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THE

HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CITY of *YORK*,

From its ORIGIN to the PRESENT TIMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

TWENTY-TWO COPPER-PLATES.

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING,

I. YORK, its different Names and Etymologies, with the obscure History of it till the Coming of the *Romans* into *Britain*.

II. The State of it under the *Roman* Government in *Britain*.

III. The State of it from the *Romans* leaving the Island to the *Norman* Conquest.

IV. Historical Annals to the uniting of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*.

V. Continuation of the Historical Annals, from the Union of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, to the present Times.

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M.DCC.LXXXV.

To the READER.

THE high Antiquity of the City of YORK, and the respectable Part which it has held in the Annals of *England*, induces the Editor of the following Sheets to flatter himself that they will prove an agreeable Entertainment to the Gnerality of their Readers, and particularly to those who wish to become conversant in the History of this Kingdom.

It may not here be improper to observe, that the late learned F. DRAKE, F. R. S. and A. S. was the only Person who successfully attempted to hand down to Posterity the HISTORY of YORK, published by him in the Year 1736.

That Work being now out of Print, and no Copies to be met with, except at the Decease of some particular Gentlemen, and for which an exorbitant Price must be given, may prove an Apology for this Attempt on a smaller Scale, in which every interesting Matter is carefully preserved, and the Occurrences since that Period impartially laid down, and humbly submitted to the Public by

THE EDITOR.

THE

HISTORY

AND

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CITY of *YORK*.

YORK, *its different Names and Etymologies; with the obscure History of it to the Coming of the* ROMANS *into* BRITAIN.

EBORACUM, or *York*, the Metropolis of *Eborasciria*, or *Yorkshire*, situate near the Centre of the Island, in a rich and extensive Valley, on the Confluence of the Rivers *Ouse* and *Foss*, derives it Original from very early Ages. The great Difficulties attending the Etymology of the Name, are themselves a Proof of its very great Antiquity.

If any Credit can be given to *Geofry* of *Monmouth* *, *Brutus* and his wandering *Trojans* having conquer'd *Albion*, built a City on the River *Thames*, and gave it the Name of *Troja Nova*, corrupted into *Troy Novant*, and since changed into *Ludstown* or *London*. This City was built at the Time when the Sons of *Hector*, after the Expulsion of *Antenor*, reigned in *Troy*; when *Eli* the High

* The Verity of *Geofry*'s History has been excellently well vindicated by Mr. *Aaron Thompson*, in the Preface to an *English* Edition of that Author, *London* printed 1718.

Priest governed in *Judea*; and when *Sylvius Æneas*, the Son of *Æneas*, and Uncle to *Brutus* the third King of the *Latins*, ruled in *Italy*; that is about the Year, from the World's Creation, 2860; or 1106 Years before the Birth of *Christ*.

Ebraucus, the Son of *Mempricius*, the third King from *Brute*, built a City North of *Humber*, which, from his own Name, he called *Kaer-Ebrauc*; that is, the City of *Ebraucus*; about the Time that *David* reigned in *Judea*, *Sylvius Latinus* in *Italy*, and that *Gad*, *Nathan*, and *Asaph* prophesied in *Israel*, near *A. M.* 2983, or *ante Christum* 983.

In the *British* Appellation *Kaer-Ebrauc*, we are to find out the *Roman* EBORACVM. Some learned Men, says Sir *Thomas Widdrington* *, to denote it short, wrote *E*, the second *Latin* Vowel, with an Apostrophe; the *Italians*, by Inadvertency, have changed it into *O*, the fourth, and for *Eberacum* write *Eboracum*, as for *Edouardus*, they now write *Edwardus*; for which Reason *Civitas Ebrauci* is now called *Civitas Eborauci*; and the learned *John Cajus* says †, That the Name is changed from *Evoracum* to *Eborum*.

Sir *Thomas* adds, That he cannot conceal what he had from a Noble Person, "That it appears from *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, that several Colonies of the *Gauls* seated themselves, as in other Countries, so in *Spain*; from whence again being disturbed by the *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and other Nations, they were forced to seek new Habitations, and might either first seize on the Western Part of Middle *England*; or, from *Ireland*, that Place not sufficing them, empty themselves into this Island, where they might give the Name of *Eboracum* to *York*, from *Ebora* a Town in *Portugal*, or *Ebura* in *Andalusia*; the former of which is to this Day called *Evora*; to which if you add *c*, being in the antient *Gaulogists* a Diminutive, you have *Eborac*, the last Syllable *(um)* being a *Latin* Termination." This is also *Buchanan*'s Opinion.

"If

* Sir *Thomas Widdrington* (Author of a Manuscript History, intitled, *Analecta Eboracensia*) was Recorder of *York*, and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1656.

† J. Cajus *in Ant. Acad. Cant.*

"If you will have it more immediately derived from *Gaul*, or *Gallia Belgica*, you may deduce it from the *Eburones*, a People that inhabited about *Liege* in the Time of *Cæsar*; who, possibly, might be transplanted hither, and give it the Name of *Eburac*, or *Little York*. There are also the *Eburaci* or *Ebroici*, (for it is read both Ways) in *Gallia Celtica*, whose chief City *Eboraicum* favours the Supposition, that the Natives were transplanted hither."

Verstegan, in his Book of the Restitution of decayed Intelligence, says, "That the antient *Britons* called the City of *York Caer-Efroc*, our Ancestors *Eborwic*, *Everwic*, and *Eberwic*; which, by vulgar Abbreviation, might come to *Boric* or *Voric*, and so lastly to *York*. *Eber*, or *Ever*, is, in the old *Saxon*, Wild Boar, (tho' this latter Name be *English* also) *wic* is a Refuge or Retreat, and, it may be, it had of our Ancestors that Appellation, as being the Refuge or Retreat from the wild Boars, which heretofore might have been in the Forest of *Galtres* *, which is within a Mile of that City †; and the more like it is, for that there yet remains a Toll called *Guyde Lawe*, which is paid for Cattle at *Bowdam-Bar*, a Gate of the City so called, and was first paid for the Payment of Guides which conducted them, belike to save them from this cruel Beast, through the said Forest."

Our late *Leeds* Antiquary ‡ agrees with *Verstegan* in this Opinion, and says, "That the present Name of *York* may be easily enough deduced from the *Saxon Eoferwic*; the Initials of which were no Doubt, in those Ages, pronounced as Yo. This, says he, is yet continued in some Parts of the North, where *Eode* is pronounced *Yode*; and I myself, have been told upon the Road, that *sike a yan Yode that Way*. The *f*, continues he, was omitted for Softness in Pronunciation, as also *w*; and I have had of the Monies of King *Edward* the Con-

 fessor,

* *Boars* at this Day, says Lawyer *Hildyard*, are called in *Yorkshire*, *Goates*. *Hild.* Ant. *York* 1664.

† Nemus Caleterinum, *quod Anglice* Galtres *dicitur, attingit pene* Eborum, *& inde versus Zephyrum extenditur juxta* Aldburgh, *in longum spatio* xx *milliarium, cujus nemoris plurima pars hodie succisis arbusculis ad culturum redigitur. Polichron.* R. Higdeni.

‡ Thoresby's *Ducat. Leod. in Appendice.*

feſſor, whereon for *Eofer* is writ *Eor (Yor)*, to which add the laſt Letter *c* (now converted into *k)* and you have the modern name *Yorc*, or *York*."

Others believe that the Name of this City is derived ſolely from the River *Eure* it ſtands upon: And then the Signification of the Word amounts to no more than a Town or City ſtanding or placed upon *Eure*. Thus the *Eberanci*, a People of *France*, ſat down by the River *Eure*, near *Eureux* in *Normandy*, and from thence contracted their Name. This is the Opinion of that great Antiquary *Camden*; and if the Point be cleared, that the River *Ouſe* was formerly called *Eure* as low as *York*, we need look no further for our Etymology.

John Leland, that great Magazine of Antiquity, to whoſe Collections the ableſt *Engliſh* Antiquaries have been ſo particularly obliged, eſteems the River *Ouſe* to be one of the Rivers of *Iſis* *. "The River *Ouſe*, ſays he, ariſes in the fartheſt Part of the Province of *Richmond*, at a Place called *Cotterhill*, or *Cotterend*; it paſſes through divers Places, and comes at laſt to *Boroughbridge*, and there is called *Iſurium*, the Name of *Iſis* being prepoſed to *Eure*. A Little after it has paſt *Boroughbridge*, the People affecting Brevity, wholly leaving out *Eure*, have taken up the firſt Part of the Name, and call it *Iſis*, vulgarly *Ouſe*. And if a Man ſhall fully conſider the Name *Yurewic*, which, by Contraction, is *York*, he will underſtand that it hath taken the Name from *Iſurewic*, retaining the firſt Letter, and caſting away the ſecond, and changing the third into *o*, as *Iorewic* or *Yorewic*, which is ſoon thrown into *York*."

This great Antiquary†, in another Part of his Works, is ſtill more explicit in this Affair, which we ſhall beg Leave to give the Reader in his own Words, as follows: *Sunt qui ſuſpicentur, nec temere, illud flumen, quod urbem alluit* Iſurium ‡, *olim dictum fuiſſe ab* Iſide & Uro *ſuperius confluentibus*. Iſe *fluvius a Saxonibus* Ouſe *dicitur, argumento ſunt* Ouſeford, *id eſt, Iſidis vadum*; Ouſeburn, *id eſt, Iſidis aqua. Si hæc conjectura valet, ut certè plurimum valere videtur*, ISVROVICVM *aptum, elegans, rotundum etiam urbi nomen erat.*

The

* J. Leland *in Com. Cant.* † J. Leland *in Geneth.* Ed. primi.
‡ Now called *Aldborough*.

The justly celebrated Mr. *Camden* says, The Name of the *British* King *Ebrauc* was coined out of *Eboracum* *: And he lays it down as an incontestable Truth, that the *Eure* at *Boroughbridge* has gained the Name of *Ouse* from a little petty Rivulet, which runs into it at *Ouseburn*, a Village so called, to which it hath given the Name, and robbed the River *Eure* of it †.

It is not impossible that this may be the true Definition of *York*, and its Latin ‡ EBVRACVM or EBORACVM, as it is spelt both Ways in the Itinerary ascribed to the Emperor *Antoninus*: For notwithstanding the Name has nothing in it derivative from either *Latin* or *Greek*, nor indeed can the Name of any *Roman* Station in *Britain* be well construed that Way; yet whether EBVRACVM, and the Saxon § *Eure-wic*, *Yure-wic*, &c. are not more sensibly derived from a Station or Town on the River *Eure* or *Yure*, than from *Kaer-Ebrauc*, we leave to the Reader's Judgment.

Our late Antiquary Mr. *Baxter* || conjectures, that the Roman EBVRACVM is derived from the British *Eur*, *vel Ebr*, which answers to the *Greek* Ουρον; thence, he says, the Adjective is formed *Evraic*, *aquosum*, watery; and the *British* Name to this City *Caer-Evrauc*, *aquosa Civitas*, a watery City. The neighbouring River, he adds, is called *Eura*, or *Ebura*; of which very Name there is another River in *France*, as well as a People called *Eburones*, &c. The watery Situation, this Author speaks of, will fit us well enough; but we are not so learned in the *British* Language, as either to confirm or contradict his Assertion. Indeed, after all, we are of Opinion with *Buchanan* in this, that the Original of Words depends not on the Notions of the wiser Sort, but on the Pleasure of the Vulgar, who for the most Part are rude and unpolished; and therefore anxiously to inquire after their Judgments, is a Piece of needless Curiosity; and if you should find out what they mean, it would not be worth your Labour **.

* *Camden*'s Remains. † *Britannia*. ‡ Iter ab *Eboraco Londinium* in *Blandiniano* [ed] Iter ab *Uburaco*: & in *Neopolitano*, ab *Eburaco*. *Longoliani Blandinianam* lectionem præferunt, & *Eburaco* corrigunt. *Hiron. Surit.* not. in *Anton.* Itin. ed. *Gale*.

§ *Ea-ure-wic*, i. e. castrum ad, vel secus aquam *Ure*. *Somner*'s *Saxon* Dictionary. || *Baxter*'s Glossarium Antiquitat. *Brit.* vide *Eboracum*. ** *Buchan.* Hist. *Scotiæ*.

Thus having given the Opinions of the Learned upon this intricate Affair, it must be left to every one to frame out of them his own Conjecture. We must next do that Justice to *York*, which *Stow* and his Editor *Stripe* have not scrupled to do for *London*; which is, to transcribe out of our aforecited *British* Historian what Memorables he has noted relating to us, and do that Honour to the City, which he and his numberless Followers have attested the Verity of; but in this we shall not pretend to adjust the different Chronologies.

Geofry of *Monmouth* tells us that, some Time after the Death of *Ebraucus*, two Brothers, *Belinus* and *Brennus*, jointly ruled in *Britain*. But falling at Variance, **Brennus* was driven out of the Kingdom, and thereupon sought Aid of the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*. The former went with him in Person, and the latter assisted him with Troops; and landing in *Northumberland*, he sent his Brother Word that if he did not comply with his Demands, he would destroy him and the whole Island from Sea to Sea. *Belinus* upon this marches against him, with the Flower of the Kingdom in his Army, and found his Brother drawn up in a Wood, called *Calatar* †, ready to receive him. The Fight was bloody and long, because, says our Author, the bravest Men were engaged on both Sides; and so great was the Slaughter, that the Wounded fell on Heaps, like standing Corn cut down by the Reapers. At last the *Britons* prevailed, and *Brennus* was forced back to his Ships with the Loss of 20,000 Men.

In this Battle *Guilthdacus*, King of *Denmark*, is said to be taken Prisoner; and the Victor *Belinus* called a Council at ‡ *York* to know how to dispose of him. All the Nobles of the Kingdom being assembled at the aforesaid City, it was agreed that the King should be set at Liberty, on Condition to hold his Crown of the King of *Britain*; and likewise to pay him an § annual Tribute. Oaths and Hostages being taken on this Occasion, the *Danish*

* This *Brennus*, says our Author, was the same Person who led the Army of the confederate *Gauls*, and took and burnt *Rome* in the Dictatorship of *Camillus*. † *Galtres* Forest, near *York*.

‡ Intra *Eboracum*. *Gal. Mon.* It is remarkable that *Geofry* never calls *York Kaer-Ebrauc*, but once throughout his whole Work.

§ *Fabian* and *Hollingshead* have thought fit to assign the Sum of 1000 *l.* for this Tribute; but we do not find the Original mentions it.

Danish Monarch was released from Prison, and returned into his own Country.

The next we find in *Monmouth*'s History, wherein our Subject is any Way concerned, is a *British* Prince called *Archigallus* ||, or *Artogal*, of whom it is related, that being, for some indirect Practices, dispossessed of his Crown and Dignity by his Nobles, who advanced his Brother *Elidurus* in his Stead, he wandered about as a Fugitive and Outlaw; and having travelled over several Kingdoms in Hopes to procure Aid to recover his lost Dominions, finding none, and being no longer able to bear the Poverty to which he was reduced, returned back to *Britain* with only ten Men in his Company, with a Design to repair to those who were formerly his Friends. *Elidurus*, who had been five Years in Possession of the Kingdom, as he happened to be hunting one Day in the Wood called *Calaterium*, in the wildest Part of this vast Forest, got Sight of his unhappy Brother, and forgetting all Injuries ran to him and affectionately embraced him. As he had long secretly lamented his Brother's Misfortunes, he took this Opportunity to endeavour to remedy them. He conveyed him privately to the City *Aclud*, where he hid him in his Bed-Chamber. He there feigned himself sick, and sent Messengers over the whole Kingdom, to signify to all his prime Nobility that they should come to visit him. Accordingly, when they were all met together at the City where he lay, he gave Orders that they should come into his Chamber softly and without Noise; his Pretence for this was, that, should they all croud in together, their Talk would be a Disturbance to his Head. The Nobles, in Obedience to his Commands, and without the least Suspicion of any Design, entered his House one after another. But *Elidurus* had given Charge to his Servants, who were set ready for the Purpose, to take each of them as they entered, and cut off their Heads, unless they would again submit themselves to *Artogal* his Brother. Thus did he with every one of them apart, and compelled them, through Fear, to be reconciled to *Artogal*.

|| *Fabian* and *Stow*, in their Chronicles, mention *Rivallus*, *Gurgustius* his Son, *Iago*, or *Logo*, and *Kimmacus*, all Kings of *Britain*, and all before *Artogal*, to be buried at *Kaerbrauc*. But since *Geofry* is silent, this must be an Improvement on his Scheme.

Artogal. The Agreement being ratified, *Elidurus* conducted his Brother to *York*, where he took the Crown off his own Head and set it on his Brother's; which rare Example produced as wonderful an Effect; for *Artogal*, after his Restoration, we are told, proved a most excellent Governor, and, after a mild Reign of ten Years, he died, was buried at *York*, and *Elidurus* again succeeded him.

In the following Reigns of more than thirty Successors to this last Prince, the *British* History is silent to any Thing but their Names, and some of their Characters, till the Landing of *Cæsar* in *Britain*; from which Æra we tread more certain Steps, and, by the Assistance of the best historical Guides the World has produced, it is hoped we may be able to set our Subject in a clearer Light. For those who frown at *Monmouth*'s Story and call it all Dream and Fiction, must, however, pay some Regard to the Testimony of *Tacitus*, *Dion*, and *Herodian*.

It will not be amiss, at the Conclusion of this Head, to present the Reader, at one View, with a List of the different Names this City has had, with the different Authorities for them, *viz.*

EBORACVM.	*Multis testibus*,
Εβοραχον.	Ptolemeus *in opere Geopraph.* Usher *de primord.*
Ευοραχον.	Ptol. *in canon. astronomicis.*
Βριγανιον.	Ptol. *in magna syntaxi lib.* 2. Usher *de prim.*
CIVITAS BRIGANTIVM.	Tacitus *in vita Agricolæ.*
VEVRACVM & EBVRACVM.	*In Itin.* Antonini.
KAER-EBRAVC. CAIR-BRAUC.	Gal. Mon. Nennius, *in cat. urbium Brit. ed.* Gale. Hen. Hunt. Alph. Bever. Harrison, *&c.*
CAIR-EFFROC.	*By the* Britons *at this Day.* Usher *de prim.* Verstegan. Humph. Llhuyd. *frag* Brit. *Descriptio.*

EVOR-

EVOR-WIC. EVER-WIC. EOFER-WIC. EOFOR-WIC. EFER-WIC.	Saxonice.
EOFOR-WIC-CEASTER. CEASTER *ſimplice.*	Somner. & Chron. Saxon. *ad ann.* 685, 763, 780, *&c.*
VRDWIC.	Leland.
ISVROVICVM.	Leland.
VROVICVM.	Ortelius. Harriſon.
EBORACA.	Girald. Cambrenſis.
ALTERA ROMA. VICTORIA.	Harriſon's *Deſcription of Britain.*
SEXTA.	Selden's *Titles of Honour.*
CIVITAS EBORVM & EVRVIC.	Lib. Domeſday.
EVORWIC. EVERWYKE. EOFORWIIC. YEVORWIIC. VREWIIC. YUREWIIC.	Knighton. Hen. Hunt. R. Hoveden. Record. *in cuſtodia civium Ebor. cum aliis.*

Hodie YORKE, *vel* YORK.

The State of the City under the Roman *Government in* Britain.

AS the Original of this ancient City is ſo much obſcured that nothing but conjectural Hints can be given of it, ſo likewiſe the Affairs of the whole Iſland want the ſame Illuſtration; and we are no more in the Dark than our Neighbours, till the Times that the *Romans* thought fit to pay us their firſt Viſit. Their Deſcent was on the *Kentiſh* Shore, and as *Cæſar* never penetrated ſo far North as *York*, it cannot be expected that any Account of our City can be found in his Commentaries.

Geofry of *Monmouth* writes, that *Caſſibelaun*, King of the *Trinobantes*, as *Cæſar* himſelf ſtyles him, General of the united Forces of the Iſland, after making a Peace with the *Romans*, retired to *York*, died and was buried there *. *Alcuin*,

* *In urbe* Eboraco *ſepultus.* Gal. Mon.

Alcuin, a Native of this City, and who lived near a thousand Years ago, is of Opinion, that this City derives its Original from the *Romans* themselves; he says,

Hanc Romana *manus muris, & turribus altam*
Fundavit primo———
Ut fieret ducibus secura potentia regni;
Et decus imperii, terrorque hostilibus armis.

This City, first, by *Roman* Hand was form'd,
With lofty Towers and high-built Walls adorn'd,
To give their Leaders a secure Repose,
Honour to th' Empire, Terror to their Foes.

The Authority of an Historian of so antient a Date is respectable, and, without Doubt, the traditional Account of the Origin of this City, in his Time, was such as he has related. There is some Reason to believe that this City was founded by *Agricola*, whose Conquests in the Island stretched beyond *York*; and that he built here a Fortress, to guard the Frontiers after his Return. What seems to add to the Probability of this, is, that when the Emperor *Hadrian* came into *Britain*, to inspect the Guards and Garrisons of the Island, and to attempt the Conquest of *Caledonia*, he was dissuaded from the Attempt by some old Soldiers of *Agricola*'s that he met with at *York*. There is no Room to doubt that *Hadrian*, in this Expedition, brought with him into *Britain* the sixth Legion, styled *Legio Sexta Victrix*. At his Departure this Legion was stationed at *York*; not only to keep the native *Britons* in Subjection, but also to be in Readiness, with the other Auxiliaries, to oppose the *Caledonians*, in Case they should attempt to overthrow the Rampart which he had raised, to secure this Country from their Invasions *. We can trace this Legion in this particular Station for the Space of 300 Years and upwards.

About the Year of Christ 150, this City was one of the greatest, if not the most considerable Station in the Province. By the Itinerary ascribed to *Antoninus*, EBORACVM

* Britanniam *petiit, in qua multa correxit, murumque per octaginta millia passuum primus duxit qui* Barbaros Romanosque *divideret. Vit.* Hadriani *inter script. aug.*

RACVM, or EBVRACVM, occurs throughout the Northern Journeys, and frequently with the Addition of *Legio* vi. *Victrix* *. Which Addition, so particular to our City, shews it to have been of high Authority in the Province at this Time.

In the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, a *British* King, named *Lucius*, (the last of the Line of *Brute* †) is said to have embraced *Christianity*; and as his Father *Coilus* lived, died, and was buried at *York* ‡, *Lucius* may probably have succeeded him, and reigned here under the Protection of the *Romans*.

In the Reign of *Commodus* the *Caledonians* took up Arms, and cut in Pieces the *Roman* Army, commanded by an unexperienced General, and ravaged the Country in a terrible Manner as far as *York* §. The whole Province had now been over-run, had not the Emperor immediately sent over *Marcellus Ulpius*, who in a small Time repelled those Invaders, and thereby put an End to this dangerous War. At his Return to *York*, his first Care was to restore the antient Discipline in the *Roman* Army, for he had observed that these Commotions and Inroads of the *Caledonians* were chiefly owing to an entire Neglect of it. This Severity was taken so ill by the Army, having been long used to an unbridled Licence, that though *Marcellus* got safe to *Rome*, his Successor *Pertinax*, following his Steps with the same Rigour, had like to have lost his Life in a Mutiny of the ninth Legion. In all Probability this Mutiny was at *York*; for that the ninth Legion was stationed there, as well as the sixth, will hereafter appear. But

We come now to an History of more than bare Probabilities and Surmises in the Life of that illustrious Emperor *Severus*. This great Man, in the 15th Year of his Reign, undertook an Expedition into *Britain*, tho' he was at that Time somewhat aged, and clogged with Infirmities. The banished *Britons* had been so bold ||, say their Historians, as to advance so far in their Conquests as to besiege *York*, under *Fulgenius*, or *Sulgenius*, a *Scythian* General; whom they had drawn over to their Aid, in order to drive the *Romans* from all their Con-

* Itin. *Antonini*. † *Languett's* Chronicle.
‡ *Geofry Mon.* § See *Rapin's* Hist. of *England*. *Dion. Cass.*
|| *Geof. Mon.* *Johan. Fordun.* Hist. *Scotiæ inter script.* v. ed. *Gale.*

Conquests in the Island. Suppose this so far true, or not, it is certain, by *Roman* Authority, that *Virius Lupus*, then *Proprætor* in *Britain*, was hard put to it to defend himself; for *Herodian* tells us, that he wrote to the Emperor, "informing him of the Insurrections and Inroads of the Barbarians, and the Havock they made far and near, and begging either a greater Force, or that the Emperor would come over in Person." This last was granted; *Severus*, attended with his two Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, his whole Court, and a numerous Army, arrived in *Britain* in or about the Year 208 †.

The Invaders ‡, being apprised of this great Armament against them, thought fit to retire North of *Hadrian*'s Wall, where they feared no Enemy, and there watch another Opportunity; but the Emperor, fully determined to destroy this Nest of Hornets, which had given his Predecessors so much Trouble, no sooner found that they were retired to their Fastnesses, than he prepared to follow them. When every Thing was got ready for the Expedition, he marched from *York* with his Son *Caracalla*, but left *Geta* in that Station to administer Justice 'till his Return. With this young Prince he joined in Commission *Æmilius Paulus Papianus*, that Oracle of the Law, as he is justly styled, as an Aid and Assistant to him, in order to direct his Steps, and fortify his youthful Levity. *Severus* was upwards of 62 Years of Age when he undertook this Expedition, very infirm, and crippled with the Gout §, insomuch that he was carried against the *Caledonians* in an Horse-Litter; but being a Man of invincible Spirit he despised the Danger, and bravely overcame it. He penetrated to the Extremity of the Island, subduing those fierce and barbarous Nations, hitherto unconquered. But knowing that he could not keep them in Subjection, without a strong Army upon the Spot, he took Hostages of them, and chose rather to make a Wall, of above 80 Miles in Length, and of great Strength, near the Place where his Predecessor *Hadrian* had thrown up a Rampart of Earth. *Severus* is said, by *Dion*, to have lost 50,000 Men in this Expedition, not slain by the Enemy, but starved,

† *Mediobarbus* upon Occo. p. 279. *Musgrave*'s Synchron. Dom. Sev. p. 126. ‡ *Dion. Cassius.* Herodian. § *Senec et pedibus æger.* Spartian *in vita* Severi *inter script. rei aug.*

ſtarved, killed, and drowned, in cutting down Woods, draining of Bogs, and the like.

The Credit of *Geofry* of *Monmouth*, the *Britiſh* Hiſtorian, here falls to the Ground, when ſet in Oppoſition to the *Roman* Writers. He ſays, that *Fulgenius* being beaten by *Severus*, at his Landing, fled into *Scythia*, where he got together a mighty Army, and returned into *Britain*: That he beſieged *York* whilſt the Emperor was in it, and, in a Battle before the City, *Severus* was ſlain, and *Fulgenius* mortally wounded. *John Fordun*, the ancient Chronicler of *Scotland*, writes much the ſame; but *Bede*, a more ancient Hiſtorian than either of them, follows the *Roman* Account, which no Doubt is the trueſt.

Severus having left his Son *Caracalla* in the North, to inſpect the Building of the Wall, returned to *York*, where he took upon himſelf, and ſtamped upon his Coin, the Title of BRITANICVS MAXIMVS *, as Conqueror of the whole Iſland, and lived near three Years in the *Prætorian* Palace of this City. Some Years after his firſt coming to it, he and his Son *Caracalla* ſat in the *Prætorium*, and gave Judgment, even in very common Caſes, as in that of *Cæcilia*, about the Recovery of Right of Poſſeſſion of Slaves or Servants. This Reſcript or Law is ſtill preſerved in the *Code*, to the great Glory and Renown of this City, as *Burton* rightly expreſſes it, dated from thence, with the Names of the Conſuls of that Year; nor can I forbear to publiſh it, adds that Author, as the gallanteſt Monument of Antiquity which it hath†.

ETIAM per alienum ſervum bona fide poſſeſſum ex re ejus qui eum poſſidet, vel ex operis ſervi adquiri dominium vel obligationem placuit. Quare ſi tu quoque bona fide poſſidiſti eundem ſervum, et ex nummis tuis mancipia eo tempore comparuit, potes ſecundum juris formam uti defenſionibus tuis. Mancipium autem alienum mala fide poſſidenti nil poteſt acquirere, ſed qui tenet non tantum ipſum ſed etiam operas ejus, nec non ancillarum partus et animalium fœtus reddere cogitur ‡.

P. P. III. NON. MAII. EBORACI FAVSTINO ET RVFO COSS.

* *Mediobarb.* imp. *Rom.* num. 279. † *Burton's* Itin. *Antonini.* ‡ *Cod. l.* 3. *tit.* 32. *de rei vindicatione.*

If *Burton*, in a general Account which he wrote of the Island, could think it necessary to publish this whole Edict or Law, we hope we may easily be forgiven, who are obliged to be as particular as possible in the Course of these Annals. The Reader may observe, that there is nothing in the Rescript itself to our Purpose; but the Sanction and Date are of such great Moment in this Affair, that it claims a thorough Discussion.

P. P. is understood by *Ursatus* to denote *posuit præfectus* *; by which it appears, that *Cæsar* enacted, and the Præfect, or Judge of the Court, enrolled and gave a Sanction to it. Who this *Civilian* was, has been already taken Notice of, but will require greater hereafter. The Date runs from the third of the Nones of *May*, or *May* 5, *Faustinus* and *Rufus* then Consuls †. Some of our Chronologers, especially *Isaacson*, make this to fall *Anno ab urbe cond.* 963, or *Anno Dom.* 210. Sir *Henry Savile*, *Anno* 211. *Severus* is said to have died *pridie Non. Februarii*, or *Feb.* 4, *An. Dom.* 211; so that, according to this Calculation, the Emperor lived in *Britain* near two or three Years. Our City claims the Honour of his Residence in it most of this Time; for we can trace him no where but either on his more northern Expedition, or at *Eboracum*.

It was at or about this Period of Time, that our City shone in full Lustre; *Britannici orbis* ROMA ALTERA, PALATIVM *Curiæ*, and PRÆTORIVM *Cæsaris* ‡, are Titles it might justly lay Claim to. The prodigious Concourse of tributary Kings, foreign Ambassadors, *&c.* which almost crowded the Courts of the Sovereigns of the World, when the *Roman* Empire was at or near its Prime, must bring it to the Height of sublunary Grandeur; and this without mentioning the Emperor's own Magnificence, his numerous Retinue, the Noblemen of *Rome*, or the Officers of the Army, which must all necessarily attend him.

The Reader will excuse us if we dwell longer on this pleasing Subject than the Course of these Annals may seem to allow of; for before we bring this great Man to

* *Sertorius Ursatus* de notis *Romanorum*.

† Anno ab v. cond. MCCCCLXIII. *i. e.* A. D. CCXI. *Marcus Acilius Faustinus C. Cæsonius Macer Rufinus Coss.* called so in Sir *H. Savile*'s Chron. but *Faustinus* and *Rufus* in Chron. *Aur. Cassiodor.*

‡ *Alcuin. Ebor. Lelandi*, Coll. t. vi.

to his End, we must premise whatever Remarkables we find recorded concerning him, whilst he lived in this City.

In this Emperor's Days, and before, no Doubt, the Temple of *Bellona* stood here. This Goddess of War the Heathens feigned to be the Sister or Wife of *Mars*. *Camden* says, "It was looked upon as a great Presage of the Emperor's Death, that at his Entrance into the City, and willing to do Sacrifice to the Gods, he was met and misled by an ignorant *Augur*, to the Temple of *Bellona*, &c." *Spartian*, from whom our Antiquary quotes, in accounting for the many Presages and Bodements which seemed to foretell the Death of *Severus*, hath this remarkable Passage, which we shall give in his own Words*: *Et in* CIVITATEM *veniens, quum rem divinam vellet facere, primum ad* BELLONÆ TEMPLUM *ductus est errore aruspicis rustici; deinde hostiæ furvæ sunt applicatæ, quod cum esset aspernatus, atque ad* PALATIUM *se reciperet, negligentia ministrorum, nigræ hostiæ usque ad limen* domus PALATINÆ *sequutæ sunt*; which may be rendered into *English* thus: At his coming into the City, being desirous to give Thanks to the Gods, he was led by an ignorant Soothsayer to the Temple of *Bellona*; presently black Sacrifices were ordered, which, when rejected, and the Emperor went on to his *Palace*, by the Negligence of his Attendants these dark Offerings followed him even to the Door of the *Imperial Palace*.

That the Temple of *Bellona* stood here is also evident from the foregoing Passage; a Temple built no where but in *Rome* itself, or in the principal Cities of the Empire: For here it served, as in the great City, to denounce War from a Pillar before it. It is evident from *Vitruvius*, and other good Authorities, that this Temple was erected out of one of the Gates at *Rome*; and we must suppose that it had the same Situation at *York*.

By considering the last Quotation from *Spartian*, with one antecedent from the same Author, it will appear that the Entrance into the City, there mentioned, was after *Severus*'s Northern Expedition, consequently that he entered the City at our *Bootham-Bar*. This old Gate, though it does not at present exhibit so certain a Proof of *Roman* Architecture as *Micklegate-Bar*, another Gate

* *Ælius Spartianus in Severo*, inter scriptores hist. Aug.

of the City, yet the many maſſy Stones, of the Gritt Kind, with which it is built up, ſufficiently ſhews its Antiquity. Beſides, the *Roman* Tower near it, and the *Roman* Burial-Place without it, are evident Proofs that this Part of the Town was very conſiderable in thoſe Days.

Without this Gate then muſt our Temple have anciently ſtood; but to fix upon a particular Place is impoſſible at this Day. *Donatus* has given us a Sketch of a Draught how he ſuppoſed this Temple was ſituated at *Rome*. By comparing this Plan, to which he has put a Compaſs, it will appear to ſtand North-Weſt from the Gate aforementioned; and if any one will conſider the Plan of our City at the ſame Time, the Temple of *Bellona*, with us, he will find muſt have been near where the Abbey of St. *Mary*, or the *Mannor*, now ſtands. The Gate, the City Walls, and the River, have a very near Similitude to one another. Laſtly, Where could a Temple, dedicated to the Goddeſs of War, more properly ſtand, than facing Northward, againſt the boldeſt, moſt dangerous, and, at length, the only Enemies they had in this Iſland?

We ſhall leave this Temple, with a Remark, that this unlucky Omen of *Spartian* has been, however, fortunate to us, in having given Occaſion for that Hiſtorian to mention *Bellona*'s Temple as once ſtanding in *Eboracum*. And it is alſo an undeniable Argument that there were ſeveral more Temples, or Places of Heathen Worſhip, erected there in thoſe Days.

The PALATIVM, or DOMVS PALATINA, of the *Roman* Emperors, here ſpoken of, deſerves alſo a particular Regard. The Imperial Palace at *Rome* being ſeated on the *Mons Palatinus*, that, and all their Royal Houſes in the Empire, took Name from thence *. The Palace at *York* has here two expreſſive Names to denote its Grandeur; and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that it was re-edified, or rather firſt built, for this Emperor's Reception. That it muſt have been very magnificent, appears

* *Imperatoris ædes* Palatium *nominatur, non quod ita aliquando decretum ſit, ſed quod in* Palatino Auguſtus Cæſar *habitabat; ibique* prætorium *ejus erat, ac domus ejus ab eo monte, propterea quod ibi* Romulus *habitabat, multum ſplendoris accepit. Ideoque etiam ſi alibi imperator domicilium ſuum habuit, tamen id quoque* palatii *nomen obtinet.* Dion. Caſſ. lib. 53.

pears from the Words immediately following *limen domus Palatinæ*, &c. in the preceding Quotation, which are *sunt per plurimas civitates opera ejus insignia*. There are several of his grand Buildings in many other Cities of the Empire.

The *Officia Palatina*, or Royal Courts and Apartments, which were included within the Palace, were very extensive and large; among which was the PRÆTORIVM *, or Judgment Hall, as the Word is translated in our *English* Bibles. The Baths must also have had a great Share in the Building. The Ground which this Imperial Palace may be supposed to have stood on in our City, extends, as we take it, from *Christ-Church*, through all the Houses and Gardens on the East Side of *Gothram-gate*, St. *Andrew-gate*, and the *Bedern* to *Aldwark*; which last Name still retains some Memorial of it. *Christ-Church* is called, in all ancient Charters, *Ecclesia sancte trinitatis in* CVRIA REGIS, Saxonice, *Coning garth*, or *King's Yard*. *Constantine the Great*, as we shall find hereafter, is said to have been born in BEDERNA *Civitatis* EBORACI; and *Constantius*, his Father, to be laid in the now-demolished Church of St. *Helen* on the Wall in *Aldwark*. *Guthram*, or *Gothram*, was the Name of a *Danish* King, or General, who was † Governor here after their Conquests; and probably gave his Name to the Street contiguous to the Regal Palace. That the *Saxons* and *Danes* made Use of the *Roman* Buildings for their chief Habitations in other Places as well as this, will hereafter appear.

But to return to our Annals.

Severus was now drawing near his End, for his former robust Constitution was quite broken with Diseases, and his firm Mind at length overpowered by the Cares of Empire. The dissolute Disposition he observed in his eldest Son, was likewise a great Grief to him. This young Prince discovered an inhuman Nature very early; which, joined with his Ambition to be sole Ruler, made him more than once attempt the Life of his Father. It was in this City, however, that the great and warlike *Severus* met his Fate with an Intre-

* For the Form, Extent, &c. of the *Roman* PRÆTORIVM, see *Justus Lipsius in antiquitat.* Roman. *descriptione*.

† See the Annals, *An.* 899.

pidity that became so great a Soldier, after having resided here for some Years, and here celebrated a Triumph for one of the greatest Conquests the *Romans* ever gained, which, with the building of the Wall, *Spartian* expressly calls the greatest Glories of his Reign. Old Age and chronical Distempers did not advance upon him so fast, but that, after he had settled *Britain*, he might have ended his Days in *Rome*, had he chose it; but this seems to have been his favourite Place; and his chusing to die here, when he had all the Cities of the Empire to go to, if he pleased, will be a lasting Honour to EBORACVM.

A little before the * Death of *Severus*, the *Caledonians* again took up Arms, and attacked the *Roman* Garrisons on the Frontiers. This put the Emperor into such a Fury that he lost all Patience, and, believing *Britain* could not be safe till the whole Race of these People were destroyed, he sent out his Legions with positive Orders to put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword. These Orders were given them at *York*, and were expressed in two *Greek* Verses, which carry this bloody Meaning,

Let none escape you, spread the Slaughter wide;
Let not the Womb the unborn Infant hide
From Slaughter's cruel Hand.

But scarce were they begun to be put in Execution, when the Emperor found his own Death approaching.

A truly great Man is not fully known, says the Philosopher, till you see his latter End; and here this admirable Heathen finished the Course of a glorious Life, by as exemplary a Death. *Dion* relates of him that, lying on his Death-Bed, to his latest Gasp of Breath he busied himself and Counsellors with settling the Empire on as sure a Basis as possible. His last Words of Advice to his Sons, whom he left joint Emperors, were nervous and noble: "I leave you, my *Antonines* †, a "firm and steady Government, if you will follow my "Steps,

* Dion & Herodian *in Severo*.

† *Antonine* was then a darling Name of the *Romans*; and for that Reason *Severus* had given it to both his Sons. But the eldest proved such a sad Wretch, that the Senate made a Law that the Name should never be made Use of for the future.

" Steps, and prove what you ought to be; but weak " and tottering if otherways.—Do every Thing that " conduces to each other's Good.—Cherish the Soldiery, " and then you may despise the rest of Mankind.—A " disturbed, and every where distracted Republick I " found it, but to you I leave it firm and quiet;—*even* " *to the Britons.*" Then turning to his Friends he shewed the Philosopher in these Words, " I have been " all;—and yet am now no better for it." Alluding to his Rise from a low Beginning, through all the Stations of Life. Then calling for the Urn which was to contain his Ashes, after the *Ossilegium*, or burning of his Body, and looking steadily upon it, " Thou shalt " hold," says he, " what the whole World could not " contain." His last Words were, " Is there any " Thing else, my Friends, that I can do for you?"

As his whole Life, so did his Death, and even his Funeral Obsequies, altogether, contribute to render the Name of this great Prince immortal. The last were solemnized at a small Distance from the City, and have left such a Testimonial as will make the Place famous to all Posterity. We are told that the Body of this martial Emperor was brought out in a military Manner by the Soldiers; that it was habited in a Soldier's Dress, and laid on a most magnificent Pile, erected for that Purpose, to burn him on. His Sons first put the lighted Torch to it, and when the Flames ascended, the Pile was honoured with the *Peridrome*, Decursion or riding round it, by the young Princes, his chief Officers, and Soldiers *. This Kind of *Roman* Funeral Ceremony is elegantly described by *Virgil.*

Ter circum accensos, cincti fulgentibus armis,
Decurrêre rogos; ter mœstum funeris ignem
Lustravere in equis

Then thrice around the burning Piles they run,
Clad in bright Armour. Thrice the mournful Flame
They encompassed on Horseback.

After the Body of the Emperor was consumed in the Flames, his Ashes were collected, and, with sweet Odours, put into a Porphyrite Urn. This was carried

* *Dion Cassius, Herodian* in *Severo.*

ried to *Rome*, and there depoſited in the Monument of the *Antonines*. He had afterwards the extraordinary Ceremony of the *Apotheoſis*, or Deification, conferred upon him by the Senate and People.

But that the Memory of him, in *Britain*, might laſt as long as the World, his grateful Army, with infinite Labour, raiſed three large Hills, in the very Place where his Funeral Rites were performed; which Hills, after ſo many Ages being waſhed with Rains, and often plowed, are ſtill very apparent, but muſt have been much higher than they are at preſent. *Suetonius* tells us, that the Soldiers in *Germany* raiſed an honorary Tomb to the Memory of *Druſus*, though his Body had been carried to *Rome* and depoſited in the *Campus Martius* *. Such Kind of *Tumuli*, or *Cumuli*, ſepulchral Hills, were raiſed by the *Romans*, at vaſt Trouble and Expence, over their Men of higheſt Note, in order to eternize their Memories. No Sort of Monument, of which they had ſeveral, can poſſibly ſubſiſt longer; for nothing but an Earthquake can deſtroy them. *Seneca* ſpeaks of them in this Manner, *Cætera ſunt quæ per conſtructionem lapidum, & marmoreas moles, &* terrenos tumulos *in magnam eductos celſitudinem conſtant.*

It has been objected to us that theſe Hills ſeem to be natural ones, and indeed the Plough has contributed very much to that Appearance of them; but we have undoubted Teſtimony, both hiſtorical and traditional, to aſſure us that they have borne the Name of *Severus's Hills* for many Ages. Mr. *Camden* quotes *Radulphus Niger* that they were in his Time called the *Severes* †. *Radulph de Diceto*, an earlier Hiſtorian than the former, following the *Britiſh* Story, writes thus, *Sed eo tandem a Pictis perempto, requieſcit Eboraci, in monte qui ab eo* Severs-ho *vocatus eſt* ‡. The learned Primate, in his Chronology, tells us, that the Corpſe of this Emperor was laid on the Funeral Pile in a Place which, to this very

* *Suetonius* in *Claudio*.

