was no difficulty about the choice of a new vicar, for on the eleventh day after the burial of Alexander Cooke his successor was instituted. Again did Leeds look at home, and chose Henry Robinson, the son of John Harrison's late sister Grace. Baptized at the Parish Church, most likely by Robert Cooke, on the 27th of July, 1598, he was first schooled in Leeds; thence he went to St. John's College, Cambridge, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and became Chaplain to Lord Treasurer the Earl of Southampton. And the Earl unwillingly parted with him when, near the age of thirty-four, he became vicar of the town in which he was born. He also became owner of the library of the two brothers his predecessors, including printed books and manuscripts which had belonged to Kirkstall Abbey, and which an ancestor or ancestors of Robert and Alexander Cooke had the good sense to purchase at the Dissolution.

John Harrison's nephew had entered upon the

third year of his vicariate when the new church was finished. Leading to it, Harrison built the New Kirkgate, afterward New Street, afterward St. John's Street, and now, as I hear and grieve for, about to be swept away. St. John's was consecrated on the 21st of September, 1634, by Archbishop Neale, unpleasantness arising thereon which must have been a sad annoyance to the church's founder. It was a darker shadow of the coming troubles than was the contention which arose about Alexander Cooke. On the afternoon of the Consecration day Robert Todd, disposed to Puritan opinions, preached in a strain so opposite to the morning sermon by Dr. Cosin, the Archbishop's chaplain and afterward Bishop of Durham, that the Archbishop was offended. The first parson of St. John's was suspended for his first sermon there; and the Archbishop only rescinded his suspension at the intercession of John Harrison and Sir Arthur Ingram.

The name of Puritan was at that day lavished with more freedom than judgment. Mr. Todd had a title to it, as events proved, and John Harrison lived to regret the first appointment to his new

church; but his nephew, the Vicar, was also called Puritan, though when the civil war broke out he proved himself loyal to Church and King. He was nevertheless "much resorted to by that party for direction and advice in the way of his functions," as Thoresby says, referring to the Puritans; and in the preface to Garbut's two sermons his name is given in a list of "faithful and painful Ministers" which includes some of the said party. It is to his credit that he stood well with that party while he held to his own principles. Once he was complained of to Archbishop Laud, for a sermon on the text "Keep yourselves from idols;" but he came off victorious, his "innocency" established and his learning proved.

By his support of Todd, John Harrison himself got into trouble with the Royalists. Loyal, and attached to the principles and discipline of the Church of England, he was a man of moderation, and likely enough he disapproved of many things done on the Royalist side. Naturally averse from violence, shattered in health too, when the war began he sought to keep aloof from it. Thus, he suffered first from the Royalists for his practice, and then, still

more, from the Puritans for his principles. Yet I am disposed to think that on an application for ship-money, rather more than a twelvemonth after the decision against Hampden, John Harrison's practice and his principles would change sides. It was the 29th of November, 1638, when one William Robinson wrote from his office in "Conistrete, Yorke," to the worshipful his "loveing frend Mr. Alderman at Leedes," forwarding a writ for a levy "toward the setting out of one shippe of fower hundred and fiftye tunne (besides tunnage) to be furnished with men, tackle, munition, victual and other necessaryes for the safeguard of the seas and the defence of the realme." The money was to be sent within thirty days. "In my judgment," said Mr. Robinson, "you are kindly used, having but to pay £72 towards soe great a charge." He then gave instructions that "noe poor labouring people be assessed, but suche as have estates in lands and goods, or live by some gainefull trade, for it is conceived that the assessing poore people will raise a clamour and prejudice the service, which in it selfe is most honourable and just." The clergy were to be used with all favour; and "not doubting of your care in the performance of

this service," William Robinson, of Coney street, York, concluded his letter. Now John Harrison was the very man to counsel payment of the small sum applied for, and to contribute his share of it, however doubtful of the legality of ship-money. I do not doubt that he condemned the execution of his fellow Yorkshireman, the Earl of Strafford, on the 12th of May, 1641, as heartily as our vicar his nephew, who wrote an elegy thereon, which Dr. Whitaker saw in manuscript and pronounced "a composition far above mediocrity, and written with all the feeling which was dictated by the interesting character of the sufferer, and the cruel mockery of justice by which he was condemned."

The character given of himself by Edward Fairfax the poet might have been appropriated by John Harrison, "neither a fantastic Puritan nor superstitious Papist." He could, on occasion arising, assert his rights against any side. In June, 1642, while King Charles was at York, there was a Commission of Array and Harrison sent a horse for view. It was, he relates, "stayed by Sir John Goodrick, and forthwith by me recalled from him by strong hand." Sure I am that it was not disloyalty which caused Har-

rison to reclaim his horse. Perhaps he was the more resolute in having it back because it had been sent for view on account of a partner as well as himself. Irrespective of this, John Harrison would desire to keep neutral. When afterward in trouble with the Parliamentarians over this very horse case, a friend ventured to plead for him that he was a "timorous man and very fearful." It would be less to his taste to contribute to the war than to support the Rothwell movement, sanctioned by the King's Lieutenant-General in Yorkshire, the Earl of Cumberland, for maintaining the peace and neutrality of the county. And near the time of the neutrality treaty of Rothwell, about a month after King Charles left York to set up his standard at Nottingham, there was a peace meeting held at Leeds in which Harrison may have taken part. But peace and neutrality were not to be.

At eight o'clock at night on the 27th of September, 1642, the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Harry Vane and other Parliamentarian leaders wrote thus from Westmoreland to "My Lords and Gentlemen" of Yorkshire,—"We have received information that at a late meeting at Leeds divers

worthy gentlemen and others, well-affected inhabitants of Yorkshire, have declared themselves desirous to preserve the peace of that county, and to secure his Majesty's subjects from those violent oppressions executed upon their persons and estates by the Earl of Cumberland, the Lord Savile and others, by pretence of commission of array." Assuming the meeting to be a declaration in their favour, Northumberland and his colleagues authorised and desired the military force of the County to be raised under command of Ferdinando, the second Lord Fairfax, whom they engaged to recommend to the Earl of Essex, chief commander of the Parliamentarian army, for a commission. Without waiting for it, Lord Fairfax acted on the instructions in the letter; and his son Sir Thomas states in his Memorials—"The first action we had was at Bradford." The Royalists were repulsed and they retired to Leeds, whither Lord Fairfax followed in a few days. Having notice of his approach, the Royalists further retreated to York. Despite the opposition of a Royalist force under Sir Thomas Glemham, Governor of York, Lord Fairfax, advancing from Leeds, gained possession of Wetherby and Tadcaster. This led to

the Earl of Newcastle's march from the north, where he had raised forces for the King. He arrived at York on the last day of November, and to him the Earl of Cumberland resigned his commission.

In a letter written ten days afterward, Lord Fairfax said that he had so far supported his army "by the loanes and contributions for the most part of the parishes of Leedes, Halifax and Bradford, and some other small clothing-towns adjacent, being the only well-affected people of the country." And in Lord Clarendon's history there is the well-known passage,—"Leeds, Halifax and Bradford, three very populous and rich towns (which depending wholly upon clothiers too much maligned the gentry), were wholly at their disposition;" that is, at the disposition of the party opposed to the King. Nevertheless, this needs qualification so far, at least, as it concerns Leeds. The Vicar was a Royalist as I said before. Visiting York when King Charles was there, his old patron the Earl of Southampton wished him to preach before the King. "Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord," was the text of the one sermon which our Vicar had with him; and he had a conscious-

ness that it was not entirely in accord with a proclamation issued at that very time. But no excuse availed him; and so satisfied was the King with the sermon that, says Thoresby, "His Majesty graciously thanked him at dinner, and offered him the title of his Chaplain, but this he modestly declined, alledging that it would be of more real service to the King to bestow that Dignity upon some more suitable person." And in his Royalist opinions the Vicar had support among his parishioners, those very clothiers whom Clarendon puts in opposition to the gentry. Several of the more wealthy of them suffered in estate under subsequent Parliamentarian sequestrations, beside John Harrison. More conclusive still, the Puritan author of "The Rider of the White Horse and his Army" says of Leeds at the commencement of the war,—"The malignant humour being predominant, easily converted the towne into their temper."

Lord Newcastle was not long idle after he reached York. Early in December, 1642, he made an attack on Lord Fairfax's position at Tadcaster which resulted in Fairfax's retreat to Selby. On the 9th Lord Fairfax sent Sir Thomas with five

companies of foot and two of horse to secure Leeds and the other clothing towns if possible, but after marching as far as Sherburne Sir Thomas found it necessary to return. Cut off from the district whence he had obtained his funds, and with only a week's pay for his troops in hand, Lord Fairfax sent the Parliament in London an account of his position, and of his sturdy resistance at Tadcaster before retreating, and appealed earnestly for the money necessary if his forces were to be kept longer together. One of his officers, Captain Hatcher, an eye-witness of most that had occurred "from the first raising of arms," carried the letter. Part of the Royalist force, under Sir William Savile of Thornhill, a distant relative of our first Alderman, then occupied Leeds. On Sunday, the 18th of December, he made an attack on Bradford, but he returned to Leeds unsuccessful. On the 29th Lord Fairfax again wrote from Selby, giving an account of Savile's failure, and stating that Sir Thomas Fairfax and Sir Henry Foulis had been sent by him to Bradford with three troops of horse and 120 dragoons, and that they had safely arrived there. From Bradford, Sir Thomas wrote thus to his father

on the 9th of January, 1643,—"These parts grow very impatient of our delay in beating them out of Leeds and Wakefield, for by them all trade and provisions are stopped, so that people in these Clothing towns are not able to subsist." In his Memorials he states that "there lay at *Leeds* fifteen hundred of the enemy, and twelve hundred at Wakefield," and that parties of horse from those towns daily approached Bradford, causing skirmishes; but that the Parliamentarians became so bold and the Royalists so disheartened that the latter at length kept to their garrisons. On the 16th of January Sir Thomas took and garrisoned Howley Hall, built by our first Alderman and then the seat of the second Lord Savile. Lord Fairfax sent there, from Selby, his relative Sir William Fairfax of Steeton to raise a regiment in the district. Sir William proceeded thence to Bradford, where also Lord Fairfax sent what horse he could spare to aid in his son's design on Leeds.

It was on the morning of Monday the 23rd of January, 1643, that Sir Thomas Fairfax sent some dragoons under Captain Mildmay, with about 30 musketeers and 1000 of the irregulars called club-

men, along the south of the Aire to Hunslet Moor to attack Leeds from that side of the river. Sir Thomas himself crossed the Aire at Apperley Bridge with the rest of his force to attack from the west side of the town, the bridge at Kirkstall having been broken down by the Royalists for about twenty yards. Under him were Sir William Fairfax, commanding nearly 1000 musketeers and 1000 club-men; and Sir Henry Fowlis, in command of six troops of horse and two companies of dragoons. They encamped on Woodhouse Moor. Sir Thomas says in his Memorials that on his summoning the Royalists to surrender Leeds "They presently returned this answer, that it was not civilly done to come so near before I sent the summons, and that they would defend the town the best they could with their lives." But a tract called *A true Relation of the Passages at Leeds*, which seems to have been written by a Parliamentarian immediately after the fight, gives more particulars. The attacking force first "commending the cause to God by prayer" upon Woodhouse Moor, Sir Thomas Fairfax "dispeeded a trumpeter to Sir William Savile, who commanded in chiefe in Leeds, requiring in writing that

towne to be delivered to him for the King and Parliament; which Sir William disdainfully answered and said, he used not to give answer to such frivolous tickets." Drawing closer to the town Sir. Thomas again summoned Sir William Savile, who by a trumpeter replied that Sir Thomas "should get nothing but by fight." Two thousand men, according to the tract, fifteen hundred, according to the Memorials and a letter by Lord Fairfax, defended Leeds. They had two pieces of artillery, brass sakers or demi-culverins. A trench two yards broad, with an embankment two yards in height, had been cut from "Mr. Harrison's new church" to the river side. Within it was another trench "compassing about the declivity of the hill a little above the water." Now is it this trench, or, as supposed, the moat of the vanished castle, which has been brought to light in excavating at Mill Hill? At two in the afternoon the fight began, and at four the town was taken. Lord Fairfax states that the loss in killed did not amount on both sides to more than forty; but five hundred Royalists were taken prisoners. At the beginning of the fight some musketiers within the trenches fired, but too high, at the musketiers outside, who on their part

"shrouded themselves under a hill at the south head of the great fields before the great long trench" (The Park), and shot at the embankment. After an hour of this harmless firing, some of Captain Mildmay's musketiers made their way to a point on the south bank of the river opposite to the end of the trench and fired into it. This unlòoked for attack, against which no provision had been made, caused a panic. The Royalists ran, the musketiers over the river shouted to their comrades before the trench, who then entered it and passed along the inside to some works "at the lane near Mr. Metcalf's house," otherwise Guildford Street. Despite "fierce shot" from a house then building there, they forced this point also, fighting and psalm-singing in true Puritan style; for with them was Jonathan Scholefield, Minister of Croston Chapel in Halifax parish. They were joined by another party who came along Park Lane and entered the town with them. Sir William Fairfax and Sir Thomas Norcliffe had led foot companies "to the west side of the new church, and the troops of horse attending the enemies' outroads on the west and north parts." Near the church Sir Thomas Norcliffe forced an entrance. The two parties

must have met in the Head Row, or at John Harrison's Cross, whence some would proceed by the Moot Hall, others by Rockley Hall and Vicar Lane, to the centre of the town. Lord Fairfax says in his account —"The people do observe that Sir William Savile, and the commanders on the other side, soon after the fight began, fled by secret ways towards Pontefract and their men after them by degrees." But according to the tract, Sir William only fled after a fruitless attempt to rally his men, and after one of his cannon, so posted (perhaps in front of the Moot Hall), as to command the lower part of Briggate had been captured. The other gun was on the Bridge, which Sir William endeavoured to cross; but finding the passage blocked by the force under Mildmay he returned and, with others, cut a way through a body of the Parliamentarians between the Old Church and the river side. They then forded the Aire, Vicar Robinson escaping with them. The risk was great, some were drowned, but not the Vicar as reported. One of those drowned or said to be was a Mr. Jackson of Leeds, perhaps he who had twice been Alderman. Lord Fairfax says that beside prisoners the Royalists lost many arms, the two guns "and all the munition

they had which was not much." The Parish Church Register has the following entry,—"23 Jan. 1642" (old style, 1643 new), "Leedes was taken by Sir Th. Fairfax, 11 soldiers slain, buried 24th—ten unpaid for; five more slain two or three days after; six more died of their wounds."

The fate of Leeds on this occasion is told by Lord Fairfax in his letter to the Parliament on the 26th of January, announcing the success achieved. "My son," he wrote, "upon the taking of Leeds, though he entered it by force, yet he restrained his army from pillaging; so I have ordered that the Malignants, in lieu of the spoil challenged to be due unto the soldiers, shall give them a month's entertainment, which I hope will content both parties." Here again is evidence that Leeds was not, as Clarendon says, wholly devoted to the Parliamentarians; and the "content" of the "Malignants," otherwise Royalists, with Lord Fairfax's arrangement is open to question. Most of the prisoners taken were discharged, on oath never to serve more against "King and Parliament." The loss of Leeds materially affected the Royalist movements in our neighbourhood. In about a

couple of hours after the town was taken Sir Thomas Fairfax received intelligence that Wakefield was abandoned, and he sent a garrison to occupy it. And Lord Fairfax thus concludes the before-mentioned letter,—"Yesternight intelligence was brought to me, that the Earl of Newcastle hath drawn down all his forces from the south parts of Yorkshire, those only excepted that kept the castle at Pontefract; for yesterday he marched from Sherburne to York, with 36 colours, 2 pieces of cannon, 45 other carriages; the certain cause I do not yet know, but suppose it to meet the arms and ammunition coming from Newcastle; or to prepare for the Queen's entertainment at York which is much spoken of. I shall carry a vigilant eye upon his designs, and endeavour to prevent them, so far as can be expected from the forces under the command of, Sir, &c., &c., Fer. Fairfax."

This letter gave much satisfaction to the Parliament. An Ordinance relating to it was entered on the journals of the House of Lords; and on the 3rd of February the inspirited Commons appointed a Committee for sequestrating the real and personal estate "of all such persons as have been, are, or

shall be, in actual war or arms against the Parliament." But the cautious "so far as can be expected" with which Lord Fairfax wound up was not superfluous. On the day after writing it he was thus addressed by his son, with whom, on Newcastle's retreat to York, he could again communicate freely,—"I am at Wakefield now, but I return this day to Leeds. . . . If we could join all our forces, your lordship might resolve of some notable design, but Leeds, Wakefield and other places doth so view our strength as we can do little." In fact, the Fairfaxes had not strength enough to follow up their success.

Lord Fairfax was right in his conjecture that one reason for the Earl of Newcastle's retreat to York was to prepare for the Queen's arrival. Henrietta Maria landed at Bridlington Quay, from Holland, three weeks after the taking of Leeds. She arrived at York in March. Sir Thomas Fairfax rejoined his father at Selby; but a suspicion that Sir John Hotham, Governor of Hull, and his son Captain Hotham, were about to leave the Parliamentarians and make their own terms with Lord Newcastle, induced Lord Fairfax to quit Selby for

Leeds. Lord Fairfax, with fifteen hundred men, ordnance and ammunition, marched here direct from Selby. Sir Thomas, meanwhile, to deceive the Royalists as to his father's real aim, made an attack on Tadcaster, which he quitted after two or three hours' occupation on the approach of Lord Goring, sent against him by Newcastle at the head of some troops of horse. On the 30th of March the Queen wrote from York to Charles the First,—"The rebels have quitted Tadcaster, upon our sending forces to Wetherby, but they are returned with twelve hundred men; we send more forces to drive them out, though those we have already at Wetherby are sufficient." Her anticipations, often too sanguine, were at this time justified. The feint on Tadcaster so far succeeded that the main army under Lord Fairfax reached Leeds unmolested; but when Sir Thomas also arrived here, about an hour after his father, his force had been completely routed on Seacroft Moor. "Buried, 1st April 1643, Captain Boswell slain at Seacroft battel and six soldiers," is an entry in our Parish Register referring to this event.

It is remarkable that, in his Memorials, Sir Thomas Fairfax omits all notice of the siege of Leeds by

the Royalists, which immediately followed the arrival here of his father and himself. On the 3rd of April Queen Henrietta wrote to the King, "Our army marches to-morrow to put an end to Fairfax's excellency;" and in another letter, apparently written on the 8th, is the news—"Our army having found nothing at Pontefract—the enemies having left it on their arrival—have followed them to Leeds, which they have begun to attack to-day." On the 9th she continued,—"Our army is gone to Leeds, and at this time are beating down the town." Queen Henrietta was too sanguine here. A fortnight later, on the 23rd of April, she again wrote from York to the King; the Earl of Newcastle being then absent at his wife's funeral, and the Queen having, it is said, caused discontent by some changes which she made among the officers of the besieging army. She thus wrote,—"I know not whether you are informed of what has passed at Leeds. I had rather tell it you, for I shall do it without partiality, which is no small thing. Jealousy has crept from the west to the north—we are not free from it. . . . The army marched to Pontefract; I hear that the rebels quitted the place, and went to Leeds to join the rest

of Fairfax's forces: our troops followed them, and it was resolved to besiege Leeds: on that, the approaches were made with very little resistance, and very fair success, although they shot perpetually from the town; but when our cannon came to play, it produced no effect, on which a council of war was called, to know whether the town should be forced by an assault, or rather by a siege. General King, and all the old officers from Holland, were of opinion that an assault was too dangerous, and might cause the ruin of all that army, by too severe a slaughter, and also that a siege was impossible, as we were not enough to make lines of circumvallation, the town being of very large circumference, and the weather also being bad; so that they resolved to raise the siege. General Goring, and the fresh commanders, were all for an assault, and I was with them. There were warm disputes thereupon, but the general, seeing that the experienced persons were against it, and that should he command them to it by his absolute power all would not have gone on as in other circumstances it would, resolved to raise the siege. Goring the father being there present, desired the general to permit him to speak to Stockdale,

one of his acquaintance, who was with Fairfax, and had desired to speak to him before, to see if it was not because they were willing to treat. The general permitted it, on condition that what he said should be as out of his own head, and not from him. On that, Goring went into the town, and learned that they desired to have a cessation of arms for four days, during which they wished to treat. This was granted to them, being a thing in which we risked nothing, since we had resolved to raise the siege, and were therefore very glad to accept it, to make our retreat more honourable. The treaty came to nothing, and our army went off to Wakefield, where it now is, taking all the advantages over the enemy that it can. From Leeds, the general went home, which retards us all this time from doing anything."

Our Parish Church Register at this time is very provoking. It tells us only,—"A gentleman and two common soldiers slain in Robt. Williamson's house of Hunslet, buried 13th of April, 1643." But in Cavalier Hill we have a memorial of the Royalist position, and Thoresby catalogued among his treasures "a large ball of stone shot out of the

Cannon called the *Queen's Pocket Pistol*, in the late wars, from Cavalier Hill into this street; it is yet above a yard in circumference." It was given to Thoresby by Henry Pawson, merchant, of Leeds. And very likely at this time was buried the earthen jug containing silver coin of the reigns of Edward the Sixth, Elizabeth and Charles the First, covered in with a slate, which was found on the 23rd of May 1760. It was on pulling down an old house near Timble Bridge, belonging to John Milner, a shop-keeper, that this treasure was discovered about half-a-yard below the surface. The civil war thus operated like the Scottish inroads of the fourteenth century.