† *Radulphus Niger* lived in *Henry* the Third's Reign, *An.* 1250, ſays *Hollingſhead*; but *Nicholſon* places him *An.* 1217, and *R. de Diceto* before him, Hiſt. Lib.

‡ Rad. de Diceto, *inter* xv. *ſcript. ed.* Gale.

very Day, retains the Name of *Severs-Hill* §. From all which Testimonies, and the constant Traditions of the Inhabitants of *York*, we have no Room to doubt but that these Hills were raised for the Reason aforesaid.

That there are three of these Hills is likewise no Objection, and it is thought that they have been raised all at the same Time in Memory of the dead Emperor, and in Honour of the two living ones, his Sons and Successors. We need say no more to prove this Custom to have been a very common one amongst the *Romans*, as it was also used by the *Pagan Britons*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*. The *Goths*, or *Ang. Saxons*, made their Tombs very like the *Roman Tumuli*, from which Word came the *French Tombeaux*. Numbers of these sepulchral Hills, by the Country People called *Barroughs* *, are to be met with in this Island; especially upon our *Wolds*, where there are many of them of different Magnitudes, according to the Quality of the Officer entombed. The lowest was not buried without the Soldiers, under his Command, each laying a Turf upon his Grave. And the S. T. T. L. in some of their monumental Inscriptions, or *sit tibi terra levis*, *may this Earth lay light*, plainly alludes to this Custom. It cannot be wondered then that these *Tumuli* of ours are of such an extraordinary Bulk, when there went the Power of the whole *Roman* Army then in *Britain*, as well as the Natives, to raise them. They seem to have been raised from a flat Superficies, and the Place whence this vast Quantity of Earth was dug, is now a small Village at the Foot of the Hills, called *Holegate*. We shall take Leave of these venerable Remains of *Roman* Grandeur with giving their exact Mensuration, as to Altitude and Diameter, *viz.* the largest is 308 Yards in Diameter, and 44 Yards one Foot in Height; the second is 210 Yards in Diameter, and 32 Yards in Height; and the least is 100 Yards in Diameter, and 27 Yards in Height.

But it may now be asked, What certain Testimony have we that *Severus* did actually die at *York?* To prove it we shall only mention the Authority of two *Roman*

§ *Corpus ejus rogo est impositum in loco qui ad hunc usque Diem* Severs-Hill *sive* Severi *collis nomen retulit.* Usher's *Primord. Eccl.* Britan.

* *Barroughs* comes from the A. S. *Beare* or *Beorg* tumulus, collis, *&c.* whence our Word *Bury* is derived. *Somner's Saxon* D.&c.

Roman Writers, which will put the Matter out of Dispute. *Eutropius* gives it us in these Words:—*Decessit* EBORACI (Severus) *admodum senex, imperii anno* xviii. *mense* iv. *& divus appellatus est* †. And *Spartian* now expressly names the Place, *periit* EBORACI, *in* Britannia, *subactis gentibus quæ* Britanniæ *videbantur infestæ, anno imperii* xviii. *morbo gravissimo extinctus, jam senex* ‡. To deny this Evidence is to say abruptly, that EBORACVM is not *York*; which, however disputable other Stations may be in *Britain*, the learned Men of all Ages, since the Time of the *Romans*, have unanimously concurred in.

Dion Cassius, a Senator, and Consul both before and after the Reign of *Severus*, has left us a Story of the Empress *Julia*, known in the *Roman* Coins by the Name of *Julia Domna*. The Story has been translated and retailed by several modern Authors, but as it is thought the Subject of it was transacted at *York*, where the Court then was, it cannot be amiss to insert it here.

It was the Custom of the ancient *Britons* to live promiscuously, to make Use of one another's Wives, and bring up their Children in common *; which Custom, as it was contrary to *Roman* Laws, *Severus* endeavoured to restrain; for even his own Soldiers gave too much into the Practice of it. *Dion* said he made several Edicts against Adulterers, *&c.* by which many were brought upon their Trials and punished for it §. I can affirm upon my own Knowledge, adds our Author, having in my Consulship seen it on our Records, that above 3000 Offenders, in this Kind, have been libelled against at one Time. But, when few Presons could be met with that would perform the executive Part of the Laws with Vigour, the Emperor began to be more remiss in Prosecutions of this Nature. The Empress *Julia*, pursues our Author, rallied a *British* Lady, the Wife of *Argentocoxus*, a *Caledonian* Prince, probably a Prisoner, or an Hostage at *York*, with the Licentiousness

† Eutropii *Hist.* Roman. *Vide notas variorum in* Eutrop. *&* S. Havercampi.

‡ *Historiæ* August. *cum notis* Isaaci Casaubon *& alior.*

* *Utuntur communibus uxoribus liberosque omnes alunt.* Tacitus.

§ *Licet & ipso adulteriis famosa.* Dio Xiphilin. Juliam *famosam adulteriis.* Spartian.

neſs of her Country Women, for committing ſuch open Obſcenities with their Men. The bold *Briton* anſwered her with great Vivacity, *I think, Madam, we have much the Advantage of you* Roman *Ladies in this Particular, and ſatisfy our natural Inclinations with much better Grace; for we, in open Day-Light, admit the Noble and the Brave to our Embraces, but you, in Darkneſs and Dungeons, make Uſe of your moſt degenerate Slaves.* A cutting Reply to one whom their own Hiſtorians do not ſtick to brand with the Infamy of it. *

The aforeſaid Author has given us this Emperor's daily Courſe of Life, in the laſt Years of it, in this Manner: "He came, ſays he, early to, and conſtantly ſat in the Judgment-Hall till Noon; after which he rode out as long as he was able. At his Return from this Exerciſe he bathed; then dined, either alone or with his Sons; but ſo luxurioufly and plentifully, as conſtantly threw him into a ſound Sleep after Dinner. When he awaked, he walked about ſome Time, and diverted himſelf with a *Greek* or *Latin* Author. In the Evening he bathed again, and after ſupped with his Domeſticks and Familiars; for no other Gueſts were admitted; except at ſome ſet Times, when he would treat his whole Court at Supper very magnificently."

We ſhall conclude our Account of this great *Roman* with a Deſcription of his Perſon, and Character of his Parts, *&c.* drawn from the ſame Hiſtorian as the former. "He was, ſays he, of a groſs Habit of Body, but yet very ſtrong and robuſt; except when weakened with the Gout, which he ſuffered much from. He had an excellent and piercing Judgment; in the Study of the liberal Arts he had been wonderfully diligent, which rendered his Speech and Counſel both eloquent and perſuaſive. To his Friends moſt grateful, and always mindful to do them Good; but to his Enemies implacable. Diligent in the Execution of Buſineſs; but when diſpatched, no one ever heard him ſpeak of it again. Greedy enough of Money; which he took all Methods to get together, except that he never put any one to Death in the attaining of it. He erected many new Palaces

* Several Laws are extant in the *Code* made by *Papinian, contra Mæchos*; probably at *York*, though none of them are dated as the former.

laces and Temples, and repaired ſeveral old ones; two, eſpecially, to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, he built very magnificently. And though his Expences in theſe and other Matters were very great, yet, at his Death, he left in Gold many Thouſands behind him; and alſo as much Corn to the City of *Rome* as would ſerve it ſeven Years *." This is a great Character for a Heathen, and what few of our Chriſtian Princes have attained to. The blackeſt Crime that any Hiſtorian can lay to his Charge, is, that he raiſed the fifth Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians.

Severus being dead, the Government devolved upon his two Sons CARACALLA and GETA; and the Court ſtill continuing at EBORACVM, the Courſe of this Hiſtory muſt neceſſarily attend it. The eldeſt of theſe Princes, *Baſſianus*, was ſurnamed *Caracalla*, from a *Gauliſh* Garment, made with a Hood or Cowl, which was originally ſhort till he lengthened it to the Ancles of his Soldiers. He uſed to boaſt, *that he never learned to do Good*; and indeed the whole Courſe of his Life ſufficiently ſhews it. His Father left the World not without Suſpicion of foul Play from him, as *Dion* hints; but, be that as it would, it is certain he had been tampering with the Emperor's Phyſicians to deſtroy him; for the firſt that taſted of his Cruelty were thoſe, whom he inſtantly put to Death for not obeying his Orders in it †. The greateſt Weakneſs the Father ever betrayed, was his Partiality or Blindneſs to this incorrigible Son. And he can never be excuſed for being the Cauſe of the Death of the Younger, ſays *Dion*, and having, in ſome Meaſure, delivered him over to his Brother, who he might foreſee would put him to Death ‡.

Geta § was of a different Temper from his Brother, and was very grateful to the Senate and Citizens; he had alſo a powerful Party, even in the Army. *Caracalla*, aſpiring to be ſole Emperor, had reſolved upon his Brother's Death: But to come at the Fratricide with more Eaſe and Safety to himſelf, upon a ſlight Pretence of Mutiny, he cauſed 20,000 of the Soldiery, whom he ſuſ-

* This laſt Sentence is from *Spartian*.

† *Herodian*. ‡ *Xiphiline* from *Dio*.

§ *Nihil inter fratres ſimile*. Spartianus. *Apud exercitum cariſſimus erat, præſertim quod facie patri ſimillimus eſſet*. Dio.

suspected to be in his Brother's Interest, to be put to the Sword. This done, it was no great Difficulty to get the rest to proclaim *Geta* an Enemy to his Country; who, upon hearing it, fled for Protection to his Mother *Julia*. But, alas! it was all in vain, the inhuman Butcher followed his bloody Purpose, and, with his own Hands, pierced the unhappy Prince's Heart, even in the Arms of her who gave him Life. *

Caracalla had still another Obstacle to surmount before he could make himself easy in his Government, and that was the taking off his Father's faithful Friend and Counsellor *Papinian*. This eminent Civilian, whom we have mentioned before, was the greatest Ornament not only of EBORACVM, but of the whole Island of *Britain*.

Camden quotes from *Forcatulus*, a *French* Antiquary †, that the Tribunal at *York* was exceeding happy, in that it heard *Papinian*, the Oracle of Right and Law.

Cujacius, almost as great a Name as the former, gives *Papinian* this high Character, "That he was the most eminent of all Civilians that either ever were in the World, or ever would be; whom no one in the Science of the Law could ever yet outdo, nor can he be equalled in it in any future Times." ‡

Papinian studied under *Scævola*, was Master of Requests, Treasurer, and Captain of the Guards to *Severus*, and by the Emperor's second Marriage he became nearly related to him. The Exactness and Perfections which are in his Writings, says a modern Author §, and the great Abundance of them, would induce one to think that he exceeded the ordinary Course of Life; but yet his Age was no more than 36 Years, three Months, and ten Days ||, when he was taken off by a violent Death; which, adds our Author, cannot be imputed to any other Cause than his own Virtue, and the Cruelty of him that commanded it. Nor was *Papinian* alone in the

* *Ac jam tum ex collo ejus pendebat, adhærebatque ipsius pectori atque uberibus, occidit lamentantem clamantemque, in hæc verba*, Mater, mater, genetrix, genetrix fer opem, occidor, &c. Xiphilin. *a* Dione.

† Steph. Forcat. *de* Gallor. *philos. et im.*

‡ *Primus omnium jurisconsultorum qui fuerunt vel futuri sunt; quem nemo unquam juris scientia superavit, nec in posterum æquare poterit.* Cujacius.

§ Duck *de jure civili.* || Gruter, *f.* 358.

Prætorium; several other great Names * occur in History, as Counsellors or Coadjutors to him in it. Among these were *Ulpianus* and *Paulus*, the next two learned Men of that Age, and who are supposed to be *Papinian*'s Successors in the Tribunal. To these great Men, but more especially to the first, did *Severus*, on his Death-Bed, leave the Guardianship of his Sons, and the whole Affairs of the Empire.

Dio and *Herodian* both write, that *Geta* was slain at *Rome*, in the Palace, and almost in the Bosom of his Mother. Yet a very learned Antiquary † quotes several Authorities to prove that *Geta*'s and *Papinian*'s Murders, and probably *Caracalla*'s incestuous Marriage with his Father's Wife, were all of them perpetrated in EBORACVM. We shall conclude with the Sense of *Spartian*, who, summing up the good Emperors that had left bad Sons and Successors, leaves this Monster of Mankind this Character, "How happy would it have been to the Empire, if *Severus* had not begot *Bassianus*; who, under Pretence of Plots against himself, and with a patricidial Lye, immediately murdered his innocent Brother; who married his Mother-in-Law, nay rather his Mother, in whose very Bosom he had slain her Son *Geta*; and who destroyed *Papinian*, that Asylum of the Law, and learned Repository of it, because he would not excuse his Brother's Murder?

The Imperial Court having resided at EBORACVM, from *Severus*'s first coming to it, to *Caracalla*'s Return to *Rome*, must, as we have noted, give a Lustre to our Subject, and make its Glory shine equal, if not superior, to the most renowned Cities in the Empire. From *Severus*'s excellent Government, and his Son's leaving the Island, for near the Space of an Age, we hear no more of our City; and indeed but lightly of the Affairs of *Britain* in general. Those ancient Depredators, the *Picts* and *Scots*, were so humbled and cooped in by the Emperor's Conduct, and his prodigious Wall that he had built and garrisoned against them, that it required much Time for them to surmount those Difficulties. In the

* There are 25 more Names of Persons as Auditors to *Papinian*, and Counsellors to *Severus* at *York*. See *Isaacson*'s Chronology from *Lamprid. Func. Helvet.* &c.

† See *Burton*'s *Ant. itin.*

the mean-time the gallant ſixth Legion continued in their old Quarters at *York*; and though not in War, were certainly not in a State of Indolency. The many noble high Roads, the Veſtiges of which are in many Places ſtill very extant, make it obvious, that neither they nor their Fellow Soldiers in other Legions, in the Times of profoundeſt Peace, wanted Employment. The peaceable Age the Iſland enjoyed after *Severus*, is thought by moſt Hiſtorians, to be the Time the *Roman* Soldiers were employed by their Commanders in caſting up Highways, making of Bricks, cutting down Woods, and draining of Bogs. This Work was extremely neceſſary for the more effectually enſlaving a free People, by deſtroying their Faſtneſſes, and the quicker March of Troops and Military Engines from Place to Place, as Occaſion required.

It is not to be expected that we ſhould meet with ſuch noble Remains of high Roads round *York*, as are yet apparent on the *Appian* and *Flaminian* Ways in *Italy*. Thoſe Roads to the great City were no Doubt laid with wonderful Care and Coſt; beſides, the Dryneſs of that Climate and Soil, when compared with ours, muſt make a great Difference, as to the ſinking or turning up of the Agger which compoſed them. But we can, however, make a Boaſt of ſeveral remarkable Veſtiges in this Kind of *Roman* Induſtry, which are to be ſeen at this Day in our Neighbourhood. Which Roads, tending all from different Sea-Ports and Stations, and pointing directly at the City itſelf, muſt make it very conſiderable.

The Diſcovery of ſeveral of theſe Roads, as alſo of many other *Roman* Works in and near this City, was ſolely owing to the indefatigable Induſtry of the learned Antiquary *Francis Drake*, Eſq; late of this City, Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies.

It is eaſy to ſee, that EBORACVM is the Principal of all theſe *Itinera*, or Routes. And as at *Rome* there was a gilded Pillar ſet up at the Head of the *Forum*, in *umbilico urbis* *, by the Order of *Auguſtus*, from whence the Menſuration of the Roads quite through *Italy* were taken;

* *Suetonius. Dio.* Mr. *Laſſels* writes that this Pillar was ſtanding in *Rome* in his Time. *Laſſels*'s Voyage to *Italy*.

taken; so it is more than barely probable that a Pillar of this Kind was erected by *Severus* at EBORACVM, to serve for the same Purpose through *Britain*. It must at least be acknowledged that *York* is at this Day the only Point from whence we can, with Certainty, fix any *Roman* Station in the North of *England*.

Some of these Military Pillars, or Mile-Stones, found in the North of *England*, are preserved and given in Mr. *Horsley*'s *Brit. Romana*; and Mr. *Drake* saw several on the *Roman* Roads leading to this City, but the Inscriptions worn off.

The several *Itinera*, or *Roman* Land-Roads, which led to EBORACVM, were, 1. from *Ravensburgh* [a], or *Spurn-Point*, by *Londesbrough* [b] (where it is joined by that from *Lincoln* [c] by *Brough* [d]) and *Stamfordbridge*. [e]—2. From *Sureby* [f], near *Flamborough-Head*, by *Sledmire* and *Malton* [g], where it is joined by that from *Whitby* [h]. 3. From the *Teese-Mouth* over *Hambleton* and by *Crake*. 4. The *Iter ad Vallum*, leading by *Piersebridge*, *Catterick* [i], *Aldborough* [k], and *Aldwark*.—5. From *Ribchester* [l], in *Lancashire*, by *Skipton*, *Ilkley* [m], *Abberford*, and *Tadcaster* [n]. This is joined at *Abberford* by the Road from *Chester* [o] by *Manchester* [p] and *Almonbury* [q]; another from *Derby*, and a third from *Doncaster*; which two latter unite at *Pontefract* [r].

Besides these Land-Roads which led to EBORACVM from so many different Stations, the Communication by Water was open to the *German* Ocean, and consequently Vessels might arrive there from any Port in the Empire; nor was there a Ship then in Use, but might be moored under the very Walls of the City. By this Way that vast Armament they kept garrisoned on the Wall, the other Northern Stations, and in the City itself, were supplied with Corn as well as other Provisions brought from the Southern and more cultivated Parts of the Island, with Ease, along that famous *Roman* Work, called the *Car-Dike*, extending from *Peterborough* to *Lincoln*,

[a] Prætorium. [b] Delgovitia. [c] Lindum. [d] Bracchium. [e] Derventio. [f] Gabrantvicorum Sinus Salutaris. [g] Camulodunum. [h] Dunus Sinus. [i] Cataractonium. [k] Isurium. [l] Coccium. [m] Olicana. [n] Calcaria. [o] Deva. [p] Mancunium. [q] Cambodunum. [r] Legeolium.

Lincoln, and the *Foſs-Dike*, from thence into the *Trent*; through which the Navigation of the Corn-Boats was continued acroſs the *Humber* and the River *Ouſe* to *York*.

From the extraordinary Care and Pains the *Romans* beſtowed in making the great Cuts aforeſaid, we muſt be aſſured that their Receptacles at *York*, both on Land and Water, were proportionably large, to contain the prodigious Quantity of Corn that was brought, and the vaſt Number of Boats neceſſary for the Conveyance of it to the City. The River *Ouſe* was by no Means either large or ſafe enough for the Purpoſe, by Reaſon of the great Land-Floods, which often come impetuouſly down it. They had Recourſe then to a more noble Undertaking; which was, to cut another River, and bring down as much Water as they wanted from the Country above them. This is what we call the *Foſs*, whoſe very Name ſtill retains the Memory of its Original. Its Source is no higher up the Country than about a Dozen Miles North of the City; and by making this Cut many Conveniences accrued: For it was not only a conſiderable Drain to the great Foreſt of *Galtres* on that Side, which before muſt have been a perfect Bog by its Flatneſs; but it would alſo add to the Fortification of the City, and at the ſame Time ſerve to fill up a large Baſon, or Reſervoir, neceſſary for the Reception, and laying up in Safety, of the Number of Boats employed in this Navigation.

Whoever will take a Survey of the *Foſs* at *York*, or conſider it in the Print or Plan of the City, will ſurely be of Opinion, that this *Foſs* was no other than an artificial Conveyance for their Veſſels to paſs and repaſs to and from this Part of the Town. The great Dam Head, which is thrown croſs the *Foſs* at the *Caſtle-Mills*, ſeems by its preſent Strength to have been the ancient Flood-Gates, or Stoppage, to the Water on that Side. Thro' this Sluice the Veſſels were let into the Water, which formerly not only ſurrounded the Caſtle and Tower, but made a very conſiderable Baſon beſides. But the grand Dock, or Reſervoir of Water, lay ſtill higher in the City, and extended, probably, over all that Moraſs called now the *Foſs-Iſland*, from *Foſs-Bridge* to *Layrthorp-Bridge*. This Iſland is far from being firm Land at preſent; and no Doubt is collected ſince the Time of

the *Romans*. For it was certainly navigable for Fishing-Boats down as low as the Time of *Edward* III. and was then called *Stagnum Regis de Foss*. This will appear by several Grants and Inquisitions taken at that Time, relating to this Fishery, which will be recited when we come to treat of this particular Place in the Sequel. The King's Claim to this Water and the Fishery of it was then of great Extent, for it reached from the *Castle-Mills*, then also called the *King*'s *Mills*, up as high as the Abbot of St. *Mary*'s *Mills*, which formerly stood on the *Foss* above *Earsley-Bridge*, in the Road to *Huntington*.

This prodigious Collection of Water, which now has no less than five Bridges laid over different Parts of it to come at the City by, was certainly a great Security to it on that Side; but the main Dock, we take it, was principally where the Island is at present. In this noble Bason some Hundreds of Vessels, such as they then used, might lie in the utmost Safety. From the East there came in, or rather was drawn into it, another Stream, called also the *Foss*. And as the Tides from the River *Ouse* had likewise a Communication with it, there could be no Fear of wanting Water either Winter or Summer. Thus did *Roman* Art and Ingenuity abundantly make up what Nature had denied to the Situation of EBORACVM. For though the River *Ouse* was then navigable, and was so several Ages after, for any Ship then used at Sea; yet the Narrowness of the River would not allow Room for such a Number of Vessels to lie together, as must necessarily meet on this Occasion.

Besides, we are well acquainted by Tradition, History, and our own Records, that very able Merchants, who have been Magistrates of this City, and at the same Time Mayors of the Staple of *Calais*, lived all along the Side of the *Foss*, from *Castlegate* up to *Peasholmgreen*, and no Doubt had their Warehouses upon it.

The Merchants-Hall at *York*, a fine spacious old Building, stands upon this Navigation. The Company of Merchants is still called the *Old Hans Company*, which derives its Name from being free of the *Hans* Towns, or the great trading Towns in the East. This Hall was their Bourse or Exchange, and was no Doubt built where it is for their more frequent and convenient Meeting in it.

At

At the Extremity of this grand Baſon, beyond *Layrthorp-Bridge*, is a Place at this Day called *Jewbury*, *quaſi* JEWBURG; which certainly was the Diſtrict allowed thoſe mercantile People to live in, *extra muros*; and where they might alſo have the Advantage of this Navigation.

Laſtly, we have been told by living Witneſſes, that in their Time they had ſeen dug up broken Planks of Boats, Iron Rings, and Anchors, near *Layrthorp-Bridge*, which moſt evidently ſhews, that the Navigation from the *Ouſe* reached at leaſt ſo high as to this Part of the City.

It does not appear any where that we know of when this Navigation was diſuſed; it is probable they were choaked out of it by Degrees; and the Baſon in Time filling up, would ſoon become firm Land, if the Stoppage at the Water-Mills below was taken away.

What a noble Piece of Water muſt here anciently have been; a Baſon, or Dock, of more than a Mile in Circumference: What a Sight muſt it have been to ſee it filled with *Roman* Ships, Galleys, and Boats for Pleaſure and Uſe! But that very Place which was then one of the greateſt Ornaments of old EBORACVM, has been for many Years the Diſgrace of YORK, by being in Summer Time little better than a ſtinking Moraſs, owing to the Stoppage at the *Caſtle Mills*; which alſo overflows, at all Seaſons of the Year, ſome Hundreds of Acres of the richeſt Land about the City. This Nuſance has long been complained of, and we hope will ſoon be remedied by Authority of Parliament, an Act, as we are informed, being now (*Anno* 1771) ſoliciting for taking down the Mills and making the *Foſs* navigable.

The Place where the Caſtle of *York* now ſtands, in all Probability was, in the Time of the *Romans*, the grand Magazine or Repoſitory for the Corn aforeſaid; there being Space enough within its Area for ſuch a Purpoſe. The *Foſs* waſhing the Walls, and anciently drawn round both Caſtle and Tower, added a great Strength to its natural Situation. It was an eaſy Matter here for Boats to unload, and then go up further into the Dock, to lie there till another Occaſion.

Juſt below the Caſtle the *Foſs* is called *Foſs-Dike*, and *Browney*, or *Brown Ea-Dike*, to its Entrance into the *Ouſe*. The former Part of the laſt Name ſeems to be compounded of an old *Engliſh* Adjective and a *Norman* Sub-

Substantive. The A. S. BRUN, *Fuscus*, Brown, and *Eau*, Water, a proper Appellation for the Liquid that runs through it, being chiefly drawn from Moors and Morasses above the City. *Dike* is here expressive enough; and having the same Termination at *York* that the grand Canal has in the Counties of *Lincoln* and *Nottingham* most evidently proves both to be artificial Conveyances. The *Saxon Dig* * is as plainly deduced from the Verb to *Dig*, as the *Latin*, *fossa a fodiendo*. And though in several Places these Words are alternately used, and sometimes put together, to denote a *Roman* Cut, high Road, dry Ditch, or Bank; yet, wet or dry, no Place in *Britain* can claim either of these Appellations from a natural Cause.

And now, to pursue the Course of our Annals, we must put the Reader in Mind that the Emperor *Severus* being dead, and his Son returned to *Rome*, the *Roman* Historians inform us of no Wars or Commotions in *Britain* for near the Space of a Century from that Period, *viz.* under the Reign of the Emperor *Diocleſian*, when six General Officersr ebelled; amongst whom *Carausius* †, who was sent by the Emperor with a Fleet to guard the *Belgick* Coasts, took an Opportunity to slip over into *Britain*, and got himself proclaimed Emperor at *York*. This *Carausius*, according to *Eutropius*, was originally a *Briton*, but of mean and obscure Parentage. The *Scotch* Historians mention him, though they differ from the *Latin* as to Chronology, and say, That, to secure himself in *Britain*, he entered into a fast League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, by whose Assistance he overcame *Quintus Bassianus*, a *Roman* Lieutenant, who was sent over by *Diocleſian* to dispossess and destroy him. ‡

They add, That after *Carausius* had got himself proclaimed King of *Britain* at *York*, he retained 2000 *Picts* and *Scots* for his Life-Guards, and gave up all the Lands, from *Hadrian*'s Wall to the City of *York*, to the Kings of those Countries, as their Patrimony for ever, and as a Reward to them for this Service.

How

* *Dit Dice. Vallum, Fossa*, a Trench, a Ditch, a Dike, a Mote. *Limes ille de quo in* Chron. Saxon. *ad Ann.* 905. *mentio facta, fortasse* Foss-Dike, *agros* Cantabrigiensem & Suffolciensem *qui disterminat.* Somner *Dict.* Saxon.

† *Victor Diac.*

‡ *Holling shead's Scotch* Chron. *Hector Boetius. Buchanan.*

How far this Teſtimony may be depended upon, we ſhall not determine, but that *Carauſius* called himſelf *Cæſar*, and was reſident in *Britain*, the many Coins of his Stamp, found no where but in this Iſland, do ſufficiently teſtify. Our City, and eſpecially *Aldburgh*, have turned out ſeveral; and at the laſt-mentioned Place the Coins of this Emperor are as frequently found as of moſt others. In all Probability he was ſlain by his Friend *Allectus* at *York*, or in theſe Parts; who immediately after took upon him the ſame Authority, as his Coins do bear Witneſs, which are equally common among us. *Allectus* bore Sway here till *Conſtantius*, ſurnamed *Chlorus*, was made Emperor; who, coming over into *Britain*, ſlew *Allectus*, and reduced the Province to its former Obedience. This Tyrant, we are told, was alſo of *Plebeian* Race, and had been originally a Smith, for the Soldier who killed him, told him, for the Sake of greater Ignominy, that *it was with a Sword of his own making*.

Conſtantius had married a *Britiſh* Lady called *Helena*, the Daughter of *Gallius*, *Colius*, or *Coel*, one of our Iſland Kings. Authors claſh violently in Opinion relating to the Character of this Lady; ſome allowing her to be no better than a common Proſtitute *; whilſt others, eſpecially thoſe of the *Romiſh* Perſuaſion, cry her up as a Saint, and ſet her at the Head of the Calendar. Mr. *Bale*, no Favourer of Saints or Superſtition, has dreſſed our *Helen* up in the greateſt Ornaments, both of Mind and Body, that ever adorned her Sex. †

The Marriage of *Conſtantius* with the Princeſs *Helena*, muſt have happened ſeveral Years before his laſt-mentioned Expedition into *Britain*; for *Conſtantine*, the Iſſue of it, was above 30 Years old at his Father's Death. The Panegyriſt ‡, (whom we ſhall have great Occaſion to quote in the Sequel) in his Oration to that Emperor, tells him, That he was begot in the very Flower and Pride of his Father's Youth; which Time, upon caſting backwards, will fall to be in the Diſtractions of *Britain*, under the Uſurpations of the thirty Tyrants; or *Anno Chriſti* 272.

The

* *Milton*, &c. † Baleus *de ſcript.* Britan.
‡ Eumenius *inter panegyr. veteres.*

The learned Cardinal *Baronius*, a Foreigner, and who had no Occasion to compliment *Britain* with the Honour of being the Birth-Place of *Constantine the Great*, makes this Expedition of *Constantius* into the Province, to happen *Anno Christi* 274 *. It was then, he says, that *Constantius*, surnamed *Chlorus*, only a *Patrician*, or Senator of *Rome*, yet of Imperial Lineage, and related to the late Emperor *Claudius* †, was sent first into *Britain*; to the End that he might contain that Nation, frequently accustomed to Revolts, in their Duty and Allegiance to the Emperor. Here is a Contradiction amongst some of our Chronologers of a Year or two; but that does not much alter the Case. *Aurelian* was then Emperor, and *Constantius*, a young and bold Commander, was employed by him in the Reduction of this Province; which, as well as that of other Parts of the Empire, was at last effected. He was at that Time made Proprætor ‡, and lived several Years in the Island; for being of a graceful Personage §, says our Authority, and of a bold and enterprizing Genius, he was the fittest to bear Rule in so turbulent a Province. That the Emperor *Aurelian* did send Aid into *Britain*, needs no other Testimony than the *Mauri Aureliani* stationed in the *Notitia*, much further North than *York*; and who certainly derived their Name from that Emperor.

There is no Part of *Roman* History, relating to their Transactions in *Britain*, so dark as at this Period; that is, towards the latter End of the third Century. And if we consider that the Empire was then torn and divided into many Shares, and continually disturbed by civil Dissensions at home, it is no Wonder that *Britain*, a remote Province, was little taken Notice of in the Histories of those Times: For this Cause it is, that we cannot trace *Constantius* at EBORACVM, whilst he was only Proprætor or Lieutenant of *Britain*; but there is all the Reason in the World to believe that he made this Place his chief Residence whilst he was Deputy, since he certainly did so when he was Principal.

Our Chronologers make this last Expedition of *Constantius*

* Baronii *Ann. ad An.* 306. *Sect.* 16.

† *Post duos familiæ tuæ tertius imperator.* Panegyr. *ad* Const. N°. IX.

‡ *Zosimus* l. 6. et not. *Joseph. Scaliger* in *Eusebium*, An. 273.

§ *Eurip.* apud *Porphyr.*

ſtantius into *Britain*, to fall in the Year 305, and two Years after he is ſaid to have died in this City*.

Euſebius, in his Life of the Son, is very particular in deſcribing the laſt Moments of the Father.

Conſtantine, who had been left as a Pledge of his Father's Fidelity with his Colleagues *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* at *Rome*, having great Reaſon to ſuſpect they meant him no Good, eſcaped from thence, and, with wonderful Celerity and Cunning in his Flight †, came and preſented himſelf to his Father at *York*. The Sight of his eldeſt and beſt-beloved Son, whom he had long wiſhed for, but never hoped to ſee, ſo revived the dying Emperor, that raiſing himſelf in Bed, and embracing him cloſely, he gave Thanks to the Gods for this great unexpected Favour; affirming, that now Death was no Terror to him, ſince he had ſeen his Son, and could leave his yet unaccompliſhed Actions to be performed by him. Then gently lying down, he diſpoſed of his Affairs to his own Mind; and taking Leave of his Children of both Sexes, who, ſays our Authority, like a Choir, ſtood and encompaſſed him lying in the Imperial Palace and Royal Bed ‡; and having delivered over to the Hands of the eldeſt, as natural Reaſon required, the Imperial Dominion, he expired.

We have here another Inſtance of an Imperial Palace at EBORACVM, which two of the greateſt and moſt admired Pagan Emperors the *Roman* State ever ſaw, lived and died in. It is true *Euſebius* does not expreſsly mention that *York* was the Place where *Conſtantius* breathed his laſt; but other Authorities, particularly St. *Jerome*, and *Eutropius*, a Heathen Writer of that Age, confirm it. *Obiit in* BRITANNIA EBORACI *principatus autem tertio decimo, et inter divos relatus eſt* ||. He died at *York* in *Britain*

* *Ducange*, in famil. aug. *Bizant*, writes, that he died here, *July* 25, *Anno Chriſti* 307.

† He is ſaid to have hamſtringed all the Poſt-Horſes he made Uſe of, to prevent a Purſuit.

‡ *In* palatio *et in* regio cubuli *jacens*.—Euſebius *verſione* Valeſii *in vita* Conſtantini.

|| Principatus anno tertio decimo. *Notæ, falſum eſt: ſi enim annos, quibus* Cæſaris *poteſtatem exercuit, conjungas cum annis, quibus* Auguſtum *imperium obtinuit, annos* XV. *invenies; quippe creatus eſt* Cæſar, *an. ab urbe cond.* 1043. *P. C.* 291. *deinde* Auguſtus *factus anno U. C.* 1056. *P. C.* 304. *deceſſit biennio poſt et tribus menſibus.* Eutrop. *not. varior. et S.* Havercampi.

tain in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, and is enrolled amongst the Gods.

If then *Constantius* died at *York*, there must his Funeral Obsequies be solemnized, and, as we have Reason to believe, his Ashes entombed; as also, the Ceremony of the *Apotheosis*, or Deification, conferred upon him.

Eusebius writes, That his Son and Successor, *Constantine the Great*, was immediately, upon his Father's Death, saluted Emperor, and was invested with the Purple Robe in his Father's own Palace *. After which the dead Emperor's Funeral Rites were performed with the utmost Magnificence, an infinite Number of People assisting, who, with Dances, Songs, and loud Acclamations, congratulated his Ascension to the Gods. †

Rome, in the Heighth of all her Grandeur and Magnificence, had not a more glorious Show to exhibit than the *Apotheosis*, or Deification, of their Emperors. It is here we want an *Herodian* to give us the Ceremony of the Funeral and *Apotheosis* of *Constantius*, as particularly as that Author has described those of *Severus*. But that the Reader may have some Notion of this uncommon Piece of *Roman* Pageantry, we beg Leave, from *Herodian*, to give a Description of it; and we make no Doubt but this Ceremony was performed alike at *York* as at *Rome*.

" The Image of the dead Emperor, being exquisitely molded of Wax to resemble a sick Person, was laid on an Ivory Bed, ready furnished in the Porch of his Palace: The Princes and Senators sat all on the Left-Side of the Bed, clad in black Habits, whilst their Ladies, in white Robes, sat on the other, the Physicians diligently attending. When seven Days were ended, as if he was then just dead, the Image was taken up by the prime Nobility with the Bed, and carried into the *Forum*, where all the *Prætorian* Youths and Noble Virgins encompassed it, singing most doleful Hymns and Dirges. From thence the Image, *&c.* was removed to the Field of *Mars*, where a Frame of Timber was erected, four-square, of a very great Compass

* *Paterna ornatus purpura*——paternis ædibus. *Havercampi.*

† The Panegyrist to *Constantine*, whom we shall quote more fully in the Sequel, expresses this Deification in these Words: *Vere enim profecto illi superum templa patuerunt, receptusque est consessu cælitum*, Jove ipso dextram porrigente. *Panegyr. veteres*, n. v.

pafs and Height, the Gradations ftill afcending pyramidically to the Top, richly adorned with Gold and Purple Ornaments, and Statues of great Art and Price. On the fecond of thefe Afcents was placed the Imperial Bed and Image, with a prodigious Quantity of odorifick Gums and Perfumes. The young Nobility rid round the Pile in a Kind of Dance, whilft others repreferted thofe amongft the *Romans* who had commanded Armies, or governed the Empire with the greateft Glory. His Succeffor firft put Fire to the Frame, and after him the People on all Sides did the like. When all was in a Blaze, an Eagle, fecretly inclofed within, was let fly out of the Top of the Pile, the Multitude following its Flight with Shouts and Prayers, fuppofing that therewith the Emperor was mounted into Heaven."

Eufebius, a Chriftian Writer of that Age, has left *Conftantius* this great Character. " A while after, the Emperor *Conftantius*, a Man agreeable in every Point of Life, who was remarkable for his Clemency to his Subjects, and a fingular Benevolence to thofe of our Perfuafion, leaving his eldeft Son Emperor in his Stead, was fnatched away by Death; he was, by Pagan Cuftom, enrolled amongft the Gods, and had all the Honours, which had ever been paid at their Funerals, beftowed upon him. He was the moft benign and merciful of all Princes; and of all the Emperors up to our Time, he, alone, led a Life fuitable to his great Dignity. Laftly, as in other Things, he was humane and beneficent to all; fo towards us he behaved with great Moderation, and kept the true Worfhippers of God, who lived under his Government, free from Harm or Danger; neither deftroying our Churches, or fuffering any Thing to moleft us; for which God fo bleffed him, that this excellent Father left a more excellent Son, the Heir of his well-acquired Empire." *

Conftantius being dead, and his Funeral Obfequies being folemnized at *York*, we come next to inquire where his Afhes were depofited. None of the Hiftorians we have mentioned take Notice of this Circumftance; but fince they are at the fame Time filent as to their being removed from hence, we may juftly conclude, that where the Tree fell, there it was ordered to

* Eufebii *Eccles. Hift. feft.* iv.

lie. *Matthew* of *Westminster* * mentions a Place in *Wales*, where, he says, the Tomb of *Constantius* was found; but the old Monk seems to doat in this Story, and there is no other Authority, that we know of, to confirm it. Our great Antiquary, *Camden*, has given some Light into this Affair, and perfectly secured to us the Honour of this Emperor's Sepulchre, if you do not believe that the Lamp, which he was credibly informed, when at *York*, was found burning in a vaulted Tomb, within a little Chapel, soon after the Reformation, was any more than an *Ignis fatuus*. † The Intelligence about the Lamp, our Author says, he had from several understanding Men in the City, who told him, that the Vault was found under Ground, in a Place where constant Fame had ever reported the Ashes of *Constantius* to be laid. Tho' *Camden* mentions not the particular Place where this wonderful Monument was discovered, yet since no Age can produce an Interval where Churches, *&c.* were so narrowly searched, and so severely plundered, as this we have mentioned, this ancient Sepulchre might then be broke up, and pried into for an imaginary Treasure, which the most barbarous Pagan Nations, who had so often taken and sacked *York* since the Death of *Constantius*, had never presumed to do.

To add a little more Confidence to this Story from *Camden*, we must say that Tradition still informs us, that the Sepulchre he speaks of was found in the Parish Church of St. *Helen* on the Wall, which once stood in *Aldwark*. This Church was demolished at the Union of them in the City; and it is not impossible that *Constantine the Great*, when converted to Christianity, might order a Church or Chapel to be erected over his Father's Ashes, which was dedicated, perhaps after his Time, to his Mother: For since he must have a Sepulchre somewhere amongst us, we know no Place, in or about the City, more likely for it to have stood in than this.

But the Story of the *Burning Lamp* will require a little further Disquisition. Our Antiquary has in some Measure given us a Receipt out of *Lazius* for this wonderful Composition; a Fiction, we doubt, he too readily credited. We are aware of several great and venerable Names, such as *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *Baptista*

* *In West. in An.* 1283. † *Gibson's Camden*, see *York*.

tista Porta, Licetus, Pancirollus, St. *Austin*, &c. that gave Testimony of the Truth of this; from whom we learn, that the Ancients had a Method to dissolve Gold into a fatty Substance that would burn for Ages. But, with Submission to these great Authorities, we shall sooner concur in Opinion with that eminent Antiquary of our own Days, *Montfaucon*, who says it is impossible that there ever was, or could be, such Lamps in the World. Our natural Philosophy, as well as our natural Reason, teaches that no Fire can subsist without Air; whereas this unaccountable Flame is said to be extinguished by it.

But to conclude this Head: That there never were such Things as everlasting Lamps, is no Argument that the Tomb of *Constantius* might not have been found in this City at the Time before mentioned. Something extraordinary must have been discovered to give Occasion for the Report; and the Story of the burning Lamp, like that said to be found in the Tomb of *Tullia, Cicero's* Daughter, might be feigned to give the greater Authority to the Conjecture.

Upon the Demise of the last Emperor, the Army and People of *Rome*, who were then in this City, immediately proclaimed *Constantine*, his eldest Son, his Successor. The Imperial Purple was put on him by the Soldiery; which, we are told, he accepted of with some Reluctance; nay even that he mounted his Horse and rode away from the Army, who pursued him with the Robe of Royalty *, and did not accept of it without Tears. The Surprize of his Father's Death, and this new-offered Dignity, might stagger the young Prince's Mind at first; but being persuaded by his Friends, the Princes of the Empire; particularly, says an Historian, by *Erocus*, a *German* King †, who then was in the

* *Imperator transitum facturus in cœlum, vidit quem relinquebat hæredem. Illico enim atque ille terris fuerat exemptus*, universus in te consedit exercitus, *te omnium mentes oculique signarunt; et quanquam tua ad* seniores principes *de summa reip. quid fieri placeret retulisses, prævenerunt tamen studio, quod illi mox judicio probaverunt.* Purpuram *statim tibi, cum primus copiam tui fecit egressus* milites, *utilitate publicæ magis quam tuis affectibus servientes*, injecere lacrymanti, *neque enim fas erat diutius flere* principem consecratum. *Diceris etiam, imperator invicte, ardorem te deposcentis exercitus fugere conatus*, equum calcaribus incitasse; *quod quidem, ut verum audias*, adolescentiæ errore *faciebus*, &c. Eumenii *panegyr. ad* Const. Mag.