The siege cannot have lasted more than a week. It commenced, according to the Queen's letters, on the 8th or 9th of April, and on the 17th Lord Goring wrote from York to his son the General urging the resumption of the treaty, which, as the Queen relates, had served as a pretext for raising the siege. Lord Goring's letter showed the importance of gaining the town by some means, for while held by Fairfax it prevented the army under Newcastle from aiding the King's cause elsewhere. He

added in a postscript,—"After I had sealed my letter I was advised to advertise you, that the Lord Fairfax never believed that you would look into the parts where you now are, but intended to draw back to the place from whence you came, which made him so lofty in his conditions, wherefore if you can (as my Authors propose) get between Bradford and Leeds, you will so annoy, divert and separate them in all their designs. as you may be sure to carry Halifax and Bradford on that hand or Leeds on the other." And after signing the postscript Lord Goring made this brief but significant addition,—"Cudgell them to a Treaty, and then let us alone with the rest." The Queen, anxious to join her husband at Oxford, had special reason to desire the capture of Leeds, for while it remained in the hands of Fairfax the Earl of Newcastle was unwilling to weaken his army, by detaching from it the force by which she ought to be accompanied.

The Fairfaxes knew the value of their position as well as their opponents, and they held Leeds as long as they could. On the 18th of May the Queen, still at York, wrote to the King,—"Our army is now to go to Leeds, Bradford and Halifax,

which is only twenty miles from Manchester, which will give such a fright to Manchester that the rebels, who were over-running that country, will come to shut themselves up; . . . for I think that Leeds being taken, the two other places are not considerable, and thus Manchester will come into play, which, if we take it, all Lancashire is yours." The two other places, Bradford and Halifax, "not considerable"! How now about "not so quik"? The poor Queen's imagination ran on rather too quickly though, the success that she hoped for required longer time. Besides continuing to hold Leeds, Lord Fairfax sent Sir Thomas with seven or eight hundred foot, and three troops of horse, to Bradford; and the Queen wrote in another letter that some arms coming from Newcastle were "in the greatest danger of being taken, troops having gone out of Leeds towards Knaresborough to meet them." And on the night of Saturday the 20th of May Lord Fairfax sent horse, foot and dragoons from Leeds, Bradford and Halifax, to join the garrison at Howley for an attack on Wakefield, Sir Thomas commanding. On the 21st, Whitsunday, Wakefield was taken, General Goring himself being among

the prisoners taken with it. His father's letter, before quoted, was found at his lodging and sent to Lord Fairfax, who forwarded it to the Speaker of the House of Commons in a letter of his own, dated Leeds 23rd May. Along with it was sent a more formal letter, with the same date, giving a list of the prisoners. This was signed Thomas Stockdell, doubtless the Stockdale whom Queen Henrietta mentions as an acquaintance of Lord Goring. Among the Parliamentarians killed in the attack was Ralph Thoresby, half-brother to the grandfather of our great antiquary. He was brought to Leeds and buried at "the new Church."

In his letter, Lord Fairfax gives the following account of our neighbourhood :—"Here about Leeds, Bradford and Hallifax, being a mountainous barren Country, the people now begin to be sensible of want, their last year's provisions being spent, and the enemy's garrisons stopping all the provisions both of Corn and Flesh, and other necessaries that were wont to come from the more fruitful countries to them, their trade utterly taken away, their poor innumerable and great scarcity of means to relieve them. And this army which now lies amongst them to defend them

from the enemy cannot defend them from want, which causeth much murmure and lamentation amongst the people."

On the 27th of May the Queen wrote again to the King; and after referring to the loss of Wakefield, of which she had before sent account, she went on:—"During this time, my Lord Newcastle sent to beg me to stay till he had taken Leeds, and to give him the arms that I had reserved for you; or else he could do nothing. . . . I hope that between this and your reply Leeds will either be taken or given up. The rebels are grown strong, and we weakened since our loss; but I hope that, if we take Leeds, all will yet go well." How important was Leeds! In a postscript the Queen added among other information:—"I shall set out the 31st of this month, and that it may not be hindered I keep it very secret. I pretend only to go to Pontefract during the time they are besieging Leeds, which will not be, being impossible, bringing you the force which I do. . . . If you permit me to stay, I shall stay to besiege Leeds at once, although I am dying to join you; but I am so enraged to go away without having beaten these rascals, that if you

permit me, I will do that, and then will go to join you; and if I go away, I am afraid that they would not be beaten." In a letter to the Duke of Hamilton the Queen wrote about the same time:—"If the King does not press me to go to him quickly, I hope to see Leeds taken before I part;" but early in June Henrietta Maria left York for Oxford, Leeds still untaken, and Lord Fairfax confirmed in his resolution to hold it by his knowledge of Lord Goring's letter. "Five soldiers more were slain. Nine more in May, 1643," is the only additional information in the Parish Register.

After the Queen's departure, the Earl of Newcastle successfully tried the policy which Lord Goring had recommended. On Wednesday, the 21st of June, his army, marching from Pomfret, arrived before Howley Hall. A summons to surrender was sent to the commander of the Parliamentarian garrison, Sir John Savile, of Lupset, belonging to another branch of our first Alderman's family. He "returned an uncivil answer, that he would keep it maugre our forces," says a tract apparently written by Newcastle himself, entitled "An Expresse relation of the Passages and Proceedings of His Majesty's Armie, under the Earl

of Newcastle, against Fairfax." Sir John Savile's brave answer was as unfortunate as his Royalist relative's had before been at Leeds. The next morning Howley Hall was taken by assault, "and in it the said commander-in-chief, and all his officers, and soldiers, about 245, some whereof were slain, the rest taken prisoners." Bad weather prevented Lord Newcastle from moving forward until the end of the month, but he then marched to Adwalton Moor. Sir Thomas Fairfax says in his memorials:—"Hitherto, through God's mercy, we had held up near two years against a potent army. But, they finding us to be almost tired of continual service, and treacherously used by friends,"—alluding, I suppose, to the Hothams,—"and in want of many things necessary for support, and defence, the Earl of Newcastle marched with an army of ten or twelve thousand men to besiege us, and resolved to sit down before Bradford, which was a very untenable place. Hither my father drew all the forces he could spare out of the garrisons; but seeing it impossible to defend the town otherwise than by strength of men, and that we had not above ten or twelve days' provision for so many as were necessary to keep it, we resolved the next morning

very early, with a body of three thousand men, to attempt his whole army, as they lay in their quarters three miles off. Hoping by it to put him to some distraction, which could not be done any other way, on reason of the unequal numbers." At Adwalton the two armies met, the Earl of Newcastle there defeated Fairfax on Saturday the 1st of July, and the same night came before Bradford on the side of Bowling. In hope of securing Leeds, Lord Fairfax withdrew at once. On Sunday night Sir Thomas made his escape to Leeds, whence his father and he went again to Selby. "At Leeds," he relates, "I found all in great distraction; the council of war newly risen, where it was resolved to quit the town and retreat to *Hull*, which was sixty miles off, and many of the enemy's garrisons lay in the way. This, in two hours after, was accordingly done, lest the enemy should presently send horse to prevent us; for they had fifty or sixty troops within three miles. But we got well to *Selby* where there was a ferry, and hard by a *garrison* at *Cawood*." On the morning of Monday the 3rd of July, Newcastle's army entered Bradford; and the "Expresse Relation" says,—"Within three hours after came a Captain of ours, who among

divers other prisoners at Leedes, finding that my Lord Fairfax and his son were inclined to leave the town (as they did) attended with three or four troops of horse, 200 Dragoons and 300 Foot, broke out of prison, possessed themselves of the Magazine, took all the arms which were 1500 at least, eight barrels of Powder and twelve pieces of Ordnance, with a great proportion of Matches and Balls, and so kept the town until I sent forces into it, besides the enlarging of seven hundred prisoners there." Thus Leeds was recovered by the Royalists after the Parliamentarians had held it a little over five months. Halifax also fell into the hands of the Royalists, and Lord Newcastle went to Denton House, near Otley, the seat of Lord Fairfax.

The Fairfaxes saw their work undone. Great was the consternation of the London Parliament on hearing the news of Adwalton Moor, and it was forthwith resolved to seek aid from Scotland. All lost with the loss of Leeds!

John Harrison's proceeding during these events was significant of the man and of his principles. When a friend, as before said, alleged that he was timorous, Adam Baynes, the Member for Leeds in

the Commonwealth Parliament, made answer:—"Yea, Mr. Harrison is a timorous man, for when my Lord Fairfax's drums did beat in Leeds he was troubled and afraid, and went to Otley side. But when the Earl of Newcastle's drums beat he was not then afraid but came to Leeds." To this Harrison's friend could not reply, so we may conclude that the truth had been spoken. John Harrison's endeavour to be neutral did not secure for him the quiet which he sought. Though encouraged to return to Leeds by the success of the Royalists, he was to find annoyance from the Royalist side. Sir John Goodrick had not forgotten the horse "recalled from him by strong hand," and, backed by Sir William Savile, he insisted upon having another. Harrison states that he contributed another horse to the Royalist army about the end of 1643, "upon the cruel threatenings of Sir William Saville" and others. He adds,—"I withstood the sending of the latter till a major, a captain and a squadron of soldiers were sent to my bedside to seize upon my person (then sick), and likewise upon my estate." His account is corroborated by the Counsellor who pleaded for him against the Parlia-

mentarian sequestration, saying, as related to Harrison by a correspondent,—"Sir William Savile and Sir John Goodrick were both of a party, and Sir William Savile having before called you Roundhead and an enemy to the King, first threatened you, and after assessing you £500 unless you sent a horse again," &c. Neither side probably cared about the horse itself, but each stood out for what he maintained to be his right; and Sir John Goodrick being the stronger under existing circumstances had his way.

Thoresby had a manuscript account of the civil war from 1641 to 1646 which contained an account of the taking of Leeds by Fairfax. He had also in manuscript,—"Notes and Observations of Robert Nesse, of Leeds, late Sergeant-at-Mace, concerning the late wars," &c. These very likely told more than I can about the events of the time. The Royalists lost the ascendency which they gained with Leeds. The Parliament came to terms with the Scotch, who sent an army into England. It crossed the Tyne on the 22nd of February, 1644. The Earl of Newcastle drew off his forces northward to oppose it. A movement on Selby made in April

by Lord Fairfax and his son brought the Earl back, and he occupied York. Lord Fairfax met the Scots at Wetherby. They undertook together the siege of York; and on the 2nd of July, 1644, one day short of a year after the Royalists regained Leeds, the Royalist cause in the North was lost at Marston Moor though several of the Yorkshire castles still held out for the King. A defeat of Lord Fairfax before Pomfret early in 1645 caused alarm among the Parliamentarians in this neighbourhood. Part of the routed army, under Sir John Savile of Lupset, forced their way through the Royalists at Long-Houghton and got to Bradford, whence Sir John wrote thus to Fairfax on the 2nd of March,—"It was generally conceived most secure to make for Bradford, in regard we did not know how the enemy had dispersed themselves towards Leeds." And on the 14th he wrote from Wakefield,—"The town of Leeds was too fearful that I sent all my foot thither, and if I should have had occasion to have removed from hence, I might have made my retreat thither to my foot, and so have marched in an entire body to Tadcaster." Part of the Scotch army lay at Leeds

in April, when Lord Fairfax had recovered from his defeat and renewed the siege of Pomfret Castle. Major-General Carter was then military governor of Leeds for the Parliamentarians, as we learn from the records of a pestilence which added to the troubles of war.