† Victor. *in epitom.* Cæsar.

Court at *York*, he at laſt accepted of this high Command.

The Inauguration of this great Monarch, which muſt have happened in our City, as likewiſe a ſtrong Claim we have to the drawing his firſt Breath in it, will render it ever famous to Poſterity: And tho' this laſt be ſomewhat more dubious than the former, yet the Honour is ſo great, that the Argument requires a more than ordinary Diſquiſition, which we ſhall attempt in the Sequel.

The Pomp and Ceremony of receiving the Imperial Purple, at a Time when the *Roman* Power extended over moſt of the then known World, and had either their tributary Kings in Perſon, their Hoſtages, or their Ambaſſadors conſtantly reſident with them, muſt add a prodigious Luſtre to EBORACVM, and gives us Reaſon to call it here once again ALTERA ROMA.

We can meet with no Hiſtorian that has been particular enough to deſcribe the Inveſtiture of this Auguſt Emperor in the Colours it deſerves. We are told, however, that the *Britiſh* Soldiers in *Roman* Pay ſaluted their Countryman, *Conſtantine*, Emperor at *York*, and preſented him with a *Tufa*, or Golden Ball, as a Symbol of his Sovereignty over the Iſland of *Britain*. He was much taken with this Emblem, and upon his Converſion to Chriſtianity placed a Croſs upon it, and had it carried before him in all Proceſſions whatſoever. Since this Emperor's Time it is become the uſual Sign of Majeſty, and uſurped, ſays an Author *, by all other Chriſtian Princes, and reckoned amongſt their Regalia.

The Birth of *Conſtantine the Great*, according to a very learned Chronologer †, happened in the Year of *Chriſt* 272. His Words are, Conſtantinus Magnus *hoc Anno in* Britannia *natus, Patre* Conſtantio *et Matre* Helena. We have hinted before, that it was probably when *Conſtantius* was Legate in *Britain* under the Emperor *Aurelian*, and the whole Number of the Years of *Conſtantine*'s Life confirm this Chronology; but we find that not only the expreſs Place where this great Man was born, but even the Country, is diſputed. For the latter, three as eminent Writers, as ever any Age produced, have put the Affair out of Contradiction; and if

* *Churchill's* Divi *Britan.* † Chron. *Abrahami Bucholt.*

If so, what particular Place in *Britain* can bid fairer for it than EBORACUM? *

The Proofs that the learned Authors, whose Names we have given in the Notes, bring to shew their Assertion just, are too copious and too foreign to our Purpose, excepting the Quotations from the Panegyrist, whose Oration to *Constantine*, supposed to be made at his Accession, and consequently at *York*, is very remarkable.

The Passages which seem to make it evident that this Emperor was born in *Britain*, we shall beg Leave to give in the Orator's own Words and Expression. The first is taken from an Oration made to *Constantine* and *Maximian* by an uncertain Orator †; who, expatiating on the great Honour and Benefits done to *Britain* by him and his Father, has this remarkable Expression: *Liberavit ille* Britannias *servitute, tu enim nobiles illic* oriendo *fecisti.*

In the Oration made to *Constantine* alone, by *Eumenius*, he speaks thus: *O fortuna et* nunc *omnibus beatior terris* Britannia, *quæ* CONSTANTINVM CÆSAREM prima *vidisti!*

The last Passage, which we shall quote from these Authorities, comes yet closer to the Matter.

SACRVM ISTVD PALATIVM, *non* candidatus *imperii, sed* designatus, *intrasti*; confestimque te illi paterni lares successorem videre legitimum. *Neque enim erat dubium quin ei competeret hæreditas, quem primum imperatori filium fata tribuissent. Te enim tantum ille, & imperator in terris, & in cælo Deus, in primo ætatis suæ flore generavit, toto adhuc corpore vigens, illa præditus alacritate & fortitudine, quam bella plurima, præcipue campi* Vindonis *idonei testes declararunt. Inde est quod tanta ex illo in te formæ similitudo transivit, ut signata natura vultibus tuis impressa videatur.* ‡

It cannot be denied that the Palace here spoken of must have been at EBORACVM, that sacred Palace made so illustrious and ever memorable for the Residence and Deaths of two *Roman* Emperors, and in all Probability for the Birth and Inauguration of a third. It may

* Baronii *Cardinal. Annal. tom.* 3, *ad An.* 306, *sect.* 16.—Usher *de Primord. Eccles.* Britan. *c.* 8, *et Epist. illic ad* Gaul. Camd.—Joh. Selden *ad* Justum Lipsium, *&c.*

† *Incerti panegyr.* Maxim. *et* Constantine, *n. v.*

‡ *Eumenii* Panegyr. N°. IX.

be thought perhaps too partial in applying the first Part of the foregoing Paragraph to our Subject, tho' the Orator seems to speak thus to *Constantine* in it, "Thou didst enter that sacred Palace where thy Father lay expiring, and where thou dreweſt thy first Breath, not as a Candidate, but born to the Empire. And no sooner did those paternal Houshold Gods behold thee, but they instantly acknowledged thee thy Father's lawful Successor: For what Doubt could there be who should succeed to the Empire, but he whom they knew was the Emperor's eldest Son? Thou, whom thy Father, once Lord of the Earth, and now a God in Heaven, begot in the Flower of his Age †, his Body yet nervous and strong; endued with that Alacrity and Fortitude, which many Wars, especially that of the *Vindonian* Camp, gave sufficient Proof of. Whence it was that the Likeness of thy Father's Person so passed into thee, that his natural Impress is clearly seen in thy Countenance."

But that his Birth was at *York*, and not elsewhere, says Mr. *Burton* ‡, was evinced by the Ambassadors of *England*, in the Hearing of the learned World, both at the Council of *Constance*, as also at *Basil*. At the former, (1414) there being a Contest about Precedency between the *French* and *English* Ambassadors, the *English* had these Words: *Domus regalis* Angliæ *sanctam* Helenam, *cum suo filio* Constantino *Magno Imperatore, nato in urbe regia* EBORACENSI, *educere comperta est*. "It is well known that the Royal House of *England* produced S. *Helen*, with her Son the Emperor *Constantine the Great*, born in the Imperial City EBORACVM." The *English* again at *Basil* (1431) opposing the Precedency of *Castile*, speak thus: CONSTANTINVM *illum Magnum, qui primus imperator Christianus licentiam dedit per universum orbem ecclesias constituere, immensa ad hoc conferent bona*, Peternæ *natum in* EBORACENSI *civitate*. "CONSTANTINE *the Great*, the first Christian Emperor, who gave Leave to build Churches through the Universe, to the immense Benefit of it, was born at *Peterne* in the City of *York*." *Peterne* is corrupted from *Bedhern*, now a College of Vicars-Choral belonging to the Cathedral; but what Tradition does assure us was anciently Part of the Imperial Palace at *York*."

As

† When he was about twenty-four Years old, says *Patarol*.

‡ *Burton*'s Anton. Itinerary.

As we think these Quotations sufficient to secure to us the Honour of the Birth of this most illustrious Emperor, we shall not trouble our Readers any more about it, but leave the Matter to nicer Judgments to determine, and conclude with this Assertion, That if the Birth of *Constantine* cannot be clearly made out, *York* has more to say for it than any other City in the World.

The *Britons* remained quiet during the long Reign of *Constantine*, according to the *Latin* Historians; yet the *Scotch* Chroniclers * remark, that in his twentieth Year, (325) *Octavius*, King of the *Britons*, rebelled, but was soon vanquished by *Traherus*, the *Roman* Lieutenant, and forced to fly for Aid to *Fincomark*, King of *Scotland*. The *Roman* General demanded the Rebel, as he called him, of the *Scotch* King, and he refusing, a War ensued, wherein the *Romans* are said to be worsted; their General flying to *York*, durst not stand a Siege, but abandoned the City to the Enemy, who caused *Octavius* to be crowned there King of all *Britain*, the City and Country expressing great Joy on the Occasion. After this we are told that *Octavius*, seeking to dispossess the *Scots* and *Picts* from that Part of the Country allotted to them by *Carausius*, as is before mentioned, called a Council at *York*, in order to find out a Method for it; but the *Scotch* King hearing of this, came suddenly upon *Octavius*, and forced him to fly into *Norway*, &c.

Constantine the Great, for the better Government of his vast and extensive Dominions, divided the whole into four *Præfectures*, viz. *Italy*, *Gaul*, the *East*, and *Illyria*, which contained under them fourteen large Dioceses or Provinces. *Britain*, of the fourteen, was subject to the Præfect of *Gaul*; and this Province was again subdivided by the Emperor into three Parts, or Principalities, *viz.* *Britannia prima*, or the Country South of the *Thames*, the capital Station probably *London*; *Britannia secunda*, was *Wales*, the Capital perhaps *Isca*, or *Caer-leon*; and *Maxima*, or *Flavia Cæsariensis*, the capital City most certainly *York*. †

It is easy to see, by this Division, that the greatest Part of the Island had *York* for its Metropolis: But we can go further, and make it probable that the supreme Com-

* *Joh. Fordun. Hect. Boetius. Holling. Scotch* Chronicle.

† See *Selden's* Titles of Honour.

Command of all the Province of *Britain* proceeded from hence*. For though the *Roman* Garrisons on the Sea-Coasts had their Commanders, called *Comites litoris Saxonici*, yet those, with all the inland Guards and Garrisons, were subject to the *Dux Britanniarum*, the Emperor's immediate Representative. That the principal Residence of this supreme Military Officer was always at *York*, in the Prætorian Palace there, will appear in the Sequel. The Title of *Maxima*, or *Flavia Cæsariensis*, given to this particular District of *Britain*, in all Probability alludes to the Capital's being the Emperor's Birth Place, to his Accession there, or, perhaps, to both. *Flavius*, or *Flavia*, was his Father's, Mother's, and his own *Prænomen*; and, consequently, whatever Country the Emperor thought fit to bestow it on, must have a particular Allusion, along with *Cæsariensis*, to himself and Family.

More of the Acts of this great Emperor are foreign to our Purpose; he deserted *York* and *Britain*, removing the Seat of the Empire from *Rome* to *Byzantium*, or *Constantinople*. To the Support of which he had drawn great Numbers of *British* Soldiers over with him. *Constantine the Great* died in 337; but from the removing of the Imperial Seat from *Rome*, we may date the Declension of the *Roman* Power in *Britain*, and the Subversion of our EBORACVM; though the sixth Legion continued in their old Quarters at *York*, to their final Desertion of the Island, as appears from the *Notitia Imperii*, or general Survey of the Empire, which our best Historians agree was taken but a small Time before that Period.

We have shewn our City at the Summit of its Glory and Magnificence, but must now descend apace; and from being the Residence of the Lords of the Universe, sink at once into the most profound Abyss of human Misery. It is some Happiness that we have but a general Account to give of this great Revolution and dreadful Calamity that befell the *Britons* after being deserted by the *Romans*. Their Historians are now for ever silent, and the little that can be collected of those bloody Times, is chiefly from

* *Merito contendunt viri docti hanc* [*civitatem*] *hujusce insulæ fuisse metropolim; cujus rei argumentum inde capio, quod tempore* Constantini *Magni videam tractum illum in quo sedet* EBVRACVM *dici* Britanniam Primam. *Itin. Gale.* 20.

from old *Gildas*, a *British* Writer, who seems to tremble at the bare Description of the Miseries of his Country.

But, to take Leave of our *Roman* Lords and Masters with that Decency they deserve, it may not be improper to let the unlearned Reader understand what Number of Officers and private Men a *Roman* Legion consisted of; next, to shew the Precedence of the sixth, which will be best understood by an Abstract of the Guards and Garrisons from the *Notitia*, under the Command of the *Vir Spectabilis*, as he is there styled, *Dux Britanniarum*; and, lastly, to give an Account what *Roman* Marks of Antiquity devouring Time, with the Assistance of Fire and Sword, Ignorance and Superstition, has not yet been able to eraze from amongst us.

Sir *Henry Savile*, in his Notes on *Tacitus*, says "That the *Roman* Legions were generally divided into Footmen and Horsemen, the Number not certain, but changed according to the Difference of Times and Alterations of States. A Legion under the first Emperors consisted of about 6000 Foot and 600 Horse. The first Officer of the Legion was called *Legatus Legionis*, and had Charge both of Horse and Foot under the Lieutenant-General of the Army, or Governor of the Province, for the Emperors; which Lieutenant, or Governor, is commonly called, in *Roman* History, *Proprætor*, as the Governor of the Senate and People was called *Præconsul*. The inferior Officers of the Army were the Centurions, Ensign-Bearers, *&c.* The Footmen of the Legion were equally divided into ten Cohorts, or Companies, whereof each one had a superintendant Officer. The 600 Horse in the Legion were divided into ten Troops, called *Turmæ*, every Troop containing three Decuries, or 30 Horse, over whom were placed Officers called *Decurions*, each having a Charge of 10 Horse. The Chief Officer of the Troops was called *Præfectus Turmæ*. The Additions of the Numbers I. II. VI. *&c.* were given to the Legions at their first Raising, and the Style VICTRIX was bestowed on those who distinguished themselves by some more than ordinary Action in War, which Surname was ever aftewards appropriated to them, as to the sixth Legion at *York*."

By this Account, and what is subsequent, it appears that a whole Legion, to the Number of 6 or 7000 Horse and

and Foot, were constantly quartered, or more properly stationed, at *York* all the Time the *Romans* were Masters of *Britain*. The several extraordinary Proofs for the Residence of the sixth Legion at *York*, are indisputable; and the last Age having been so fortunate as to find as convincing an Argument that it was also the Station for the ninth, it will not here be improper to give a short Account of them both.

The Legions, Cohorts, and Numbers of the *Roman* Army in *Britain* had their fixed Stations, to which, after every accidental Expedition, they always returned. Here their Families remained in their Absence. Here they erected their Altars, Temples, *&c.* which were also repaired by the same Legions, *&c.* successively; for they were as the same Body, or Society, and had one common Sepulture.

There is not a Legion mentioned by any of the Writers of the *Augustan* Story more remarkable than the sixth, its Station at *York* being easily traced for the Space of 300 Years and upwards, which was almost the whole Time that they were Masters of this Province. It was first brought out of *Germany* into *Britain* by the Emperor *Hadrian*, about the Year 120; and *Camden* says that, after it had served him in his more Northern Expedition, it was left as a Garrison at *York*. Here we find it expressly stationed in *Ptolemy*'s Geographical Tables of the Empire, who mentions none but the sixth Legion at *York*, and the twentieth at *Chester*, to be in the Province at that Time. In *Antonine*'s *Itinerary* we meet with it again, and it occurs with *York* in all the Northern Journeys. In *Roman* Authors frequent Accounts of this Legion are inserted, and though the particular Name of their Station is not assigned, yet it is sufficiently hinted at; as in this Passage of *Dio**, where he tells us that there were two fixed Legions in the Empire, the one placed in *Lower Britain*, called the *Conquering Legion*; the other in *Judea*, styled the *Iron one*, or *Ferratensis*. This Province, it is supposed, was divided by *Severus* into *Higher* and *Lower Britain*, and that *York* was the chief Station in the latter is not to be doubted. Nor were the *Roman* Poets wholly silent in assigning due Praises, and pointing us to the Residence of this Legion. *Claudian*,

* *Dion Cass.* Hist. *Rom.* l. 55.

Claudian, in giving an Account of the Legions that were sent to serve *Stilicho* against *Alarick* King of the *Goths*, which happened 200 Years after *Dio*'s Time, has these Lines:

Venit et extremis Legio *prætenta* Britannis,
Quæ Scoto *dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas* *Scoto-Hyberno,*
Perlegit exanimes Picto *moriente figuras.* † *Scoto-Brit. Dr. Gale.*

Then from the Borders of the *British* Lands
Came the bold Legion which the *Scot* commands;
Wh' admire the figur'd *Picts*, when dying by their Hands.

We shall only add, that, for the tried Courage and Constancy of our Legion, they had not only the Surname of *Victrix*, but *Pia Fidelis*, given them. *Severus* himself, in an Oration made to his Army, bestowed great Encomiums on their Knowledge and Service in the Affairs of the Island; and, for their Fidelity, he said he believed, if there was Occasion, "That they would venture naked thro' the Fire for his Sake ‡." That this Legion continued in their old Quarters till the Declension of the Empire, appears from the *Notitia Imperii* taken about that Time, and we have Reason to think that they were the last of the *Roman* Forces that were withdrawn from *Britain*; so that, from their Settlement by *Hadrian* to this last-named Period, it will take in the Space of about 320 or 30 Years.

The ninth Legion came over into *Britain* under the Emperor *Claudius*: The Foot of it had the Misfortune to be cut in Pieces by the Forces of Queen *Boadicea*. It was afterwards recruited from *Germany*, says *Tacitus* §; but it suffered again in a fierce Attack of the *Caledonians*, when *Julius Agricola* was Proprætor and Legate here. After this no Manner of Account can be met with of it in any Historian, and it was quite dead to the learned World till two Inscriptions found in our City revived it. The Account when and where these two remarkable Monuments of Antiquity were met with, will fall best in the Sequel.

The

† Claudian *de Bello* Getico.

‡ *In oratione ad legatos et præfectos in* Britannia; *apud* Dion. *Hist.* Rom. l. 38.

§ *Annal.* lib. xiv.

The *Notitia* has been publiſhed in *England*, firſt by Mr. *Selden*, then by Dr. *Gale*, and laſtly by Mr. *Horſley* ||. They have all endeavoured, from Mr. *Camden*, later Antiquaries, and their own Conjectures, to affix the preſent *Engliſh* Names of Towns to the ancient *Roman* Stations. In what we ſhall chuſe to tranſcribe from this admired Record, we ſhall follow Mr. *Horſley*'s Verſion; that Author, as he ſtood on others Shoulders, and having taken more than ordinary Pains to aſcertain the Stations, *ad lineam valli*, and the North of *England*, where he lived, is more to our Purpoſe; but we ſhall leave the Reader to conſult the Book itſelf for the Arguments he uſes on that Occaſion.

The *Notitia*, in *L'Abbe*'s Edition, begins firſt with the *Vicarius Britanniarum*, next the *Comes litoris Saxonici*, then the *Comes Britannia*, and laſtly the *Dux Britanniarum*. It is plain, by the Liſt of the Officers and Diſtricts put under the Vicar-General of *Britain*, that the whole Province was ſubject to this Civil Magiſtrate in all legiſlative Affairs.

Dr. *Stillingfleet* has placed this Dignitary in his Tribunal at *London*, for no Reaſon that we know of, that Station being not ſo much as mentioned in the *Notitia*, or even hinted at in all the Account; wherefore we have given the Vicar-General's Court and Officers as actually reſident with us at *York*: For where ſhould a Succeſſor of the great *Papinian* ſit to execute Judgment, but in the ſame *Prætorium*, and on the ſame Tribunal, that he did? It is further obſervable, that the Conſular Governors of the Diſtrict, called *Maxima Cæſarienſis* by *Conſtantine the Great*, begin the Account; and this Precedency evidently ſhews it to have been the principal Part, as well as its Capital the principal City, in the Province.

But what more immediately concerns our Subject, and will admit of no Diſpute, is the Reſidence of the *Dux*, General, or Military Commander in *Britain*. That the Reader may ſee what Pre-eminence and Dignity our City bore in this *Notitia Imperii*, we have thought fit to draw out the Account of the Guards and Garriſons that were ſtationed in the North under the Command, as the Title directs, of this great General.

The

|| *Selden*'s Titles of Honour. *Inter xv. ſcriptores, edit.* Gale. *Horſley*'s *Britannia Romana.*

The first Garrison put down was that of a whole Legion; and though no Place be mentioned for its Station, yet it most evidently appears from *Ptolemy*, the *Itinerary*, and many other Proofs, that EBORACVM was always the stated Quarters of this Legion. The Blank left here then is a singular Honour done to the Capital, and the Residence of the great Officers in it; for there was no Need to name a Place so notoriously known to be the Head of the Province. Mr. *Horsley* has taken Notice that the Forces, said to be quartered at the following Stations, were all certainly Auxiliaries to the sixth Legion; and, by inspecting his Map of the Island, it will appear that they lie round about *York*; which, adds he, was a very proper Situation, if, upon any Occasion, it should have been necessary to call them together. The following is Part of a Copy of this grand Record.

Ex NOTITIA *Dignitatum Imperii* ROMANI *circa Tempora* ARCADII & HONORII. *

Sub Dispositione Viri spectabilis VICARII BRITANNIARVM.

Consulares,	*Præsides,*
Maximæ Cæsariensis,	Britanniæ Primæ,
Valentiæ.	Britanniæ Secundæ,
	Flaviæ Cæsariensis.

Officium autem habet idem Vir spectabilis VICARIUS *hoc modo:* PRINCIPEM *de Schola* Agentium *in Rebus ex* Ducenariis.

Cornicularium,	Adjutorem,
Numerarios *duos*,	Subadjuvas,
Commentariensem,	Exceptores.
Ab Actis,	*Singulares, et reliquos Officiales.*
Curam Epistolarum,	

From the NOTITIA, or general Account of the *Roman* Empire, taken about the Time of the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*.

Under the Government of the Honourable the *Vicar-General* of *Britain*, *Consular* Governors of those Parts of *Britain*, called *Maxima Cæsariensis* & *Valentia*.

Presideal Governors of those Parts called *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, & *Flavia Cæsariensis*.

* About the Year 400.

The ſame Honourable *Vicar* has his Court compoſed in the following Manner:

1. A principal Officer of the *Agents*, choſen out of the *Ducenarii*, or under Officers.
2. A principal Clerk, or Secretary.
3. Two chief Accountants, or Auditors.
4. A Maſter of the Priſons.
5. A Public Notary.
6. A Secretary for Diſpatches.
7. An Aſſiſtant, or Surrogate.
8. Under Aſſiſtants.
9. Clerks of the Appeals.

Serjeants and other inferior Officers.

Sub Diſpoſitione Viri ſpectabilis DUCIS BRITANNIARUM.

1. PRÆFECTUS LEGIONIS SEXTÆ.

2. *Præfectus equitum* Dalmatarum —— *Præſidio.*
3. *Præfectus equitum* Chriſpianorum — *Dano.*
4. *Præfectus equitum* Catafractoriorum *Morbio.*
5. *Præfectus numeri* Barcariorum Tigritenſium } *Arbeia.*
6. *Præfectus numeri* Nerviorum Dictenſium *Dicti.*
7. *Præfectus numeri* Vigilum ——— *Concangios.*
8. *Præfectus numeri* Exploratorum — *Lavatres,* *alias* RT.
9. *Præfectus numeri* Directorum veterum *Veneris.*
10. *Præfectus numeri* Defenſorum —— *Braboniaco.*
11. *Præfectus numeri* Solenſium —— *Maglovæ.*
12. *Præfectus numeri* Pacenſium —— *Magis.*
13. *Præfectus numeri* Longovicariorum *Longovico.*
14. *Præfectus numeri* Derventionenſis *Derventione.*

Item per Lineam Valli.

1. *Tribunus cohortis quartæ* Lergorum *Segeduno.*
2. *Tribunus cohortis* Cornoviorum —— *Ponte Ælii.*
3. *Præfectus alæ primæ* Aſtorum —— *Conderco.*
4. *Tribunus cohortis primæ* Frixagorum *Vindobala.*
5. *Præfectus alæ* Savinianæ ——— *Hunno.*
6. *Præfectus alæ ſecundæ* Aſtorum — *Cilurno.*
7. *Tribunus cohortis primæ* Batavorum *Procolitia.*
8. *Tribunus cohortis primæ* Tungrorum *Borcovico.*
9. *Tribunus cohortis quartæ* Gallorum *Vindolana.*

10. *Tri-*

10. *Tribunus cohortis primæ* Astorum — *Æsica.*
11. *Tribunus cohortis secundæ* Dalmatarum *Magnis.*
12. *Tribunus cohortis primæ* Æliæ Dacorum *Amboglanna.*
13. *Præfectus alæ* Petrianæ — *Petriania.*
14. *Præfectus numeri* Maurorum Aurelianorum } *Aballaba.*
15. *Tribunus cohortis secundæ* Lergorum *Congavatæ.*
16. *Tribunus cohortis primæ* Hispanorum *Axeloduno.*
17. *Tribunus cohortis secundæ* Thracum *Gabrosenti.*
18. *Tribunus cohortis primæ* Æliæ Classicæ *Tunnocello.*
19. *Tribunus cohortis primæ* Morinorum *Glannibanta.*
20. *Tribunus cohortis tertiæ* Nerviorum *Alione.*
21. *Cuneus* Armaturarum — — *Bremetenraco.*
22. *Præfectus alæ primæ* Herculane *Olenaco.*
23. *Tribunus cohortis sextæ* Nerviorum *Virosido.*

Under the Government of the Honourable the Duke of Britain.

1. The Prefect of the *Sixth Legion.*
2. The Prefect of the *Dalmatian* Horse stationed at } *Broughton, Lincolnshire.*
3. The Prefect of the *Chrispian* Horse at } *Doncaster.*
4. The Prefect of a Body of *Cuirasiers* at } *Templeburgh.*
5. The Prefect of a Detachment of the *Barcarii Tigrisienses* at } *Moresby.*
6. The Prefect of a Detachment of the *Nervii*, called *Dictenses* at } *Ambleside.*
7. The Prefect of a Detachment of Soldiers for the *Watch* at } *Kendal.*
8. The Prefect of a Detachment of *Scouts* at } *Bowes.*
9. The Prefect of a Detachment styled *Directores* at } *Burgh.*
10. The Prefect of a Detachment call'd *Defensores* at } *Overburgh.*
11. The Prefect of a Detachment of the *Solenses* at } *Gretabridge.*
12. The Prefect of a Detachment of the *Pacenses* at } *Piercebridge.*
13. The Prefect of a Detachment of *Longovicorii* at } *Langburg*, near *Tadcaster.*
14. The Prefect of a Detachment styled *Derventionensis* at } *Stainfordburgh.*

Also along the Line of the Wall.

1. The Tribune of the fourth Cohort of the *Lergi* at	*Cousin's House, Northumb.*
2. The Tribune of a Cohort of the *Carnavii* at	*Newcastle.*
3. The Prefect of the first Wing of the *Asti* at	*Benwel-Hill.*
4. The Tribune of the first Cohort of the *Frixagi* at	*Rutchester.*
5. The Prefect of the Wing called *Saviniana* at	*Halton Chesters.*
6. The Prefect of the second Wing of the *Asti* at	*Walwick Chesters.*
7. The Tribune of the first Cohort of the *Batavi* at	*Carrawburgh.*
8. The Tribune of the first Cohort of the *Tungri* at	*House-steads,*
9. The Tribune of the fourth Cohort of the *Gauls* at	*Little Chesters.*
10. The Tribune of the first Cohort of the *Asti* at	*Great Chesters.*
11. The Tribune of the second Cohort of the *Dalmatians* at	*Carvoran.*
12. The Tribune of the first Cohort of *Dacians*, called *Ælia*, at	*Burdeswald.*
13. The Prefect of the Wing called *Petriana* at	*Cambeck-Fort.*
14. The Prefect of a Detachment of *Moors*, styled *Aureliani*, at	*Watch-Cross.*
15. The Tribune of the second Cohort of the *Lergi* at	*Stanwicks.*
16. The Tribune of the first Cohort of *Spaniards* at	*Burgh.*
17. The Tribune of the second Cohort of *Thracians* at	*Drumburgh.*
1[illegible] [illegible]e Tribune of the first Marine [illegible] styled *Ælia*, at	*Boulness.*
[illegible]ibune of the first Cohort of [illegible]*i* at	*Lanchester.*
[illegible]bune of the third Cohort [illegible]*rvii* at	*Whitley Castle.*
[illegible] of Men in Armour at *Old* [illegible], or *Brampton.*	

22. The

22. The Prefect of the first Wing, called *Herculea*, } *Old Carlisle*, Or *Elenburgh*.
23. The Tribune of the sixth Cohort of the *Nervii*, at }

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis Dux *hoc modo.*

1. Principem *ex officiis magistrorum militum præsentalium alternis annis.*
2. Commentariensem *utrumque.*
3. Numerarios *ex utrisque officiis omni anno.*
4. Adjutorem.
5. Subadjuvam.
6. Regerendarium.
7. Exceptores.
8. *Singulares et reliquos familiares.*

The same Honourable Duke has his Court made up of the following Officers:

1. A principal Officer from the Courts of the Generals of the Soldiers in ordinary Attendance, changed yearly.
2. Masters of the Prisons from both.
3. Auditors yearly from both Courts.
4. An Adjutant.
5. A Sub-Adjutant.
6. A Register.
7. Clerks of Appeals.
8. Serjeants and other Officers.

It appears by this Abstract of the *Notitia*, that the *Romans*, some short Time before they quitted the Island, had drawn down all their Forces from the West and South-West to defend the Northern Borders against the *Picts* and *Scots*. This great Armament was chiefly stationed along the Line of the Wall, of which there were no less than 23 Cohorts, *&c.* placed to guard it; and allowing Sir *Henry Savile*'s Calculation of the Number of a Legion to be just, that a Cohort consisted of 600 Foot, that Number multiplied by 23, makes 13,800; a vast Body of Men for that Purpose. By inspecting Mr. *Horsley*'s Map, and his Draughts of this prodigious *Vallum*, it will appear that the Garrisons on it were placed as thick as they could well stand, and must have been sufficient, both in Number and Strength, to stop any Attempts of the Barbarians against them.

The rest of the Forces in the Abstract, consisting of a whole Legion, and thirteen several Detachments of Horse and Foot, were stationed at *York*, and other Places circumjacent to the Capital, that, as Mr. *Horsley* justly observes,

obſerves, they might, upon any Emergency, be eaſily drawn together.

To give an Account of the ſeveral Remains of Antiquity which have been taken Notice of, or are ſtill preſerved amongſt us, we ſhall range them in the Order of Time they were diſcovered.

Our celebrated Antiquary, *Camden*, was the firſt that led the Way; for though there muſt have been, in all Ages ſince the *Romans* left us, many of their Memorials found in this City, yet the barbarous or ſuperſtitious Ignorance of thoſe Times either deſtroyed or defaced them.

It may ſeem ſtrange, after what has been ſaid before, that there is not at this Day many nobler Teſtimonies of *Roman* Grandeur to be ſeen among us, and that we ſhew no Ruins of Temples, Amphitheatres, Palaces, publick Baths, *&c.* whoſe Edifices muſt once have made EBORACVM ſhine almoſt as bright as *Rome* itſelf. The Wonder will ceaſe in any one who reads the Sequel of this Story; ſuch terrible Burnings and Devaſtations; ſuch horrid Deſtruction of every Thing, ſacred or profane, will be found in it, that it is rather Matter of Surprize, how it was poſſible this mutilated City could ever ſo much as raiſe its Head from thoſe Heaps of Aſhes and Ruins it has ſo often and ſo deeply been overwhelmed and buried in: For though the Temple of *Bellona* be long ſince removed from *York*, yet, in the reſt of the inteſtine Troubles of *England*, this City has had ſo great a Share, has ſeen itſelf ſo often the Seat of War, that the Altar of the fire-eyed Goddeſs might have ſmoked with Human Gore for ſeveral Ages, after it and the Temples were eraſed from their firſt Foundations.

To our Chriſtian Anceſtors, the *Anglo-Saxons* and *Normans*, we likewiſe owe the defacing or demoliſhing of almoſt every *Roman* Altar, or Votive Monument, that were diſcovered in their Time. Being Zealots in their Perſuaſion, and utterly ignorant of their great Uſe in Hiſtory, they took Care to eradicate all Marks of Paganiſm wherever they found them. For their own Conveniency they were obliged to make Uſe of the Ruins of the *Roman* Buildings in *York* to erect their Churches with; yet it is evident that whenever they met with an Inſcription,

Inſcription, like the *Turks* at preſent in *Greece*, they either buried it in the Foundation, turned it into the Wall, broke, or utterly obliterated it. Several Inſtances of this have been obſerved; and we are perſuaded that whenever thoſe Churches fall, or are pulled down to be rebuilt, many now-buried *Roman* Monuments and Inſcriptions will ſee the Light; and it is hoped that ſucceeding Ages will have more Veneration for theſe Marks of Antiquity than the paſt.

All we have now to exhibit, is what the laſt Century turned out; and it is a Satisfaction to us to think, that Time may yet produce Materials for ſome abler Pens to raiſe this Subject to the Height it deſerves.

We have ſaid that Mr. *Camden* was the firſt who took Notice of any *Roman* Antiquities or Inſcriptions in *York*. That Author, after giving us the Reading of the Reverſe of ſome of the Emperor *Severus*'s Coins, which we ſhall have Occaſion to mention in the Sequel, tells us of a memorable Inſcription, which he ſays he ſaw in the Houſe of a certain Alderman of that City. In his own and Continuator's *Britannia* it is publiſhed in this Manner:

M. VEREC. DIOGENES IIIIII. VIR
COL. EBOR. IDEMQ. MORT. CIVES
BITVRIX. HÆC SIBI VIVVS FECIT.

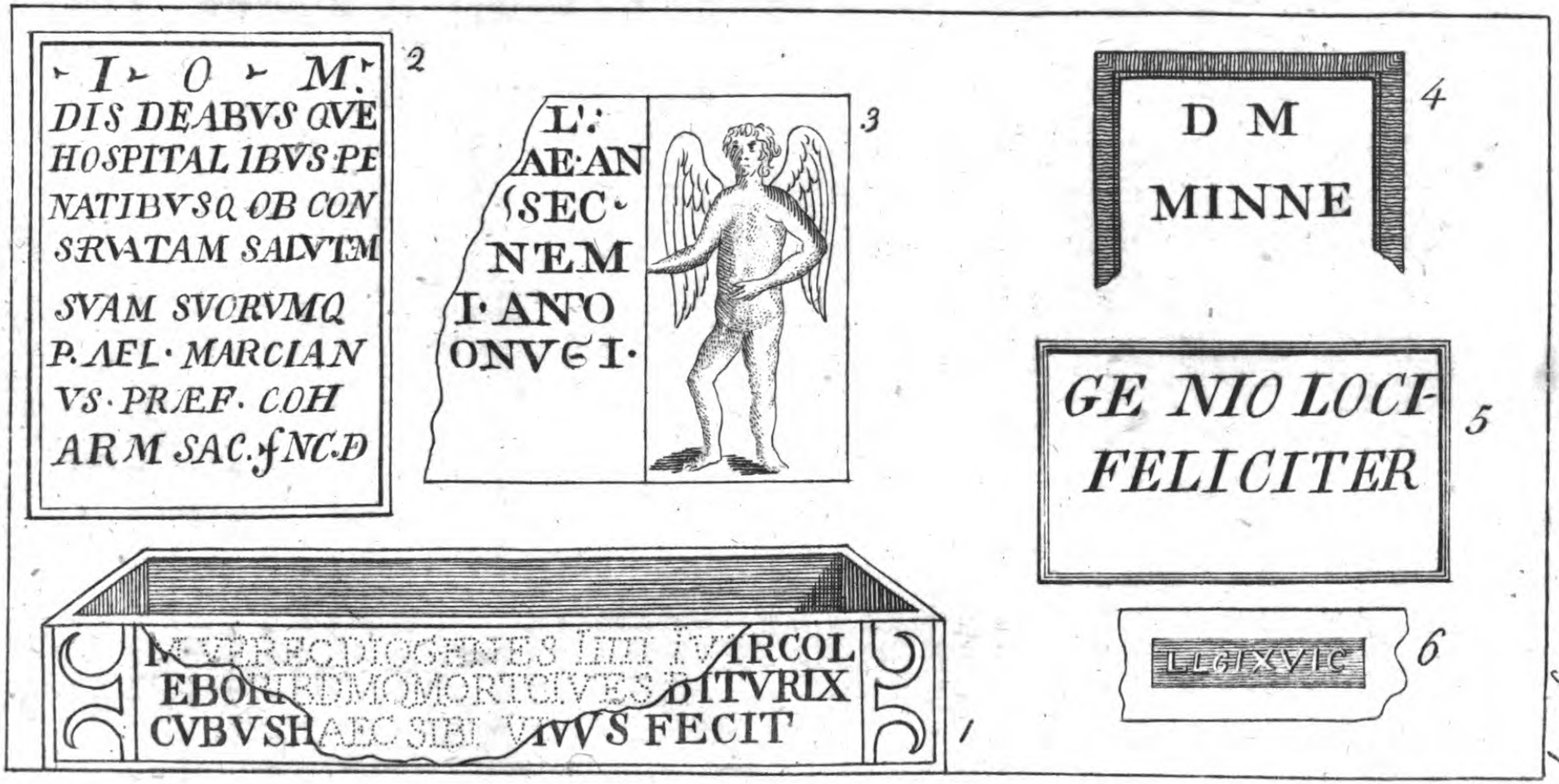
Our Antiquary does not give us the Reading of this Inſcription, nor inform us what it was upon, how, nor where it was found. Mr. *Burton*, in his *Commentary*, has aimed at the Reading of it. The Faults of the Quadrator, or Stone-Cutter, being amended, ſays that Author, as *ibidemque* for *idemque*, and *civis* for *cives*, the Inſcription is eaſily read, and ſignifies no more than that *Marcus Verecundus Diogenes*, a Native of *Bury* in *Gaſcoigny*, Overſeer of the Highways to the Colony at *York*, died there; who, while alive, made this Monument for himſelf.

Dr. *Gale*, on the *Itinerary*, has there given us a Draught of this Monument, which had been ſo little regarded at *York*, that in his Time he found it at *Hull*, where it then ſerved as a Trough for watering Horſes at an Inn. The learned Dean calls it *Theca*, which properly ſignifies any hollow Cheſt or other Convenience for

for putting Things in. He has likewise added four Letters more to the Inscription, which he saw upon the Stone, but are omitted by *Camden*. The Letters are CVBVS, and the Dean reads them *clarissimus vir bene vivens*.

Mr. *Horsley* took the Pains to search out this venerable Monument of Antiquity. He found it still at *Hull*, but removed to another Place, miserably broken and defaced. It has certainly been sepulchral, and was designed as a Repository of Urns for a whole Family; the Chief of which Family having taken Care to provide it in his Life-time, as the Inscription testifies. There have been some of these *Thecæ* lately found in the *Roman* Burial-Place without *Bootham-Bar*, but no Inscriptions on them. Likewise several Graves for Urns, *viz.* square Places within Ground, covered at the Bottom with white Sand, on which the Urns were placed inverted, three, four, or more together. By the Letters and Numerals on the Stone, it appears plainly that Mr. *Burton* was mistaken in his reading of them. IIIIII VIR has six Numerals, and therefore he must be one of the six Judges of the *Roman* Colony at *York*: But who this Officer was, whether Civil or Military, is not so easy to determine. *Ursatus, in notis Romanorum*, has at least twenty different Interpretations of this single Abbreviation. It is commonly known that the *Romans* had their *Duumvir*, *Triumvir*, and so on to *Decemvir*, who were all Civil Officers; and as the Name of the Colony immediately follows this Title, our *Sevir* seems to have been one of the same Order in the Civil Government. The forecited Author has a Reading something parrallel to this, VI. VIR. SEN. ET AVG. C. DD. which he interprets *Sextumvir seniorum et augustalis coloniæ dedicavit*. The CVBVS mentioned by Dean *Gale*, and said to be upon the Stone, is likewise confirmed by Mr. *Horsley*, tho' it is strange that Mr. *Camden* should miss it: But that Author observes, that our Antiquary used frequently to omit such Letters as were doubtful or unintelligible to him, tho' even yet sufficiently visible. The Quotations Mr. *Horsley* draws from *Pliny* and *Strabo*, settle his reading of CVBVS beyond Contradiction; for if the *Biturigies* were also called *Cubi*, as those Writers testify, it can bear no other. The Interpretation of the whole Inscription then

is


I O M
DIS DEABVS QVE
HOSPITALIBVS PE
NATIBVSQ OB CON
SRVATAM SALVTEM
SVAM SVORVMQ
P. AEL· MARCIAN
VS· PRÆF· COH
ARM SAC. ſNC·D
2
L·
AE·AN
SEC·
NEM
I·ANO
ONVCI·
3
D M
MINNE
4
GE NIO LOCI
FELICITER
5
LLGIXVIC
6
M VRRECDIOGENES LIII IVIRCOL
EBORERDMOMORTCIVES BITVRIX
CVBVSHAEC SIBI VIVVS FECIT
1

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is this, that *Marcus Verecundus Diogenes*, a *Sevir*, or Magiſtrate, in the Colony at *York*, died there; he was originally a Native or Citizen of *Berri*; he made this Repoſitory for his Family's Urns in his Life-time, and his Relations took Care to put his Name, Office, and Place of Extraction on it after his Death.

The Remains of this Monument are ſtill at *Hull*, in the Place and Condition Mr. *Horſley* deſcribes them.

To preſerve the Memory of an Inſcription, perhaps the only one extant, wherein the Name of EBOR is particularly put, we preſent the Reader with Mr. *Horſley*'s Draught of it *(Fig. 1.)*. The Size of the Cheſt is very large, being ſix Feet long and near three deep, and is of a Millſtone-Gritt. The Chaſm, through which the pricked Letters are carried, ſhews what is wanting of them at this Time.