On the 11th of March, 1645, was buried, says the Parish Register, Alice, wife of John Musgrave of Vicar Lane. She was the first suspected to have died of the plague; but it is said that some had died of it as early as the month of August before, though in that stirring time the plague was not then detected. The day after Alice Musgrave's funeral a return of the number of deaths was sent in to General Carter, and further returns were continued down to Christmas Day in the same year. They give a total of 1325 deaths, and the highest return, 126, was for the last week of July. The plague prevailed in March Lane, the Calls, the lower part of Briggate and in Mill Hill; but it was the worst in Vicar Lane. Several who died there were buried in Vicar's Croft and North Hall Orchard to avoid the danger of further carriage—a statement significant enough. The market was

removed to Woodhouse Moor, and grass grew in the deserted streets and market places. So it is said, and there is no reason for disbelieving it; but bordering on the marvellous is another statement—that in the month of June the air was not only very warm, but so infectious "that cats and dogs, mice and rats died, also several birds in their flight over the town dropped down dead." Cabins erected on Quarry Hill for the relief of the plague-stricken gave the name of Cabin Closes to their locality in after time. The Royalist Vicar was in hiding or captivity; his helper, Mr Moore, had been turned out of the lectureship; and on the 2nd of July the Old Church was shut up altogether. So the Puritan Minister of St. John's was alone in his duty. He kept to it bravely; and it is told of him that he preached repeatedly "on Hezekiah's boil."

At the end of 1645 the Plague had passed away, but the war lingered on another year. Leeds remained in the hands of the Parliamentarians. In April, 1646, the old Church was re-opened, but an eccentric Puritan named Peter Saxton, born at Bramley, took the Vicar's place. In James the

First's reign he had been a clergyman of the Church of England. Later in life he left both church and country, and went to New England in America. Some disputes in the colony ultimately led to his return to England. "Hey for Heaven, Hey for Heym," he cried out during a storm on his homeward voyage; and the anecdote gives a clue to his character. "He had indeed many plain expressions," says Thoresby, "which often occasioned smiles, and once downright laughter in a country church." The clergyman for whom he preached told Thoresby in after years that he never saw the like, for Saxton, not approving of the laughter, threatened to make all cry, and cry they did before he ended. What John Harrison thought of him and of his preaching may be learned from a letter of Harrison's to Mr Todd, wherein is reference to "the pretended doting Vicar, who fills his sermons with cavaliers, and proving Joseph's mistress to be a Royalist and himself a Roundhead." We may from this, also, readily comprehend how he gained the character given of him in Walker's *Sufferings of the Parochial Clergy*,—"an enthusiastic incendiary . . memorable for nothing but Ignorance,

Scurrility, and stirring up the people to Rebellion." But this evidently goes too far; and the charge of ignorance is irreconcileable with the statement of the aforesaid old clergyman to Thoresby, that Peter Saxton "was really a learned and studious man, and being a great *Hebrician*, constantly carried the *Hebrew* Bible with him into the pulpit." Yet there is reason to believe that some of Puritan party themselves had only a qualified admiration for their new minister. Four months after he entered upon his duties, John Dawson, Francis Allanson, John Thoresby and Martin Isles—all of whom held the office of Alderman, and all of them leading men among the Parliamentarian party in Leeds—applied to Elkanah Wales of Pudsey, a Puritan Minister of more moderate character. "We understand," they wrote to him, "by Mr. Todd that some hopes there is of prevailinge with you to come to Leeds as a helper in the ministry." Wales would not leave Pudsey, but he frequently preached in Leeds at a "monthly lecture;" and it is not without significance that in the list of "Faithful and Painful Ministers" enumerated in the preface to the two sermons by Richard Garbut, there are mentioned

Cooke, Garbut, Robinson, Styles, Wales and Tod, but not Saxton. The vicar by right, Henry Robinson, found refuge at Methley Hall, or where else he could. Lady Hutton and Lady Savile of Hutton-Pagnel were two of his protectors. Lady Savile once offered him a present of money, which he declined that it might be given to some one more in need. At length he was imprisoned, first at Middleham and then at the castle of Cawood. Cawood Castle had become dilapidated, and a falling stone broke our Vicar's arm. His wife, then near giving birth to a child, seized the opportunity to press for her husband's release. It is told in *Sufferings of the Parochial Clergy* that she asked the Puritan authorities what her husband had done? They answered to the effect that he was a learned, godly man of a blameless life, and therefore his example did them a great deal of dis-service. "Nay then," said our Vicar's spirited wife, "God deliver us from you all." She succeeded in her application; but once during these troubles she bore a child which her husband never saw, though it lived a year and a half.

Thoresby mentions brasses which had been "bar-

barously torn off" certain old monuments in our Parish Church, and at least some of this barbarity is referable to the times of which I now speak. But beyond this, I have no means of ascertaining whether any or what damage was done to the church, either licentiously, or under the orders issued by Parliament concerning churches in general. The inscription cut in one old marble tombstone to record the interment of Richard Garbut is unfavourable testimony as to the care with which our monuments had, or rather had not, been treated before the war began.

The year 1647 saw King Charles the First again in Leeds. He was brought here the first time when a child, to avoid the Plague in York; he was brought the second time, a prisoner, perhaps to avoid the loyalty of that city and its surrounding district. The Parliamentary Commissioners who received the King at Newcastle from the Scotch (to whom he had committed himself), and set out with him at the end of January for Holmby, in Northamptonshire, were troubled at the attention shown to the King during their journey. Three of them—Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery;

Basil, Earl of Denbigh; and Edward, Lord Montague, wrote thus from Leeds on the 7th of February:— "The King came to Ripon on Saturday night last where he rested upon the Lord's Day. A little before dinner many diseased persons came bringing with them ribbons and gold, and were only touched without any ceremony. We are now at Leeds, where hundreds attend in the same manner; and for that it may be of very dangerous consequence to his majesty's person and safety, and otherwise inconvenient we have agreed to publish a Declaration." The Declaration was,—"Whereas divers people do daily resort unto the court, under pretence of having the Evil; and whereas many of them are in truth infected with other dangerous diseases, and are therefore altogether unfit to come into the presence of his majesty; these are therefore strictly to require and charge all persons whatsoever, which are diseased, not to presume hereafter to repair unto the court, wheresoever it be, upon pain of being punished severely for their intrusion; and we do further require all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables and other officers to see this our order published. Dated at Leeds the 9th of February, 1646." (Old

Style.) "By Command of the Commissioners appointed by both houses of Parliament to attend the King's person at Holdenby. Daniel Earle, Secretary to the Commissioners." Charles the First was confined at Red Hall, which is still noted for "the King's Chamber." Thomas Metcalf was living at the time when his house was thus used for a purpose which he little foresaw at the building of it; but he died without issue on the 8th of August, 1650.

The Commissioners were instructed to return the name of any one whom they suffered to speak to the King; and one name returned may have been that of John Harrison. He could not make scrofula, otherwise King's Evil, a pretext for admission, seeking the King's touch for a disease which he had not, as humbler Royalists may have done; but he did that which signally disproves the calumny of Sir William Savile, when he called John Harrison a "Roundhead and an enemy to the King." Obtaining leave to present the King with a tankard of ale, which looks as if Leeds ale were even then famous, he conveyed to the King a tankard full of gold coin. The laborious Thomas

Wilson had this story from John Harrison's relative, the son of Vicar Robinson, and he commendably preserved it in his own hand writing.

There is another story, well known, but we are indebted for it also to Thomas Wilson, so I here give it in his own words:—"A woman servant of the Red Hall would have had King Charles to have put on her Cloaths and made his escape, letting him know she could conduct him out of the Garden Door into a Back Alley called Lands Lane at the Dark Night where she would secure him in a friend's House, till a fit opportunity to make his escape into France, but the King did not accept of her offer, putting himself into the Hands of his traiterous Keepers not suspecting their Villany would arrive so far as to cut off his Head. However he gave the Woman Thanks for her Kindness, and gave her his Garter Blue Silk inscribed Honi soit qui mal y pense in Letters of Gold, and telling her if ever his son came to the Crown (if they did deprive him of Life) she might give it him with an Account how she came to it and he would receive her (for he said with Tears he was not able to return her anything for her kindness). At the

Restoration she presented his Majesty King Charles Second and told him the Story how she came to it, the King asked her where she came from, she said Leeds in Yorkshire, he asked her if she had a Husband, she said Yes, he asked of what Business, she said a Bailiff, he said he shall be the Chief Bailiff in Yorkshire, which he was, and built Crosby House in Leeds, so called in the Head Row in Leeds." King Charles the First left Leeds a prisoner and in less than two years he was beheaded.

There was an intermission in the municipal government of the town under Charles the First's charter, the plague returns having been made to General Carter, the military governor; and an examination of the list of Aldermen shows that the intermission lasted three years. The civil governance recommenced with Robert Brooke, James Moxon and William Marshall, of the Upper-house, Moor Allerton, perhaps the William Marshall, junior, who had a share in the manor purchase. The next chief Alderman was Richard Milner, ancestor of him who gave us Queen Anne's statue, and of the present Milners of Nun-Appleton. In his year we had a new vicar. Peter Saxton died on the 1st of October,

1651. His widow died in the February following; and before his own death his daughter, too, had died in Leeds. Her name was Silence. She is said to have been "a learned woman and a doctress." She found a husband, notwithstanding—Captain Samuel Pool, who married her in New England.

There was some delay before the appointment of a new vicar in the year 1652. Perhaps the existing claim of Henry Robinson was in some way considered. Or perhaps the delay was connected with a proposal made in 1650 to divide the parish of Leeds, by constituting St. John's, Hunslet, Holbeck and Beeston each a distinct parish. Farnley, Armley Wortley and Bramley were to form one also, and Allerton with Headingley another. St. John's parish, was to have included Woodhouse Carr, Buslingthorpe, Burmandtofts, Mabgate, Quarry Hill, Park Lane and Little Woodhouse. The plan was not carried out.