The next remarkable *Roman* Monument was found under Ground, in digging the Foundation for a Houſe on *Biſhophill the Elder*, in the Year 1638. It was preſented to King *Charles* I. when at *York*, in 1639, by the then Sir *Ferdinando Fairfax*, and was kept at the *Mannor*. Afterwards Sir *Thomas Widrington* got it to his Houſe in *Lendal-ſtreet*; from whence it was conveyed to the new Houſe Lord *Thomas Fairfax* built on *Biſhophill*, where it remained to the Deſertion of that Houſe by his Son-in-Law, the Duke of *Buckingham*. From that Time neither Dean *Gale* nor Mr. *Horſley* have been able to get the leaſt Intelligence where it has been carried to. Dr. *Martin Liſter*, a late celebrated Phyſician, Philoſopher, and Antiquary, ſaw it at the Duke's Houſe, and gave this Account of it to the Royal Society *. He ſaid it was a ſmall but elegant Altar, with Figures, in *Baſſo Relievo*, of ſacrificing Inſtruments, *&c.* on the Sides of it. He adds, that it ſuffered an unlucky Accident by the ſtupid Ignorance of the Maſons, who were ordered by the late Lord *Fairfax* to place it upon a Pedeſtal in the Court of his Houſe at *York*; and obſerves, that this Altar is the only Inſtance he ever met with, of the *Romans* making Uſe of any other Stone than Gritt for them; yet ſays that this is not of the common Lime-Stone, or what is uſually called Free-Stone, but of a certain Sort brought from the Quarries near *Malton*, becauſe of the *Lapides*

* *Ab. Philoſ. Tranſact.* Vol. III.

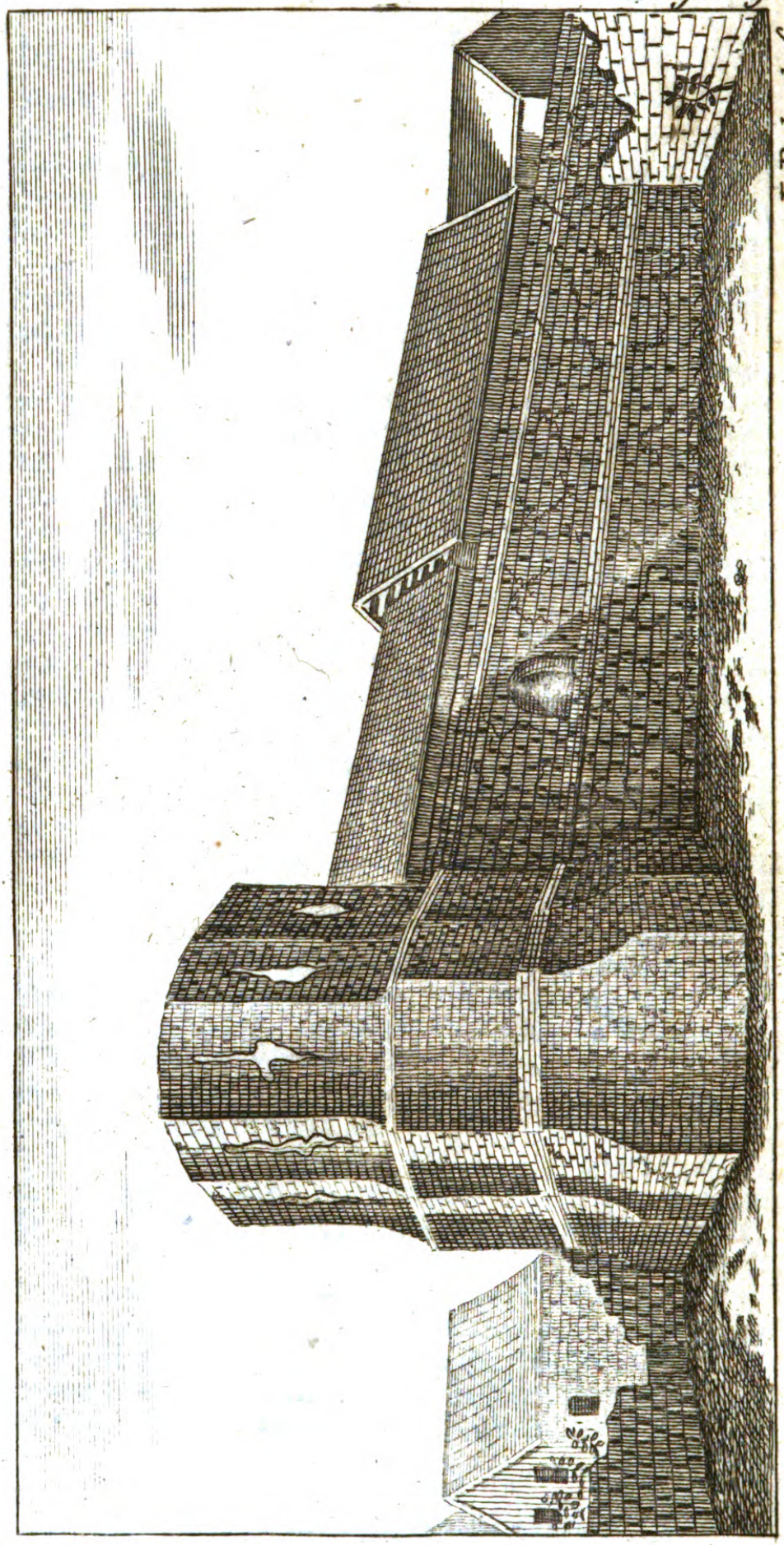
Lapides Judiaci to be seen in the Texture of it. It is Pity the Doctor did not preserve the Form of the Altar as well as the Inscription, since he commends it so much for its elegant Sculpture; but since that seems irretrievable, the Reader must be content with the Dedication, which, though printed several Times, we have been favoured with the most exact Copy of it yet published, taken from the Original by *Bryan Fairfax*, Esq.

The Inscription has the fewest Abbreviations in it that we ever met with; and, except the last Line, is obvious to any one that understands the *Latin* Tongue. This bears several Readings; Mr. *Horsley* gives it *Aram sacra faciendo noncupavit dedicavit*. Mr. *Ward*, in his Annotations published in the *Britannia Romana*, takes it to mean *Aram sacram factam nomine communi dedicavit*. *Ursatus*, who certainly had seen the like on other Altars abroad, reads it, *Numini conservatori dedicatum, vel dari jussit*. The *English* Version of the whole is this, To the great and mighty *Jupiter*, and to all Gods and Goddesses; Household and Peculiar Gods, *Publius Ælius Marcianus*, Prefect of a Cohort, for the Preservation of his own Health and that of his Family, dedicated this Altar to the great Preserver. *Fig.* 2.

Dr. *Lister* took Notice of another remarkable Inscription *, which he found in the South Wall of the Church of *All Saints* in *North-street*, an Account of which he likewise sent up to the Society. The Letters, says the Doctor, tho' a little defaced, are exceeding fairly cut; beyond any Thing of that Kind he had seen in *England*. The Inscription, adds he, has a Figure of a naked Woman on the Left Side of it, and is undoubtedly a Monument of conjugal Affection; but the Attempts to read it, both by the Doctor and Mr. *Horsley*, are frivolous, there being nothing to be understood from it except the last Word, which is very plain and apparent, ONVGI †. The Stone is put up in the Wall of the Church, so close to a Buttress that it was imagined half of the Inscription was hid by it, and therefore a Workman was employed to lay it open; but upon Search the Stone was found to be broke off in the Midst, to make Way for the Buttress to enter the Wall and bind it the firmer. For a further Expli-

* *Ab. Philos. Transact.* Vol. III.

† Mr. *Drake*, in his *Eboracum*, calls it CONIVGI.



I. Roberts sc.

Explication of this Fragment we refer the Reader to the Draught of it, taken as it appears at present. *Fig.* 3.

Dr. *Gale* gives us another imperfect Inscription *, which in his Time was built up in a Wall without *Micklegate-Bar*, near the *Mount*. It is now lost, so that we have taken it from the Dean's Authority, but have no more to say of it, than that this seems also to have been sepulchral. MINNA being the Name of the Person deceased, the Name occurs in *Gruter*. † *Fig.* 4.

We are indebted to Dr. *Lister* likewise for a curious Observation he made of the Basis of a multangular Tower and some Length of a Wall, whose Manner of building with Brick and Stone evidently shews it to be *Roman*. The Description the Doctor gave of it to the Royal Society is as follows:

" Carefully viewing the Antiquities of *York* ‡, the Dwelling of at least two of the *Roman* Emperors, *Severus* and *Constantius*, I found a Part of a Wall yet standing, which is undoubtedly of that Time. It is the South Wall of the *Mint-Yard*, formerly the Hospital of St. *Laurence* §; it consists of a multangular Tower, which did lead to *Bootham-Bar*, and about ——— of a Wall, which ran the Length of *Conyng-street*, as he who shall attentively view it on both Sides may discern.

" The Outside to the River is faced with a very small *saxum quadratum* about four Inches thick, and laid in Levels like our modern Brick-Work; but the Length of the Stones is not observed, but are as they fell out in hewing. From the Foundation twenty Courses of these small square Stones are laid, and over them five Courses of *Roman* Brick. These Bricks are laid some Lengthways, some End-ways in the Wall, and were called *Lateres diatoni*; after these five Courses of Brick, other twenty-two Courses of small square Stones, as before described, are laid, which raise the Wall —— Feet higher, and then five more Courses of the same *Roman* Bricks are laid ||; beyond which the Wall is imperfect, and caped with modern Building. Note, That in all this Height there

* *Anton.* iter *Britan.*

† P. CIDXXIV. n. 5.

‡ Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions, v. 3.

§ A Mistake, it is St. *Leonard*'s.

|| *Vitruvius* says, this Manner of Building with Brick and Stone was originally *African*.

there is no Casement or Loophole, but one entire and uniform Wall, from which we may infer, that the Wall was built some Courses higher, after the same Order. The Bricks were to be as Thoroughs, or, as it were, so many new Foundations to that which was to be superstructed, and to bind the two Sides together firmly; for the Wall itself is only faced with small square Stone, and the Middle thereof filled with Mortar and Pebble.

"These Bricks are about seventeen Inches long of our Measure, about eleven Inches broad, and two and an half thick. This, having caused several to be carefully measured, I give in round Numbers, and do find them to agree very well with the *Roman* Foot, which the learned Antiquary *Graves* has left us, *viz.* of its being about half an Inch less than ours. They seem to have shrunk in the Baking more in the Breadth than in the Length, which is but reasonable, because of its easier yielding that Way, and so for the same Reason more in Thickness; for we suppose them to have been designed in the Mold for three *Roman* Inches. This demonstrates *Pliny*'s Measures to be true, where he says, *Genera laterum tria, didoron, quo utimur longum sesquipede, latum pede*, and not those of *Vitruvius* where they are extant; the Copy of *Vitruvius*, where it describes the *Didoron* and its Measures, being vicious. And indeed all I have yet seen with us in *England*, are of *Pliny*'s Measure, as at *Leicester* in the *Roman* Ruin there, called the *Jews-Wall*, and at *St. Albans*, as I remember, as well as with us at *York*.

"I shall only add this Remark, That Proportion and Uniformity, even in the minutest Parts of Building, is to be plainy observed, as this miserable Ruin of *Roman* Workmanship shews. In our *Gothick* Buildings there is a total Neglect of Measure and Proportion of the Courses, as though that was not much material to the Beauty of the whole; whereas, indeed, in Nature's Works, it is from the Symmetry of the very Grain whence arises much of the Beauty."

It must be observed on this particular Description of the Doctor, That the Stones of the Wall are not of the Gritt Kind, but of the common Free-Stone, there being no Occasion to fear Fire in an exterior Part of a Fortification. Next, that the Building of the Tower is the same

ſame on the Inſide of it as on the Out, and has a Communication with *Bootham-Bar*, under the *Vallum* or Rampart that hides it that Way. The Foundation of this Tower is of a ſingular Shape and Strength, the Angle it commands requiring the latter in an extraordinary Degree, and the Form of it comes the neareſt a Circle that any ſuch Building can admit of. The Wall that runs from it South-Eaſt makes a ſtraight Line, and, no Doubt, anciently went along the Eaſt Side of *Conyng-ſtreet*, as far as the *Foſs* *, the Foundations of all the Houſes in the Line diſcovering the Marks of it. A Piece of it was about fifty Years ago laid open, by digging a Drain in *Lendale*, about twenty or thirty Yards below the *Mint-Yard* Gates; the Cement that compoſed this Fragment was ſo exceeding hard, that the Workmen had much ado to lower it to their Level. In their Way they threw up a ſmall *Denarius* or two, but they were obliterated.

In *March*, 1770, the Workmen digging a Drain from the *York Tavern*, then erecting in *St. Helen's Square*, to the Common-Hall Lane, at about ſeven Feet and a Half below the Surface of the preſent Pavement, came to three Walls, leading from N. E. by N. to S. W. by S. The Breadth of the Wall next to *Lendale* was nine Feet ſix Inches, and the other two eleven Feet ſix Inches each. They were compoſed of large Cobbles, ſo ſtrongly cemented that no Tools could ſeparate them, till large Fires were made upon them in order to burn the Cement, and even then it was with the greateſt Difficulty that they got near two Feet cut off them with Iron Wedges, but their Depth is not known. The Space betwixt each Wall is three Feet and a Half, filled with Clay that ſeemed to have been tempered and cloſe rammed.

Since the Time of Dr. *Liſter*, a Stone, with an Inſcription upon it, was diſcovered in digging a Cellar in *Conyng-ſtreet*, in the Line of the *Roman* Wall aforeſaid. The Stone is of Gritt, the Letters large, and ſoon after the finding was placed in the Back-yard Wall of Mrs.

* See the Plan of the City, where a Line is drawn from this Tower along *Conyng-ſtreet* and *Caſtlegate* to the *Foſs*, to make, as we imagine, an interior Fortification to the City. *Clifford*'s Tower, whoſe Mount is certainly *Roman*, commands one End of it.

Crumpton's House, below the *Black-Swan* Inn in that Street, from whence it has been removed, and is now deposited in the Record-Chamber at the Guildhall in this City. Our Countryman, and late diligent Antiquary, Mr. *Thoresby*, of *Leeds*, gave the Royal Society an Account of it in these Words: †

"The *Roman* Monument, lately discovered at *York*, was found not far from the *Roman* Wall and multangular Tower, which Dr. *Lister* has given so curious a Description of. This Monument, dedicated to the *Genius*, or tutelar Deity of the Place, is not of the coarse Rag that the Generality of the *Roman* Altars are, but of a finer Gritt, like that at my Lord *Fairfax*'s House in *York* ‡. It is twenty-one Inches long and eleven broad, and is inscribed *Genio loci feliciter*. (*Fig.* 5.) There was a larger Stone found with it, but without any Inscription; nor is there upon any of them the Representation of a Serpent or a young Visage; by both which the Ancients sometimes described these DII TOPICI. If the Name had been added, it would have gratified the Curiosity of some of our *nesteric* Antiquaries; but they must yet acquiesce, for ought I know, in their old DVI, who is said to be the tutelar Deity of the City of the *Brigantes*.

"The Author of this votive Monument seems to have the same superstitious Veneration for the *Genius* of *York*, as those at *Rome* had for theirs, whose Name they were prohibited to mention or inquire after. Hence it is, that upon their Coins the Name of this Deity is never expressed, but in a more popular Manner by GENIVS P. R. or POP. ROM.

The Dedication of this votive Tablet, for its Shape will not admit of an Altar, is most certainly a great Compliment paid to our City; and *Rome* itself could not have had a greater in its fullest Glory. It is well known that the superstitious *Romans* believed a good and a bad *Genius* did attend both Persons, Cities, and Countries: Hence *Virgil*, at *Æneas*'s Entrance into *Italy*,

——— geniumque loci *primamque deorum*
Tellurem, &c.

But

† Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions, v. 5.
‡ This is an old Building on *Bishophill*, now in Ruins.

But the greateſt and moſt remarkable Diſcovery that we have yet made, happened about the Year 1686. The Honour of being the firſt Obſervator of this, as well as the next, is due to the Memory of Mr. *Thoreſby*. He ſent an Account of them to the Royal Society, which was afterwards publiſhed in their Tranſactions. The aforeſaid Writer has been a little more explicit about theſe venerable Reliques in his *Ducatus Leodiſenſis*, and we ſhall make Uſe of his own Words from thence. *

"The ſepulchral Monument of the Standard-Bearer to the ninth Legion was dug up in *Trinity-Gardens*, near *Micklegate*, *York*, and was happily reſcued by *Bryan Fairfax*, Eſq; from the brutiſh Workmen, who had broke it in the Midſt, and were going to make Uſe of it for two Throughs, as they call them, to bind a Wall; but, by that worthy Gentleman's Direction, it was walled upright with the Inſcription and Effigies to the Front, and is ſince removed to the Gardens of Sir *Henry Goodricke*, at *Ribſton*.——The Brick had been ſeveral Times made Uſe of, with broken Stones and Brick-Bats, by Mr. *Smith*, in making Molds for caſting Bells. Upon my Enquiry after Inſcriptions in that ancient City, he recollected himſelf that he had ſeen ſome old Letters, but thought the Brick was loſt, though upon Search we found the Piece, which is inſcribed LEGIO IX. VIC. *(Fig. 6.)* This is alſo an Argument of the Peace thoſe Parts enjoyed at that Time, which I take to be the latter End of *Severus*'s Reign; making of Bricks, and caſting up Highways, being the uſual Employment for Soldiers at ſuch Vacancies."

Mr. *Horſley* has given us the following Account of this Inſcription, and its Hiſtory. †

"This very curious and remarkable Inſcription was firſt diſcovered in *Trinity-Yard* in *Micklegate*, and is now at *Ribſton*, near *Wetherby*, being carefully preſerved under Cover in a Garden belonging to Sir *Henry Goodricke*, who knows how to ſet a juſt Value on this curious Piece of Antiquity. It has been communicated to the Publick by Mr. *Thoreſby* in the *Philſophical Tranſactions*; and from thence it has been inſerted in the late Edition of *Camden*'s *Britannia*, but ill repreſented as to the Shape

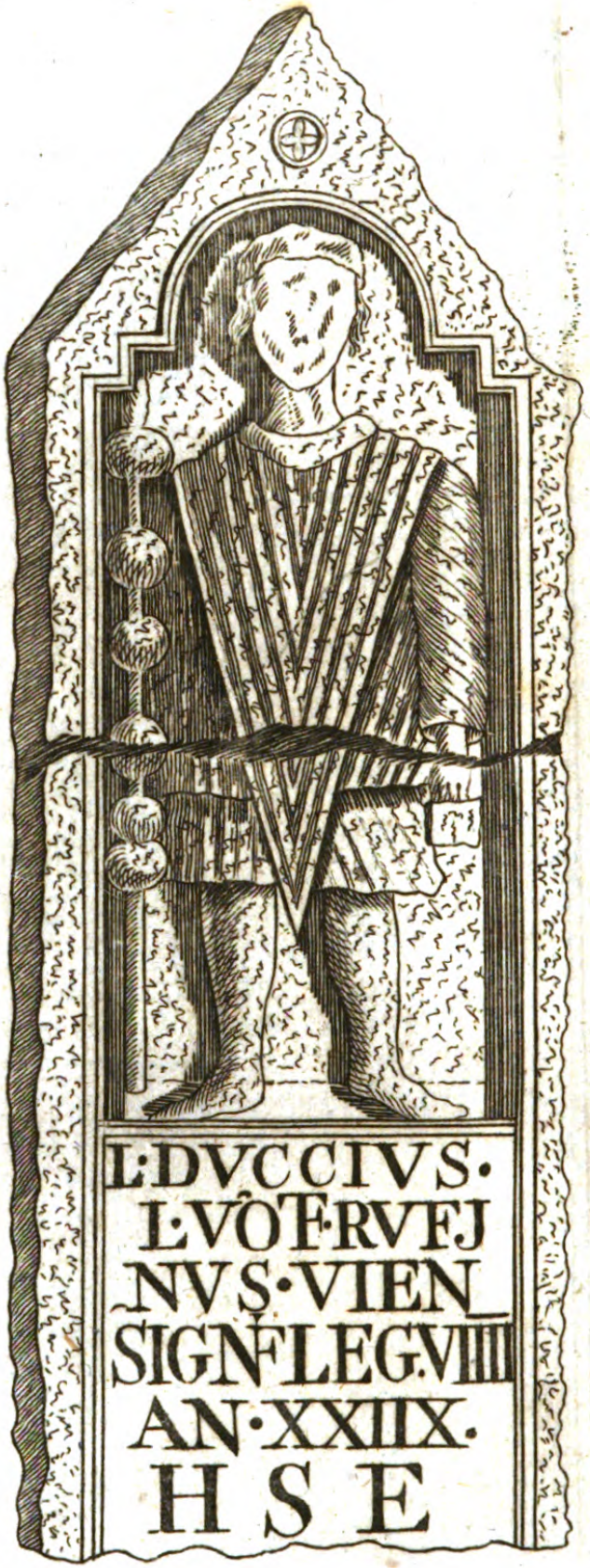
 and

* *Thoreſby's Ducatus Leodiſenſis*, p. 320.

† *Horſley's Brit. Rom.* f. viii. *Yorkſhire*, p. 308.

and Cut of the Letters. Dr. *Gale*, in his Edition of *Antonini Itinerarium*, has done it more Juſtice; for the Letters are well cut, ſtrong and clear, and all of them yet very legible; particularly the LEGIO VIIII. at the End of the fourth Line, is diſtinct and certain, which is the great Curioſity of the Inſcription. The principal Difficulty, in reſpect to the Reading, is in the Beginning of the ſecond Line. Mr. *Thoreſby*, who gives us no Part of the Inſcription but the laſt Line and this, would have it to be *lubens voluit*, which is neither agreeable to the Letters themſelves, or the Situation of them, nor at all conſiſtent with the obvious Senſe of the reſt of the Inſcription. Upon Sight of the Original I was ſoon convinced theſe Letters were LVOLTF, the laſt three, LTF, being all connected together; and they muſt, I think, be read *Lucii voltinia* [*tribu*] *filius*; ſo that it expreſſes the Father's Tribe, tho' the Son was of *Vienna* in *Gaul*, which was a famous *Roman* Colony. *Provincia Viennenſis* was one of the ſeventeen Provinces of *Gaul*, which were under the *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*. This *Tribus Voltinia* is likewiſe mentioned upon another Inſcription * in *Cumberland*. It may ſeem ſtrange, perhaps, that the F for *Filius* ſhould be joined in the ſame Character that includes two Letters of the preceding Words; but we have an Inſtance of the like Kind on another Inſcription at *Great Salkeld* in *Cumberland*, where the ſame Cypher includes two Letters belonging to two different Words †. The Flouriſh annexed to the Foot of the firſt N in the third Line, is ſomewhat peculiar, but very diſtinct. The Word *Rufinus* occurs in another of our Inſcriptions ‡. The reſt has no Difficulty; and as for the *Legio Nona*, I have given a full Account of it in the Hiſtory of the *Roman* Legions in *Britain*. The Figure of this *Signifer* is placed above the Inſcription with his *Vexillum* in one Hand, or the *Signum* of a *Cohort*, according to Mr. *Ward*, whoſe Conjecture I ſhall add, and a Thing like a Baſket in the other. There is ſomewhat of much the ſame Appearance in the Hand of a Soldier upon a Funeral Stone at *Skirway* in *Scotland*. This may poſſibly repreſent the Veſſel for holding or meaſuring of Corn, which was Part of a *Roman* Soldier's Pay." What our Author adds from Mr. *Ward* is this: "I

* N°. LXIII. † N°. LI. ‡ N°. XCVI. *Northumberland*.



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"I am inclined to think what the Image holds in his Right Hand, is the Enſign of a *Cohort* or *Manipulus*. It ſeems very poſſible, from a Paſſage in *Cæſar*, that every *Cohort* had its peculiar Enſign; his Words are theſe *, *Quartæ cohortis omnibus fere centurionibus occiſis, ſignifer interfecto, ſigno amiſſo, &c.* Now, in all the Legionary Coins of *Mark Anthony*, the Eagle is placed between two ſuch Enſigns as this Image holds in his Right Hand. As the Eagle therefore was the Standard of the whole Legion, one would be led to think theſe were deſigned to repreſent the Enſigns of the *Cohorts*, as next in Order. But ſince ſome very learned Men have thought them rather the Enſigns of the *Manipuli*, I would leave every one to judge of them as he pleaſes. What the Image holds in his Left Hand, I take to be the *Vexillum* of a Century. The Form of the *Vexillum* ſeems, I think, to favour this Opinion; for it was four-ſquare, as appears by a Draught of it given above." †

We have nothing to add after this particular Deſcription of the Monument by theſe great Antiquaries, but to preſent the Reader with a Draught of it *(Fig. 7.)*. It was taken by Scale; ſo that the Height of the whole, the Figure, and the Letters, may be meaſured. On the Death of Sir *Henry Goodricke* this Monument was purchaſed by the late *Henry Fairfax*, Eſq; and now lies in a Cellar at *Toulſton-Hall*, from whence we could wiſh to have it removed back to *York*, to be repoſited in ſome ſafe Place, as a laſting Monument of its ancient Glory.

It is very extraordinary that a noble *Roman* Arch, yet ſtanding in a principal Gate of the City, ſhould have eſcaped the Notice of all the curious Obſervers of Antiquity, till of late Years diſcovered by our own Antiquary Mr. *Drake*. It is the chief Arch in *Micklegate-Bar*, by the Port-Cullis, wholly built of Millſtone-Gritt, and a true Segment of a Circle. The Arch is a Triplit, and ſupports a maſſy Pile of *Gothick* Turrets, *&c.* which no Doubt have been frequently renewed upon it, ſince the ſtrong Foundation was built by thoſe admirable Architects the *Romans*. It ſeems yet to bid Defiance to Time, though probably erected 1500 Years ago; and when its Foundations come to be razed ſome Ages hence, perhaps

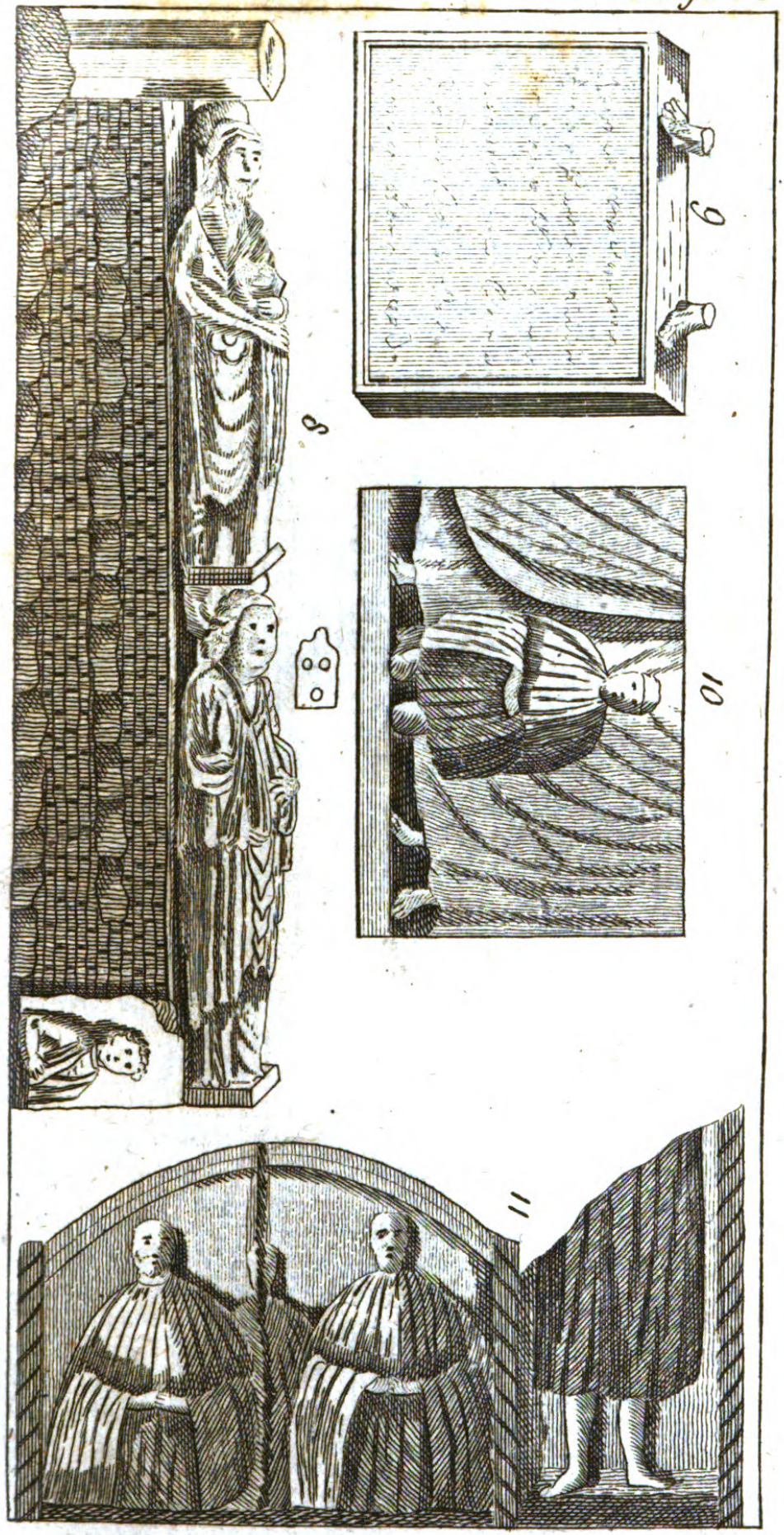
* *De Bello* Gallico, l. 11. c. 15. † *Northumberland*, N°. LX.

ſome Stone in the Building will be found to bear an Inſcription ſufficient to denote its Antiquity, and be another Teſtimony of the Glory of the once-famous EBORACVM. As it is at this Day we preſent the Reader with a View of it; here and there a Stone of another Kind is put in where the old ones have failed; but that does not alter the Symmetry and Proportion of the Arch. The Gate faces the grand Road to *Calcaria*, or *Tadcaſter*, and is placed near the Centre of the *Vallum* and Wall which fortifies this Part of the City. At a good Bowſhot from it is a Place called the *Mount*, which is ſaid to have been thrown up in the late Civil Wars; but it appears to be of much greater Antiquity, and ſeems to have been an Outwork, or *Roman* Fortreſs, erected for the greater Security of this Land-Side of the City, if we may ſo call it.

On the Church-Yard Wall of St. *Laurence, extra Walmgate*, lie two very ancient Statues, proſtrate; (*Fig.* 8.) but whether *Roman* or *Saxon*, *Pagan* or *Chriſtian*, is not eaſy to determine *, though the Head which is ſtuck in the Wall underneath theſe Statues is certainly *Roman*, both from the Gritt and Sculpture that its Age demonſtrates. In *Trinity-Yard, Micklegate*, is a Baſe, which has two Feet of a Statue upon it (*Fig.* 9); and on it has been a large Inſcription, but obliterated, not by Time, as ſuppoſed, but Malice or Ignorance, or the miſtaken Zeal of our Chriſtian Anceſtors. There are other two (*Fig.* 10, 11) which we ſubmit to the Reader's Judgment.

The next Thing we ſhall take Notice of, in Relation to the *Romans*, is the Quantity of their *Coins*, *Signets*, *Fibulæ*, *Urns*, *Sarcophagi*, &c. which have been found with us. As to the Coins, though no Doubt every Age, ſince their Time, has diſcovered many, yet an Accident in the laſt has thrown out more than could be ſeen without it. This has happened by the Quantity of Ground dug up for Gardens in and about the City of late Years; but then, though ſeveral by this Means are found, yet we may preſume that many more are deſtroyed by it. The

* Dr. *Gale* ſuppoſed them to be Statues of a *Roman* Senator and his Lady; but the Form of the Beard on one of them is a ſtrong Argument againſt that Suppoſition.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11

The Loads of Manure which the Gardiners use to enrich the Soil to their Purpose, has, by its nitrous Quality, perfectly dissolved all those which Time had any way eroded before-hand.

About the Year 1731 a Gold *Crispus* was taken up in a Garden next to the House now inhabited by Mrs. *Condon*, without *Bootham-Bar*. The Coin is well preserved, and being placed amongst the *Rarissimi* by the Collectors, it was thought fit to exhibit a Draught of it. *Fig.* 12.

The following Catalogue of *Roman* Coins found at *York*, and now in the Possession of the Rev. Dr. *Langwith*, justly claims a Place in this History; for notwithstanding there are not many of the *Rarissimi*, or even *Rariores*, in it, yet we may venture to say that there is not in the Universe such another Collection of *Roman* Coin found in one City, except *Rome*, and all in one Man's Hands.

AUGUSTUS.

Ar. 1. Augustus Divi F.
Rev. C. Caesar Augus. F.
Figura equestris cum tribus signis mil.

AGRIPPA.

AE. 2. Agrippa L. F. Cos. III.
Rev. S. C.
Neptunus stans, dextra delphinum, sinistra tridentem.

TIBERIUS.

Ar. 3. Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F.
Rev. Pontif. Maxim.
Figura sedens, dextra hastam, sinistra ramum tenens.

GERMANICUS.

AE. 4. Germanicus Caesar Ti. Augus. F. Divi Aug. N.
Rev. SC. C. Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pon. M. Tr. Pot.

CALIGULA.

AE. 5. C. Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pont. M. Tr. P.
Rev. Vesta S. C.
Vesta sedens, dextrâ pateram.

CLAUDIUS.

AE. 6. T. Claudius Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. Imp.
Rev. Spes Augusta.
Spei Typus.

NERO.

NERO.

Ar. 7. Nero Caesar Aug.
Rev. Juppiter Custos.
Jupiter sedens, dextrâ fulmen, sinistrâ hastam.

AE. 8. Nero Claud. Caesar Aug. Germanicus.
Rev. Certà. Quinq. Romae Cons. S. C.
Mensa in qua Corolla et Olla.

OTHO.

Ar. 9. Imp. M. Otho Caesar Aug. Tr. P.
Rev. Pax Orbis Terrarum.
Figura stans, dextra ramum, sinistra caduceum.

VITELLIUS.

Ar. 10. A. Vitellius Germ. Imp. Aug. Tr. P.
Rev. Libertas Restituta.
Figura stolata, dextra pilium, sinistra hastam.

VESPASIANUS.

Ar. 11. Imp. Caesar Vesp. Aug.
Rev. Cos. V. inter duas laurus.

Ar. 12. Imp. Caes. Vesp. Aug. P. M. Cos. IIII. Cens.
Rev. Fides publ.
Duae dextrae junctae, cum caduceo, papaveribus et spicis duabus.

Ar. 13. Imp. Caes. Vesp. Cens.
Rev. Salus Aug.
Figura sedens, dextrâ pateram tenens.

Ar. 14. Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Aug. Tr. P.
Rev. Titus et Domitian. Caesares Prin. Juvent.
Duae figurae togatae sedentes, dextris ramos lauri.

Ar. 15. Divus Augustus Vespasianus.
Rev. Ex. S. C.
Duo lauri: In medio columna cum clypeo in quo S. C.

AE. 16. Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Cos. III.
Rev. Provident. S. C.
Ara.

TITUS.

Ar. 17. T. Caesar Imp. Vespasianus.
Rev. Jovis Custos.
Figura stans, dextram supra aram protendens, sinistrâ hastam tenens.

18. T. Caesar Imp. Vespasianus.
Rev. Cos. VI.
Bos et Vacca cum Aratro.

19. T.

19. T. Caesar Imp. Vespasianus.
Rev. Tr. Pot. VIII. Cos. VII.
Quadriga triumphalis e quâ flos erumpit.

DOMITIANUS.

Ar. 20. Imp. Caes. Domit. Aug. Germ. P. M. TR. P. V.
Rev. Imp. XIII. Cos. XI. Cens. P. P. P.
Pallas, dextrâ fulmen, sinistrâ clypeum.

Ar. 21. . . . . Pallas cum noctuâ.

AE. 22. Imp. Caes. Domit. Aug. Germ. Cos. XII. Cens. Perp. P. P.
Rev. Fortuna Augusti S. C.
Fortuna stans, dextra temonem navis, sinistra Cornucopiae.

AE. 23. Imp. Caes. Domit. Aug. Germ. Cos. XIIII. Cens. Perp. P. P.
Rev. Virtuti Augusti.
Figura galeata stans, dextra hastam, sinistra Parazonium, sinistro pede globum calcans.

TRAJANUS.

Ar. 24. Imp. Caes. Nerva Trajan. Aug. Germ.
Rev. P. M. TR. P. Cos. IIII. P. P.
Victoria stans, dextra sertum, sinistra Palmam.

25. Imp. Trajano Aug. P. M. TR. P.
Rev. Cos. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. optimo Principi.
Victoria, dextra sertum, sinistra hastam.

26. . . . . It. *Figura stans, dextra bilancem, sinistra cornucopiae.*

27. Imp. Caes. Ner. Trajano optimo Aug. Ger. Dac.
Rev. P. M. Tr. P. Cos. VI. PP. S. P. Q. R. Fort. Red.
Figura sedens, dextra temonem navis, sinistra cornucopiae.

28. Imp. Caes. Nervae Trajano Aug. Ger. Dac. Parth.
Rev. Cos. VI. . . . . MO Prin.
Figura stans, dextra ramum, sinistra parazonium, ad pedes struthio.

HADRIANUS.

Ar. 29. Hadrianus Augustus P. P.
Rev. Cos. III.
Figura stans, dextra bilancem, sinistra cornucopiae.

30. Hadri-

30. Hadrianus Augus.
Rev. Cos. III.
Figura militaris stans, dextra victoriolam, sinistra hastam.

SABINA Hadriani uxor.

31. Sabina Augusta Hadriani Aug. PP.
Rev. Pudicitia.
Pudicitiae stantis typus.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

Ar. 32. Antoninus Augustus P. P. Tr. P. Cos. III.
Rev. Aequitas Aug.
Figura stans, dextra bilancem, sinistra hastam.

AE. Antoninus Aug. Pius.
Rev. Britanniae . . . . .

33. Britannia *rupibus insidens, dextra signum militare, sinistra . . . .*

FAUSTINA.

Ar. 34. Diva Faustina.
Rev. *Figura stans, dextra pomum ferens, sinistra velum levans circa caput.*

35. . . . . *Rev.* Augusta.
Figura stans, dextra hastam.

M. AURELIUS.

Ar. 36. Aurelius Caesar. Anton. Aug. Pii F.
Rev. Tr. P. XI. Cos. II.
Figura militaris dextra hastam, sinistra parazonium.

37. M. Antoninus Aug. Tr. P. XXIX. Cos. III.
Figura sedens, dextra pateram, sinistra cornucopiae.

COMMODUS.

Ar. 38. M. Comm. Ant. P. Fel. Aug. Brit.
Rev. P. M. Tr. P. XIII. Imp. VIII. Cos. V. P. P.
Figura nuda stans, dextra peteram, sinistra spicas.

Ar. 39. M. Comm. Ant. P. Fel. Aug. Brit. P. P.
Rev. Min. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. XVI. Cos. VI.

MINERVA.

SEVERUS.

Ar. 40. Severus Pius Aug.
Rev. Fundator Pacis.
Imperator sac. cultu capite velato, olivae ramum dextra.

Ar. 41.

Ar. 41. L. Sep. Sev. Pert. Aug. Imp. IX.
Rev. Providentia Aug.
Figura ſtolata dextram protendens ſupra globum, ſiniſtra haſtam gerens.

JULIA DOMNA Severi uxor.

Ar. 42. Julia Auguſta.
Rev. Diana Lucifera.

Ar. 43. . . . . *Rev.* *Figura ſtans, dextra pateram, ſiniſtra haſtam puram.*

CARACALLA.

Ar. 44. Imp. Antoninus Pius Aug.
Rev. Securitas ſaeculi.
Figura ſedens dextram capiti admovens, ſiniſtra ſceptrum gerens.

45. Antoninus Aug. Brit.
Rev. P. M. Tr. P. XVI. Coſ. IIII. P. P.
Hercules nudus, dextra ramum, ſiniſtra ſpolia leonis cum clava.

GETA.

Ar. 46. P. Sept. Geta Pont.
Rev. Princ. Juventutis.
Caeſar paludatus ſtans, dextra ramum, ſiniſtra haſtam, cum tropaeo a tergo.

47. . . . . *Figura ſtans, dextra ramum, ſiniſtra haſtam.*

ELAGABALUS.

Ar. 48. Imp. Antoninus Pius Aug.
Rev. P. M. Tr. P. IIII. Coſ. III. P. P.
Solis typus, cum ſtella.

JULIA MAESA avia Elagab.

Ar. 49. Julia Maeſa Aug.
Rev. Saeculi Felicitas.
Figura ſtolata ſtans, dextra pateram, ſiniſtra haſtam cum caduceo. A tergo ſtella.

JULIA PAULA Elagabali uxor.

Ar. 50. Julia Paula Aug.
Rev. Concordia.
Figura ſedens, dextra pateram. A fronte ſtella.

JULIA AQUILIA SEVERA altera Elagabali uxor.

Ar. 51. Julia Aquilia Severa.
Rev. Provid. Deorum.
Providentiae typus.

JULIA

JULIA SOAEMIAS Elagabali mater.

Ar. 52. Julia Soaemias Aug.
Rev. Venus coeleſtis.
Venus ſedens, dextra pomum, ſiniſtra haſtam puram. A tergo ſtella.

M. AURELIUS SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

Ar. 53. Imp. C. M. Sev. Alexand. Aug.
Rev. Libertas Aug.
Foemina ſtolata, dextra pileum, ſiniſtra haſtam puram.

It.

54. *Rev.* P. M. Tr. P. II. Coſ. P. P.
Figura ſtans, dextra ramum, ſiniſtra haſtam puram.

It.

55. *Rev.* P. M. Tr. P. VI. Coſ. II. P. P.

It.

56. *Rev.* Salus Publica.
Salus ſedens, dextra pateram ſerpenti porrigens.

JULIA MAMMAEA Alexandri mater.

Ar. 57. Julia Mammaea Aug.
Rev. Veſta.
Figura velata ſtans, dextra palladium, ſiniſtra haſtam puram.

SAL. BARBIA ORBIANA Alexandri uxor.

Ar. 58. Sall. Barbia Orbiana Aug.
Rev. Felicitas Publica.
Figura ſtans, dextra caduceum gerens, ſiniſtra nixa columnae.

MAXIMINUS.

Ar. 59. Maximinus Pius Aug. Germ.
Rev. Fides Militum.
Figura ſtans, utraque manu tenens ſignum militare.

GORDIANUS III.

Ar. 60. Imp. Gordianus Pius Fel. Aug.
Rev. Virtuti Auguſti.
Hercules cum leonis exuviis et clava.

61. It.
Rev. Laetitia Aug. N.
Figura muliebris ſtans, dextra ſertum, ſiniſtra anchoram.

MARCUS JULIUS PHILIPPUS ARABS.

Ar. 62. Imp. Philippus Aug.
Rev. Securitas Perp. . . . .

CTA-

OTACILIA SEVERA Philippi uxor.

Ar. 63. Marcia Otacil. Severa Aug.
Rev. Concordia Aug. g. S. C.
Figura sedens, dextra pateram, sinistra cornucopiae.

TRAJANUS DECIUS.

Ar. 64. Imp. Trajanus Decius Aug.
Rev. Dacia.
Figura stans, dextra baculum cum capite equino.

TREBONIANUS GALLUS.

Ar. 65. Imp. Cae. C. Vib. Treb. Gallus.
Rev. Apoll. Salutari.
Apollo, dextra ramum lauri, sinistra citharam.

VOLUSIANUS.

Rev. Concordia Augg.

VALERIANUS.

66. Imp. C. P. Lic. Valerianus Aug.
Rev. Apollini Conserva.
Apollo stans, dextra ramum, sinistra citharam.

GALLIENUS.

AE. 67. Gallienus Aug.
Rev. Pax publica.
68. .... *Rev.* Provid. Aug.
69. .... *Rev.* Virtus Aug.
70. .... *Rev.* Dianae. Conf.
Diana cum venabulo et arcu, ad pedes animal cervini generis.
71. .... *Rev.* Soli Conf. Aug.
Pegasus.
72. .... *Rev.* Apollini Conf. Aug.
Centaurus, dextra globum.
73. .... *Rev.* Neptuno Conf. Aug.
Hippopotamus, al. *Hippocampus.*
74. .... Jovi Conf. Capra.

SALONINA.

AE. 75. Salonina Aug.
Rev. Juno Conservat.
76. .... Venus victrix.
Venus, dextra galeam, sinistra hastam cum clypeo.

POSTUMUS SEN. GALLIAE TYRANNUS.

77. Imp. C. Postumus Pius F. Aug.
Rev. Victoria Aug.

VICTORINUS.

AE.77. Imp. C. Victorinus.
Rev. Providentia Aug.
78. .... *Rev*. Pax Augusti.
79. .... *Rev*. Invictus.
Solis typus.
80. .... *Rev*. Pietas Aug.
81. .... *Rev*. Hilaritas Aug.
82. .... *Rev*. Victoria Aug.

TETRICUS.

AE.83. Imp. C. Tetricus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Spes publica.
84. .... *Rev*. Laetitia Aug. n.
Laetitia, dextra sertum, sinistra anchoram.
85. ... Salus Augg.
Salutis typus.

TETRICUS, jun.

AE.86. C. P. E. Tetricus Caes.
Rev. Pietas Augg.
Vasa pontificalia.
87. .... Spes.

C. PIVESU TETRICUS.

88. *Rev*. Spes Augg.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

AE.89. Imp. C. Claudius Aug.
.... *Rev*. Aequitas Aug.
.... *Rev*. Felicitas Aug.

QUINTILLUS.

AE.90. Imp. C. M. Aur. Cl. Quintillus Aug.
Rev. Pax Augusti.

CARINUS.

AE.91. Imp. Carinus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Felicit. Publica.

DIOCLETIANUS.

Imp. C. C. Val. Diocletianus P. F. Aug.
92. *Rev*. Jovi Conser. Augg.

TYRANNI *sub* DIOCLETIANO.

1. AELIANUS.

AE.93. C. L. Aelianus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Victoria Aug.
Victoriae typus.

2. CARAUSIUS.

2. CARAUSIUS.

AE. 94. Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug.
Rev. Pax Aug.

3. ALLECTUS.

AE. 95. Imp. Cae. Allectus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Laetitia Aug.
96. . . . . Providentia Aug.

CONSTANTIUS.

AE. 97. Constantius Nobil. Caesar.
Rev. Genio Populi Romani.

FLAVIA HELENA.

AE. 98. . . . . Helena Augusta.
Rev. Securitas Reipublicae.

FLAVIA THEODORA.

AE. 99. Theodora Aug.
Rev. Pietas Romana.
Mulier stans cum puerulo lactente.

MAXIMIANUS.

AE. 100. Imp. Maximianus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Genio Populi Romani.

MAXIMINUS.

AE. 101. Imp. Maximinus Aug.
Rev. Genio Pop. Rom.
Genius stans, dextra pateram, sinistra cornucopiae, a tergo stella P. L. N.

LICINIUS.

AE. 102. Imp. Licinius P. F. Aug.
Rev. Genio Pop. Rom.

CONSTANTINUS M.

AE. 103. Constantinus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Comiti Augg. N. N. P. L. N.
Sol gradiens.
104. . . . . Soli invicto Comiti. P. T. R.
Sol.
105. Constantinus Aug.
Rev. D. N. Constantini Max. Aug. S. T. *
Sertum in quo vot. XX.
106. . . . . Sarmatia devicta.
Victoria gradiens ad cujus pedes captivus.
107. Divo Constantino . . .
Rev. . . . . . Pietas.
Figura militaris stans, dextra hastam sinistra globum.

108. . . . . *Rev.* . . . . . Quadrigae.

CONSTANTINUS, jun.

AE. 109. J. Constantinus jun. Nob. C.
Rev. Caesarum Nostrorum Vot. X. T. R.

110. . . . Dominor. nostror. Caes. Vot. X.

111. . . . Providentiae Caess. P. Lon.
Arx. vel forte horrea publica.

CONSTANS.

AE. 112. D. N. Constans P. F. Aug.
Fel. Temp. Reparatio.
Figura militaris stans in navi, dextra victoriolam, sinistra labarum. Victoria navem gubernat.

113. . . . . *Rev.* Eadem epigraphe.
Phoenix radiatus monti vel fortasse rogo insistens.

113. It. *Phoenix globo insistens.*

114. It. *Imp. manu globum gerens.*

115. It. *Figura militaris, sinistra hastam tenens, dextra parvulum ex antro, vel pergula ducens.*

CONSTANTIUS.

116. D. N. Constantius P. F. Aug.
Rev. Fel. Temp. Reparatio.
Figura militaris in navi, dextra globum cum Phoenice, sinistra labarum in quo ☧, *ad pedes victoria navim gubernans.*

MAGNENTIUS.

AE. 117. D. N. Magnentius P. F. Aug.
Rev. Salus D. D. N. N. et Caes. A ☧ ω.

118. . . . . Victoria D. D. N. N. Augg. et Caess.
Duae victoriae clypeum tenentes in quo Vot. V. *mult.* X.

JULIANUS.

Ar. 119. D. N. Fl. Cl. Julianus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Vot. X. Mult. XX. P. Const.

AE. . . . . *Rev.* Votis X. mult. XX. Heracl. a.

VALENTINIANUS.

AE. 120. Valentinianus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Gloria Romanorum.
Figura mil. dextra captivum crinibus trahens, sinistra labarum tenens.

121. D. N. Valentinianus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Securitas Reipublicae. S--SIS.

VALENS.

VALENS.

AE. 122. D. N. Valens P. F. Aug.
Rev. Securitas Reipublicae OF. I.
Victoria gradiens, dextra sertum, sinistra palmam.

123. . . . . *Rev.* Gloria Romanorum OF. II.
Miles sinistra labarum tenens, dextra captivum prosternens.

GRATIANUS.

AE. 124. D. N. Gratianus Augg. Aug.
Gloria Novi Saeculi OF. III. Con.
Figura militaris stans, dextra labarum cum Monogrammate ☧, *sinistra clypeum.*

The Coins of the Emperor *Severus*, which *Camden* speaks of, and says are inscribed on the Reverse COL. EBORACVM LEGIO VI VICTRIX *, greatly illustrates our present Subject. He does not name his Authority for this Assertion, nor does he say that he ever saw the Coin. But, in Dean *Gale*'s *Itinerary*, *Goltzius* is quoted in the Margin as the Author from whence Mr. *Camden* might take it, and it is very probable he did so. That learned *German* Antiquary, in his *Thesaurus Rei Antiquariæ*, C. xviii. *Coloniarum, Municipiorumque* Romanorum *Nomina et Epitheta*, p. 239, gives the Reading of the Reverse of one of the Emperor *Severus*'s Coins as Mr. *Camden* has expressed it.

The Coins mentioned by *Mediobarbus* and *Vaillant* to be struck in Honour of *Severus*, *Caracalla*, and *Geta*, which have on their Reverse VICTORIÆ BRITANNICÆ, & CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM, were in all Probability struck at *York*; for the former was stamped in Honour of his *Caledonian* Expedition, after his Return to our City, as the latter bear Testimony of the Reconcilement which he supposed he had made, a little before his Death, betwixt his two Sons. So the Title of BRITANNICVS MAXIMVS, which he certainly assumed at *York*, as Lord of the whole Island of *Britain*, and struck upon his Coins, can no where be supposed to have its original Stamp better than in that City where he triumphed for the greatest Glory of his Reign. It is not to be imagined

* *Britannia*. See *York*. This is one of the Arguments to prove EBORACVM a Colony as well as a *Municipium*, by *Camden*.

but that the Mint attended the Imperial Court; for no ſooner was a great Action performed, but the whole Empire was made acquainted with it, by ſome ſignal Reverſe ſtruck immediately upon the current Coin.

Nor have we a leſs Claim to thoſe Medals coined in Honour of the Deification of the Emperor *Conſtantius Chlorus*, and the Inauguration of his Son, *Conſtantine the Great*, the Ceremony of both theſe remarkable Events being performed, as before mentioned, at EBORACVM.

Signets, or Seals, of different Sorts, both what the *Italians* call *Cameos* and *Intaglios*, have been moſt certainly found in or about our City, in every Age ſince the Time of the *Romans*; but how loſt again, or diſperſed, is uncertain. Two or three of them fell into the Hands of Mr. *Drake*, and were by him preſented to the Collection of the Antiquarian Society. The firſt was diſcovered in the *Mannor* Garden, but had an unlucky Stroke of a Spade acroſs it in digging up. It is a *Beryl*. The Engraving is thought to be a *Pallas*, (*Fig.* 13) the Spear, Shield, Snake, *&c.* denoting that Goddeſs; but in later Ages it had been ſet and made Uſe of for a Counter-Seal (as the Word *Secretum*, inſcribed thereon, imports) by *R. de Sepeſhevet*, that is, *Richard* or *Robert Sheepſhead*, probably ſome Monk of the Abbey of St. *Mary*, who might have found it 2 or 300 Years ago.

The next Seal is cut on another *Beryl*, but of a different and more extraordinary Impreſs than the former. (*Fig.* 14) It is a ludicrous Repreſentation, in Hieroglyphicks, of the warm Love, to call it no worſe, that *Otho*, before he was Emperor, had for *Poppæa Sabina*, the Lady whom *Nero* took from him, married, and afterwards killed with a Kick on the Belly, when ſhe was with Child by the Monſter.

The Story of *Otho*'s Amours with *Poppæa* is related very fully in *Tacitus*, *Ann.* 13; in *Suetonius*, *in Vitâ Othonis*; and alſo in *Plutarch*, *Vitâ Galbæ*. By theſe Authorities it appears that there was a ſham Marriage trump'd up betwixt the two Lovers, in order to prevent *Nero*'s taking her from *Otho*, the *Romans* holding it highly unlawful to take another Man's Wife from him. But this did not hinder the Tyrant from committing the Rape; and it is Matter of Wonder that he let *Otho* eſcape with his Life; which he did, though he ſent him

Propretor

12

FLavius IVLius CRISPVS NOBilis Cæsar
PRINCIPI-IVVENTVTIS in ima parte AQ

13

14

15

Onyc *incis*

16

Sardon *incis*

37

38

Propretor into a very remote Province, a Kind of an honourable Banishment, whilst *Nero* enjoyed the Lady, and at length dispatched her in the Manner before related.

This satyrical Representation has the Figure of a *Priapus*, dressed out with all the Emblems of Lust imaginable. It has a Cock's Head with the Mouth open; the Body of a *Penis*, on which is planted *Cupid*'s Wings; the Tail of a Goat; and Satyr's Legs, the Thighs of which plainly represent the *Testes*. This strange Creature is offering a bright flaming Torch, or a Dart, or perhaps a Branch of Myrtle, upon an Altar with one of his Feet. The Inscription on the Verge OTHO POP SABI, and underneath FC, may be thus read, *Otho Poppææ Sabinæ facem conjugalem* [*offert*] or some such other Word, the Verb being oftener understood than expressed in longer *Roman* Inscriptions than this. Or the FC may be read *Fascinum consecrat*, and in the latter Sense will better agree with the Representation, which is designed to be as obscene and satyrical as possible. *

The Seal was found somewhere in *Conyng-street*, and presented to Mr. *Drake* by Mr. *Beckwith*, a Jeweller in *York*. The Drawing of it, for the better Observation, is taken just as large again as the Stone really is.

The next is a Gem found in *York*, but in what Part of it is now uncertain. The Stone is a beautiful large Onyx, with the poetical Representation of *Bellerophon*, *Pegasus*, and *Chimæra* cut upon it. The same *Intaglio* is represented in *Gorlæus*, and is by him call'd *Bellerophon* and *Chimæra*. *Abr. Gorlæi Dactyliothecæ*, Pars 2. n. 2.

This exactly agrees with a Drawing of the very same *Intaglio* published in a Book of antique Gems, Coins, *&c.* in the *Elector Palatine*'s Cabinet; with this Difference only, that this is cut on an Onyx, and the other on a Sardonyx, and somewhat larger †. The Plate represents both, *Fig.* 15, 16.

Fig. 37, 38, represent two more *Intaglios* from the late

* We were led into the Story and Reading of this Seal, by that excellent Antiquary *Roger Gale*, Esq; by whose sagacious Judgment in these Matters, many dark and obscure Inscriptions have been brought to Light.

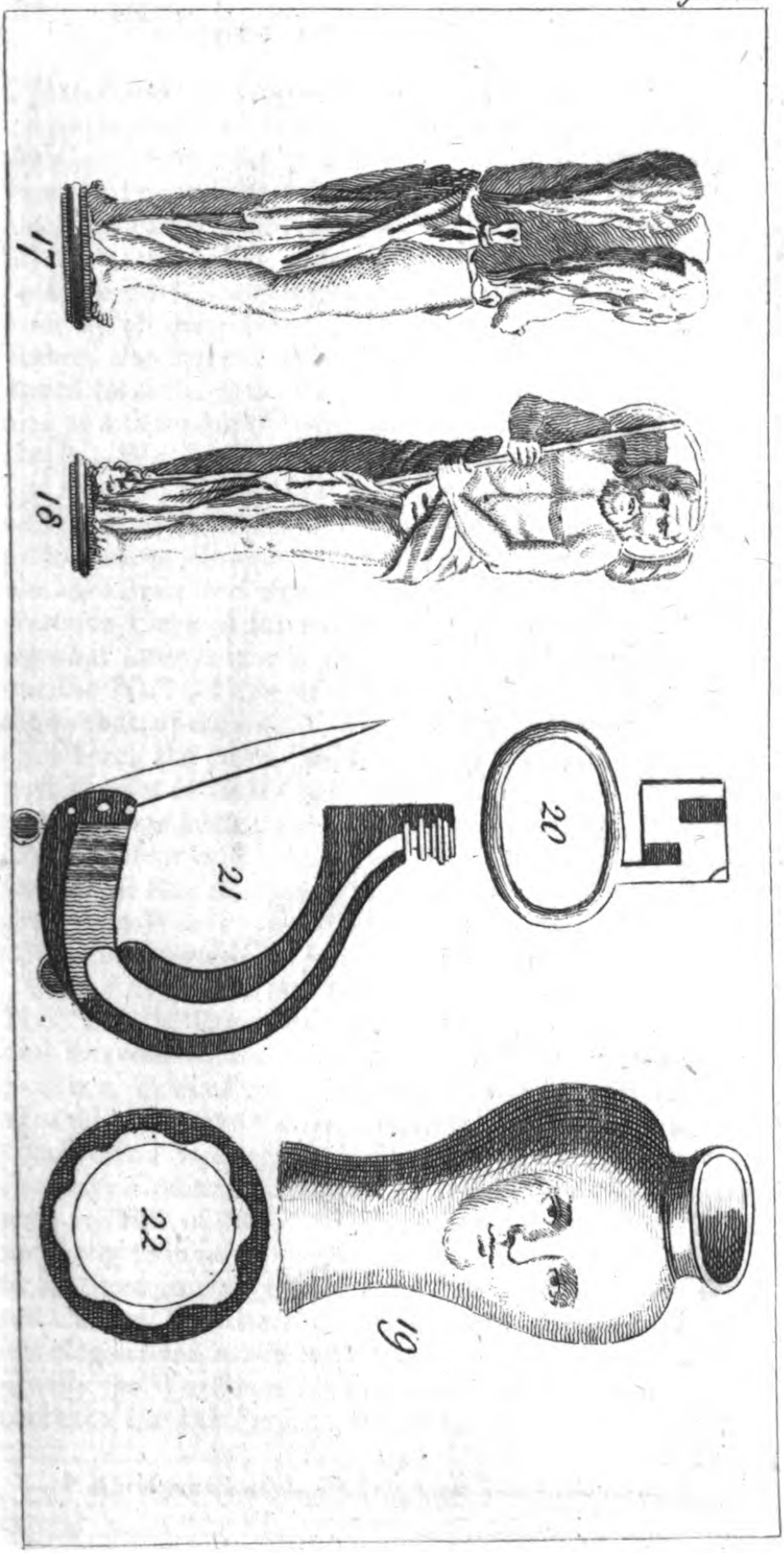
† *Gemmæ et numismata in thesauro* Palatino *illustrat. &c. authore* L. Begero, *serenis.* Elector. Palat. *Antiquario et Biblioth.* Heidelbergæ, MDCLXXXV.

late Dr. *Langwith*'s Collection. They are cut on Cornelians, but by a very indifferent Artist: The first represents a Military Figure hanging up a Trophy on a Laurel; the second, a disarmed Soldier, or Gladiator, resting on the Stump of a Tree, and seeming to resign his very Helmet, which he holds in his Left Hand.

About the Year 1734 was found in *Walmgate*, *York*, the little Image represented by *Fig.* 17, 18. It is certainly an Image of *Chronos Tempus*, or *Saturn*; but whether *Roman* or no, is uncertain; though a particular Elegance in it, as well as the mixed Metal of which it is cast, denotes it of *Roman* Workmanship. If so, this Image has in all Probability been one of their *Penates*, or Household Gods. A Hollowness within seems to shew as if it had been set upon a Prop for Chamber Worship.

By an Accident in opening a large Piece of Ground to dig Clay for Bricks, betwixt *Bootham* and *Clifton*, on the Left Hand, about half a Quarter of a Mile from the City, have been disclosed and thrown up several *Roman Sarcophagi*, or Stone Coffins, and a great Quantity of Urns, of different Colours, Sizes, and Shapes. The Law of the twelve Tables expressly says *Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito*, which ordained that the Dead, and the Rites belonging to them, should be removed to some Distance from the City. This Law, which they likewise had from the *Greeks*, the *Athenians* were strict in; but we are told the *Romans* frequently dispensed with it. What was then practised at *Rome*, we may believe was the same at *York*; and indeed we never heard of any Urns being found within, though many Hundreds have been discovered without the City. Stone Coffins have been frequently dug up, and some Monuments discovered, as LVCIVS DVCCIVS, *&c.* but no Urns that we ever heard of. It is natural to suppose that they lighted their Funeral Piles *extra Urbem*; and we are told by *Herodian* that the *Campus Martis* was the common Place for such Solemnities. This Place, which was formerly an open Field, is now the principal Part of *New Rome*; and if the Reader will examine *Donatus*'s Draught of *Romulus*'s Wall, and the *Campus Martis* without it, he will find that it exactly corresponds with our Burial-Place at *York*.

Clifton


17
18
19
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21
22

Clifton Fields, which have been inclofed little more than a Century, were formerly open enough to have been the *Campus Martius* to EBORACVM. There is a plain *Tumulus* beyond the Brick-Kilns, on which a Wind-Mill has been placed; and no Doubt, if the Ground was to be opened that Way, feveral more buried Remains would be difcovered. The Gate which leads to this grand Repofitory of their Dead, is called *Bootham-Bar*; which Name, the learned Dean *Gale* obferved, might be deduced from the *Britifh* Word *Boeth*, which fignifies *burning*, as a Gate out of which the *Romans* ufed to burn their Dead. We fhall not contradict this Etymology; it is apt enough; and did not another bid much fairer for it, which we muft mention in the Sequel, it would do us a great deal of Honour: But be that as it may, the Place we have defcribed was moft certainly, in their Time, a common Place of Interment on this Side the City; tho' by what follows it will appear that in other Parts, without the Walls, Urns, *&c.* have been difcovered; which fhews that, if the like Accident of digging fhould happen elfewhere, the fame Curiofities might be found, though perhaps not in fuch Quantities.

What has been remarked by Dr. *Lifter*, Mr. *Thorefby*, *&c.* and fent up to the Royal Society, concerning thefe fepulchral Repofitories of the Ancients, fhall be given in their own Words; which, with fome further Difcoveries and Obfervations, will difmifs the whole Affair.

And firft the learned Doctor.—" Here are found at *York* *, in the Road, or *Roman* Street, out of *Micklegate*, and likewife by the River Side, where the Brick-Kilns now are, Urns of three different Tempers, *viz.* 1. Urns of a blueifh grey Colour, having a great Quantity of coarfe Sand wrought in with the Clay. 2. Others of the fame Colour, having either a very fine Sand mixed with it, full of *Mica*, or Cat Silver, or made of Clay naturally fandy. 3. Red Urns of fine Clay, with little or no Sand in it. Thefe laft are quite throughout of a red Colour, like fine Bole. Alfo many of thefe red Pots are elegantly adorned with Figures in *Baffo Relievo*, and ufually the Workman's Name, which I think others have miftaken for the Perfon's Name buried there, upon the Bottom

* Abridgement of the Philofophical Tranfactions, v. 3.

Bottom or Cover, as IANARIVS, and ſuch-like; but that very Name I have ſeen upon ſeveral Pots, both here and at *Aldburgh*. After all, theſe are glazed Inſide and Out, with a Kind of Varniſh of a bright Coral Colour.

" The Compoſition of the firſt Kind of Pots did firſt give me Occaſion to diſcover the Places where they were made. The one about the Midway betwixt *Wilberfoſs* and *Barnby on the Moor*, ſix Miles from *York*, in the Sand-Hills or riſing Ground where now the Warren is, where I have found ſcattered widely up and down, broken Pieces of Urns, Slag, and Cinders. The other is on the Sand-Hills at *Santon*, near *Brigg*, in *Lincolnſhire*."

We ſhall omit what the Doctor obſerves further on this Sort of Urns, and give Mr. *Thoreſby*'s Account, who followed him. *

" I have added to my *Roman* Curioſities two entire Urns, both of the blueſh grey Colour, of different Forms, with ſome of the burnt Bones in them; the leſſer of them is almoſt in the Form of the *Roman Simpulum* or *Guttus*, and by the Narrowneſs of the Neck ſeems rather to have been a Kind of *Lacrimatory*, or Veſſel for ſome Kind of liquid Matter, rather than Aſhes. I have likewiſe Part of an *Aquæduct*, which is turned in Form of a Screw on the Inſide, has a narrow Neck at one End, to put into the open End of the next; and ſeveral of theſe, each a Foot long and four Inches broad, were found thus placed in the *Roman* Burial-Place at *York*, by the River Side out of *Bootham-Bar*, which was indiſputably the Place the *Romans* made Uſe of for that End, as appears by the great Number of Urns frequently found there, when they dig the Clay for Bricks. And that it continued the Place of their Sepulture, after their Cuſtom of Burning, introduced in the tyrannous Dictatorſhip of *Sylla*, was aboliſhed, is evident by a remarkable *Hypogæum*, without any Urns in it, diſcovered laſt Winter, 1696. It was large enough to contain two or three Corpſes, and was paved with Brick nigh two Inches thick, eight in Breadth and Length, being equilaterally ſquare; upon which was a ſecond Pavement of the ſame *Roman* Brick, to cover the Seams of the lower, and prevent the working up of Vermin: But thoſe that covered the Vault were

* Abridgement of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, v. 3.

were the moſt remarkable that I ever ſaw, being about two Foot ſquare, and of a proportionable Thickneſs.

Again: "I have procured Part of the Bottom †, which conſiſted of ſeveral ſuch Pieces, for the Convenience of Baking, of an old *Roman* Coffin, which was lately dug up in their Burying-Place out of *Bootham-Bar* at *York*. 'Tis of the red Clay, but not ſo fine as the Urns, having a greater Quantity of coarſe Sand wrought up in the Clay. As to the Form, which is intire as it was at firſt moulded, it is fourteen Inches and a Half long, and eleven broad at the narrow End, and nigh twelve and a half at the broader; this was the loweſt Part of the Feet, and the reſt were proportionably broader till it came to the Shoulder; it is an Inch thick beſides the Ledges, which are one broad and two thick, and extend from the Bottom of either Side to within three Inches of the Top, where it is wholly flat and ſomewhat thinner, for the next to lie upon it; which ſeveral Parts were thus joined together by ſome Pin I preſume, for at the End of each Tile is a Hole that would receive a common Slate-Pin. Theſe Edges are wrought a little hollow, I ſuppoſe to receive the Sides, and at the Feet are two contrary Notches to faſten the End-Piece. This Bottom I ſhould conclude to have conſiſted chiefly of eight ſuch Parts, from a like Character 8 impreſt upon the Clay by the *Sandapilariu*'s Finger before its Baking, but that I ſomewhat doubt whether numeral Figures be of that Antiquity in theſe *European* Parts. I got alſo ſome Scars of broken Urns dug up in Mr. *Giles*'s Garden, which are of the fineſt Clay that I have ever ſeen, with which was found a *Roman Shuttle*, about three Inches and a half long, but not one broad in the very Middle; the Hollow for the *Licium*, being but one Fourth of an Inch in the broadeſt Part, ſhews that it was for Silk or very fine Linen."

At the ſame Place the aforeſaid Author gives this Account of another Diſcovery: "They have lately found a very remarkable Lead Coffin, which was about ſeven Foot long, was incloſed in a prodigious ſtrong one made of Oak Planks about two Inches and a half thick, which, beſides the Rivettings, were tacked together with Braggs or great Iron Nails; the Nails were four Inches long, the

† Abridg. of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, v. 5. ed. *Jones*.

the Heads not Die-wise as the large Nails now are, but perfectly flat and an Inch broad. Many of them are almost consumed with Rust, and so is the Outside of the Planks, but the Heart of the Oak is firm, and the Lead fresh and pliable; whereas one found a Year ago, 1701, is brittle, and almost wholly consumed, having no Planks to guard it. The Bones are light and entire, though probably interred 1500 Years ago, for it is above so many Centuries since that Custom of burning gave Place to that more natural one of interring the Dead; which, according to Monsieur *Muret*, was re-introduced by the *Antonines*. I have a Thigh-Bone, which is wonderfully light, and the lower Jaw, which was furnished with all its Teeth. The double Coffins were so heavy, that they were forced to drag them out of the Dormitory with a Team of Oxen."

An anonymous Writer* to the Royal Society says, "There was lately found at the Brick-Kilns without *Bootham-Bar*, an old Earthen Vessel, which is preserved in the *Musæum Ashmoleum* at *Oxford*, (*Fig.* 19). It is by some supposed to be an Urn, by others a Flower-Pot; the Clay is of the Colour of *Halifax* Clay when burnt. The Potter's Part is well performed, the Face being bossed from within with a Finger, when upon the Wheel, and some Strokes of red Paint about the Curles of the Head and Eye-Brows, and two red Threads about the Neck. On the Backside of the Vessel a Leaf is drawn in Red, which is still very fresh, but no glazing neither upon the Clay nor red Colour; the Face upon the Vessel is as large as that of a middle-sized Woman."

Some other Kinds of Urns, *&c.* were found at *York*, and had a Place in our *Leeds* Antiquary's Musæum. These he has thought fit to give us the Icons of, and from his Plate have added them to ours, that nothing might be wanting to illustrate this Subject.

Roman Curiosities found at *York*, which were in Mr. *Thoresby*'s Musæum.

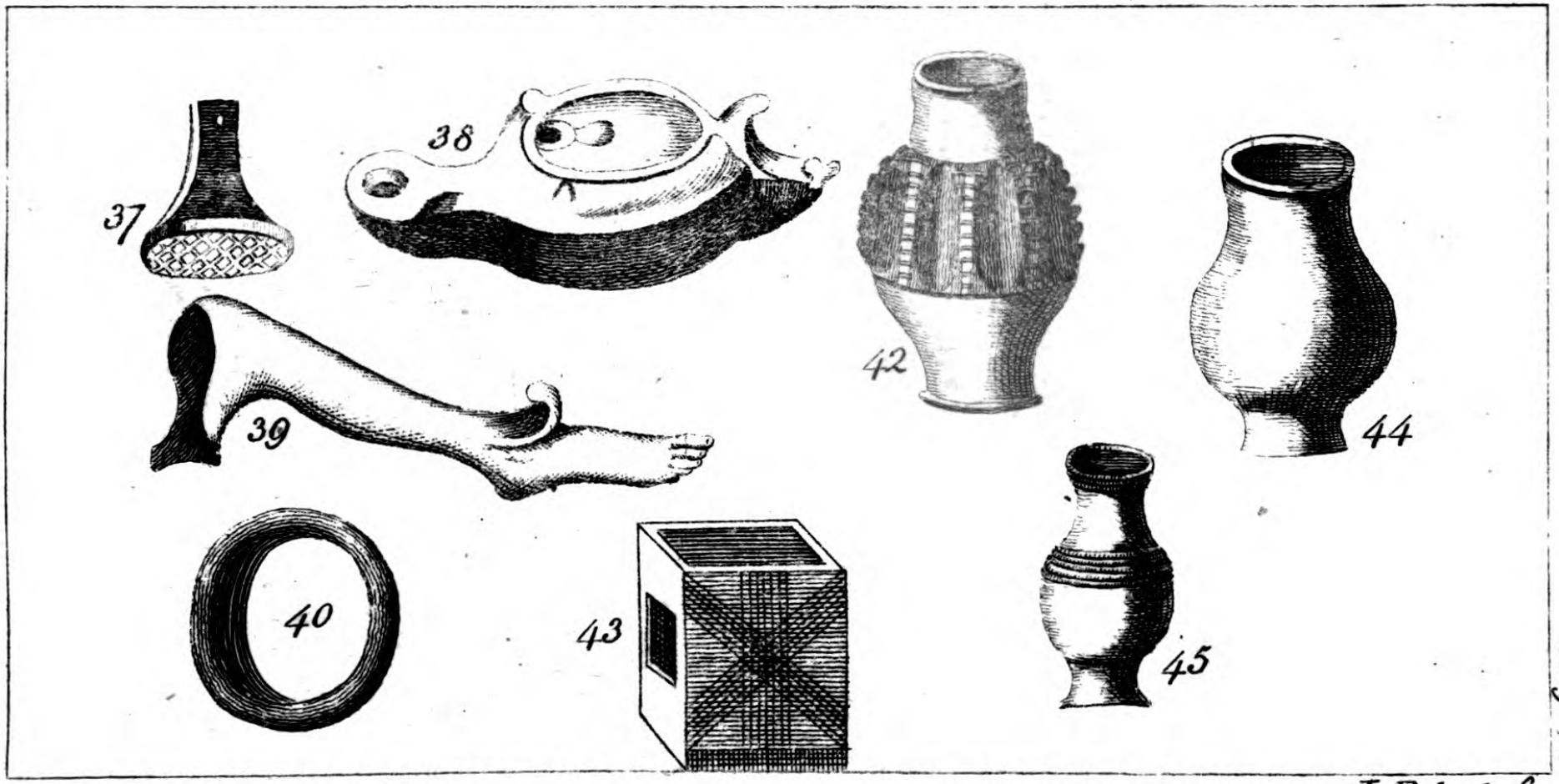
The *Roman* Brick. LEG. IX. VIC.

FIG. 20. A *Roman Key*, made in the Form of a Ring to wear upon the Finger, found at the Brick-Kilns out of *Bootham-Bar*.

21. A *Fibula Vestiaria* found at the same Place.

FIG.

* Abridg. of the Philosophical Transactions, v. 5. ed. *Jones*.



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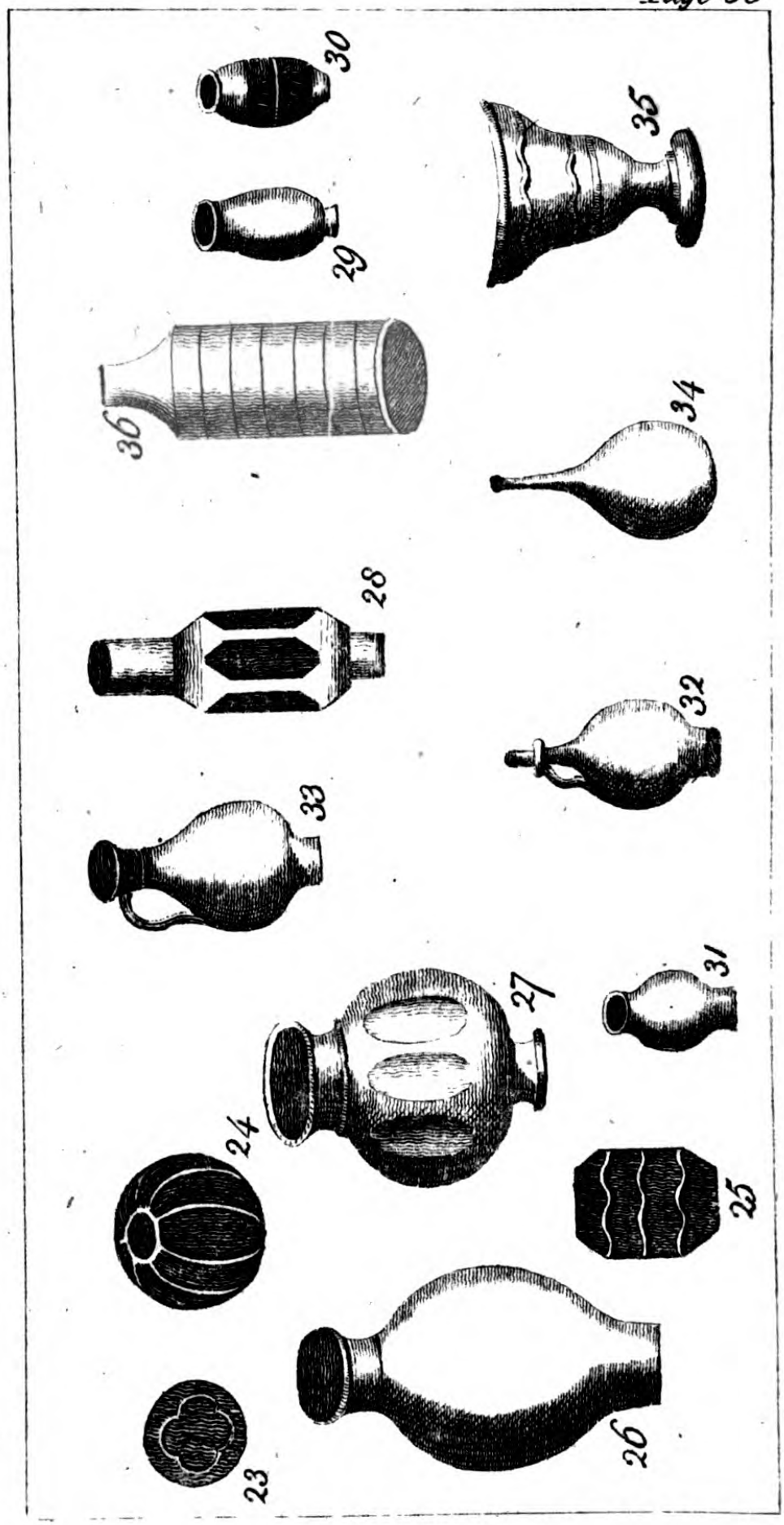
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FIG. 22. A *Roman* Bracelet, of Copper wreathed, found in the *Hypogæum* already described, being eight Inches in Circumference.

23. A Bead of Earth, curiously wrought.

24. Another of blue Glass, with white Snakes of that Sort, called *Adder Beads*, or *Druids Amulets*.

25. Another, curiously enamelled white, red, and dark blue. All these found at the Place aforesaid.

26. A sepulchral Urn, that will contain near a Gallon.

27. Another, that will contain near a Quart.

28. A small one full of the Ashes of a Child.

29. A small red Urn

30. One of Blue.

31. Another of a different Form.

32. One of those commonly called *Lacrimatories*.

33. One of white Clay.

34. A red Pottle, that will contain half a *Congius*.

35. Part of a Vessel that seems to have been a Patera.

36. One of the Parts of a *Roman* Aquæduct.

All discovered near the Brick-Kilns aforesaid.

Found at *York*, now in the *Ashmolean Museum*.

37. A *Roman* Enamel chequered, found with certain Urns.

38. A *Roman* Lamp.

39. The Leg of a *Tripos*, Brass.

40. A *Roman* Ring of Jet, found in digging Clay for Bricks, with Urns.

In the late Dr. *Langwith*'s Collection.

41. A *Roman* Patera, the same Size with the Original.

42. A curious *Roman* Urn, the Original 8 Inches high, the Colour of the Clay a yellowish Brown.

43. The Flew of an *Hypocaustum*. This is exactly a *Roman* Foot in Height, the other Parts in Proportion. Dr. *Langwith* observes, that the *Hypocaustum*, which this was designed for, must have been such a one as that described in the *Philosoph. Trans.* N°. 306.

FIG. 44, 45. Two other Draughts of Urns.

The Doctor adds, That he has other Urns of different Shapes, Sizes, and Materials, found in the *Roman* Burying-Place at *York*, but these being the most curious he sent these Draughts. He strongly suspects that there was a *Roman* Pottery as well as a Burying-Place at or near where these Urns, *&c.* are, and wishes it was carefully observed with that View.

In the late Dr. *Langwith*'s *Museum* was likewise a round Stone Ball, which Mr. *Thoresby* calls an *Harpastum*; a Name which can by no Means agree with it, for it is fitter to knock a Man's Brains out than to play withal.

Also a Brass Ring found in the Place above. It is big enough for an ordinary Man's Wrist, and was perhaps formerly put about that of a Slave.

A *Roman* Bead found in the same Place. It is of a reddish Colour, and looks as if it were made of baked Earth; but is enamelled with Yellow and Green which looks like Glass; the Size of it is much the same with Numb. 23, on the Plate. Mr. *Thoresby* fancies these Kinds of Beads to be like the *Adder's Beads*; but Dr. *Langwith* had several of these in his Collection, and could not see any Resemblance.

But amongst the many *Roman* Curiosities found at *York*, and yet preserved, there are none deserves a Place in this Work better than this antique Head, which we here exhibit a Draught of as large as the Original. It was found in digging a Cellar in the *Manor*, or the Ruins of the Abbey of St. *Mary*'s, *York*, about sixty Years ago, and was given to *Roger Gale*, Esq; who supposes it a *Lucretia*, there being no Goddess in all their Theology to ascribe it to. For the rest we refer to the Plate, as a lasting Memorial of *Roman* Elegance and Ingenuity.

A Roman Grave for Urns, the Door of which was covered with white Sand; also two *Sarcophagi*, or Stone Coffins, were discovered about the Year 1730, in which last the Bones were found very light and dry, but intire.

About forty Years ago was dug up, near the Mount out of *Micklegate-Bar*, a Glass and Leaden Urn. The former was broke into two or three Pieces; it was coated on the Inside with a Sort of blueish Silver Colour, like that of a Looking-Glass; and is what our Philosophers call the *Electrum* of the Ancients. The Leaden one was imme-

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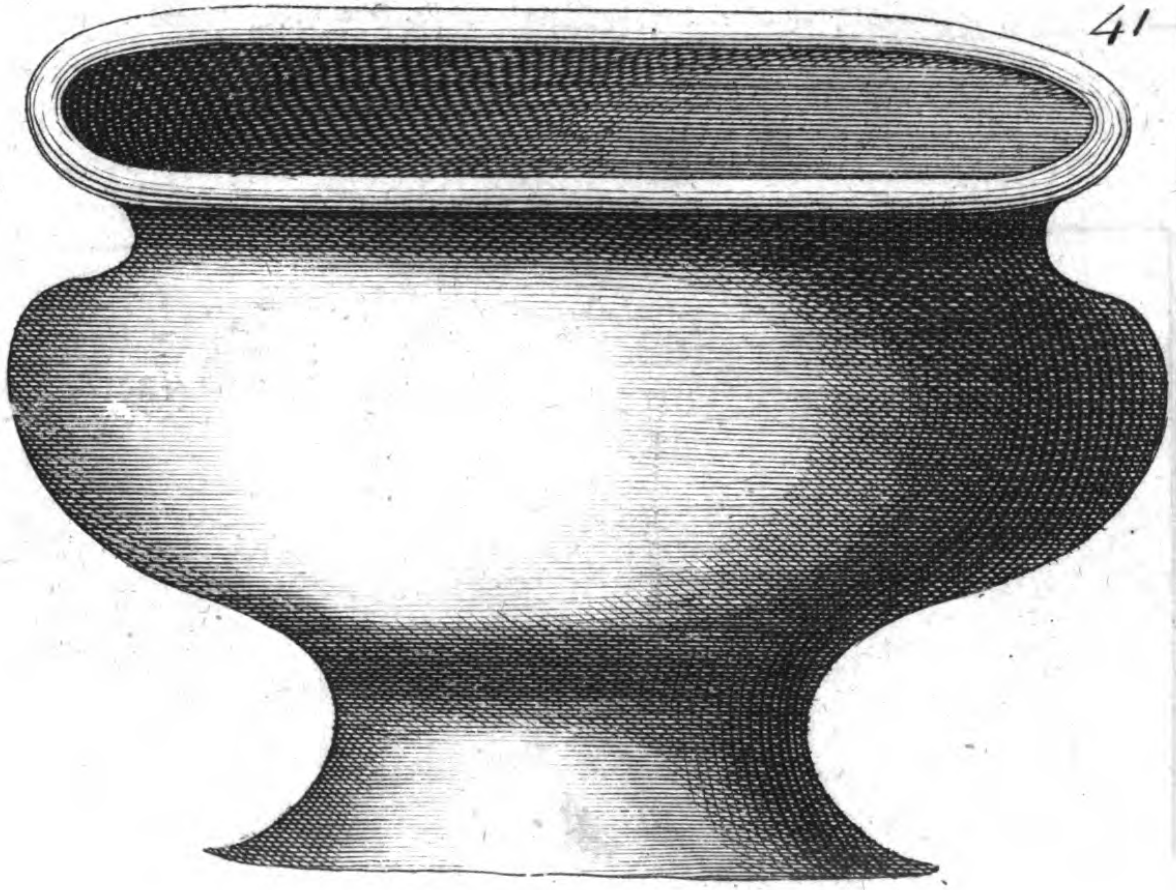

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immediately sold by the Workmen who found it, to a Plumber, whose Ignornance suffered him to beat it together and melt it down.