The new vicar, William Styles, M.A., was a very different sort of man from Peter Saxton. Born at Doncaster, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, he became Vicar of Ledsham; and afterwards, in 1624, Vicar of Pontefract on the King's

presentation. He was the subject of an ecclesiastical prosecution for baptizing a child without signing it with the cross; but Alexander Cooke was his mediator with the Archbishop, and the prosecution was withdrawn. But how far soever a Puritan in his theological views, he was loyal to his King. He succeeded Andrew Marvel at Hull about the commencement of the war, but he refused to take the engagement required by Parliament in January, 1650,—"I do declare and promise that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a King or House of Lords." President Bradshaw therefore wrote to Colonel Salmon, Deputy-Governor of Hull, to turn him by force out of the Church and to secure his person. The intercession of his parishioners could only obtain a respite until the end of March. Styles continued firm, and he was compelled to leave. After a year in London he returned to Yorkshire and became our Vicar. It is a further testimony to his loyalty, that his appointment here was freely consented to by Henry Robinson, who, when left at liberty, took the rectory of Swillington, presented to him, according to Thoresby's account in 1649, by the

Honourable Conyers Darcy afterward Earl of Holderness. Vicar Styles met at Leeds, says Thoresby, "with a kind Reception, and was highly honoured by the Magistrates and People, for his excellent practical Preaching. I have some of his sermons in M.S.," he adds, "and have seen several Volumes writ by the Aldermen and others his devout Hearers."

Richard Milner was succeeded as chief Alderman by John Thwaites, whose year of office was signalized by the return of a Leeds member to Parliament; in accordance with an article of the Government of the Commonwealth which was formally read at Oliver Cromwell's installation as Lord Protector, on the 16th of December, 1653. Adam Baynes of Knowsthorp, Captain in the Parliamentary Army and influential with General Lambert, had credit given for causing Leeds to be made a Parliamentary borough, and Leeds accepted of his services. Writs for the elections were issued on the 1st of June, 1654; and Dr. Whitaker has published a curious letter concerning the Leeds election, dated the 14th of July, from one John Walker to the "Worshipful John Thwaites, Alderman." The writer said,—"I have a distemper

upon me that I cannot stire out of doors. . . My vote is for Captain Baynes to be our burgesse." He had been credibly informed that Captain Baynes had "procured this town this honour," and he therefore thought it "unthankful to give that coat of honour to another to wear." And, said the acute man of Leeds, Captain Baynes "is in a present capacity to doe us good," being ready trained to the work; and in case of anyone not thus efficient, before he had learned his duty "the Parliament might be ended, and consequently the town frustrated of their hopes." And he further argued for the Knowsthorp candidate, "Wee all know Lieutenant General Lambert is his great patron! and he strikes with great hammer." On his own part Captain Baynes was not idle. He wrote to his "honoured friends Alderman Thwaites, Mr. John Dawson and Mr. William Marshall," urging them to defeat an attempt by the High Sheriff to fix the day of election. On the 18th of July, 1654, Captain Adam Baynes, M.P. for Leeds, wrote a letter of thanks to "my honoured friend Mr. Alderman Thwaytes' and the rest of my good friends in the precincts of Leedes." He made "bold to hint" that they should

not lose time in preparing their commands for him against the meeting of Parliament, and he wound up with excellent advice against internal quarrels, quoting the proverb about "a house divided." "And in all your consultations," said he, "let me beg of you to endeavour the promotion of the clothing trade, which you know under God is the greatest meanes of most of your well-beings." The commands so courteously invited were not of much consequence, for on the 22nd of January following Cromwell dissolved the Parliament without its having passed an Act.

It was the 10th of July, 1656, before writs were issued for another election; but Adam Baynes was again chosen. And it appears that he was acceptable to Cromwell and his Council; for he was not among those who signed a Remonstrance against their exclusion by the Council on the plea that they were not, as required by the 17th article of Government, "of known integrity, fearing God and of good conversation." Four of the six members for the West Riding were less fortunate—Colonel Henry Tempest, Henry Arthington, John Stanhope and Francis Thorp. The other two, Lord Lambert and Captain

Edward Gill, were allowed to sit. This Parliament met on the 17th of September, 1656, and it was dissolved on the 4th of February, 1658. In the next Parliament, called by Richard Cromwell after his father's death, Leeds had no place; but Appleby, not among the boroughs who contributed to Oliver's Parliaments, returned two members to Richard's and one of the two was Adam Baines. Was he our ex-Member? and if so, what is the explanation? There was no Adam Baines, thus spelled, in the Parliaments in which Adam Baynes sat for Leeds.

On the 29th of October, 1656, soon after the second Leeds election, John Harrison died at the age of seventy-seven. He had for years been ailing, and it says much for his constitution that with his state of health and his troubles combined he had lasted so long. In a letter written in 1651 he said,—"I am upon the point of 72 years of age, and therewith weakened with so many infirmities, as I am indeed bed-rid, and have been little better these twelve years." This agrees with the statement that he was ill in bed when so roughly compelled to furnish a horse to the Royalists. His still worse treatment by the Parliamentarians when they gained the upper

hand is remarkable. It might have been supposed that an aged, ailing man, who had studiously kept aloof from the war; who had interceded successfully for the suspended Minister of St. John's, thereby incurring the displeasure of some who were opposed to the Puritans; who could allude, as in the letter above quoted, to the bitterness with which, since the horse affair, he had been prosecuted by some clothiers averse from the government of the Commonwealth; and who, with all this, had been so great a benefactor to the town, would have had little to fear from the victorious party, Royalist though he were. Yet, under the plea that he had supplied horses to the King's army, John Harrison's estate was heavily sequestrated. His efforts to get the sequestration reversed were unavailing, though Sir Thomas Fairfax wrote in his behalf, and though he earnestly appealed against a sentence which extended beyond himself to "the poor, the school and the highways." He begged Baron Thorpe, the principal arbiter in the case, to rescue "these three distressed and wounded supplicants out of the clutches of cormorants, two whereof," said he, "have suffered very nigh 1000l. damage in these last seven years, and must suffer

(if not prevented) above 1000l. in the next seven years, and so on infinitum; and for the third, they have not received according to the donor's gift one farthing in all that time." It is noticeable that he wished Baron Thorpe to allow to wait upon him Mr. Arthington, Mr. Tempest and Mr. Stanhope, the names of the three members afterward elected for the West-Riding and, along with Thorp himself, denied their seats in the House of Commons by Cromwell's Council.

On the attainment of power by a new party in the town there seems to have been contention over the local trusts, and a want of unanimity among Harrison's opponents themselves; for in one of his letters to Baron Thorpe he wrote,—"Your lordship was pleased upon the jarrings betwixt Mr. Iles, Baynes and Allanson, to say to Mr. Allanson, I see no way to make peace but to set Mr. Harrison at liberty to rule you all." Without more knowledge than I possess of the local squabbles of the time, it is impossible to comprehend fully the correspondence published by Dr. Whitaker. Possibly, as in the case of the Vicar his nephew, the reputation of so exemplary a Churchman and Royalist as John Harrison may have been

felt inconvenient and damaging by the Puritan and Commonwealth party. To judge from Harrison's statements, they spared no pains to depreciate him, and showed little scruple in their allegations. He was said to be "an obstructor of the common good at Leedes, and in particular of the school;" "an enemy to godly ministers;" and he was accused of having falsified his trust "in selling the school lands," of having had "secret meetings of Papists and malignants," of refusing to "choose able men for feoffees," in short, of being a "delinquent" or there were "none in the country." But what more than all troubled Harrison, it was said that he had "built the church for superstitious merits." In his will, dated the 27th of April, 1653, he expressly refutes this charge of having been influenced in his charity by Roman Catholic views on the subject of good works; and a prayer dictated by him not long before his death, directly, as well as indirectly, repudiates "that Popish sin of superstitious merits." He prayed,—"Lord forgive the inventors and broachers of that injurious scandal, as also the founder of the oratory for undertaking so unusual (tho' needful) a work, being a weak, sinful, unworthy man."

The attack on John Harrison's general character and reputation itself shows how inconvenient that character was to his opponents; but in addition there was strong personal feeling in their enmity against him. Harrison's letters afford abundant proof of his power of sarcasm, and likely enough he was not always judicious in using it. Thomas Dixon, a correspondent who informed him of the course of his proceedings with Baron Thorpe, relates a conversation which he had with a Major Gill. "I told him," wrote Dixon, "I hoped Mr. Harrison would soon be acquitted; then he told me there were some that had certified for Mr. Harrison, and since had privately certified against him, and that Baron Thorpe told him this, when and as he came from York Assizes. Then I told him there was a certificate wherein he was certified to prosecute against Mr. Harrison, because he was chosen Alderman by the well-affected. And after Mr. Harrison had been acquitted at a full board of twelve, they had brought him to a board of four, where he was adjudged, he did not deny the contents of the certificate, but told me that when Mr. Harrison was elected Alderman, he, with some others being there,

Mr. Harrison asked what they had to do there, upon that Major Gill took it so ill that after he thought upon it, and as he himself told me, if Mr. Harrison had not been Alderman he had never been sequestred; with something else to the same purpose." This is not so comprehensible as it might have been, but it shows that on one occasion Harrison made enemies by a free use of his tongue; and the petty expedients of his enemies to annoy him testify that their enmity was largely personal in character, and not entirely a matter of principle. Harrison prevailed on Baron Thorpe to visit Leeds and see for himself how the municipal authorities discharged their trust; but it seems that Harrison got nothing thereby but mortification. First, he relates, the Baron promised to come on a Wednesday, "that being our doale day," and to come unexpectedly that he might take "the Aldermen napping," and inform himself "what poor went abroad." Instead of doing so he made his intention known, so that "the Aldermen had three days time to regulate the poor;" and they met the Baron in their robes. Harrison defended himself from the charges made against him; "and yet,"

he afterward complained in his letter to the Baron "merely upon naming Mr. Todd, upon the bye, your lordship was pleased to suffer my adversaries to bait me like a bear, without the least reproof." He then tells how he was thereby confused, and feared to offend by calling "for a quart of wine to bid you welcome;" how his adversaries, seeing this, and to discourage him more, boldly asked the Baron, "What wine will you drink? white, claret, or sack?" The Baron's choice is unrecorded; but after his departure they who called for the wine ordered the bill to be sent to Harrison for payment. As it amounted to thirty-five shillings, the Baron had not been left to drink alone. This was enough to vex a saint; but it was outdone by another bit of spite which Harrison thus recounted in the same letter to Baron Thorpe:—"Being informed the Aldermen had taken from me above two parts of my pew in the church, which though you then seemed to dislike, yet afterwards (as I before writt to you) it pleased you to say to Mr. Iles, that if I might enjoy that part of my pew left me for my family, and liberty to sit among the Aldermen myself, it was sufficient; and surely, my lord," he continued

in a strain of well-justified satire, "this was an high favour from your lordship, that the founder of that pew and all the rest likewise, might have liberty granted to sit with the right worshipful Alderman and his worshipful brethren, *durante bene placito & se bene gerente*, and verily this act of grace cannot but be a great inducement to encourage others hereafter to build churches, three and threefold."