FIG. 46. A Pedestal of the Gritt Kind, 2 Feet high and 10 Inches broad, was found near *Micklegate-Bar*, 1740, with an Inscription as on the Plate, which is submitted to the Curious.

FIG. 47. was found in 1747, in digging the Foundation of a House in *Micklegate*, opposite St. *Martin's* Church. The Workmen having dug much below any former Foundation that could be observed, at the Depth of 10 Feet came to a Stone, which, when taken up, appeared to have Figures upon it, but greatly defaced. It is 2 Feet 3 Inches long, 1 Foot 10¾ Inches broad, and 7 Inches thick. A Drawing of it was taken by our *York* Antiquary *Francis Drake*, Esq; and sent to the learned Dr. *Stukely*, who returned the following short, but curious Explanation, which was sent by Mr. *Drake* to the Royal Society.

" This Drawing is a great Curiosity: 'Tis a Sculpture of *Mithras*, as usual, sacrificing a Bull. He has on the *Persian* Mantle, called *Candys*, and the *Phrygian* Bonnet, called *Tyara*. He represents the *Archimagus*, performing the great annual Sacrifice, at the Spring Equinox, according to the Patriarchal Usage.

" These Ceremonies to *Mithras* were generally celebrated in a Cave of a Rock; therefore this Sculpture was found so deep in the Earth.

" There is commonly a Figure on each Side of him, habited in the same Manner, standing cross-legged: The one holds a Torch up, the other down: Here is only the latter in your Sculpture; the other is imperfect.

" Underneath is the Figure of a Horse, intimating the Sun's Course: For in the Time when the old Patriarchal Customs became profane and desecrated into Idolatry, they made *Mithras* to be the *Apollo*, or Sun; whence these Sculptures had a Number of Symbols relating to the Solar Circuit of the Year thro' the twelve Zodiacal Constellations. The two Figures attending on the *Archimagus* are inferior Officers to him. There is a Mystery in their standing cross-legged, like our Effigies of Croisaders in Churches, and it means the same Thing; for the Cross was one Part of the *Mithriac* Ceremonies.

Theſe two, by the different Attitude of their Torches, repreſent Day and Night, as *Mithras* repreſents the Sun. The Figure imperfectly drawn at the Tail of the Horſe, is, I believe, a Genius twiſted round with a Snake; which means the Vitality imparted to all Things by the Solar Power.

" The other Figures are too imperfect to trouble you with Conjectures about them; but they all regard the ſame Deſign. They are officiating Prieſts, and dreſt in a ſymbolic Manner, to intimate the Sun's Influence and annual Motion.

" The *Romans* became extremely fond of the *Mithriac* Sacreds, whence here you find this Sculpture in the Imperial City. I ſaw an Image of *Mithras* at *Cheſter*, and no Doubt there are many more in *Britain*.

" St. *Jerom*, in his Epiſtle to *Læta*, writes, " A few Years ago, your Couſin *Gracchus*, a Name of *Patrician* Quality, when he was Præfect of the City, deſtroyed, broke, and burnt the Cave of *Mithras*." This was at *Rome*, and about the Year 378. Not long after, we may well imagine, your *Roman* Præfect of *York* followed his Example, and demoliſhed the ſubterranean Temple in *Micklegate*, where this Sculpture of him was found."

This Stone is now in the Poſſeſſion of Mrs. *Sandercock* of *York*.

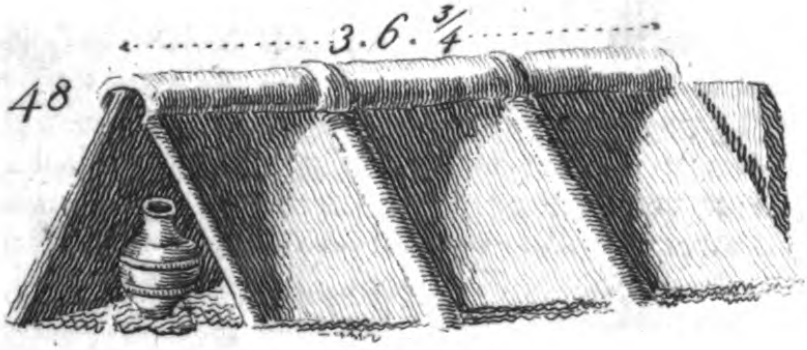
FIG. 48. A *Roman* Sepulchre, of a ſingular Form, which was found by ſome Labourers in 1768, in turning over a freſh Piece of Ground for a Garden near the City Walls, Weſt of *Micklegate-Bar*. The following Account of it was ſent to the Antiquarian Society by Mr. *William White*, of *York*, F. A. S. in whoſe Poſſeſſion it is.

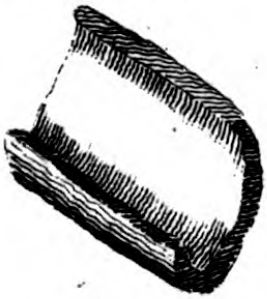
" This Sepulchre was formed of Tiles, being three in Length, each 20 Inches long, and 15½ Inches broad, with prominent Edges. Theſe, with the ſame Number upon the other Side, were built up in the Form of the Roof of a Houſe, making a Triangle with the Ground below. This was covered at the Top with ſemicircular Tiles of a ſmall Diameter, ſo cloſe as to prevent the leaſt Particle of Earth from falling within the Cavity.

" Each End of the Dormitory was cloſed with a Tile of the ſame Form and Size as thoſe of the Sides, on each of theſe is this Inſcription:

LEG IX HIS--.

" Within





Grey.

" Within the Cavity of this Sepulchre were found the Remains of a human Body, which ſeem to have been burnt; among theſe were a Part of a Thigh-Bone, the lower Jaw broken, but containing all its Teeth.

" There was likewiſe an Urn, of a blueiſh-grey Colour, containing Aſhes, covered with a Bit of Slate. I got it very well preſerved, with one of the ſame Sort, of a ſmaller Size and broken. Near to this they found another Earthen Veſſel of red Clay with a Handle to it; the Bottom of it was broken off by the Workmen in Hopes of finding Treaſure, but I believe it contained nothing but common Earth.

" They brought me a Silver Ring for the Finger, weighing ſeven Penny-weights, which they ſaid was found in the laſt-mentioned Veſſel; but I apprehend this to be a Miſtake, as it ſeems not to be *Roman*.

" I was obliged to take the latter Part of this Account from the Labourers, as I knew not of the Diſcovery till they brought me the Urns, Ring, and a few Coins, all except one much defaced. I went immediately and examined the Sepulchre in ſitu, meaſured the Tiles, and ſecured the two End ones with the Inſcriptions. The Medal is a *Domitian* well preſerved,

Reverſe, FIDEI PUBLICAE.

" The ninth Legion came over into *Britain* under the Emperor *Claudius*, and was ſurnamed *Hiſpanica*, under which Title it is mentioned by *Tacitus*. There has been many Monuments found in *Britain*, wherein Mention is made of this Legion; but inſtead of the Adjunct *Hiſpanica*, all of them have that of *Victrix*; this puzzled Mr. *Horſley*, who, in order to account for it, ſuppoſed this Legion to have been incorporated with the Sixth, whoſe proper Title was *Victrix*, by which the latter became general.

" By this Inſcription (the only one yet diſcovered in *Britain* in which the ninth Legion appears with its proper Title *Hiſpanica*) we know that it retained that Name long after its Arrival in this Iſland, and when ſtationed at EBORACUM. If Mr. *Horſley*'s Opinion be true, which is very probable, this Monument muſt be prior to that Period, and conſequently to all the Monuments yet diſcovered, in which Mention is made of this Legion.

"This is doubtless the Sepulchre of a Soldier belonging to the *Legio nona Hispanica.*"

FIG. 49. A flat Gritt Stone, 3 Feet long, 2 Feet 1 Inch broad, and 7 Inches thick, with the Inscription as on the Plate. In *August*, 1770, in digging two Feet deep in *Friar*'s Gardens, near *Toft-Green*, was found some Part of the Foundation of a Temple of *Roman* Brick Work, so firmly cemented that it resisted the Stroke of a Pick. This Fragment was the Segment of a Circle, and a little below was taken up the above-mentioned Stone, which is now in the Possession of *Francis Smyth*, Esq; F. A. S.

The following *Roman* Antiquities, found at and near *York*, are now in the Possession of Mr. *Thomas Beckwith*, Painter in *York*.

FIG. 50. A small sepulchral Urn of blue Clay, 3 Inches deep, found near *Clifton*, about 1750.

51. Another of a different Form, 4 Inches deep, found at the same Place.

52. A Patera of the Coralline Earth, 4 Inches Diameter, found betwixt *York* and *Middlethorp*, in 1770.

53. A large Vessel of the same, 8 Inches Diameter, embossed with Vine Leaves, *&c.* found at the same Place.

54. } A Kind of a Stud of Brass, found near the
55. } above, the same Size with the Figure.

56. An Urn of red Clay, with its Cover, near 4 Inches deep, found near the same Place.

57. An Iron Instrument, upwards of 14 Inches long, found with the above.

58. A Brass ditto, the same Size as the Figure.

A CATALOGUE *of* ROMAN COINS *found at* YORK *since the Publication of Mr.* DRAKE'*s* EBORACUM, *which are now in the Possession of Mr.* WILLIAM WHITE, *F. A. S.*

BRASS, *first Size.*

CALIGULA.

℞. C Caesar Avg Germanicvs Pon M TR. POT. *Caput Caij laureatum.*

Rev. Adlocvt coh. *Imperator adloquitur milites.*

CLAUDIUS.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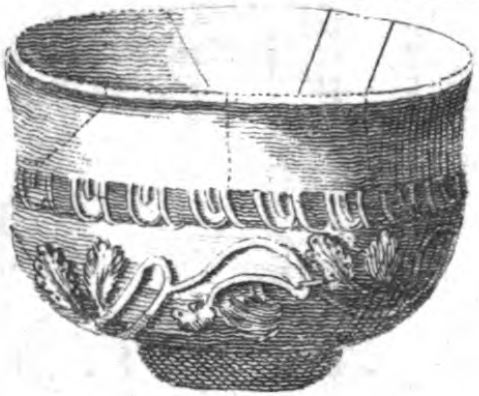
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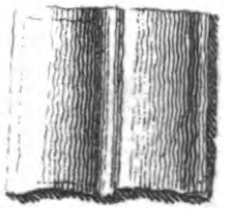
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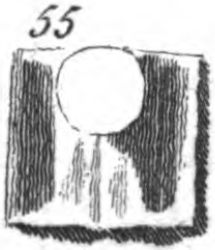
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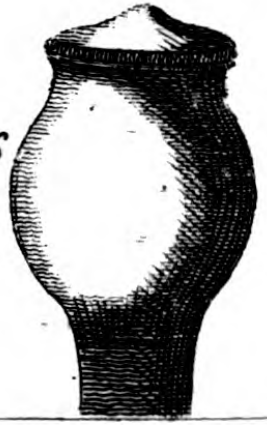
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DEO · SANCTO
SERAPI
TEMPLVM · ASO
LO · FECIT
CL · HERONY
MIANVS · LEG
LEG · VI · VICT.

CLAUDIUS.

2. Imp Clavdivs Caesar Aug PM. TRP. *Caput laureâ insigne.*
Rev. Spes Avgvsta. S. C. *Spei typus.*

GALBA.

3. Imp Ser Galba Aug. *Caput laureatum Galbæ.*
Rev. Roma S. C. *Romæ simulacrum sedens.*

VESPASIAN.

4. . . Aes Vespasian Aug PM. TR P. *Vespasiani caput laureatum.*
Rev. Pax Avgvst S. C. *Figura stans, dextra pateram sinistra cornucopiæ.*

DOMITIAN.

5. Imp Caes Divi Vesp F Domitian Avg PM *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. TR. P Cos. vii Des viii P P. *Minerva stans.*

TRAJAN.

6. . . Nerv Traiano Avg Ger Dac PM. TR P. Cos Vpp. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. . . mo Principi S. C. *Figura stans, dextra temonem navis, sinistra cornucopiæ.*

HADRIAN.

7. Hadrianvs Avg Cos - - . *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Adventvs Avg. S. C. *Imperator togatus manum porrigit figuræ militari.*

LUCILLA.

8. Lvcillae Avg Antonini Avg F. *Caput Lucillæ.*
Rev. Hilaritas S. C. *Figura stans, dextra palmam oblongam, læva cornucopiæ.*

BRASS, *second Size.*

AUGUSTUS.

9. Divvs Avgvstvs Pater. *Caput Augusti radiatum.*
Rev. S. C. *Aquila.*

AGRIPPA.

10. M Agrippa LF Cos iii. *Caput coronâ rostratâ insigne.*
Rev. S. C. *Neptunus stans.*

TIBERIUS.

11. Ti Caesar Avgvst F Imperat. v. *Caput nudum.*
Rev. *Ara cum victoriis.*

NERO.

12. Nero Caesar Avg Germ Imp. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. *Victoria alata gradiens cum clypeo in quo* S. P. Q. R. S. C.

13. Nero

13. Nero Clavd Caesar Avg Ger PM. TR. P. Imp. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Roma S. C. *Roma galeata sedens.*
14. Idem.
Rev. Victoria Avgvsti S. C. *Victoria alata gradiens, dextra coronam, læva palmæ ramum.*

VESPASIAN.

15. Imp Caesar Vespasian Avg Cos iiii. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Pax Avg. S C. *Figura stans, dextra pateram aræ accensæ admovens, læva caduceum et olivæ ramum gerens.*
16. Imp Caes Vesp Avg PM. T. P. Cos v Cens. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Felicitas Pvblica S. C. *Figura muliebris stans, dextra caduceum, læva cornucopiæ.*
17. Idem.
Rev. Aequitas - - S. C. *Figura stans cum bilance & hasta.*
18. Idem.
Rev. S. C. *Aquila alis expansis, globo insistens.*

DOMITIAN.

19. Imp Caes Domit Avg Germ Cos xii Cens P. P. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Fidei Pvblicae S. C. *Figura stans cum papavere et patera.*

MAXIMINUS.

20. Maximinvs Pivs Avg Germ. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Fides Militum. S. C. *Figura stans, utraque manu tenens signum militare.*

MAXIMUS CÆSAR.

21. Maximvs Caes Germ. *Caput Nudum.*
Rev. Pietas Avg S. C. *Vasa pontificalia.*

CARACALLA.

22. Antoninvs Pivs Avg Germ. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. PM TR. P. xviii Cos iiii P. P. S. C. *Esculapius stans baculo innitens cum serpente.*

SMALL BRASS.

GALLIENUS.

23. Gallienvs Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Fortvna Redvx. *Figura sedens.*
24. Idem.
Rev. Dianae Cons Avg. xi. *Capra.*

POSTU-

POSTUMUS.

25. Imp. C. Postvmvs PF Avg. *Postumi caput radiatum.*
Rev. Virtvs Avg. *Figura militaris stans, dextra hastam sinistra clypeum.*

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

26. Imp C Clavdivs Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Iovi Statori. *Jupiter stans cum hasta et fulmine.*

27. Divo Clavdio. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Consecratio. *Ara.*

CLAUDIUS TACITUS.

28. Imp M. Cl. Tacitvs Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Laetitia Fund. xxi. *Figura stans læva anchoram.*

CARUS.

29. Imp Carvs PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Spes Publica. xxi. *Spei Typus.*

CARINUS.

30. Imp Carinvs PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Faelicitas Pvblica. xxi. *Figura stans dextra caduceum, sinistra columnæ innitens.*

NUMERIANUS.

31. Imp. C Nvmerianus Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Mars Victor. *Mars gradiens dextra hastam, sinistra trophæum.*

DIOCLETIAN.

32. Imp Diocletianvs Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Genio Populi Romani. TR. *Genius stans capite modio instructo, dextra pateram, læva cornucopiæ.*

33. Imp. Diocletianvs Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Iovi Conservatori xxi. B. *Jupiter stans dextra fulmen, læva hastam.*

CARAUSIUS.

34. Imp. Carausius PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Oriens Avg. *Figura stans radiato capite, hasta et globo instructa.*

35. Idem.
Rev. Pax Avg. *Pacis typus.*

ALLECTUS.

36. Imp C Allectus PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Providentia Avg. *Figura stans dextra pateram, sinistra hastam transversam.*

MAXI-

MAXIMIANUS.

37. Imp Maximianvs PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Iovi Conservatori xxi. *Jupiter stans, fulmine et hasta instructus.*

CONSTANTIUS.

38. Constantivs Nob C. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Genio Popvli Romani xxi. *Deus Genius stans, coram ara accensa.*

CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS.

39. Imp Constantinvs Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Soli invicto Comiti. *Figura solis capite radiato cum globo.*

40. Idem.
Rev. Marti Patri Conservatori. TR. P. *Mars.*

CRISPUS.

41. Ivl Crispvs Nob C. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Beata Tranqvilitas. TR. P. *Ara.*

MAXENTIUS.

42. Imp Maxentivs PF Avg. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Conservat Vrb svae. *Figura sedens in templo sex columnarum.*

CONSTANTINUS junior.

43. Constantinvs jun Nob C. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Providentia Caes. P Tr. *Castellum.*

CONSTANS.

44. Dn Constans PF Avg. *Caput gemmis cinctum.*
Rev. Fel Temp Reparatio. *Imperator stans, labarum tenens.*

CONSTANTIUS.

45. Ivl Constantivs Nob C. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Gloria Exercitvs. *Signa gemina inter duos milites armatos.*

MAGNENTIUS.

46. Dn Magnentivs PF Avg. *Caput nudum.*
Rev. Gloria Romanorvm. *Imperator eques victum supplicem telo transverberaturus.*

VALENTINIANUS.

47. Dn Valentinianvs PF Avg. *Caput gemmis cinctum.*
Rev. Votis v Mvltis x. *In laurea.*

VALENS.

48. Dn Valens PF Avg. *Caput diademate insigne.*
Rev. Secvritas Reipvblicae. *Victoria alata gradiens, cum laurea et palma.*

SILVER.

SILVER.

AUGUSTUS.

49. S. P. Q. R. Par. Cons fvo. *Laurea tunica palmata, aquila legionaria.*
Rev. Caesari Avgvsto. *Quadriga.*

VESPASIAN.

50. Imp Caes Vespasianvs. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Imp xix. *Vas frumentarium cum extantibus spicis.*

TRAJAN.

51. Imp Traiano Avg Ger Dac PM TR. P. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Cos vii S. P. Q. R. Optimo Princ. *Figura stans cum bilance et cornucopiæ.*

HADRIAN.

52. Hadrianvs Avgvstvs. *Caput laurea insigne.*
Rev. Cos iii. *Victoria alata sedens laurea et palma instructa.*

SABINA.

53. Sabina Avgvsta. *Caput velatum.*
Rev. Vesta. *Vesta sedens, dextra Palladium, læva hastam puram.*

ANTONINUS PIUS.

54. M Antoninvs Avg TR. P. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Liberalitas Avg Cos iii. *Figura stans, dextra tesseram, læva cornucopiæ.*

SEVERUS.

55. Severvs Pivs Avg. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Fortvna Redvx. *Simulachrum fortunæ reducis sedens.*

JULIA DOMNA.

56. Ivlia Avgvsta. *Caput Juliæ.*
Rev. Pietas Avg. *Figura muliebris velata, sacrificans coram tripode.*

CARACALLA.

57. Imp Antoninvs Pivs Avg. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Fides Militvm. *Tria signa militaria.*

GETA.

58. Sept Geta Caes Pont. *Caput nudum juvenile.*
Rev. Nobilitas. *Figura stans dextra hastam, sinistra icunculam.*

ELA-

ELAGABALUS.

59. Antoninvs Pivs Avg. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Sanctvs Sacerdos Avg. *Figura sacrificans, ad verticem stella.*

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

60. Imp Alexander Pivs Avg. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Spes Pvblica. *Spei typus, ut in nummis Claudij.*

JULIA MÆSA.

61. Ivlia Mæsa Avg. *Caput Mæsæ.*
Rev. Saecvli Faelicitas. *Figura velata sacrificans coram tripode, cum stella.*

JULIA MAMÆA

62. Ivlia Mamaea Avg. *Caput Mamææ.*
Rev. Vesta. *Vesta stans, cum patera et hasta.*

GORDIANUS tertius.

63. Imp Caes M. Ant Gordianvs Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Iovi Conservatori. *Jupiter stans sinistra hastam, dextra Imperatorem pallio tegit.*

M. JULIUS PHILIPPUS.

64. Imp M Ivl Philippvs Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Romae Aeternae. *Romæ simulacrum sedens dextra victoriolam, sinistra hastam.*

GALLIENUS.

65. Gallienvs PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Germanicvs Max v. *Trophæum, in cujus imo duo captivi manibus post terga revinctis.*

SALONINA.

66. Salonina Avg. *Caput, lunæ crescentis cornibus cinctum.*
Rev. Ivno Regina. *Figura stans dextra pateram, læva hastam.*

PROBUS.

67. Imp. C. M Avr Probvs Avg. *Caput radiatum, addito quoque sceptro.*
Rev. Soli Invicto. *Sol in quadrigis.*

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

68. Imp C Clavdivs PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Victoria Avg. *Victoria alata gradiens, cum corona et palma.*

The

The following ROMAN COINS *were found, within these few Years, at and near* YORK, *and are now in the Possession of Mr.* THOMAS BECKWITH.

CÆSAR VESPASIAN.

Imp. Caesar. Vespasian. Avg. Cos. IIII. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. S. C. *Aquila alis expansis globo insistens.*

ANTONINUS.

M. Antoninvs Avg. Imp. II. *Caput nudum.*

Rev. Cos. II. *Figura sedens.*

GORDIANUS.

Imp. Gordianvs Pivs. Fel. Avg. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. Aeternitati. Avg. S. C. *Figura stans dextram sublevans, sinistra globum.*

POSTUMUS

Imp. Postvmvs P. F. Avg. *Caput radiatum.*

Rev. Providentia Avg. *Figura stans dextra globum sinistra hastam.*

CONSTANTINUS.

Imp. Constantinvs P. F. Avg. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. Principi. Ivventvtis. *Figura militaris stans utraque manu tenens signam militare.*

CRISPUS.

Crispvs. Nob. Caes. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. Soli Invicto Comiti. *Figura solis stans.*

This *Roman* Imperial City of *Britain* is still casually throwing up Remains of its ancient Magnificence; and there is no Doubt, when more of the Grounds in and about it come to be laid open, several more *Roman* Antiquities will be discovered. Here we shall take our Leave of that brave Race of Men, who, for many Ages, had spread Terror and Conquest thro' the then known World, but whose Arms and Glory, not long after their deserting *Britain*, were lost, and buried in an Abyss never to rise again.

The State of the City from the Romans *leaving the Island to the calling over the* Saxons, *and quite through the* Heptarchy, *&c. to the* Norman *Conquest.*

ABOUT five hundred Years from *Cæsar*'s first Attempt on this Island, four hundred from the Conquest by *Claudius*, the *Romans* intirely evacuated it. In the Reign of *Theodosius*, jun. the *Roman* Empire sunk so fast, that *Britain* was totally neglected: The last Lieutenant *Ætius*, who had been sent over to defend them from their old Invaders, at his Departure, which was about the Year 430, advised the *Britons* to stand to their Arms, be upon their Guard themselves, and for the future provide for their own Safety; for they must never more expect any Succours from them, who had their Hands full enough of Troubles nearer home.

And now, says an old *British* Historian *, the *Scots* and *Picts*, with greater Confidence than ever, like Flies and Vermin in the Heat of Summer, issued out of their narrow Holes and Caves, and immediately seized on all the Country as far as the Wall; which, without Resistance, they made themselves Masters of. In the mean Time the Guards on the Wall, instead of preparing to receive their Enemies with Vigour and Courage, like idle Spectators stood trembling, and suffered themselves to be pulled down with Hooks from the Top of it. It was not long before their Enemies had undermined and broken those mighty Ramparts the *Romans* had built for their Defence; and then, like an irresistible Torrent, rushed in and bore down all before them. The poor dispirited *Britons* were driven like Sheep, and slaughtered without Mercy. In this dreadful Calamity they call aloud on their old Friends to help and support them; and in a most moving Letter sent to *Ætius*, Governor of *Gaul*, they cry, *We know not which Way to turn us; the* Barbarians *drive us to the Sea, and the Sea back to the* Barbarians. *Thus of two Kinds of Death always present before*

* *Gildas.*

before our Eyes, one or other must be our Choice, either to be swallowed up by the Waves, or butchered by the Sword. †

There is a very good Reason to be given for this Dispiritedness of the *Britons* at this Juncture. The *Romans* had drained the Country of their ablest Men, and the rest which staid were, out of a politick View, never suffered to bear Arms whilst they were amongst them; yet we shall find them shortly recover their Spirits, and treat their Enemies in another Manner.

Of this general Calamity our City must have had a mighty Share fall to its Lot. It had been always a Place from whence the *Barbarians* received their strongest Repulses, a *Station* in which the *Romans* chose to plant Part of the Flower of their Army, as a Garrison to curb and restrain the Inroads of these Depredators, and therefore must inevitably feel their fiercest Vengeance. But we are here in dumb Sorrow, and lost in the general Confusion.

About the Year 450, the *Picts* and *Scots* had perfectly subdued all the Country North of the *Humber*, and our City lay as it were buried so deep in its own Ruins, that we should not know where to find it, without the Assistance of the *Scotch* Historians, who are very particular in the Description of their Countrymen's Conquests, as they are pleased to call them, at this Time.

The *Britons* finding they were not to expect any Succour from the *Romans* called in the *Saxons* to their Assistance, and *Hengist*, their General, upon his Arrival in *Britain* with his Army, immediately marched against the Enemy, and near unto *York*, says our Authorities *, a bloody Battle was fought, wherein the *Saxons* had the better, slew a great Number of the *Picts* and *Scots*, took from them the City of *York*, and all the Country on this Side the River *Teese*. The Blow was so great, that had the *Saxon* General followed it, the War would quickly have been at an End; but this Leader of Auxiliary Troops was too wise and politick to act in that Manner; for, not willing, says *H. Boetius*, to drive the *Scots* and *Picts* quite home again, which was to put an End to the

† AETIO III. CON. *gemitus* Britannorum, *post pauca querentes in quiunt, repellunt nos* Barbari *ad mare,—repellit ad* Barbaros. *Inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum, aut jugulamur aut mergimur.* Gilda *Sapient. Hist. ed* Gale *inter script.* Ang. xv.

* *Hollingshead's Scotch* Chron. *Buchan.* Hist.

War at once, he chose rather to withdraw his Army to the City of *York*, where he staid some Time to refresh, as he pretended, his wearied Troops.

Soon after this, when the deluded *Britons* began to smell out the *Saxons'* Design of settling in *Britain*, and had sent for *Aurelius Ambrosius* from *Armorica*, to defend them from this undreamt-of Danger, the subtle *Hengist* privately sent down his Son *Occa*, in order to secure all the Northern Fortresses, but especially *York* †. The Son obeyed the Father's Instructions, and at *York* feigned Accusations against many of the Nobility, Gentry, and principal Inhabitants of the City and Country, that they had a Design to betray their own Country into the Hands of the Enemies they had just got rid of; and, upon this strange Pretence, put many of them to Death, some secretly, others openly, as actually convicted of the Treasons laid to their Charge.

This villanous Affair was resented as it deserved. The *Britons*, rouzed from their Lethargy, and having an able and an experienced General of their own natural Royal Stock at their Head, *Vortimer*, the Son of *Vortigern*, before the Arrival of *Ambrosius*, fell upon the *Saxons*, and defeated them in four several Battles. This Leader slew such Numbers of them, that, had they not sprung up like *Hydra*'s Heads, and poured in fresh Supplies from their inexhaustible Springs in *Germany*, their total Expulsion must have been inevitable.

Under the Conduct of their victorious King, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, *Hengist*, the *Saxon* General, met his Fate, being slain at *Cowyngsburgh*, according to *G. Monmouth*, after a most obstinate and bloody Battle. His two Sons *Occa*, or *Octa*, and *Eosa* fled with the shattered Remains of their Army more Northward; the former to *York*, and *Eosa* to the City of *Aclud*, *Aldburgh*.

Aurelius quickly pursued them, and coming before *York*, summoned *Octa* to surrender *. The young Prince, terrified no Doubt by his Father's Fate, consulted with his Friends some Time, whether he should stand a Siege or not. At length determining to try the Victor's Clemency, he came out of the City with his principal Captains, carrying each a Chain in his Hand, and Dust upon his Head, and presented himself to the King (*An.* 466) with

† *Scotch* Chron. * *G. Mon. R. Higden. Polichron.*

with this Addreſs: *My Gods are vanquiſhed, and I doubt not but the ſovereign Power is in your God, who has compelled ſo many Noble Perſons to come before you in this ſuppliant Manner; be pleaſed therefore to accept of us and this Chain; if you do not think us fit Objects of your Clemency, we here preſent ourſelves ready to be fettered, and are willing to undergo any Puniſhment you ſhall judge us worthy of.* *Aurelius*, who had equally the Character of a merciful as well as a valiant Prince, could not hear this without being moved; and being touched with Compaſſion at the Spectacle, after adviſing with his Counſellors what to do with them, he, at the Inſtigation of a Biſhop, (ſays *Geofry* of *Monmouth*) granted free Pardon to them all. The other Brother, encouraged by *Octa*'s Succeſs, came to *York*, ſurrendered himſelf in like Manner, and met with the ſame Reception. Nay more, this generous Victor aſſigned them for Reſidence the Country bordering on *Scotland*, and made a firm League and Alliance with them: But the Conſequence will ſhew the bad Effect of this too charitable Proceeding.

His Pagan Enemies being now ſubdued *, *Aurelius* ſummoned all the Princes and Nobility of the whole Kingdom to *York*. At this general Council he gave Orders to them for the ſpeedy Reſtoration of the Church and its Worſhip, which the heatheniſh *Saxons* had every where ſuppreſſed and deſtroyed; and he himſelf undertook to rebuild the Metropolitical Church at *York*, with all thoſe in the Province.

Uther or *Uter* †, to whom *Geofry* of *Monmouth* has given the terrible Surname of *Pendragon*, ſucceeded his Brother *Ambroſius* in the Kingdom. In the very Beginning of this King's Reign (*An.* 490) *Octa* and *Eoſa* began to ſhew their Gratitude for former Favours. Taking hold of the Opportunity, they revolted, and, according to their barbarous Inclinations, waſted and ſpoiled the Country as far as *York*, which they inveſted. It was not long before the *Britiſh* King came to its Relief, where, under the very Walls, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, *Uter* diſcomfited their whole Army, and took both the Brothers Priſoners.

The next that came on the *Britiſh* Stage, and bids the faireſt for Immortality, is the victorious *Arthur* ‡; who,

* *G. Mon.* † *G. Mon. Polichron.* &c. ‡ *Nennius*, &c.

who, if the Chroniclers of those Times deceive us not, fought twelve Battles with the *Saxons*, and was successful in all; being, says *William* of *Malmsbury*, the only Prop and chief Support of his Country.

Arthur was crowned King of *Britain* at eighteen Years of Age (*An.* 516). The *Saxons* took the Advantage of his Youth to make another Attempt upon *Britain*; the two Princes *Octa* and *Eosa*, having escaped out of Prison, fled home, returned with a strong Force, and again made themselves Masters of the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, which they divided into two Parts; the more Southern was called *Deira*, and the North *Bernicia*. *Arthur* had attacked and defeated them in several Battles, and so far pushed his Conquests, that *Octa* finding himself distressed, committed the South to *Baldulphus* and *Colgrin*, the two Sons of *Ella*, the Founder of the two Kingdoms aforesaid, and reserved *Bernicia* to himself, in order to defend it against the continual Attacks of the more Northern Invaders. *Colgrin* lost a great Battle to *Arthur*, which put him under the Necessity of shutting himself up in *York*, whilst the *British* King immediately marched to besiege him. *Baldolph*, informed of his Brother's Loss and Flight, set forward to relieve him with a Body of 6000 Men; for at the Time of the last Battle he was upon the Sea-Coast waiting the Arrival of *Childric*, another *Saxon* General, from *Germany*. *Baldolph* was now within ten Miles of *York*, and his Purpose was to make a speedy March in the Night-Time and fall upon them unawares; but *Arthur*, having Intelligence of the Design, sent out a Detachment of 600 Horse and 3000 Foot, under the Command of *Codor*, Duke of *Cornwal*, to meet him the same Night. *Codor* happening to fall into the same Road along which the Enemy was passing, made a sudden Assault upon them, which intirely defeated the *Saxons* and put them to Flight.

Baldolph was excessively grieved at this Disappointment in the Relief intended his Brother, and began to think of some other Stratagem to gain Access to him; in which, if he could but succeed, he thought they might concert Measures together for their mutual Safeties. In order to accomplish his Design, he shaved his Head and Beard, and put on the Habit of a Jester, or Minstrel, with a Harp in his Hand. In this Disguise he walked

walked up and down in the Trenches without Suſpicion, playing all the while upon his Inſtrument like a common Harper. By little and little he advanced nearer the Walls of the City, from whence, being at length diſcovered by the Centinels, he was drawn up in the Night-Time, and conducted to his Brother. This unexpected, but much-deſired Interview cauſed a great many tender Embraces betwixt them, before they began to conſider what Stratagems to make Uſe of for their Eſcape. But all ſeemed deſperate, for *Arthur* puſhed the Siege on vigorouſly, hoping to take the Town before the Arrival of the *Saxon* General, who he knew was bringing a freſh ſupply from *Germany*. At laſt, when they were on the Point of ſurrendering, came News that *Childric* was landed, and had defeated *Codor*, whom *Arthur* had ſent to obſtruct his Deſcent, and was marching towards *York* with an Army of brave Soldiers, which he had brought over in no leſs than 600 Tranſports. Upon this a Council of War was called, and *Arthur* was adviſed to raiſe the Siege and retire to *London*, for Fear of hazarding a Battle in the Winter Time (*An.* 520) with ſo potent and numerous an Enemy.

But the next Summer, after the bloody Battle on *Badon-Hills*, ſaid by the *Scotch* Hiſtorians * to be our *Blakeamore*, where *Arthur* gained a deciſive Victory and ſlew 90,000 of the Enemy, the City of *York* was delivered up to him as ſoon as ever he approached it. This Battle, ſays *Gildas*, happened forty-four Years after the *Saxons'* firſt Arrival in *Britain*, wherein all the *Saxon* Generals were ſlain, and their Army entirely cut to Pieces.

This was the ſecond Siege of *York* remarkable for any Oppoſition; for though, after the *Romans* leaving the Iſland, it had been taken by the *Picts* and *Scots*, and then taken from them again by the *Saxons*, yet in neither Caſe was there much Struggle about it: In the former, the general Conſternation was ſo great amongſt the poor deſerted *Britons*, that no Reſiſtance could be expected from them; and in the latter, the Fame of the *Saxons'* Valour ſo terrified theſe Northern Plunderers, eſpecially after experiencing a little of it, that it was all they could do to get back with Precipitation enough to their own Country.

Arthur,

* *Scotch* Chron. *Buchanan*.

Arthur, after the Defeat of the *Saxons*, made an Expedition into *Scotland*, in order to destroy that Country from End to End, as the Seat of ancient Enmity against *South Britain*. This, we are told, he would have effected, had not the Interposition of some Bishops prevented him. It seems the *Scots* had just then received the Gospel, and it was represented to *Arthur* that a Christian ought not, on any Pretence whatsoever, to spill the Blood of his Brethren. A Maxim rarely or never followed since.

Arthur, after this Expedition against the *Scots*, retired to *York* *, where he first set himself to regulate the Affairs of the Church, again miserably rent and torn by the *Pagan-Saxons*; *Sampson*, or *Sanxo*, the Archbishop, had been expelled, the Churches and Altars all demolished, or else profaned with Heathen Ceremonies. He called an Assembly of the Clergy and People, and appointed *Pyramus*, his Chaplain, Metropolitan of that See. The Churches which lay level with the Ground he caused to be rebuilt, and, what was the chiefest Ornament, saw them filled with Assemblies of devout Persons, says our Author, of different Sexes. The Nobility also, which were driven out of the City by the Disturbances of the *Saxons*, he restored to their former Honours and Habitations.

At this Time (*An.* 521) this great Monarch, his Clergy, all his Nobility and Soldiers, kept his *Christmas* in *York* †, the first Festival of that Kind ever held in *Britain*. *Buchanan* and Sir *Thomas Withrington* severely censure *Arthur*'s Conduct in the extravagant Solemnization of this Festival.

The Sense of the former is this: "*Arthur* took up his Residence at *York* for his Winter Quarters, whither resorted to him the prime Persons of the Neighbourhood, and spent the latter End of *December* in Mirth, Jollity, Drinking, and the Vices that are too often the Consequence of them; so that the Representations of the old Heathenish Feasts dedicated to *Saturn* were here again revived; but the Number of Days they lasted were doubled, and amongst the wealthier Sort trebled; during which Time they counted it almost a Sin to treat of any serious Matter. Gifts are sent mutually from and to one another; frequent Invitations pass betwixt Friends, and

* *G. Mon.* † *Scotch* Chron.

and domestick Offenders are not punished. Our Countrymen call this *Jule-tide*, substituting the Name of *Julius Cæsar* for that of *Saturn*. The Vulgar are yet persuaded that the Nativity of Christ is then celebrated, but mistakenly; for 'tis plain they imitate the Lasciviousness of *Bacchanalians*, rather than the Memory of *Christ*, then, as they say, born."——Thus far *Buchanan*.

It is easy to see on what Principles this sarcastical Description of the Celebration of *Christmas* is founded. His *Jule-tide*, however, is false quoted: *Yule-tide* is the Word, as *Christmas* is at this Day called in *Scotland*, and as we in the North term *Christmas-Eve*: As for his Derivation, he might with equal Justice, we believe, have drawn it from *Claudius*, as *Julius Cæsar*. It is true, that no Word whatever has puzzled the Antiquaries more than *Yule*; some deriving it from the *Latin* Words *exulo*, *ululo*, *jubilo* *, or the *Hebrew*, *Haleluia*. In the *Saxon* Tongue it is called *Gehul*, in the *Danish*, *Uledag*. Mrs. *Elstob*, the celebrated Translator of the *Saxon* Homily †, says the best Antiquaries derive it from the Word *Ol*, *Ale*; which was much used, says she, in their Festivities and merry Meetings ‡. *Ol*, or *Ale*, adds the learned Lady, did not only signify the Liquor they made Use of, but gave Denomination to their greatest Festivals, as this *Gehol*, or *Yule*, at Midwinter, as is plainly to be seen in that Custom of *Whitsun-Ale* at the other great Festival of Midsummer. Bishop *Stillingfleet* has observed, that this Word seems to come from the *Gothick Jole*, which in that Language signifies to *make merry* *. *Bede* tells us, indeed, that the last Day of the Year was observed amongst the Heathen *Saxons* with great Solemnity; illuminating, at that Time, their Houses with Fire and Candles, as an Emblem of the Return of the Sun, and the Lengthening of Days; and Bishop *Stillingfleet* confirms this, by observing, that in the old *Runick Fasti*, a Wheel was used to denote this Festival: But what had the *Saxons* to do with *Julius* for a God, no such Deity being ever known in their Theology? *Buchanan* and our Sir *Thomas* here jump in Opinions; but both may be easily derived

* *Skinner*'s Ety. Dict.

† Mrs. *Elstob*'s *Saxon* Homily.

‡ *Christmas* was anciently known at *York* by the Name of *Yoolgirth-ol*. See the Sheriffs Riding.

* *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sac.

rived from what *Hector Boetius* has recorded of *Arthur*, who says, "That he and his Knights having recovered *York* from the *Scots* and *Picts*, kept there such a grand *Christmas*, that afterwards fighting again with the *Saxons*, the Soldiers were found so weakened with Intemperance and Superfluity, that their Arrows could harly pierce the *Saxons* furred Doublets, being able before to strike through their Iron Armour."

Arthur, after all his Conquests, had the Misfortune to be slain in a Rebellion of his own Subjects, and by the Hands of his own Nephew. From whose Death, Dissentions arising among the *British* Princes, the *Saxons* so far prevailed, as to gain an intire Conquest over all, driving the miserable Remains of the *Britons*, that would not submit to their Yoke, to seek Shelter in the *Cambrian* Mountains; where their Posterity, according to *Welsh* History, have ever remained.

Our *Saxon* Conquerors divided the Territories of the plundered *Britons* into seven Shares, which since is styled the *Heptarchy*, over each presiding a King: But we cannot omit taking Notice here, for the better comprehending the Sequel, that, tho' the Land was in this Manner divided into seven Kingdoms, and each of their Kings had a Sovereign Command within his own Limits, yet one of them ever seemed superior to the rest; and that Prince, who had the greatest Power or Success in his Wars, was always esteemed the Head, and called the King of *Englishmen*. *

In the Division of the Kingdom of the *Northumbers* †, which is more immediately our Concern, because its Capital was at *York*, contained all that Part of the Island from the *Humber* Mouth to *St. Johnston* in *Scotland*, say some, though others, only to the *Frith* of *Forth*.—— This Country, as before noted, was divided by *Octa*, the Son of *Hengist*, into two Parts, *Deira* and *Bernicia*, over both which did *Ida* reign, a lineal Descendant, according to the *Saxon* Genealogy, from their famous God *Woden*, and whom *Malmsbury* styles *Nobilissimus ætate, & viribus integer*. *Ida* left two Sons, to whom he divided his Dominions, and gave *Deira* to *Ella*, whose King-

* *Bede.*

† *Anno ab incarnatione* 547, *post mortem* Hengisti 60. *ducatus* Northumbrensis *in regnum mutatus est. Regnavit ibi primus* IDA *haud dubie nobilissimus ætate, & viribus integer.* Gul. Malms.