Harrison's appeals were in vain. "Wednesday last," Thomas Dixon wrote to him in June, 1651, "the expected day of your hearing and adjuging, proved, through the wilfulness of Baron Thorpe, the day of your adversity: never did cause so honest, so well prepared, and so well managed prove so unfortunate. But indeed it is no wonder to those who saw it heard, since wilfulness or rather malice was the blind guide of that one in power. . . Here they stuck a great while, and baron Thorpe did so squeeze it, and grind it, that a counsellor sitting by (I know him not) whispered me in the ear, I perceive much malice."

It must have been especially provoking to Harrison that his very charities were the source of his greatest annoyances. He considered that the masters of the

Grammar School took for themselves monies which should have gone to the highways; and he did not spare the objects of his complaint. "That subtil Ziba," he calls Joshua Pullen, who had succeeded his brother Samuel as Head-Master in 1630. In 1651 Joshua Pullen was in turn succeeded by John Garnett, and to him Harrison wrote in these terms,—"Sir, though you be no fighter except with children, yet you may make good use of the baptist's advice, and be content with your wages, doing no man wrong, much less the highways lest you deter superstitious fools from bequeathing too much hereafter to that use." Here, again, Harrison hits at the charge of trusting in his good works; and he then proceeds to another,—"Though I be charged with breach of trust, yet not only the highways, but the poor and school likewise shall find me stick as close to them as the skin to their enemies' brows."

Again, Harrison may well have been annoyed at the result of his expenditure in St. John's. Devoted to the constitution and order of the Church of England, he was opposed alike to the Presbyterians and to the Church of Rome, repeatedly showing how the

two extremes met. Among his sayings are these,—"The same power the Papists give to general councils, the Presbyters give to a national assembly; the Papists condemn our books of Canons and Common Prayer, so doth the Presbyterian; the Pope writ to the Catholics in England not to take the oath of supremacy, so did the Scotch Presbyterians to the Irish Protestants." We may conceive, then, his irritation at Mr. Todd's nonconformity in regard to the Church of England, and conformity with the ordinances of that Parliament which abolished episcopacy and directed the election of "elders." His estimate of Mr. Todd's ingratitude and Puritanism combined drew forth the following,—"The time was when you called me patron, and remembered me in your prayers, public and private, but now patrons are out of date, and so may churches be tithe-barns. To pray for any in public is Popish and Prelatic; the time was when I suffered for you under the royal party more than you will suffer for me under the Parliament, but (Oh! the times) my suffering for you is made an apology to deter you from so much as visiting me, being under the hatches, a poor conclusion founded upon weak

premises; but the time was when all I could do for you was too little, and now the least done for me is too much . . Have you not already (against your promise to the Bishop) encroached against the metropolitan (if I may so call it) or mother church? Have you not chosen elders (creatures God never thought upon) for Woodhouse, Park Lane, Quarry Hill, Marsh Lane, Hill House Bank, Knostrop, Head Row, &c."

Harrison's opinion of the party dominant during the latter portion of his life is also made known to us by other of his sayings:—"Of old time it was said, Go and sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; now it is, seem holy on the Sabbath, and thou art in heaven already, hypocrisy is almost general; now every cobler must have a voice in matters of faith; none can serve two masters saith the Scripture, but some can serve three masters—Ambition, Mammon, and God as they pretend." If sometimes he were too severe and indiscriminate it is not to be wondered at, considering the times in which he lived, and the mortification which he had to endure. And I think that Dr. Whitaker gives more weight

than it deserves to a letter signed Roger Portington, complaining of Harrison's harshness in regard to liabilities which Portington was unable to meet. From the date of the letter, 13th May, 1652, it was written when Harrison had suffered by the sequestration upon his estate, and had need enough to press for any debt due to him. The probability is that he foreclosed as mortgagee, or something equivalent to it. His will mentions "a house in Kirkgate, wherein Richard Wright and his assignees now dwell, with one garden and appurtenances, which I purchased from Roger Portington."

Robert Hitch, of Guiseley, Clerk; Benjamin Wade, of New Grange, gentleman; and Richard Lodge, of Leeds, merchant, were John Harrison's executors. His will confirmed the trusts which he had by deed created, and otherwise disposed of his remaining property. I can tell nothing about his funeral; but as it passed from his mansion in Briggate, by the "stately Cross" and through New Kirkgate to the Church which he had built and endowed, surely his very adversaries tried to think of him with charity. Whether Mr. Todd, alone or in conjunction with Vicar Styles, did his office

at the funeral, I cannot tell; but we may hope that however convinced that he had himself chosen a right course, he at least regretted the estrangement from his old patron. The position of his tomb in St. John's Church is evidence that respect was paid to Harrison's memory as its founder; and with a quotation from his dictated prayer, concerning the church which he had founded, I conclude this notice of John Harrison. "And lastly, tho' by reason of my many sins and aberrations, I be unworthy to beg anything at thy hand, yet I implore thee in all meekness of spirit to accompany with thy blessing the preaching of thy word, and the administration of thy sacraments, together with such ordinances and services as hereafter shall be performed therein according to the prescript of thy word, and grant that Archippus minister there, and Epaphras his fellow servant, and their successors may take heed to their ministry, that they fulfil it sincerely; not by maintaining unwarrantable opinions, tending to factions, nor loving pre-eminence like Diotrephes, but by teaching the truth, in purity and unity of spirit, with all humility like the Great Doctor of the Gentiles."

I have little more to tell of Leeds before the Restoration. A letter written by John Clayton, Recorder of Leeds, to John Thoresby the younger, proves that the disputes over our local Trusts were not ended by the death of Harrison. It speaks of the return home of "your neighbours and friends," bringing with them "a commission for pious uses. . . wherein such persons as are empowered will act," under the Great Seal. Thomas Woodrove, the letter further informed Thoresby, "is now fully restored to that trust solely and absolutely settled upon him, and if that other busy, restless man but offer to interrupt in the least, a sergeant at arms will be sent for him." It also gave advice and caution in these terms,—"Doe what you doe deliberately, not rashly, and if angry lett as favourable and respective hand as is convenient towards your owne merchants and factor inhabitants. This will arme against strangers who took and take advantage of divisions amongst yourselves." John Clayton, the writer of this letter, was of some note in his day, and author of "Topicks of the Law Reports and Pleas of Assizes at Yorke;" but he was a hot partisan on the Com-

monwealth side, if, as I suppose, he is the same with Mr. Clayton, Chairman of Sessions, spoken of in *Sufferings of the Parochial Clergy.* It is there told that in a charge to the Grand Jury Mr. Clayton bid them "take notice of two ladies, who received the Malignant, Vagabond, Cavalier Ministers into their houses." Having, after this, to call on Lady Savile, thus alluded to along with Lady Hutton, she let him wait awhile and then saluted him,—"Is it you Mr. Clayton that have waited here so long? I thought it to have been some Malignant, Vagabond, Cavalier Minister." His letter to John Thoresby, with its postcript,—"Commend me to Mr. Todd and Garnett," shows with whom he was intimate in Leeds. The letter is dated 16 Feb. 1657-8, and it was therefore written twelve days after the dissolution of the last of the two Parliaments in which Adam Baynes represented Leeds. Referring to it our Recorder said,—"Be vigilant and circumspect, and feare not but all will be well tho' at present the aspect of affairs are (or at least seem to bee) very much clouded since the dessolucion of the Parliament." He appears to have approved of another measure taken

about the same time, termed the "purgation of the army;" and in a second postcript he says, "C. B. is outed from the Committee of the army, and I heare what else hee was engaged in." So C. B., or Captain Baynes, was out of favour.

John Thoresby the younger, father of our antiquary and formerly an officer under Fairfax, wrote in his reply, that the friends whose return was spoken of by the Recorder had arrived safe home the night before. Thomas Woodrove "not a little thankful for what is done for him." And Thomas Woodrove, he further tells, "this morning delivered the order to Hurst, who answered this only concerned himselfe, and would not hinder Cawood from carrying some merchants letters, and for his owne he would carry and send them hym-selfe, and that rather than he should be baffled herein he would up to London and spend £100 and make his enemies appear to be lyers; but his frothy words are not worth the writing. I believe he dares not act, if he doe we shall give notice." So this Hurst was the busy, restless man, threatened with a sergeant-at-arms.

"The purgation of the army relishes with the

most stable and consciencious amongst us," said John Thoresby, meaning, I suppose, by the most stable and conscientious, the Leeds Cromwellians. For I doubt not that in Leeds there were representatives of all the political sections of the day, and that the news of Cromwell's death at Whitehall, on the 3rd of September, 1658, was received here with a variety of feeling. Neither do I doubt that the Royalist reaction made headway in Leeds, when some were disappointed in their hopes, perhaps Utopian, from the Commonwealth, and others, like Fairfax, regretted the excesses of a revolution which they had helped into motion but were powerless to check. Vicar Styles publicly and courageously prayed for the King in exile, and it deserves notice that our Cromwellian Recorder made no mention of Styles when he desired to be commended to Todd and Garnet. It is a further sign of the reaction which had set in that on the death of Vicar Styles, on the 16th of March, 1660, Henry Robinson was invited to return to his charge; and that on his deciding to remain at Swillington Rectory the man selected for vicar was John Lake—a staunch Churchman and Royalist, afterward the Bishop of Chichester known

in history as one of the seven committed to the Tower, yet remaining, a non-juror, faithful to the second James. He became Vicar of Leeds at the age of thirty-five, having been baptized at Halifax on the 5th of December, 1624. He was not allowed to enter on his duties peacefully. There was a party in favour of a Mr. Bowles, of York, and as some of the younger among them went so far as to bar the church doors against Lake, on his Induction, soldiers were employed to put down this forcible opposition. The new Vicar himself showed more moderation than did his opponents; for he retained as lecturer Christopher Nesse, who had filled that office under Vicar Styles since 1656, and who held opinions more in accordance with Mr. Todd's than with those of Vicar Styles's successor.

To fill up my list of our chief Aldermen under Charles the First's charter, John Thwayts was followed by Martin Iles, already mentioned in the correspondence which I have quoted. Henry Roundhill and Marmaduke Hicke of Boar Lane followed, and then Francis Allanson for the second time. Next, William Fenton was Alderman for two years together, which brings us down to Michaelmas, 1659.

Paul Thoresby, brother to him who was killed at Wakefield, held the office at the Restoration of Charles the Second. He for whom, more than all the rest, the family name is held in remembrance was then an infant under two years old. For on the 16th of August, 1658, about a fortnight before the death of Cromwell, not two years after the death of John Harrison, was born our Antiquary, the great Ralph Thoresby.

I thought when I began my story to bring it down to my own times, but age teaches modesty as well as wisdom. Perchance an old man's gossip would outlast the patience of its readers, though his days were prolonged until the completion of his adopted task. If life and health permit, I am willing to go on. For the present I await encouragement from — can a man say his fellows when he has outlived them all?—Yes! to the last I will say to Leeds, my fellow-townsfolk.

NOTES.

Page 28.—"*Roger, of North-Hall, Leeds,*" &c.

Rogerus de Ledes, Abbot of Kirkstall in 1349, was probably of the same family.

Page 29.—"*in* 1321 *Earl Thomas was beheaded at Pomfret as a traitor.*"

The date is here given according to the style which had come into general use in the fourteenth century, commencing the year on the 25th of March. According to the New Style, in use from the 1st of January, 1752, Thomas of Lancaster was beheaded in March, 1322. Robert Bruce defeated the English army at Byland on St. Luke's day, or the 18th of October, in the same year.

Page 30. *Did Henry the Fourth, by sending Richard the Second to Leeds after his deposition, enable us to boast of a royal visit during the Middle Ages?*

John Hardyng's quaint and oft-quoted stanza, our foundation for the statement that Richard the Second was confined here, commences his 199th chapter, which is headed,—"How the Kyng Henry remeued Kyng Richard from place to place by night, in preuey wise;" &c. Hardyng was twenty-one years old at the time of Richard the Second's deposition, and being a north-countryman he may be supposed to have had some personal knowledge of the several Yorkshire towns named:—

> "The Kyng thē sent King Richard to Ledis,
> There to be kepte surly in previtee,
> Fro thēs after to Pykeryng wēt he nedes,
> And to Knauesburgh after led was he,
> But to Pountfrete last where he did die."

Thus, it is a very plausible supposition that Hardyng's Ledis was not our Kentish rival in historical interest, but the Leeds of that county in which the other three towns are situated. I have assumed this without question. Dr. Whitaker declared it a certainty, but in truth

it is more likely that Leeds Castle in Kent was the place of Richard's imprisonment than Jeremiah Odman is in a hurry to acknowledge. "The Chronicle of the Betrayal and Death of Richard the Second, King of England," published by the English Historical Society, tells how Richard was sent from London to Gravesend on the Vigil of All Saints, the 31st of October, 1399. This places him in the neighbourhood of Leeds in Kent, whither Polydore Virgil and Peter de Ickham say that he was taken. Hall says so too, but most likely upon the authority of Polydore, Hollingshed in his turn making the same statement on the authority of Hall. Further, it is useless to deny that from our own Leeds to Pomfret by way of Pickering and Knaresborough is an extraordinarily round-about road; but no such difficulty troubles the supposition that Richard was brought by sea from Kent to the coast of Yorkshire, and that he was then taken to Pickering, Knaresborough and Pomfret.

Page 34.—"*a Norman building which had superseded the still older church of Doomsday Book.*

Apart from the discovered fragments, it is improbable that the church mentioned in Doomsday Book continued until the reign of Edward the Third. Without the slight evidence which the fragments furnish, it is a reasonable conjecture that after the building of Adel church, and of the more imposing though less ornamented Abbey church at Kirkstall, a new church was thought necessary for Leeds which, during the twelfth century, so far outgrew its fourteen plough estate of the Doomsday period as may be inferred from the details of Paganel's charter. But whether Leeds was indebted for its new church to a De Laci, a Paganel, or to the Prior of Trinity, or by what other means the church was built, I leave to the guess or the discovery of others.

Page 37. - *Christmas Day*, 1460; *for news must then have arrived of the fight the day before*," &c.

In adopting the date given by Hume, I fear that I have had more regard to convenience than to accuracy. The Duke of York arrived at Sandal Castle on Christmas Eve, and this may have misled our standard historian; but the battle of Wakefield was not fought until the 30th of December. Hardyng's 237th chapter is headed,—"Howe the battail of Wakefield, when the North partie prevailed, was the fifth daye of Christmasse, and of the King his reigne the nine and thirty."

Page 44.—"*King Henry the Eighth at Haslewood, in* 1541," &c.

Thoresby says 1548, the year after that in which Henry the Eighth died, and Dr. Whitaker has not noticed Thoresby's inadvertency.

Page 49. "*The Oven triumphed.*"

By Indenture, dated 30th January, 1654, John Harrison and others conveyed five-ninths of the office of Baliwick of the Manor or Lordship of Leeds to trustees for the use of the Corporation, "alsoe of ye com' on Oven and Bakehouse," and of the fair and market tolls. The grant was subject to a Fee-farm rent of £7 2s. 7d., part of the rent for the whole Bailiwick amounting to £58 15s. 2d., and half a farthing.

Page 49.—"*Busshingthrop.*"

Dr. Whitaker demurs to Thoresby's derivation of the name Buslingthorp from the Saxon signifying ox or cow stalls, and says that if so derived the name would be spelled Busingthorp. The spelling of the Duchy Calendar in some measure answers to Dr. Whitaker's requirement.

Page 56.—"*the portion only that enriched Ralph Thoresby's museum.*

How Thoresby would have prized and moralized over the Girdle of St. Bernard, which the Kirkstall Monks had *pro parturientibus.* But this, which he makes mention of in a note to the *Vicaria,* does not appear in his catalogue.

Page 78.—*but in the next,* 1620, *the Moot-hall arose, to be adorned near a century later with the statue of another Queen Anne.*

Not the identical edifice. The Moot-Hall was rebuilt in 1710, before the erection of the statue.

Page 79.—*but his work was done for him by John Harrison.*

Sir John Savile was to be Alderman, said the Charter, "from the making of these presents unto the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel next following after the date of these presents, and from that feast until one of the principal burgesses of the borough aforesaid in due manner shall have been elected, made and sworn to that office." The latter part of the clause was a provision against the office becoming vacant, perhaps also for an interval between the election and the swearing in. It occurs again in the direction for the annual election of an Alderman on Michaelmas Day. So John Harrison's deputyship dates from the 13th of July to the 29th of September, 1626, a period of little more than two months.

Page 80. *Five of the other half dozen were Aldermen of the new Corporation.*

Thoresby calls them Aldermen, but two of the number, Benjamin Wade and Francis Jackson, were among the twenty Assistants nominated in the Charter, not among the nine Principal Burgesses corresponding to the Aldermen of a later period. The first two of the nine, however, Ralph Hopton, Esq., and Seth Skelton, Gentleman, never filled the office of Chief Alderman, and it may be that they left the Corporation altogether, Wade and Jackson succeeding them. This is probable, for the Charter directed that the Alderman should be chosen from the Principal Burgesses, and the first five successors of Sir John Savile were of the nine Principal Burgesses in the Charter named. Wade and Jackson follow, and after them the chief Aldermen were all of the aforesaid nine until the election of Ralph Crofts, Michaelmas, 1641, who was among the Assistants named in the Charter. It is noticeable that of the Principal Burgesses, only Seth Skelton, John Harrison, John Hodgson and Samuel Casson are styled "Gentleman." Richard Sykes, Robert Benson, Thomas Metcalf and Joseph Hillary are not thus distinguished. Ralph Hopton, Esq., who heads the list, was of the Hoptons of Armley, and father of Sir Ingram Hopton, Kt., who was killed fighting for King Charles, near Horncastle in Lincolnshire, in 1643. Perhaps Ralph Hopton's nomination had the honorary character of Sir John Savile's.

Page 81. "*Then came Richard Sykes.*"

It is recorded that in 1638 "The House of Correction was built by Richard Sykes, Alderman, and others, for a common Workhouse for the Poor." Both his terms of office as chief Alderman had then expired.

Page 86.—"*His sermons were well studied,*" &c.

The account given of his preaching is borne out by the sermons published. So quaint as now to be amusing, divided and divided again until somewhat tedious, they are nevertheless indicative of talent, extensive reading and good sense. His citation of Chrysostom, Augustine, Basil and others, among the others, Plutarch, and the systematic arrangement of his discourses, explain the complaint about their academical character. Outspoken and honest, forcible in language and illustration, Richard Garbut or Garbat, for his name is spelled both ways, displayed much discrimination. As a sample take the following extracts from his sermon against drunkenness, on the text —*Count not thine handmaid a daughter of Belial.* Defining a Daughter

of Belial or Child of the Devil as "in all like conformable wickedness and ungodliness so to resemble the Devil himself that for wickedness men may seem to be begot of no other than of the very wicked One, bred of his very Spawn, begot of his very Seed, bearing the very Image and Picture of the Father in the face," he proceeded,—"Now, though all that in any great conformableness resemble for wickedness the very wicked one, may be said to be the very Children of that wicked one the Devil; yet the Drunkard of all other (especially the true Drunkard indeed) is one even of his chopping Children, one of his very first-born ones, one of his white Sons, that he may stroke on the head as his best Darlings." But Garbut then went on to define a drunkard, distinguishing between *Ebrius,* who in some exceptional instance became intoxicated, and *Ebriosus,* the habitual drunkard:—"Now it is the latter who is properly called the Child of the Devil, and not the former; as he who by a fall or other accident should get a great Coule in his Forehead, which should stay with him only for a while; or as he who upon a sudden fit of the Convulsion should for a while writhe his Mouth awry: as neither of these could be said, because the one resembles him who naturally and constantly hath a great bunch of flesh grow in his Forehead, and the other him who naturally and constantly hath a wry mouth, to be upon this as 'twere their very children." He further drew distinctions between drunkards themselves. Besides the "thoroughly steept" there was the "lightly dipt," or "he that is not so full in the midst of the Clout as the former, but he is about the Clout; Aye, perhaps in a little nook and out-corner of it . . . continually tipling and tipling, till he be (as they say) somewhat fine, somewhat brave, somewhat tipt, somewhat toucht, somewhat pratty, and many other such pratty Names, that the World calls these pratty Creatures by, rather than by the Name of Drunkards." Garbut's simile of "the clout" denotes general familiarity in his day with the practice of archery.

Page 91.—"*his 'loveing frend Mr. Alderman at Leedes.'*"

Joseph Hillary, then Alderman for the second time.

Page 100.—*A trench two yards broad,*" &c.

Five hundred pounds had been expended on the defences of the town.