Kingdom took in all from the *Humber* to the *Tyne*; and *Bernicia* to *Adda* his other Son, which contained all Northward from that Boundary. Of all the Kingdoms of the *Saxons*, this of *Deira* was of the ſhorteſt Continuance; it began by a Diviſion of the whole *Northumbrian* Diſtrict between the Sons of *Ida*, and was again united under *Oſmin*, 91 Years after *Ella*. *

York was, at this Period, the Capital of *Deira* only; but the Diſtrict was large, and took in all *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and ſome Part of *Northumberland* at firſt; tho' ſince, the Country betwixt the *German* Ocean, the *Humber*, and the River *Derwent*, now the Eaſt-Riding, bore that Appellation. The laſt-named River moſt certainly retains ſome Part of the ancient Name, *Deir-went*, being no more than *Deiræ vel Deirorum flumen*; and lower or hollow *Deira*, which lies betwixt the Sea and the *Humber*, in reſpect to the higher Country, and becauſe it extends itſelf like a Noſe or Neck of Land, the Inhabitants have added the *French* Words *neſſe* which together makes HOLDIER-NESS. †

The firſt of the *Saxon* Kings that we meet with is *Edwin*, King of *Deira*, (*An.* 517) afterwards ſole Monarch of *Engliſhmen*, and juſtly ſtyled EDWIN THE GREAT. This King being converted to Chriſtianity by a Miracle, *Bede* and other Monks are very laviſh in his Praiſes. This Monarch's Life, except a few Paſſages, being given in the firſt Volume of the Hiſtory of the Cathedral Church of *York*, we refer the Reader to it. *Edwin* had, by wonderful Providence, eſcaped divers Snares laid for his Life; had ſurmounted many Difficulties; and, by Conqueſt over his Neighbour Princes, had not only joined *Bernicia* to *Deira*, but was alſo declared grand Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*: That his Reſidence was at *York*, will not be diſputed by thoſe that read Venerable *Bede*'s Story of his Converſion; and it was here he made thoſe ſalutary Laws, which were ſo well obſerved, that the ſame

* *Harriſon*'s Diſſertation of *Britain*.

† *Antiquitus ſola illa patria, quæ introcluſa mari orient.* Deirwenta & Humbra Deira *vocabutur*; *nunc vero* Eaſtridingia. Deirent *flumen, i. e.* Deræ *vel* Deirorum *flumen, noterie vocatur. Cava* Deira, *reſpectu altioris, inter mari* & Humbram, & *quia extenditur inſtar naſi, additur ab incolis hæc ſyllaba* NESSE, & *dicitur vulgariter* HOLDIER-NESS. Leland Coll. *vita S.* Joh. Beverlaci.

ſame Author tells you, in his Time "a weak Woman might have travelled with a new-born Babe over the whole Iſland without the leaſt Moleſtation."

In this Time of profound Peace, which the Iſland enjoyed during *Edwin*'s Adminiſtration, great Happineſs muſt occur. Strong were the Struggles amongſt the *Saxon* Princes for Superiority; for no ſooner were they Maſters of the Booty, but, like Robbers, they fell out about dividing the Spoil. For 250 Years and upwards, few of them died in their Beds; and *England* was all that Time, except this ſmall Interval of *Edwin*'s, one continued Scene of Blood, and War, and Miſery. So great was the Power and Virtue of this Monarch, that *William* of *Malmſbury* gives him this high Character: "Not only, ſays he, the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *Picts*, but even the *Orcades* and all the *Britiſh* Iſlands, dreaded his Arms and adored his Grandeur: No public Thief nor Houſe-breaker was found in his Time; the Adulterer was a Stranger, and the Spoiler of other Men's Goods afar off: His Glory ſhines, even to our own Age, with Splendor." * *Bede* ſays, his Magnificence was ſo great, that he had not only in Battle the Enſigns proper to War borne before him, but in Times of Peace, in his Progreſs thro' the Cities and great Towns of his Kingdoms, or whenever he appeared in Public, that Kind of Standard by the *Britons* called *Tufa*, and the *Saxons* *Thuuf*, the Mark of Sovereignty over the Iſland, was carried before him with great Solemnity.

But neither *Edwin*'s Power nor his Piety could ſave him from the Stroke ſo fatal to the *Saxon* Princes in thoſe Days. He had many ſecret Enemies who maligned his Greatneſs, but yet dreaded his Power too much to dare to ſhew it openly. One of theſe invidious Opponents, whom *Bede* calls *Quichelm*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, had ſuborned a Ruffian to murder *Edwin*, which the Villain undertook to do in the Midſt of his Guards. The Accident happening in our Neighbourhood, muſt not eſcape our Notice.

Edwin

* Angli, Scoti, Picti, *ſed & inſulæ* Orcadum & Meneveniarum, *qui nunc* Angleſei, *i. e.* Anglorum *inſulas dicimus, & arma ejus metuerunt & poteſtatem adorarunt. Nullus tunc prædo publicus, nullus latro domeſticus, inſidiator conjugalis pudoris procul, expilator alienæ hæreditatis exul. Magnum id in ejus laudibus & noſtra ætate ſplendidum.* Gul. Malmſ.

Edwin had a Summer Retreat (*An.* 626) seven Miles from *York*, formerly a *Roman* Station, called *Derventio*, standing, says *Bede*, *juxta amnem* Doroventionem, *ubi tunc erat* Villa Regalis. *Edwin* was at this Place when the Assassin arrived, and begged Audience of the King, who readily granted it *; pretending secret Business, he took *Edwin* a little aside from his Guards, and slyly drawing a two-edged poisoned Weapon †, which he had brought for surer Work, he attempted the Murder with such Resolution, that he wounded the King (tho' not mortally) through the very Body of one of his Guards, who by Chance saw the Villain's Design, and had only Time to throw himself betwixt to intercept the Stroke. The Name of this, properly called, Life-Guard Man, was *Lilla*, whom *Bede* has handed down to Posterity; and the Assassin's Resolution was such, that he was not cut in Pieces before he had slain another Knight of the Guard, called *Forther*. But

Edwin's peaceable Reign of seventeen Years now drew to a fatal Period, for he was slain in a most bloody Battle, at a Place since called *Heavenfield* ‡, (*An.* 633) by *Penda*, the Pagan King of *Mercia*, who had joined with *Cadwallo*, the now only *British* King of *Wales*, in order to destroy him. This Victory is reported to be more cruel than any in the Monuments of History; for whilst *Penda* endeavoured to root out the Christians, and *Cadwallo* the *Saxons*, their Fury was so great that it spared neither Sex nor Age §. The Head of *Edwin* was buried in St. *Gregory*'s Porch in his own Church at *York*, but his Body in the Monastery at *Whitby*.

The Kingdom of *Northumberland*, and its Capital *York*, was ravaged in a terrible Manner after the Loss of this Battle with their King; and though the *Northumbrians* chose *Osrick* and *Anfrid*, the nearest Relations of *Edwin*, Kings, one of *Deira*, the other of *Bernicia*, his

* *Sax.* Annals.

† *Sica biceps toxicata.* Bede. *Sica genus armorum est, simile vidubii*, i. e. *visudubii. Sica etoit une petite epee courbee en forme de* Faux, *comme le portoient les* Thraces. Mons. *Dacier*'s Notes on *Horace* and the Word *Sicarius*.

‡ Called so, no Doubt, by the Number of Christians slain there. Since corrupted to *Hatfield*, a Village nigh *Doncaster*. *Dicitur autem, quod* Hatfeld *rubeo undique nobilium cruore fumabat; ibi namque mirabilis & inopinata fortissimorum strages facta est.* Brompton.

§ *Bede.*

only Son having been ſlain with his Father, yet they could not put a Stop to the Victors; for we are told that *Oſrick* venturing raſhly to beſiege *Cadwallo* in *York* with an Army of undiſciplined Troops, the *Welſh* King, diſdaining to be thus braved, ſallied out, and attacked him ſo briſkly in his Trenches, that he put his Army to the Rout, and left him dead on the Spot. *Anfrid*, the other Brother, met the ſame Fate by the ſame Hand. The Reigns of theſe two Kings were of ſo ſhort a Continuance, beſides their Lives being branded with Apoſtacy, that the Monkiſh Hiſtorians have for the moſt Part omitted them. *Bede* ſays that, for their Apoſtacy from the Chriſtian Religion, they had the juſt Judgment of God inflicted upon them. *Oſrick*, ſays he, and his whole Army, penned in the Suburbs of their own City, were miſerably ſlain; and *Anfrid* unadviſedly coming to *Cadwallo* at *York*, with only twelve Perſons in his Retinue, in order to treat of Peace, was cruelly put to Death by this outrageous Tyrant in that City, *Anno* 634.

Oſwald, the Succeſſor and Brother of *Anfrid*, revenged his Death upon *Cadwallo*; for coming unexpectedly upon him from *Scotland* with a very ſmall Army, but great in the Faith of *Chriſt*, ſays *Bede*, at *Denniſburn*, in *Northumberland*, he obtained a deciſive Victory over *Cadwallo*, deſtroying both the *Britiſh* King and all his Army. *Oſwald* after this was ſole Monarch over the *Northumbers*. The many religious Acts he did in our City claim another Place; and we have nothing to add here but his great Character from *Bede*; who ſays, "In his Time the whole Iſland flouriſhed both in Peace and Plenty, and acknowledged their Subjection to him: All the Nations of *Britain*, who ſpoke four different Languages; that is to ſay, the *Britons*, *Red-Shanks*, *Scots*, and *Engliſhmen*, were wholly ſubject to him; and yet being advanced to ſuch an exalted Greatneſs, he was, what is wonderful to ſpeak of, adds our Author, humble to all, gracious to the Poor, and bountiful to Strangers."

That this great Monarch's Seat of Reſidence was at *York*, is fully proved in our Church Hiſtory; but neither his Religion nor his innate Goodneſs could protect him from the Fate of *Edwin* and the two Apoſtates, his Predeceſſors; for we read that *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, (the Chriſtians old Antagoniſt) declared War againſt *Oſwald*,

Oswald, met him at a Place called *Maserfield**, and in a bloody Battle slew him. The Cruelty of this Monster extended beyond Death, for he ordered *Oswald*'s Body, in a barbarous and brutish Manner, to be torn in Pieces by wild Horses, *Anno* 642.

There is nothing remarkable from the Reign of *Egbert*, the first universal *Saxon* Monarch, except that our City continued the Metropolis of the Northern Kingdom, and usually ran the same Fate with its Governors. A short Account of the Succession of these fighting and praying Monarchs may not be improper to give, because it continues the Thread of our History, and we shall beg Leave to take them from the first.

A complete Succession of the *Northumbrian* Kings in the *Heptarchy*. †

A. C.	BERNICIA.	*A. C.*	DEIRA.
547.	*Ida*, the Son of *Eoppa*, reigned 12 Years, and had both the Kingdoms.		
559.	*Adda*, or *Odda*, his Son, 5 Years.	559.	*Ella*, another Son, 30 Years.
564.	*Clappa*, 7 Years.		
571.	*Theodwulf*, 1 Year.		
572.	*Freothwulf*, 7 Years.		
579.	*Theodoric*, 7 Years.		
588.	*Æthelric*, 2 Years.		
	These two last were the Sons of *Ida*, and reigned in this Province whilst *Ella* continued King of *Deira*. *Æthelric*, on the Death of *Ella*, had both the Kingdoms, and reigned 5 Years.	589.	*Edwin*, Son of the same, was in a short Time expulsed by *Athelfrid*, King of *Bernicia*, who subjected both the Kingdoms, and reigned 14 Years, till *Edwin* was restored.

* From this Overthrow, called *Oswalstree* in *Shropshire*.

† *N. B.* This Chronological Table is taken out of *Tyrrel*'s History of *England*, and published in *Latin* at the End of Dr. *Hick*'s *Thesaurus Linguarum Septen.* We here alter some of his Dates, and the Reader may observe, in his Succession of *Danish* Rulers, that the Course of our Annals contradicts their Positions in some Places.

A. C. 593. } *Æthelfrid* reigned 24 Years, and was in Possession of both the Kingdoms.

617. *Edwin*, the Son of *Ella*, 17 Years, had likewise both Kingdoms; but being slain, his Empire was divided into two; for at that Time reigned

in BERNICIA,	*A. C.* DEIRA.
634. *Osric*, the Son of *Alfred*, 1 Year.	634. *Eanfred*, Son of the late King *Ethelfrid*.

Both slain in one Year.

634. *Oswald*, the Brother of *Eanfred*, reigned 9 Years in both Provinces, being slain,

642. *Oswyn*, the Brother of *Oswald*, reigned 9 Years in *Bernicia*.	644. *Oswyn*, Son of *Osric*, reigned 7 Years in *Deira*, and was then slain by

651. *Oswyn*, lately mention'd, who entered upon both the Kingdoms, which, from that Time, continued united. He reigned 28 Years; then

670. *Egfrid*, his lawful Son, reigned 15 Years. Slain.

685. *Alfred*, Bastard, Son to *Oswyn*, 19 Years. Buried at *Driffield*. After him

704. *Oswed*, his Son, a Child of eight Years old. *Stow* says after he had reigned 11 Years he was murdered; but *Brompton* writes, that he was unfortunately slain in a Battle by his Kinsman,

715. *Kenred*, who ruled *Northumberland* 2 Years; then

717. *Osric*, his Brother, who reigned 11 Years, and elected, for his Successor,

728. *Ceolwulph*, the Kinsman of *Kenred*. Venerable *Bede* wrote his History in this King's Reign, and dedicated it to him. This Monarch turned Monk, and to him succeeded, after eight Years,

736. *Egbert*, Cousin-German to *Ceolwulph*, who reigned peaceably 20 Years, then turned Monk; which was much in Fashion in those Days amongst the rest of the *Saxon* Monarchs in the *Heptarchy*. Then came

756*. *Oswald*, slain by his Subjects in the first Year of his Reign.

757. *Ethelwald*, surnamed *Mollo*, usurped; but after 11 Years he was murdered by

Alred,

* *Anno* 741 *igni incensum est* Eboracum. *Chron.* Saxon. 55.

A. C.

768. *Alred*, who, says *Hoveden*, was driven out of his capital City EVERWIC *, in *Easter* Week, after he had reigned 11 Years; and the *Northumbrians* chose

779. *Edelred*, the Son of *Mollo*, who was also, in the fifth Year of his Reign, deprived, and

784. *Athelwold* proclaimed King; who, after 11 Years, was slain by

796. *Osred*, who succeeded, but he was driven out by his Nobles the same Year; or taken, says *Milton*, and forcibly shaven a Monk at *York*.

Alred, or *Athelred*, again restored, and after four Years was miserably slain. From which Time the Kingdom of *Northumberland* was sorely shaken with Civil Wars for forty Years together; during which Time there ruled, without the Title of King, as some write,

Eardulf; but the *Saxon* Chronicle says, that he was consecrated King at *York*, *May* 4, 795, by *Eanbald*, Archbishop, *Ethelbert*, *Higbald*, and *Badewulf*, Bishops. †

Alfwold, *Eandred*, *Etheldred*, *Readulph*. This last, says *Stow*, was slain at *York* with

840. *Osbert*, King, removed by

Ella, the Usurper. Both these Kings were slain at *York* by the *Danes*.

866. *Egbert*, sole Monarch of the *English*, driven out by the *Danes*, who gave the Kingdom of *Northumberland* to their Countryman

Rigsidge. He ruled it 11 Years, then another *Egbert*, a *Saxon*, was made King by them.

872. *Egbert*, who dying, the *Danes* and *Northumbrians* were without a King till

Guthrum, or *Guthred*, a poor Slave, was elected, to whom the *Brigantes* were subjected for 11 Years, till

884. *Alfred* the Great drove the *Danes* in *England* to the last Extremity, and made them chuse in *Northumberland* another.

902. *Rigsidge* for King, who being slain,

* Chron. *Saxon*. 774. † Idem, p. 66.

A. C. 903. } *Reginald* and *Nigel*, both *Danes*, reigned together, and had the whole Kingdom after *Alfred*'s Death. *Nigel* being slain,

914. *Sithrick*, his Brother, took his Share. After him these *Danes* succeeded, *viz.*

919. *Inguald.*

926. *Guthford.*

944. *Anlaf*, the last of the *Northumbrian* Kings in the *Heptarchy*.

The *Danes* * were a fierce, hardy, and warlike People, next Neighbours to the *Saxons* in their own Country, and had long envied their Happiness in the Possession of the greatest and wealthiest Island in the then known world. Encouraged to hope for Success by the continual Division amongst the *Saxon* Rulers, they had several Times made Descents upon the Island, but were always driven back with Loss. In the Reign of *Egbert* they drew together all their Forces; and as they were, at that Time, the best Sailors in the World, they fitted out a mighty Fleet, with a numerous Land Army on board; encouraged doubly by the extraordinary Revolution which had just happened in *England*, and the Expectation of a general Revolt in their Favour, as soon as they should land in the Northern Parts. This Design proved abortive; they made a Descent, 'tis true, in the Year 794, and burnt the Monastery of *Lindisfarn*, or *Holy-Island*; but finding the Natives not to stir as they expected, they went off again with a great Booty. No ways discouraged at this, they made several other Attempts in other Parts of the Island, and at length prevailed; for, having gotten a Taste, they never desisted till they had intirely dispossessed the *Saxons* of it.

It was this black Storm from the North which our *Alcuin* prophetically speaks of, in a Letter to *Egelbert*, or *Egbert*, King of *Northumberland*, in these Words: *What can be the Meaning*, says he, *of that Shower of Blood which, in* Lent, *we saw at* York, *the Metropolis of the Kingdom, near St.* Peter's *Church, descending with great Horror from the Roof of the North Part of the House, in a clear Day? May not one imagine that this presages Destruction and Blood to us from that Quarter?* † This Letter

* *Daniel*'s History of *England*. † *Lelandi* Coll.

Letter was wrote from *France* to *Egbert*, near fifty Years before the first *Danish* Invasion, *Anno* 740; and whether we believe the Prodigy, or that this Man was a Prophet, it is certain the Event fulfilled the Prediction; for never was Blood more cruelly spilt than in this War, nor did any Part of *England* feel it so sensibly as the City of *York*.

In the Year 867* the *Northumbrians* had revolted from *Ethelred*, sole Monarch of *England*, and chose for their King one *Osbert*, or *Osbrightus*. This *Osbert*, says *Rapin* †, kept his Court at *York*. Returning one Day from Hunting, the King had a Mind to refresh himself at the House of a certain Earl, named *Bruern-Bocard*, Guardian of the Sea-Coasts against the Irruptions of the *Danes*. The Earl happening to be from home, his Lady, to whose charming Beauty was joined the most engaging Behaviour, adds our *Frenchman*, entertained her Sovereign with the Respect due to his Quality. *Osbert*, quite overcome with the Sight of so much Beauty, resolved, let the Consequence be what it would, to satisfy his Passion without Delay. Accordingly, on Pretence of having some Matters of Importance to communicate to her in the Earl's Absence, he led her insensibly into a private Room, where, after several Attempts to bring her to comply by fair Means, he fell at length to downright Force. After the Commission of this infamous Deed, he left the Countess in such Excess of Grief and Vexation, that it was not possible for her to hide the Cause from her Husband.

Bruern ‡ being nobly born, and very powerful in Kindred, soon called together the Heads of them in Consultation; and giving them to understand the base Usage of the King, he told them he positively resolved, at any Rate, to be revenged: His Relations and Friends came readily into his Measures, and went along with him to *York*. When the King saw the Earl, he, in a very obliging Manner, called him to him; but the Earl, backed with his Troop of Friends, immediately gave a bold Defiance to *Osbert*, and all Homage, Faith, Lands, or whatever else he held of, or owed him, from that Time gave up; saying, that for the future he never more would

* Vide Chron. *Saxon*. hoc anno. † *Rapin*'s History of *England*.
‡ *Brompton*.

would obey so scandalous a Master; and without more Delay he and his Friends retired. How well he kept his Resolution, will plainly appear in the Sequel.

Bruern had great Interest with the *Northumbrians*, and this base Action of *Osbert*'s was naturally apt to alienate the Minds of his Subjects from him. Accordingly, by the Management of this Earl, the *Bernicians* in a little Time revolted; and looking upon *Osbert* as unworthy to govern, they elected another King, called *Ella*, into the Throne, with a Resolution to support him in it. Thus, says *Rapin*, the old Divisions which seemed to be quite laid asleep, were set on Foot again, and *Northumberland* once more divided betwixt two Kings, and two Factions; who, continually aiming at one another's Destruction, were but too successful in their Endeavours.

A Civil War was the fatal Consequence of this Division. The two Kings did what they could to decide the Controversy by Arms, but the Equality of their Forces prevented the Scale from turning on either Side, and they both kept their Ground. Earl *Bruern* was heartily in *Ella*'s Interest; and one would think his Revenge might have been satisfied in dispossessing *Osbert* of Half of his Dominions; but it was by no Means complete whilst he saw him on the Throne of *Deira*; and therefore since it would be, as he rightly judged, a difficult Matter to carry it any further without a foreign Aid, his rash and inconsiderate Passion hurried him to a fatal Resolution, and he immediately sailed for *Denmark*, in order to beg an Assistance, which was but too readily granted him. He represented to the King the present distracted State of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom *, and let him see that, if he would make Use of the Opportunity, he might with Ease become Master of it.

The King of *Denmark* † readily came into an Enterprize, which his Ambition and Revenge spurred him on to. His Revenge was on Account of *Lothbroch*, or *Lodbrog*, a *Danish* General, the Father of *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, who

* *Rapin* calls him *Ivar*, or *Hinguar*; but *Brompton*, *Codrinus*.

† *Ivar*, says *Rapin*, very readily came into an Enterprize, which the Desire of Revenge, as well as his Ambition spurred him on to; *Regnerus*, his Father, having been taken Prisoner in *England*, was thrown into a Ditch full of Serpents, where he miserably perished. This whole Sentence, with Submission to that great Historian, is a Mistake, as the Consequence will shew.

who being driven, by Accident, on the Coast of *Norfolk*, in a small Fishing-Boat, was taken and sentenced, as he had been informed, to be thrown into a Ditch full of Serpents, where he miserably perished. Concerting Measures therefore with *Bruern*, the *Danish* King got ready a mighty Fleet against the Spring, and constituted the two Brothers, *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, his Generals. They entered the *Humber* with this Fleet, which was so great, that it spread a Terror all over *England*; *Bruern* was their Conductor; and as the *Northumbrians* were wholly ignorant of the Design, they were in no Readiness to dispute their Landing. They soon became Masters of the Northern Shore, and having burnt and destroyed the Towns and Inhabitants on the *Holderness* Coast, they marched directly towards *York*, where *Osbert* was drawing an Army together to oppose them.

In this great Extremity *Osbert* applied to *Ella*, tho' his Enemy, for his Assistance, who willingly agreed to drop his private Quarrel, and join Forces against the common Enemy; accordingly he proceeded with all possible Expedition to bring a powerful Reinforcement. If *Osbert* could have brought himself to have staid at *York*, says *Rapin*, till *Ella*'s Arrival, he would doubtless have embarrassed the *Danish* Generals, who, by that Means, would have been forced to oppose their Enemies in two Places at once; but his great Courage would not let him go so safe a Way to Work. Perhaps it was with Regret that he saw himself constrained to have Recourse to his mortal Foe for Aid; or it may be, he feared some Treachery. However this, adds our Author, he sallied out of *York*, and attacked the *Danes* so vigorously, that they had much ado to stand the Shock, and were very near being put in Disorder: But their obstinate Resistance having at length slackened the Ardour of their Enemies, they pushed them in their Turn, and compelled them at last to retire, without any Order, into the City. *Osbert*, desperately vexed to see the Victory snatched out of his Hands when he thought himself sure of it, used all his Endeavours to rally his broken Troops again, but was slain in the Retreat with Abundance of his Men.

This Victory opened the Gates of *York* to the *Danes*, who entered the City in order to refresh themselves, says *Rapin*,

Rapin, whilst *Ella* was advancing in Hopes of repairing the Loss *Osbert* had suffered by his too great Haste. *Hinguar* having just triumphed over one of the Kings, and not believing the other to be more formidable, spared him some Trouble by going to meet him. This Battle was no less fatal to the *English*, *Ella* lost his Life, and his Army was intirely routed. Some say this Prince, adds our Author, was not slain in Battle, but taken Prisoner; and *Hinguar* ordered him to be flayed alive in Revenge for his Father's Murder.

Rapin has been the Author chiefly from whence we have copied the History of the last memorable Event, whom we chuse to follow as well for his Diction as Matter; but from what Authority he claims it we know not, for four ancient and creditable Writers of *English* History give almost a different Account of this whole Transaction, except in the Case of the Rape, which is recorded by *Brompton*. We have also taken the Liberty to alter some of his Proper Names, as we found them miscalled; and as to his last Conjecture, that *Ella* was taken Prisoner, and used in that barbarous Manner by *Hinguar*, in Revenge for his Father's Murder, it would have been a great Mistake if he had asserted it; for it was *Edmund*, King of the *East-Angles*, who was the supposed Murderer, and paid dearly for it afterwards, being tied to a Tree and shot to Death by the *Danes* with Arrows. The Spring of this great Revolution in the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, and after in all *England*, with the Consequences of it to our City, we shall beg Leave to give from the Authorities in the Notes. *

Brompton writes, that *Lothbroch* †, the Father of *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, being fishing and fowling in a small Boat, singly, on some of the *Danish* Coasts, was driven by a sudden Tempest out to Sea, and, after a dangerous Passage, was thrown ashore in his Boat on the *Norfolk* Coast in *England*: He had no Creature with him but his Hawk and his Dog; and being found, was presented to *Edmund*, King of the *East-Angles*. *Edmund* was taken with his graceful Presence, and, hearing his Story, he took him into his Court; where *Lothbroch*, being a true Sports-

* *Brompton. H. Hunt. S. Dunelm. Asser. Men. R. Hoveden.*

† *Lothbroch*, *Anglice*, *Leatherbreech*, or *Roughbreeches*. This Story is given by the Translator of *Rapin*.

Sportsman, was associated with *Bern*, the King's Huntsman, and partook with him in all those Diversions.

It was not long before he shewed his Dexterity in all Kinds of rural Sports to be much superior to the Huntsman's, and was mightily in the King's Favour for it. This *Bern* grew uneasy at, and resolving to get rid of so troublesome a Rival, he took an Opportunity to draw *Lothbroch* aside into a Thicket, where the Villain slew him, and hid the Body: The next Day the King inquiring for *Lothbroch*, was told by *Bern*, that he lost him in the Woods, and had not seen him since. Some Days passed when *Lothbroch*'s Dog, half starved, came to the Palace, and, being fed, goes away again. Doing thus several Times, the King's Servants took Notice of it, and, following the Dog, were brought to the Sight of the dead Body. *Bern* was charged with the Murder, tried, and found guilty of it. The Sentence the King passed on him was to put him into *Lothbroch*'s Boat, and, without Tackling, Sails, or Provisions, to commit him to the Mercy of the Seas. The Boat, as if it knew its Way back, was thrown upon the *Danish* Coast, where *Bern* being apprehended as an *Englishman*, and carried to the King, he informed him of *Lothbroch*; and in a malicious Lye told him, that *Edmund*, on his Landing, had ordered him to be immediately thrown into a Ditch full of Serpents.

This Accident happening before the *Saxon* Nobleman's Arrival in order to draw the *Danish* King to invade *Northumberland*, in Revenge for the Ravishing of his Wife by *Osbert*, made the *Dane* more ready to embrace it. Getting together a mighty Fleet they set Sail, and entered the *Humber* with Safety; and landing their Forces as near *York* as they could, they marched directly to it, and took it with much Ease: The Walls of the City, says an Historian *, being in a weak Condition at that Time, occasioned by the former *Saxon* Wars. *Osbert* and *Ella* having upon this Occasion joined their Forces, marched to attack the *Danes*, even in the City itself, where a cruel Fight ensued in the very Midst of it. The two Kings having beat down the Walls, fell upon the *Danes* with such Fury, that they made a prodigious

* *Non enim tunc adhuc illa civitas firmos et stabilitos muros illis temporibus habebat.* Asser. Meneven.

digious Slaughter of them, and drove them to the last Extremity. Their Despair at this Time occasioned their Victory, says our Authors; for pressing in their Turn, the *Saxons* lost Ground, and their two Kings happening to be slain, the Victory intirely fell to the *Danes*. In this Conflict the City was wholly destroyed by the enraged Barbarians, and in it not only all the Inhabitants, but all those who, upon the News of the Invasion, sought Refuge there, miserably perished. The Battle, says *R. Hoveden*, was fought on the 21st of *March*, *Anno* 867. *Asser. Menevensis* describes his dreadful Calamity in this Manner: "By the General's cruel Orders they knocked down and cut the Throats of all the Boys, young and old Men, that they met in the Streets of the City. Matrons and Virgins were ravished at Pleasure. The Husband and Wife, either dead or dying, were tossed together. The Infant, snatched from its Mother's Breast, was carried to the Threshold, and there left butchered at its Parent's Door, to make the general Outcry more hideous."

Brompton differs somewhat from the other Historians in the Description of this Battle, and says that *Ella* was not slain with *Osbert*; but was so little concerned, that having been hunting the Day after the Battle was fought, as he sat at Dinner he chanced to say, "We have had great Luck to take four Deer and six Fawns To-day;" to which Words an Express, that was just arrived, answered: "My Lord, if you have had such Luck To-day, and gain'd so much, you Yesterday lost an hundred Times more; for the *Danes* have taken the City of *York*, and slain *Osbert*, and are just entering your Dominions to do the like to you." *Ella* at this starting up, collected his Forces, and marched towards *York* with great Expedition. The *Danes* were aware of his coming, and met him to the utter Destruction of him and his. The Place where the Battle was fought, *non longe ab* Eboraco, says our Author, is called to this Day *Ella*'s *Croft* *; that is, *Ella*'s Overthrow.

The

* There is no Place, in or near the City, that this Name can be fixed upon, except it be corrupted to *Ling-Croft* near *Foulford*. It is certain there is no Ling growing on it, nor probably ever was, the Soil being a dry Sand cannot naturally produce that Plant. Ling does certainly here import another Meaning; for Dr. *Skinner* says, it is a Word *Quod qualitatem notat, et pertinere aut spectare ad aliquem est*. *Skinner*'s Etym. Dict.

The *Danes* having reduced the Kingdom of *Northumberland* to their Obedience, and put an End to the *Saxon* Rule there, after it had continued in their Possessions near 300 Years, *Hinguar* gave the Command of it to his Brother *Hubba*, and constituted him at the same Time Governor of *York*. The two Brothers then pushed their Conquests Southward, where we shall not follow them; but observe that *Hubba* made one *Godram* or *Guthurn* *, a *Danish* Officer, his Deputy to act in his Absence, and left a Garrison under him in the City. There is a Street in *York* which still retains the Name of this Captain, called GODRAM or GUTHRAM-GATE, which Tradition tells us comes from a *Danish* General's residing in it; and as it lies near where the old Royal Palace once stood, it is not improbable that this was the true Derivation.

But the *Danes* were not willing to trust the Government of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom under any other Form than Kingly: Accordingly at their Return to *York* from their Southern Conquest, the two Brothers, *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, constituted one *Egbert*, a *Saxon*, but one intirely devoted to their Service, King of *Northumberland*. At this Time, *An.* 870, says Sir *John Spelman* †, the *Danish* Generals, with their whole Army, resided at *York*, where they indulged themselves in all Kinds of Violence, and barbarous Treatment of the People; the Blood of Men, Women, and Children was daily shed to make them Sport; Corn and other Provisions they rioted in for above a Year together, says our Author, damaging more than they consumed.

Egbert was soon deprived of his Sovereignty, and one *Rigsidge*, or *Ricsissus*, a *Dane*, had the Government conferred upon him; but he being murdered by the Populace at *York*, according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Egbert* was again restored. This held not long neither, for the *Danes* still advancing in Power, and having no Dread of the Natives, the large and rich Kingdom of *Northumberland* was cantoned out amongst their own Officers; and we find in the Reign of *Edward* the Elder, three Kings

* This *Guthurn* turned Christian, and, when baptized, *Alfred the Great* was his Godfather, who gave him the Country of *East-Anglia*, which he governed, or rather spoiled, for twelve Years. *Hol.* Chron.

† *Spelman* in vita *Alfredi Magni.*

Danish Race possessed it. In 877 *Sithrick* and *Nigel* his Brother reigned beyond the *Tyne*, and *Reginald* had the City of *York*, with all the Country betwixt the Rivers *Tyne* and *Humber*. These Kings were at last compelled to submit to the Arms of the victorious *Athelstan*, the Successor of the last-named *Edward*, and doing Homage, were permitted to keep their Possessions. *Sithrick*, one of them, had his Daughter in Marriage, on Condition he would turn Christian.

This Calm lasted a very small Time, for *Sithrick* dying the first Year of his Marriage, (*An.* 926) his Sons *Godfrey* and *Anlaff**, offended that their Pagan Gods were neglected, by Means of their Father's last Wife, stirred up the *Northumbrian Danes* to Rebellion: This Attempt brought *Athelstan* upon them so suddenly, that the two Sons of *Sithrick*, with *Reginald*, had much ado to escape falling into his Hands at *York*. He took the City, and with it all *Northumberland* submitted, except the Castle of *York*, which being then prodigiously strong, and well manned with *Danish* Soldiers, held out a long Time: For we are told that *Godfrid*, by Means of his Friends in the Garrison, made an Attempt upon *York*, but did not succeed in it. What End *Reginald* made †, we know not; but the two Brothers, *Godfrid* and *Anlaff*, having been disappointed in their last Attempt, one fled into *Scotland*, and the other into *Ireland*, in order to gain Aid and try their Fortunes once more. They succeeded so well, that they drew along with them a vast Multitude of *Irish*, *Scotch*, and even *Welsh* Soldiers, with their respective Kings at their Head, who all had Reason to fear the growing Greatness of *Athelstan*. Entering the *Humber* with a Fleet of 600 Sail, whilst *Athelstan* was carrying on the War in *Scotland*, they landed their Forces and marched to *York* before the King had any Intelligence of the Matter. They soon raised the Siege of the Castle, which *Athelstan* had turned into a Blockade; but durst not attempt to take the City, hearing that *Athelstan* was on his March against them. As a Battle was to be fought, and trusting in their Numbers, they

* *Rapin.*

† The *Saxon* Chronicle says that, *Anno* 924, King *Reginald* won the City of *York* by Assault, *expugnavit* Eboracum. *Gibson*'s *Saxon* Chronicle.

they went from *York* to meet him, and at *Brunanburgh*, since called *Bromford*, in *Northumberland*, a most bloody Engagement ensued, where *Athelstan* gained a complete Victory, and slew *Constantine*, King of *Scotland*, five petty Kings of *Ireland* and *Wales*, twelve General Officers, and destroyed their whole Army.

Athelstan, at his Return to *York* from this Victory, (*An.* 937) razed the * Castle to the Ground, lest it should be any more a Nursery of Rebellion; and being now sole Monarch of *England*, he conferred those Honours on the Churches of St. *John* of *Beverley*, and St. *Wilfrid* at *Ripon*, which the Monkish Histories are so full of. Our own Historians stick not to say, that this Victory made him King of the whole Island; but *Buchanan* here sticks for his Country, and seems to sneer at the Credulity of the *English*, who are so wise as to believe it. *Athelstan*, however, died in perfect Tranquillity, and, not having Issue of his own, left his whole Dominions to *Edmund*, the eldest of the legitimate Sons of *Edward*, surnamed the *Elder*. †

This Prince was very young at his coming to the Crown, (*An.* 937) which encouraged the *Northumbers*, ever prone to rebel, to hope for a Revolution in their Favour. They sent to invite *Anlaff* from *Ireland*, whither he had had the good Luck to escape from the last Battle, to come over and head them. But *Anlaff* wisely knowing that an Invasion without strong Assistance from some foreign Power, would be of no Service, set himself about once more to obtain it; and found Means to draw over *Olaus*, King of *Norway*, to his Interest, with a large Promise of Money if he succeeded. With the Troops and Shipping furnished by this King he once more entered the North, and coming before *York*, the Gates were immediately opened to him, by Means of the good Understanding he had with the principal Inhabitants, who were then most if not all of them *Danish*. ‡ The Example of the Metropolis was soon followed by several other Towns in that District, whose Garrisons were either driven out or cut in Pieces by the

* Athelstanus *interea* Castrum, *quod olim* Dani *in* Eboraco *obfirmaverant, ad solum diruit, ne esset quod se tutari posset perfidia.* Gul. Meldunensis.

† *Speed.* ‡ *Rapin.*

Inhabitants; and thus got *Anlaff* entire Poſſeſſion of all *Northumberland*; and, not content, was ſtretching his Conqueſt farther, and attacked *Mercia*. But

Edmund, the *Engliſh* King, though not above ſeventeen or eighteen Years old, was not backward in his Preparations to ſtop the Progreſs of this bold Invader; and having raiſed an Army, he met *Anlaff* at *Cheſter*, where an obſtinate Battle was fought with ſuch Equality that neither Side could brag of Victory. Reſolving to try it out next Day, a Peace was concluded by the Mediation of *Odo* and *Wolſtan*, the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, who laboured all Night to obtain it. By this Treaty *Edmund* was obliged to give up to *Anlaff* all the Country North of the *Roman* Highway which divides *England* into two equal Parts. This Conceſſion of *Edmund*'s was highly diſhonourable, but the two Biſhops prevailed on him to accept it; and thus got *Anlaff* a larger Share of *Britain* than his Father *Sithrick* ever poſſeſſed.

Yet his Glory was ſhort-lived, for the *Northumbrians*, vexed at a Tax he had impoſed on them, in order to pay off the great Subſidy due to the King of *Norway* for his Aid and Aſſiſtance, revolted again. The ancient Kingdom of *Bernicia* firſt ſhewed the Way, by ſending for *Reginald*, Son to his Brother *Godfrid*, and crowning him King at *York*. Once more a Civil War was hatching betwixt the Uncle and Nephew, and the *Engliſh* King might have laid hold of this Opportunity to have deſtroyed them both, but he did no more than come with a great Army and frighten them at once into Peace and Chriſtianity. A Treaty was begun and concluded at *York*, wherein it was ſtipulated, that *Reginald* ſhould keep the Crown he had got, and *Edmund* obliged them both to ſwear Fealty to him, as alſo to turn Chriſtians. The King himſelf ſtood Godfather to *Reginald*, who had been baptized at his Confirmation; and to *Anlaff* at the Font. The Ceremony was performed by *Wolſtan*, then Archbiſhop of this See, in his Cathedral. *

A Religion and Peace, impoſed upon them by Compulſion, laſted them not long; and it was a very ſmall Tim (*An.* 944) before they took up Arms and broke the latter which ſhews the former was no Tye to them. *Edmun*

wa

* *Sim. Dun. Hen. Hunt.*

was ſudden in his coming againſt them, and marched ſo quick that he ſurprized them before they could draw a ſufficient Number of Forces ready to oppoſe him. In ſhort they both fled the Iſland, and the *Danes* being thus deſerted by their Leaders, had nothing to do but to throw down their Arms and ſubmit to the King's Mercy. This they obtained of him, and *Edmund* took no other Revenge on them than to cauſe their Principals to ſwear Allegiance to him, which they did; however, he joined their whole Country to his own Government, without the Admittance of any Secondary or Viceroy to rule there under him. *

Thus was the *Saxon* King *Edmund* reinſtated into the Sovereignty of all *England*, *An.* 946; but, being taken off in the Flower of his Age by an unhappy Accident, *Edred* his Brother ſucceeded him. The turbulent Spirit of the *Northumbrian Danes* began now again to ſhew itſelf, imagining that this King wanted, with the Years, the Experience of his Brother †; but they found themſelves miſtaken, for *Edred* was not inferior to the former King, either in Courage or Conduct; and in this firſt Affair he ſufficiently ſhewed it; for he made ſuch Expedition in marching againſt them, that he got into the Heart of their Country before the *Danes* could think that he knew their Deſign. Catched ſo at Unawares, they had nothing to do but to ſubmit to the Conqueror's Mercy, which, like that of his Brother, was ſoon come at; a Fine, no ways conſiderable, was all he impoſed, they promiſing, with Oaths and Proteſtations, to be for ever obedient and peaceable. But it was not in their Nature to keep this Promiſe, and *Edred* had hardly got back into *Weſt-Sex* before they ſent over for their old friend *Anlaff*, who had again fled to *Ireland*. He made ſuch Haſte to obey their Summons, and by their Aſſiſtance, after his Arrival, puſhed on his Conqueſt ſo faſt, that he was Maſter of *York* and all the North, before *Edred* could come to oppoſe him; and when he did come, he found it impoſſible to diſlodge him.

In Spight of all that *Edred* could do, *Anlaff* continued King of *Northumberland* four Years after his laſt Reſtoration ‡: But his tyrannical Temper, or their Mutability, occaſioned another Revolt; and *Anlaff* was expelled, and

* *Speed.* † *Rapin.* ‡ *Rapin, Speed.*

and one *Eric* was chose by them in his Room, *An.* 950. This brought on another Civil War. *Anlaff* had yet a Party, and the two Factions endeavouring to destroy one another, gave *Edred* an Opportunity that he well knew how to improve. He marched directly into the North, which was all in Confusion, for the *Northumbrians* had taken no Measure to resist him; so eager were they to seek each other's Destruction. At *Edred*'s coming *Eric* fled into *Scotland*, leaving his People once more to the *Saxon* King's Mercy, who had threatened to destroy their whole Country with Fire and Sword. He began to put his Threats in Execution by burning the Town and Monastery of *Ripon*; but being shocked enough with that, the good King desisted from any further Mischief to them, and suffered himself to be so far amused with their solemn Oaths and Protestations, of which they were no ways sparing, to appease his just Anger, that his generous Disposition not only forgave them their Trespasses, but he recalled *Eric* out of *Scotland* to *York*, replaced him on the Throne, and, without imposing any Tribute, took only his Oath of Allegiance.