Page 114.—"*Much murmure and lamentation amongst the people.*"

Of whom some would be ready to say to Cavalier and Roundhead,—

"a plague on both your Houses." Subsequently Parliament was applied to for relief against losses sustained as the Journals of the House of Commons thus testify:—22nd April, 1647.—"*Ordered*, That the Petition of the Poor People of *Leeds* and *Bradford* be read on Tuesday next."—19th July, 1647. "The humble Petition of *Paul Freeman*, *Robert Worrall*, *Richard Nimlim*, *Margaret Fletcher*, *Alice Freeman*, of *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*, Clothiers, was this Day read; and was, for Relief of their losses at *Leeds*, in burning their Houses and spoil of their Goods. *Ordered*, That the sum of Three Hundred Pounds be provided and raised out of the Estates of such concealed Delinquents in the County of Yorke, as are not sequestered, for and towards the Satisfaction of the losses of *Paul Freeman*, *Robert Worral*, *Richard Nimlim*, *Margaret Fletcher*, and *Alice Freeman*, of Leedes, Clothiers, in burning down their Houses, and spoiling of their Goods, at Leedes aforesaid: And that it be referred to the Committee of the County of *Yorke*, to examine the losses of the said respective persons, upon Oath, whether they do amount to so much or not; and to pay unto them their Proportions of the said Three Hundred Pounds, according to their losses respectively. The Lords concurrence to be desired herein." On the 22nd it was ordered "That the sum of Twenty Pounds be paid by the Committee of Lords and Commons, for advance of monies at *Haberdashers Hall*, unto *Paul Freeman*, *Robert Woodall*, *Richard Nimlim*, *Alice Freeman*, widow, *Margarett Fletcher*, widow, poor people, that suffered great losses, by having their houses burnt in the County of Yorke, to help them to bear their Charges, in their return to their own Country. The Lords concurrence to be desired herein."

Page 115.—"*the only additional information in the Parish Register.*"

Later on we have the following:—"Sixteen more in June (1643) under Captain Lascelles, Major Gifford, Sir George Wentworth, Captain Thornton and the Earl of Newcastle. Twelve more in July, under Gen. King, Sir Ingram Hopton and Sir Wm. Widdrington. 26, soldiers buried in July and August, 1644. A soldier buried in the old school garth. Several soldiers, and Captain Cox from Newcastle, slain at Bradford, Feb. 1643-4."

Page 123.—"*an eccentric Puritan named Peter Saxton.*"

Thoresby says "there goes under his name a Book intituled *Christmas Cheere; or profitable Notes of two Sermons preached the 25th of* December, *being commonly (how rightly let others judge) called* Christmas-

Day, *and upon the Day following, commonly called* St. Stephen's-Day. *Lege, Judica, reconde, corrige, ignosce, cave.* 8vo. Anno 1606."

Page 125.—"*John Dawson, Francis Allanson,*" &c.

In the Commons' Journals, under date 16th February, 1645-6, is the following entry :—"The humble petition of the Clothiers, Makers of Broad Cloth, in the County of *Yorke,* was this day read : And likewise the humble petition of *John Dawson, Francis Allison,* and others, the Well-affected, within the Parish of Leedes. It is *Ordered,* That both these Petitions, together with the whole Matter of them, and the manner of procuring and getting Hands to the First Petition, be referred to the Examination and Consideration of the Committee of the Northern Association, where *Sir Thomas Widdrington* hath the Chair : Who are to hear the parties interested, and to report their opinions, upon the whole Matter, to the House." Some time elapsed before the Committee ended the work assigned to them, if the following entry on the 22nd of April, 1647, refer to the same petition,—"*Ordered,* That the Reports from the Northern Committee, concerning the Petition of divers Inhabitants and Merchants of Leeds, be made on Tuesday next."

Page 127.—"*to record the interment of Richard Garbut,*" &c.

The inscription "Here lyeth Mr. Richard Garbut, late Lecturer of Leedes, March 7, 1630," was cut upon a marble slab bearing the date 1464, with the brass effigies of John, son of Sir John Langton of Farnley Hall, and of his wife. There were also in Thoresby's time vacancies whence twelve escutcheons had been torn out. Thoresby mentions other three interments recorded on the same tombstone. He also tells of other old slabs which had been made to do double duty, the comparatively modern inscriptions being of later date than the one for Richard Garbut.

Page 131.—"*The civil governance recommenced,*" &c.

I here follow Mr. Wardell whom I suppose to have the warrant of documents in the Town Clerk's office for the dates to his list of Aldermen under the first charter. Otherwise, I should have thought that the three years break ought to be placed a year earlier. As already stated, the last of our chief Aldermen before the outbreak of the civil war was Ralph Crofts. Next on the list is John Dawson, of Mill Hill, whose year of office dates from Michaelmas, 1642, to Michaelmas, 1643. He was, therefore, Alderman when Leeds was

taken by Fairfax, besieged by Goring, and regained by the Royalists after the battle of Adwalton Moor. It deserves notice that he was the first Alderman elected whose name had not been inserted in Charles the First's Charter, either for Principal Burgess or for Assistant; and as Dawson and his next two successors, Francis Allanson and John Thoresby, both of Kirkgate (the latter being the grandfather of Ralph the Antiquary), became prominent among the Parliamentarians, it is a fair inference that whatever the strength of the Royalists in Leeds their opponents acquired a predominance in the town about the time when the war began. Nor of the later Aldermen under the first Charter was there one who had been named in it if I am right in supposing that William Marshall, Alderman in 1650 and 1651, was William Marshall, junr.; for William Marshall the elder was one of the nominated Assistants. The military governance of General Carter must have soon cut short John Thoresby's term of authority, who, immediately following Francis Allanson, would be elected Alderman at Michaelmas, 1644. On the 12th of March, 1645, how much earlier I know not, Leeds was under General Carter's rule; and without guidance in the matter, I should therefore have supposed Thoresby's Aldermanship at the end of the suspension of our civil government instead of at its beginning.

Page 131.—*Peter Saxton died on the* 1st *of October*, 1651.

This was nearly a month after the battle of Worcester, but I know of no mention of Leeds in connection with that event, except that in the Journals of the House of Commons there is the entry, on Friday, 12th September, 1651,—"Mr. *Henry Darley* reports, from the Council of State, a letter from Major-General *Harrison* of the Ninth Day of the Seventh Month, from Leeds: Which was this day read." It referred to prisoners taken subsequently to the battle.

Page 133.—"*He succeeded Andrew Marvel at Hull*," &c.

Who was drowned in crossing the Humber. Thoresby calls him "the famous Mr. Marvel," but his son of the same name is now more generally remembered.

Page 134.—"*John Thwaites, whose year of office was signalized by the return of a Leeds Member to Parliament.*

But if so there is an inaccuracy in the list of Aldermen as published, according to which his year of office ended at Michaelmas, 1653. Yet, if it did so end, how come the letters quoted relating to the

election to be addressed to him, and not to his successor, Alderman Isles?

Page 136.—"*Adam Baynes was again chosen.*"

Not unanimously. There was a double return—Adam Baynes and Francis Allanson ; but Baynes got the seat.

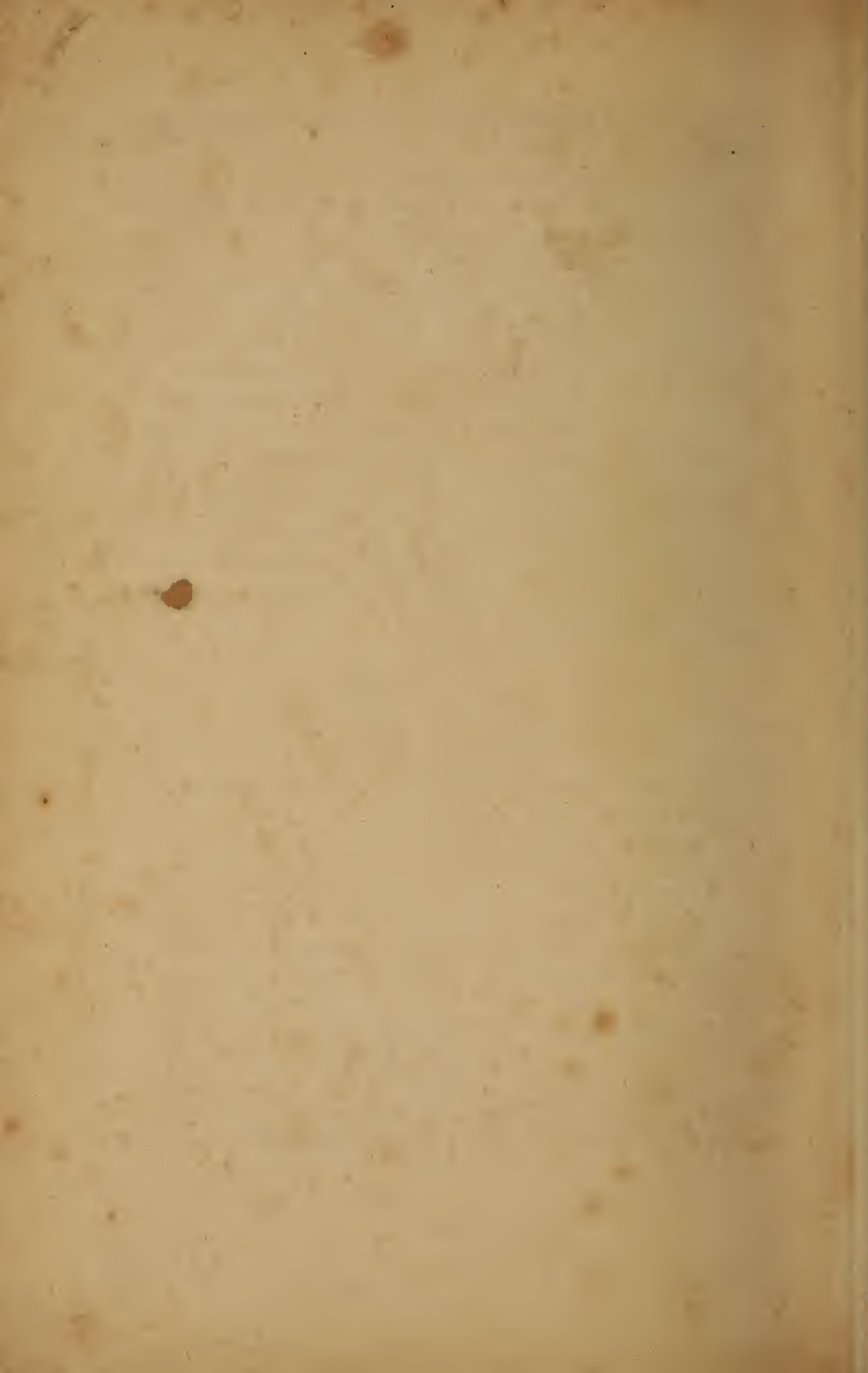
Page 139.—"*Mr. Arthington,*" &c.

About the time when the letter spoken of was written, Henry Arthington of Arthington, Esq. ; Walter Stanhope, of Horsforth, gentleman ; his son and heir, John Stanhope, and Henry Thornton, of Horsforth, Yeoman, made an award, dated 16th June, 1651, for the settlement of a dispute over tax-paying between the three manors of Leeds-Town, Leeds-Kirkgate and Leeds-Mainriding. The award directed that "all Taxac'ons, layes and Assessments for Church, Bridges and the like," and all other taxes should be paid as heretofore, "before the beginninge of the late warres," together with the monthly assessments for the army or Commonwealth.

Page 150.—"*a hot partisan on the Commonwealth side,*" &c.

Yet John Clayton had been named Recorder of Leeds in the Charter granted by King Charles.

H. W. WALKER, PRINTER, BRIGGATE, LEEDS.



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