After *Edred* had thus settled Matters he left *York*, and marched Southward with his Army, in a careless and disorderly Manner, not dreading of Danger, nor keeping any Guard against a People he had so lately and so prodigiously obliged. But the *Danes*, to give him a speedy Instance of the wonderful Effects his Clemency had wrought on their Minds, taking Notice of his Negligence and disorderly March, sallied out of *York* in great Numbers after him; and overtaking him at *Castleford**, set upon his Rear with such Fury and Resolution, that had not the King's Valour, Conduct, and Management in this nice Juncture been very extraordinary, he and all his Army must infallibly have been cut to Pieces. Enraged at this black Piece of Ingratitude, he once more ordered his Standard to be turned against them, and advanced to the Gates of *York*, in order to make dreadful Examples of these Miscreants to all Posterity. At his coming to the City they beheld him ready to take Vengeance of them; and, not able to make the least Resistance, they, in this Extremity, again

* *Leland* Coll. It appears by this Rout of the Army, that they followed the *Roman* Roads in those Days.

again had Recourſe to their old Subtlety; but being ſenſible their Oaths and Proteſtations would go for nothing with the King, they very humbly implored his Pardon on whatever Terms he would be pleaſed to give it; and, to convince the King they were now in Earneſt, they ſolemnly renounced *Eric*, and put him to Death, along with *Amac*, the Son of *Anlaff*, whom they charged with being the principal Movers in this Treachery.

Edred was ſo far pacified by theſe Means as to ſpare their Lives, but took deep Vengeance on their Purſes; and alſo took from them the very Power to rebel again, by placing ſtrong *Engliſh* Garriſons in their chiefeſt Towns and Fortreſſes: He likewiſe diſſolved their Monarchical Government, and turned the ancient Kingdom of *Northumberland* into a Province. What became of *Anlaff*, the laſt King, we know not; it is probable he died abroad, no Author making Mention of him after *Edred*'s laſt Expedition into the North. We now drop from a Kingdom to an Earldom, as *Edred* thought fit to alter the Government: The firſt Earl thereof, by his own Appointment, was one *Oſulph*, an *Anglo-Saxon*, or *Engliſhman*, *Anno* 951.

The Alteration made in the Government produced a very good Effect; for the turbulent and rebellious Spirit of the *Northumbrian Danes* was ſo continually awed by *Engliſh* Governors and *Engliſh* Garriſons, that during the almoſt conſtant Wars betwixt the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Kings, for near an Age after this, the Northern Parts remained quiet; and *York* continued with its Earls, as *Edred* left it, till the Diviſion of the Kingdom into Shires, and the Vicecomes, or Sheriff, took Place of the real Earl.

The *Scotch* Hiſtorians, however, write *, that the total Conqueſt over the *Saxons* by the *Danes* was gained in a Victory near our City, by *Swain*, King of *Denmark*, againſt *Egelred*, King of *England* †, *Anno* 1010. The *Danes* had pitched their Tents on the Banks of the River *Ouſe*, not far from *York*, where *Egelred* with an Army, ſtrenghtened with a Number of *Scots*, marched to attack them. *Swain* ſent an Herald to warn the *Scots* from fighting, having ſome Obligation to their King; but

* *Hollingſhead*'s *Scotch* Chronicle. *H. Boetius.*

† The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians call him *Ethelred.*

but they refusing, a bloody Battle ensued, in which the *English* and *Scots* were worsted, great Numbers slain, and an entire Victory left to the *Danes*. *Egelred* himself, with some few others, got a Boat, passed over the River *Ouse*, and fled to *Normandy*, leaving his Crown and Kingdom to the Conqueror.

We now come to a Succession of the Earls, or *Comites Northumbriæ*, who had their Residence in *York* as well as the Kings, and had, under Subjection to the Universal Monarch of *England*, the same Authority. We are told that *Edred* first commissioned

Osulph ‡, who, in the succeeding Reign of *Edgar*, had

Oslac for a Partner in the Government. *Osulph* took the more Northern Parts; and *Oslac* had *York*, and the Confines of the Province on that Side, committed to his Care. To these succeeded, in the whole,

Waltheof, usually called the Elder, whose Son

Uthred, or *Uethred*, came after him; then

Hircus, or *Yricus*, made Earl of *Northumberland* by King *Canute*.

Eadulph, surnamed *Cutel*, or *Cudel*; to whom succeeded

Aldred, who being slain,

Eadulph the Second, his Brother, enjoyed it. To all these Historians have affixed no Dates, nor any Particulars relating to their respective Governments, till this Earl was slain by

Siward, *Anno* 1054. Then succeeded

Tosty, (*Anno* 1055) Brother to *Harold*, King of *England*, slain at *Stanfordburgh*. Lastly came

Morchar, (*Anno* 1065) which deduces the Earls of *Northumberland* to the *Norman* Conquest.

An historical Account of the three last is much to our Purpose.

Siward Earl of *Northumberland* was the most valiant Man of his Time, and of such uncommon Fortitude and Might, that the *Danes*, says *William* of *Malmsbury*, surnamed him DIGERA §; that is, *the Great*.

This *Siward* was sent, by King *Edward* the Confessor, with an Army of 10,000 *English* Soldiers into *Scotland*,

‡ *Sim. Dunelm.*

§ DIGERA, *Danice, magnus.* ALEXANDER DIGERA, i. e. *Alexander Magnus.* Jacob. Serenii *Diction.* Ang. Suethic. Lat.

land, to aid *Malcolm* against the Tyrant *Macbeth*, whom he slew, and set *Malcolm* on the Throne of *Scotland*.

Siward (*Anno* 1055) fell ill of the Flux at *York*, and being brought to the last Extremity by that Disease, the Warrior cried out *, *Oh what a Shame is it for me, who have escaped Death in so many dangerous Battles, to die like a Beast at last. Put me on my impenetrable Coat of Mail*, adds he, *gird on my Sword, place on my Helmet, give me my Shield in my Right Hand, and my Golden Battle-Ax in my Left* †; *thus as a valiant Soldier I have lived, even so I will die.* His Friends obeyed him; which was no sooner done than he expired, and was buried in the Cloister of his own Monastery at *York*. ‡

Siward's Son being in the Cradle at his Father's Death ||, *Tosty*, or *Tosto*, second Son to Earl *Goodwin*, Chief Minister of State to *Edward* the Confessor, found Means to procure this opulent Earldom to himself. He was a Man of the vilest Character in every Point of Life, and ruled over the *Northumbrians* with great Cruelty and Barbarity, imposing numberless Taxations on them for ten Years together. It was a long Time for their stubborn Spirits to bear such Treatment; at length being provoked at his causing certain Noblemen of that Country to be murdered in his own Chamber at *York* §, when he had allured them thither on Pretence of easing their Grievances; as also at another more scandalous Affair of making Minced-Meat of his Brother *Harold*'s Servants, their Hearts were so much set against him, that they rose with one Accord in order to rid themselves and the World of such a Monster. The *Northumbrians* came upon *Tosto* so suddenly, that he narrowly escaped their Fury, having just Time to fly from *York*, with his Wife and Children, to the Sea-Coast; from whence he found Means to be conveyed into *Flanders*, (*Anno* 1065) and came no more into *England* during the Confessor's Reign. Thus

* *Higdeni* Polichron.

† *Sicuris aureus*, or the Golden Battle-Ax, was formerly a Mark of Sovereignty.

‡ *Anno* 1055, *Strenuus Dux* Northanhimbrorum Siwardus Eboraci *decessit, et in monasterio* Galmanho, *quod ipse construxerat sepultus est*. Hoveden.

|| *Parvulus erat in cuneis jacens*. Polichron.

§ The Names of two of them were, *Gamel* the Son of *Ornus*, and *Ulfus* the Son of *Delphinus*. Sim. Dunelm.

Thus disappointed of their chief Aim, the Revolters took all the Revenge they could on what he had left behind him. They spoiled and plundered his Palace, broke open his Exchequer, took and converted whatever Money was there to their own Use, drowned 200 of his Servants in the River *Ouse*, as *Simeon* says, *extra Muris Civitatis*, and carried off whatever Horses, Armour, or Houshold Stuff were in or about the Palace *.

At the News of this, *Harold*, the Brother of *Tosto*, was sent to reduce the Insurgents; but he having had a smart Taste of his Brother's Cruelty, easily gave into the Justness of their Complaints †; especially when they told him plainly, "That they, being Freemen born and bred out of Bondage, would not suffer any cruel Ruler to lord it over them, being taught by their Ancestors either to live in Liberty or die in Defence of it ‡:" Upon which at their own Request, and by the King's Consent, he assigned them one *Morchard*, or *Morcharus*, for their Governor.

Tosto was now an Exile in *Flanders*; but no sooner did he hear of King *Edward*'s Death, and his Brother's seizing the Crown, than he prepared to invade him. He mustered a few Forces and Shipping, with which he landed on the *Lincolnshire* Coast; but *Morchar*, the new Earl, soon defeated him. After this Misfortune he sailed to *Scotland*, in Hopes to stir up *Malcolm*, the *Scotch* King, to invade *England*; and not being able to bring him over, he next solicited *Harold Harfager*, King of *Norway*, with whom he was more successful.

The King of *Norway* and *Tosto* having got all Things in Readiness for their intended Invasion, set Sail for *England* with a mighty Fleet, wherewith they entered the *Humber* ||, and brought their Ships up the River *Ouse*, as far as *Rickall* or *Rich-Hall*, within eight Miles of *York*. It

* Chron. *Sax.*

† *Tosto*, upon a Quarrel with his Brother, went down to his Country-House and slew all his Servants, who were preparing an Entertainment for the King's coming there. After which he chopped them in Pieces, and cast into this Hogshead of Wine a Leg, into that Barrel of Cyder an Arm, into this Vessel of Ale a Head, and so bestowed all the dead Carcases into what other Hogsheads of Wine, Mead, *&c.* he could come at in the House. *H. Hunt. M. West.*

‡ *Knighton.*

|| Humbram *ingrediuntur et per* Ouse *fluviolum, pene ad* Eboracum, *omnes puppes advehuntur.* Ingulphus.

It is certain so vast and numerous a Fleet, containing such a great Number of Land Forces on board, could come no nearer *York*; and it is wonderful at this Time of Day how they could advance so nigh. Having landed their Forces, they marched directly against *York*, which, says *Simeon*, they took by Storm, after a sore Conflict with *Morchar* the Governor, and *Edwin* Earl of *Chester*, his Brother, who had hastily raised a few Forces to intercept them †. This Defeat happened on the Eve of St. *Matthew*, *Anno* 1066, at *Fulford*, a Village one Mile South-East of the City, where, says *H. Huntington*, the Place of Battle is yet shewn. The last-named Author, with others, alledge that the City was not taken by Storm; but the two Generals being worsted, and their small Army being either drowned in the River *Ouse* or cut in Pieces, the City surrendered on Terms; the Inhabitants, wholly unprovided for a Siege, chusing rather to try the Victor's Clemency, than expose themselves to certain Ruin.

Harold, King of *England*, was not backward in his Preparations to stop the Progress of this dangerous Invasion; but brought a powerful Army down to *York*, immediately after the Enemy had taken it. At his Approach they withdrew their Forces from the City, taking with them 500 Hostages of the principal Inhabitants, whom they sent under a strong Guard on board their Ships, and left, says *Milton*, 150 of their own in it. They intrenched themselves in so extraordinary a Manner, that it seemed a Thing impossible to dislodge them: For they had the River *Derwent* in their Front and on their Right Hand, not fordable, with only a Wooden Bridge to pass over by. Their Left was flanked by the River *Ouse*, where lay their Navy ready to retire to in Case of Necessity; and their Backs secured by the *German* Ocean. In this Situation they thought themselves safe; but *Harold*, notwithstanding the great Disadvantage, was resolved to attack them in their Trenches; and the Event shews that nothing can be too hard for Valour joined with Conduct. The Fight began by Day-break, and the Attempt to pass the Bridge so desperate, that one single *Norwegian* (for which our Historians have justly made his Fame immortal) stopped the Passage to all *Harold's*

† Chron. *Saxon*.

rold's Army for three Hours together, and slew 40 of his Men with his own Hand. The extraordinary Valour of this Hero will hardly be credited by Posterity, says *William* of *Malmsbury*; for standing in the Midst of it, he suffered none to pass over, and slew all that attempted it, or came within his Reach. Being desired to yield himself up to the *English* King, with large Promises of Reward adequate to such mighty Strength and Valour, he sternly smiled at the Proffer, and despised both it and the Weakness of those that let one single Man resist them all †. At last this hardy Fellow being slain by a Dart thrown at him, say some, or, as others write ‡, by one in a Boat, who got under the Bridge and stabb'd him with a Spear, the *Norwegians* gave Way, dismayed with the Loss of their Champion, and retired to their Trenches, where *Harold*'s Army having passed the River, attacked them Sword in Hand, and a most bloody and obstinate Fight ensued.

The afore-mentioned Historian writes, that there had never been seen in *England* an Engagement between two such Armies, each containing 60,000 Men. It lasted from Seven in the Morning till Three in the Afternoon, with all the Fury imaginable, no Quarter being asked or received during this dreadful Conflict. The Victory fell to *Harold*, the *English* King; the King of *Norway* and *Tosto* were slain, and their Army was almost wholly destroyed: For of 5 or 600 Ships that brought them to *England*, 20 served to carry back the miserable Remains that were spared from Slaughter, and which the Victor suffered to depart with *Olaus*, the King of *Norway*'s Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, who had escaped the Battle by being set to guard the Ships. *Harold*, however, made them deliver up their Hostages, the Citizens of *York*, safe, and take a solemn Oath never to disturb his Dominions again.

The King of *England* shewed great Magnanimity in this Battle, and, if we may credit our Writers §, slew the

† It seems by this that there was no Bridge over the *Derwent* at *Kexby* when this Battle was fought, else *Harold* might have passed over his Army at that Place, and attacked them in Flank, being only two Miles below the other.

‡ *H. Hunt*, *M. West*. and *Knighton* write, *Donec unus* Anglus *naviculam ingressus ipsum* Noricum *per foramina pontis lancea perfodisset*.

§ *Fabian*'s Chron. from *Guido*.

the *Norwegian* King with his own Hand. *Tosto* his Brother, being sought for amongst the dead Bodies, was at length found; but so mangled, that, had not a remarkable Wart betwixt his Shoulders discovered him, he might have served to fill a Pit with the common Soldiers *. He was carried to *York*, and there, ignominiously enough, says our Authority, interred.

This Battle was fought within six Miles of *York*, Eastward, at a Place now called *Stamfordbridge* †, on the 23d of *September*, 1066. The *Saxon* Chronicle calls this Place *Stæng-forden-bridge*; *Higden*, in his *Polichronicon*, *Steinforth-burgg*; but after the Conquest the Village had the Name of *Pons-Belli*, or *Battle-Bridge*, given it, to perpetuate the Memory of this great Overthrow. However it now retains its ancient Name, and no Remembrance of the Fight, except a Piece of Ground on the Left Hand of the Bridge, called *Battle-Flats* at this Day ‡. In the plowing this Ground have been found, of late Years, Pieces of old Swords, and a very small Sort of Horse-Shoes, which could only fit an Ass, or the least Breed of Northern Horses.——We must not forget that the Inhabitants of this Village have a Custom, at their annual Feast, to make Pyes in the Form of a Swill, or Swine-Tub; which, Tradition says, was made Use of as a Boat by the Man that struck the *Norwegian* from under the Bridge. This may be true, for the River *Derwent*, in this Part, being but very lately made navigable, we may imagine a Boat was not then easily to be had to perform the Exploit in. The Bridge also continued to be a Wooden one, till falling greatly to Decay it was taken down, and a new one begun and finished, about 100 Yards below the old one, at the County Charge, *Anno* 1727.——But to our History.

Harold, returning to *York* that Night, gave Orders for solemn Feasts and Rejoicings to be begun the next Day, with all the Magnificence imaginable §. Our City may well be supposed to have a real Share in the general Joy, as not only being relieved from foreign Fetters, but secured from the just Fears of *Tosto*, who, no Doubt,

* *Gul. Malms.*

† This Name has lead some of our modern Historians to fix this Battle at *Stamford*, in *Lincolnshire*.

‡ *Order. vitalis*, p. 500. A.

§ *Gul. Malms.*

would have taken ample Vengeance on his Enemies as soon as his Conquest was compleat. But this Joy was of very short Date, *Harold* had scarce begun his Triumphs, when he received the News, as he sat in this City in great State at a magnificent Entertainment, that *William* Duke of *Normandy* was landed, with a mighty Army, at *Pevensey*, near *Hastings* in *Sussex*. Thither *Harold* hasted to oppose him, and a memorable Battle was fought between the *English* and *Normans*, wherein *Harold* lost his Life and Crown only nine Days after his former Victory.

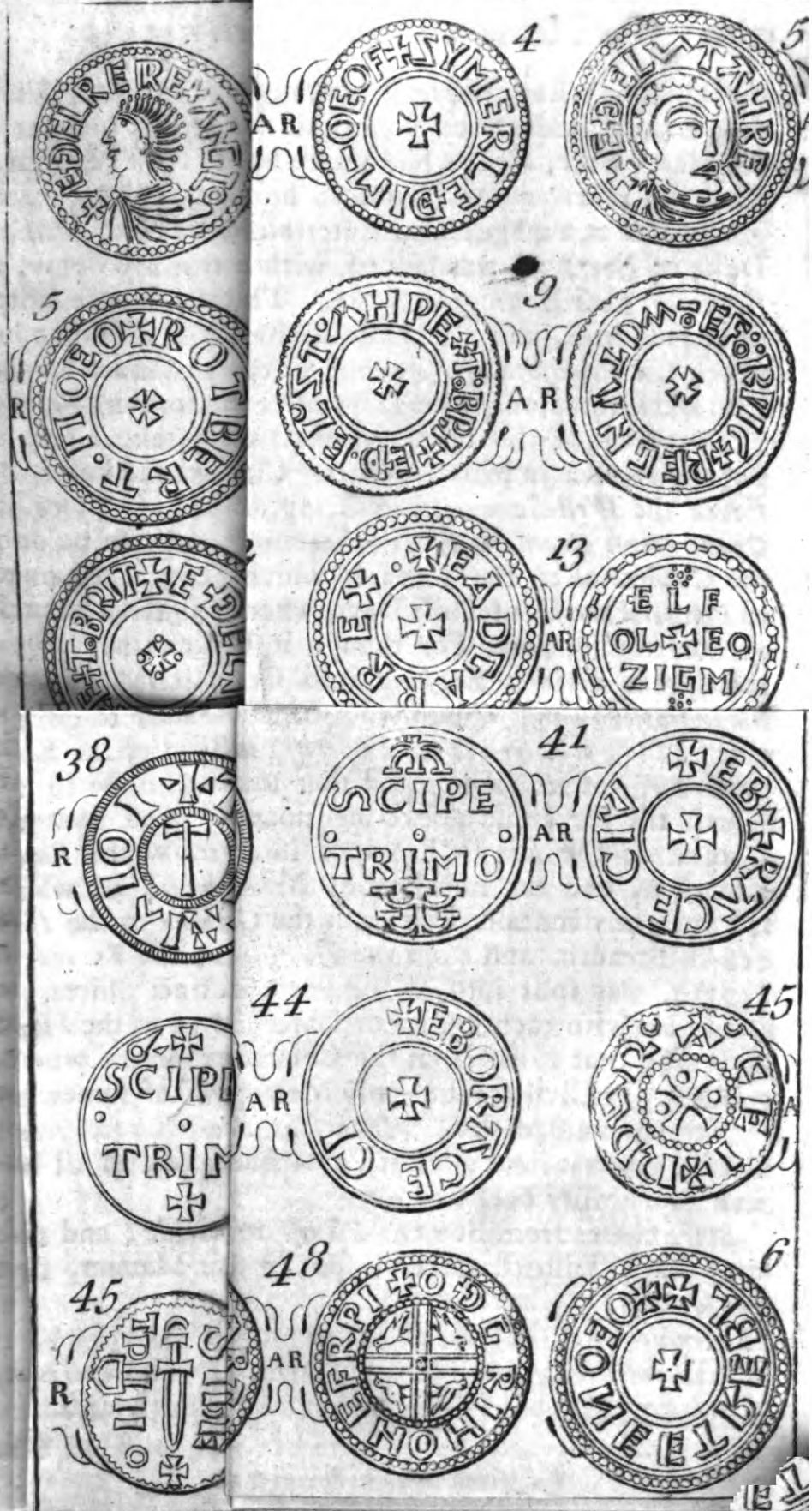
To conclude this Head we shall only take Leave to put the Reader in Mind, that our City was reduced, by *Edred* the *West-Saxon*, from being, as *Alcuin* styles it, *Caput totius Regni*, i. e. *Northanhumbrorum*, to be only the Capital of an Earldom; in which State it remained to *Edward* the Confessor's Days, when it suffered a much greater Revolution: For though it is said that *Alfred* the Great divided *England* into Counties, *Shires*, or *Shrievalties* *, and appointed a Chief Officer to govern each, called a *Shire-reve*, or *Sheriff*, instead of the Earl, or *Comes*, yet we cannot find that this was done in the North till the Time above-mentioned. And now the Capital of the *Roman* Province in *Britain*, the *Saxon* Kingdom, and the Earldom of *Northumberland*, which last anciently contained all from the *German* to the *Irish* Sea in Breadth, and from the *Humber* to the *Tweed* in Length, was split into six or seven distinct Shires, or Counties, with each a City or Chief Town at the Head of it: So that *York*, from the Command of the whole, was now, in Civil Affairs, only Metropolis of somewhat the largest Share, called, in *Domesday-Book*, *Eurewicscire*; in which Lot it has continued ever since, and in all human Probability ever will do.

Shire comes from SCYRAN, *Sax.* to divide; and this large *Saxon* District was then split in this Manner, says *R. Hoveden*:

Everwickscire,	*Coplande*, since called the *Bishoprick* of *Durham*,	*Westmerilonde*,
Richmundescire,		*Northumbrelonde*,
Loncastrescire,		*Cumbrelonde*.

The

* *Spelman* in vita *Alfredi* mag.



* S. Dunel.

The historical Annals of the City continued from the Norman *Conquest, to the uniting of the two Houses of* York *and* Lancaster.

WHAT has preceded this Period, *Anno* 1066, has been a Series of uncommon Events and Turns of Fate which our City has undergone during the *Saxon*, *Danish*, and other foreign Invasions. Fire and Sword, in the Hands of the most inhuman Barbarians, have so often subverted its Walls and Bulwarks, that we have been forced to seek for it, as it were, in its own Dust and Rubbish. It might be imagined that after such an extraordinary Revolution in Favour of the Duke of *Normandy*, who knew as well how to make the best of a Victory as to gain one, our harassed City might have enjoyed that Calm, which the rest of the Kingdom had from the Conqueror's first Acts of Clemency. But, so much to the contrary, we shall shew, under the Reign of this Christian Tyrant, its Destruction and Desolation surpassed whatever had been done to it before by the most wicked Pagan Princes.

York had still Earl *Morchar* for its Governor, *An.* 1068. *William* had not yet changed any Thing so far North; he and his Brother, *Edwin* Earl of *Chester*, could not bear to see their Country so miserably enslaved, and therefore resolved, if possible, to throw off the Yoke; for they soon found, by *William*'s Proceedings, that the greatest Slavery was hastening down to them. As these *Saxon* Lords had a very great Interest in the Kingdom, they quickly raised Forces, which were augmented by *Blethwin*, King of *Wales*, their Nephew. The Conqueror's Policy made him fear that this Revolt would be general, if he did not nip it in the Bud; he therefore hastened down into the North, yet not so fast but he took Time to fortify the Castle at *Warwick*, and gave Orders for the building a new one at *Nottingham*, by Way of securing a safe Retreat in Case of the worst *. From thence he proceeded either to fight the Rebels or to besiege *York*, which had sided with them. At the Beginning of this Insurrection *William* had displaced *Morchar* from his Government, and made one *Robert*, a *Norman*, for his cruel and austere

* *S. Dunel.*

Nature, Earl of *Northumberland*. This Man he sent down to *Durham*, some Time before he came himself, with a Guard of 700, others say 900 *Normans*, to exercise what Cruelty he pleased, provided he kept those turbulent Spirits in Subjection *. The stout *Northumbrians* could not bear this Usage, but, arming privately, they came upon this new-made Governor in the Night, at his Quarters in *Durham*, and with Fire and Sword destroyed both him and his *Normans* to a Man. The Sword drawn it was not to be sheathed again in Haste. Earl *Gospatrick*, their Commander, and *Edgar Atheling*, their lawful Prince, who was come to them out of *Scotland*, where he had fled for Protection from *William*'s conquering Sword, immediately marched at the Head of the *Northumbrians* towards *York*. Here they were received by *Morchar*, *Edwin*, and the Citizens of *York*, with all the Joy and Triumph they could possibly testify on this Occasion †. But this lasted a very small Time; for *William* came on apace; and the Generals being as yet in no Condition to withstand his numerous Army, consulted whether they should fly the Country, or yield themselves up to the Conqueror's Mercy. The last was agreed on, and having taken Care to send back Prince *Edgar* into *Scotland*, they voluntarily submitted themselves to the Victor's Clemency. This Method was right, says *Rapin*; for how cruel soever *William* was in his Nature, he had Policy enough, adds he, to pardon these Earls at this Time, with a View to reclaim the *English*, and give them a better Opinion of his merciful Temper. The Inhabitants of *York* had the same political Mercy extended to them; for when they saw how well the Generals were treated, and knew at the same Time they were in no Condition to stand a Siege, they came out of the City to meet the Conqueror, delivered him the Keys with great Submission, and were seemingly received into Favour. This gained them a Remission of corporal Punishment, but they were obliged to pay a large Fine; and moreover had the Mortification to see two Castles fortified in the City, and strongly garrisoned with *Norman* Soldiers ‡.

William's

* *Wal. Hemingford*, Canon of *Gisburgh*.

† *Annales Waverlacenses*.

‡ *Rex autem* Willielmus Snotingham *venit ubi castello firmato* Eboracum

William's Mercy was soon found to be a Copy of his Countenance; for at the same Time that he pardoned some, he not only punished others who were less guilty, but he imprisoned several who had no Hand at all in the Revolt. This gave Occasion to the Leaders to look about them, and put them in Mind what they were to expect as soon as Opportunity would permit. The three Earls, *Morchar*, *Edwin*, and *Gospatrick*, fled into *Scotland* to *Malcolm* the *Scotch* King, who very generously gave them his Protection. *Malcolm* had lately married *Margaret*, the eldest Sister to Prince *Edgar*; from which Conjunction a long Race of *Scottish* Kings, and since of *Great-Britain*, are lineally descended. The *Norman*, says *Buchanan*, puff'd up with the Success of his Affairs, sent an Herald into *Scotland* to demand *Edgar Atheling* * and the *English* Lords; but *Malcolm* looking upon it as a cruel and faithless Thing to deliver up his suppliant Guest and Kinsman, and one, adds our Author, *against whom his very Enemies could object no Crime*, to his mortal Foe to be put to Death, resolved to protect him, and suffer any Thing rather than do it. He well knew that *William* would be speedily with him for this Refusal, and consequently was not slow to provide for his Reception.

A considerable League was now formed against the Conqueror †; *Edwin* and *Morchar* were sent into *Denmark*, who persuaded King *Swain* that it would be an easy Matter to conquer *England* at this Juncture; and the *Danish* King came readily into the Proposal. Being assured of a powerful Army of *English* and *Scots* to join the Forces he should send over, he dispatched away *Osbern* his Brother, the two Sons of *Harold*, a Bishop, called *Christiern*, Earl *Turkyl*, or *Turketyl*, with 250 tall Ships, which all entered the *Humber* in Safety. At their Landing they were immediately joined by the *English* Malecontents and the *Scotch* Auxiliaries; which, when united together, composed a formidable Army, suffi-

racum *perrexit, ibidemque* duobus Castellis *firmatis quingenos* milites *in eis posuit.* Hoveden. *Hoc anno, scil.* 1068, *rex firmavit unum Castrum apud* Snotingham & duo *apud* Eboracum. Bromp. Duobus castellis, &c. Sim. Dunel.

* ATHELING, *ab* A. S. AETHELING, *quo nomine regius filius, regni hæres, princeps juventutis olim appellabatur, ab* AETHEL *nobilis*, q. d. *Nobilium primarius, omnino ut in* Græco Romano *imperio nobilissimus.* Skinner. *Dic. Etymol.* † *S. Dunel.*

cient to have shaken *William*'s Crown, had they all acted as they ought to have done. It is certain the News of this Alarm so struck him, that he thought proper to send his Wife and Children into *Normandy*, as a Place of better Security, before he undertook to lay this Storm, which looked so black upon him from the North.

Osbern, the *Danish* General, at the Head of the confederate Army, marched directly towards *York* *, where, we may imagine, they were not unwelcome to the Citizens. The *Norman* Garrison in the Castles were resolved to hold out to the last Extremity, not doubting but their King would speedily come to their Assistance. Making all Things ready for a Siege, the *Normans* set Fire to some Houses in the Suburbs on that Side of the City, lest they should serve the Enemy to fill up the Ditches of their Fortifications. This Fire spreading, by an accidental Wind, further than it was designed, burned down great Part of the City, and with it the Cathedral Church; where that famous Library, which *Alcuin* writes of, placed there by Archbishop *Egbert*, about the Year 800, to the unspeakable Loss of Learning, was intirely consumed in the Flames. Divine Vengeance, says *Hoveden*, soon repaid them this Injury; for the *Danes* taking the Advantage of this Confusion which the Fire must have necessarily occasioned, entered the City without Opposition; and then the Confederates dividing their Forces attacked both the Castles at the same Time; the *Danes* one, and the *English* and *Scots* the other. This Charge was made so vigorously on both Sides, that they beat down all before them, and entered the Castles Sword in Hand. A miserable Slaughter ensued, for all the *Norman* Garrison was cut in Pieces, and every one else that was in them, except, say our Historians, *William Mallet* †, then High-Sheriff of the County, his Wife and two Children, *Gilbert de Gaunt*, and a few others.

This Conflict happened in our City *September* 19, 1069. The Number of the Slain is variously reported by

* *R. Hoveden.*

† This *William Mallet*, or *Malet*, came in with the Conqueror, and was with him at the famous Battle of *Hastings*. In the 3d Year of the Conqueror's Reign he was constituted *High-Sheriff* of *Yorkshire*. *Dugdale*'s Baron.

by Historians *, but is much superior to the Garrison, which *Hoveden*, &c. write, *William* left in the Castles to keep the City in Awe, which was no more than 500 Men. Here they all agree 3000 *Normans* were slain at least, and *William* of *Newburgh* writes 4000, and upwards; *Camden* speaks of decimating the Prisoners they had taken afterwards. Now how 500 could grow up to 5000 imperceptibly, we cannot conjecture, unless by the Omission of a Numeral in the first Account. For 500 Men can never be called a sufficient Garrison to man two Castles, and keep a City and Country in Subjection, that heartily detested the *Norman* in Person as well as Government, and which he was not unacquainted with.

The *Danish* General, by Consent of all, made *Waltheof*, the Son of the valiant *Siward*, before spoken of, Governor of the City, with a stout Garrison of *English* and *Scotch* Soldiers under him. After which the *Danes* retired, and intrenched themselves in a convenient Place betwixt the *Humber* and the *Trent*, waiting the coming of the *Norman* King †.

William was not slack in his Proceedings against them, for when he heard of the Destruction of the *Norman* Garrison at *York*, he spurred on to take Vengeance with all the Fury imaginable. It was now, says *Rapin*, that he had Opportunity to put forth his natural Temper; he was often heard to say in his March to the North, *That by God's Splendor*, his usual Oath, *he would not leave a Soul of them alive*; and he began to put his Threats in Execution, with great Punctuality, as soon as he arrived in the Country.

At his coming before the City he summoned the Governor with terrible Menaces of Fire and Sword, if he refused to surrender. *Waltheof* set at nought his Threats, for being well garrisoned, and excellently well furnished with all Necessaries for a Siege, and moreover satisfied of Assistance from the *Danish* Army, he sent him a brave Defiance. *William* saw plainly these Obstacles were invincible, and that he never could reduce the City at such a Disadvantage, neither durst he attack the *Danes* in their Intrenchments, the two Armies were so posted to

* *S. Dunel. R. Hoveden. W. Malmsbury. W. Newburgh.*

† *H. Hunt.*

to ſuccour one another. In this Exigency he had Recourſe to Policy, and tried how far the Dint of Money would operate on the *Daniſh* General. The Affair ſucceeded beyond his Expectation *, for the faithleſs *Dane* made a ſecret Compact with *William*, receiving a round Sum of Money in Hand, and Leave to plunder the Sea-Coaſts at his going off, he promiſed to depart as ſoon as the Spring would permit him. *Oſbern* kept his Word, embarked his Forces, and baſely left his Allies to the Mercy of the *Norman*; for which, ſay Hiſtorians, he was ſeverely puniſhed by his Brother at his Return.

This Deſertion of the *Danes* cauſed the utmoſt Conſternation amongſt the Citizens and Garriſon of *York*. They had now nothing but their own Valour to truſt to; but being encouraged by the Bravery of their Governor, who was the foremoſt in all Dangers for their Defence, they were reſolved to ſell their Lives to the Conqueror at as dear a Rate as poſſible.

William, (*An.* 1070) now eaſed of his Fears from the *Danes*, puſhed on the Siege with double Vigor, and with his Engines made a large Breach in the Walls, thro' which he attempted to take the City by Storm, and made a fierce Attack upon it, but was repulſed by the Garriſon with great Loſs. The Governor himſelf, ſays *William* of *Malmſbury*, a Man of prodigious Might and Strength, ſtood ſingle in the Breach, and with his own Hands cut off the Heads of ſeveral *Normans* that attempted to enter it. How long this famous Siege laſted, no one Hiſtorian we have yet met with is ſo particular as to mention. It may however be computed to be about ſix Months; for from the 17th of *September*, the Day the Caſtles were taken by the *Danes*, *&c.* to *Oſbern*'s going back, which was in the Spring, and the City's holding out ſomewhat longer, it may be ſaid that *William* ſat down before it about *Michaelmas*, and the Surrender happened about *Lady-Day*. This Oppoſition makes it evident that, had the *Danes* kept faithful, *William* muſt have divided his Forces; and then, in all Probability, the City had never fallen into his Hands. *Leland* has given us a Copy of an Act of State which the Conqueror did when he laid before this City, to wit, a Grant

* *R. Hoveden.*

Grant to his Nephew *Alain* Earl of *Britany*, afterwards of *Richmond*, of all the Lands of *Edwin* Earl of *Chester*, who was then in *York* against him. The Style of which Donation, as well for Brevity as Strength, is very remarkable, and is an Instance that large Estates were formerly conveyed in very few Words. We offer it to our modern Lawyers as a Specimen.

Ego Gulielmus, *cognonime Bastardus, do et concedo tibi* Alano, *Nepoti meo*, Britanie *Comiti, et Heredibus tuis in perpetuum, omnes illas Villas et Terras, que nuper fuerunt Comitis* Edwini *in* Eborasciria; *cum Fœdis Militum, et Ecclesiis, et aliis Libertatibus et Consuetudinibus, ita libere et honorifice sicut idem* Edwinus *ea tenuit.*

Dat. in Obsidione coram Civitate Eboraci.

This absolute Confiscation of the large Estate and Possessions, no less than near two hundred Manors and Townships, as appears by the Conqueror's Survey, then of Right belonging to an ancient *Saxon* Earl, was a Taste of his Cruelty; and was sufficient to let the Besieged know what Mercy the rest of them were to expect when he should have them in his Power.

William of *Malmsbury* mentions a Battle which the Conqueror gained against a powerful Army sent to the Relief of the City. These, it is presumed, were *Scots* and *Northumbrians*, for the *Danes* had deserted before that Time. It seems by it that this last Struggle for Liberty was very great in the North, and all possible Efforts made to shake off the *Norman* Yoke; nor was this Attempt made to raise the Siege easily frustrated; the aforesaid Author tells us that the Battle was terrible and bloody; nor did he gain the Victory without a very considerable Loss of his own Men *.

Earl *Waltheof*, the Governor, rendered also the Siege of the City exceeding difficult, merely by his Courage and Conduct, insomuch that *William* almost despaired of going thro' with it. But being now freed from the Fears of any other Enemy, he drew down the whole Strength of the

* Urbem Metropolim, *quam* Angli *cum* Danis *et* Scotis obstinatè *tenebant, in Deditionem accepit*; Civibus longe Inidia consumptis. *Maximum quoque Hostium numerum, qui obsessis in Auxilium convenerant, ingenti et gravi prœlio fudit; non incruenta sibi Victoria multos suorum amittens.* Gul. Malm.

the Kingdom against it, and beleaguered it quite round, resolving to starve them into a Compliance, since Force would not prevail. It must here be observed, that his Army must be very numerous to surround the City, and begirt it so close that no Provision could be thrown into it. In the last Civil War 50,000 Men, the Number of the *English* and *Scotch* Forces that besieged *York*, were insufficient, and could not wholly prevent it. However this Method took, and Famine began to rage so violently within the Walls, that it obliged the Besieged to try the Victor's Clemency. *William*, greatly desirous to surmount this Difficulty, stuck at neither Oaths nor Promises to obtain it; the Articles * of Surrender were as honourable as possible, considering the Circumstances the City was in; nay, after the Surrender, he seemed so charmed with the Valour and Conduct of the Governor, which he had personally beheld in the Siege, that he gave him afterwards in Marriage his Niece *Judith*, Daughter to the Countess of *Albermarl*; and first made him Earl of *Northampton* and *Huntingdon*, and afterwards Earl of *Northumberland*, *Anno* 1070.

Whatever Favours *William* conferred upon the Governor, it is certain the City felt none of them; and so great was the Difference in this Case, as renders the Earl's Character very suspicious. To make the best of it, it can only be said that, when the Governor saw the Affair desperate, he made the most advantageous Terms he could for himself as well as the City. *William*'s profound Policy obliged him to keep such a Man as *Waltheof* in his Interest at that Time, but he trusted him no farther than he could see him; and in a small Time let him both see and feel his Error, for he took off his Head on Account of a Conspiracy which *Waltheof* himself first informed him of †.

Thus fell the last of the *Saxon* Earls of *Northumberland*, with the Honour of being the first Nobleman that was ever beheaded in *England*. *Morchar* and *Edwin* not caring to trust the Conqueror's Mercy, found Means to escape out of the City before the Surrender; but being hunted from Place to Place by this insatiable Blood-Hound, the two Brothers at last met the same Fate, and had the Misfortune to be both murdered in a Mutiny of their

* *M. Paris.* † *R. Hoveden.*

their own Men. Prince *Edgar* likewise escaped into *Scotland* †.

Whatever Articles the Governor had stipulated for in the Surrender in Behalf of the City and Citizens, they were little regarded by the Conqueror. *Malmsbury* says, that he looked upon this Place as the only Nest of Rebellion in the Kingdom; he supposed them Abettors in the Destruction of the *Norman* Garrison, and therefore they were to feel his fiercest Vengeance. He razed the City to the Ground, and with it fell ‡ all the principal Nobility and Gentry, and most of the other Inhabitants; the few that were saved were forced to purchase their Lives with such large Fines, that they were reduced to the utmost Penury to discharge them. The *English* and *Scotch* Garrison, notwithstanding the Articles, all perished; and thus, says our Author, was this noble City wasted by Famine, Fire and Sword, to the very Roots. Nor did his implacable Malice stop here, but, lest the Country should be capable of supporting the City in this dreadful Calamity, he laid all waste betwixt *York* and *Durham*; destroyed or drove out the Inhabitants, and made the Country so desolate, that for nine Years after neither Plow nor Spade was put into the Ground. If any of the wretched People escaped the Sword, they were but reserved for a much worse Fate, being forced for Sustenance, thro' Famine, to eat Dogs, Cats, Horses, and even Human Flesh, to preserve their miserable Lives. Thus was our City, and even our whole Country, so entirely wasted and destroyed, except the Lands belonging to St. *John* of *Beverley* *, which the Tyrant thought fit to spare, that no Words can either come up to the Description; nor, if they did, would they find the least Belief in the Recital. Hear then the Historians, who wrote the nearest those Times, in their own Phrase and Diction.

And

† *Ingulphus*

‡ *Et tunc quidem cum civitate omnis nobilitas popularis emarcuit, falce belli demessa.* Gul. Malm.

* He had sent a Commander and a Party out to destroy this Country too, but the Officer chanced to fall from his Horse in his March thither, and broke his Neck in such Manner, that his Face was turned quite backward; when it was told to the King, he believed it an Omen sent from St. *John* to warn him to spare his Terrritories, and therefore desisted from spoiling those Parts. *Knighton*

And first, *William* the Librarian of *Malmsbury* †, who, though a *Norman*, has not excused his Countryman the Conqueror; but has done him ample Justice, as the following Quotation will testify:

EBORACVM Urbs *ampla et* Metropolis *elegantiæ* Romanæ *præferens indicium, a duabus partibus* Husæ *fluminis ædificata, includit in medio sinus sui naves a* Germania *et* Hibernia *venientes. Furori aquilonalium gentium prima semper obnoxia, barbaricos* Danorum *motus, toto tempore quo dominati sunt in* Anglia, *excepit et ingemuit, quapropter multis ruinis quassata. Ultima peste sub* Gulielmo *rege concidit, qui urbanis iratus, quod* Danis *adventantibus receptui et consultui fuissent, prius inedia, mox flammâ civitatem confecit. Regionis etiam totius vicos et agros corrumpi, fructus et fruges igne vel aquâ labefactari jussit. Ita provinciæ quondam fertilis nervi, præda, incendio, sanguine succisi. Humus per sexaginta milliaria omnifariam inculta, nudum omnium solum ad hoc usque tempus. Urbes olim præclaras, turres proceritate sua in cœlum minantes, agros lætos pascuis, irriguos fluviis, siquis modo vidit peregrinus, ingemit; si vetus incola, non agnoscit.*

What *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Roger Hoveden*, *William* of *Newburgh*, *Knighton*, &c. write of this Tragedy, may be all comprehended in old *Simeon*'s Words. ‡

Normannis Angliam *vastantibus in* Northimbria, *et in quibusdam aliis provinciis anno præcedenti, præsenti et subsequenti fere per totam* ANGLIAM, *sed maxime per* NORTHYMBRAM *et per contiguas illi provincias adeo fames prævaluit, ut homines humanas, equinas, caninas, et catinas carnes, et quicquid usus abhorret, cogente inedia, comederent. Alii vero in servitutem perpetuam sese venderent, dummodo qualitercunque miserabilem vitam sustentarent, alii vero extra patriam profecturi in exilium, medio itinere deficientes animas emiserunt. Erat horror ad intuendum per domos, plateas et itinera cadavera dissolvi, et tabascentia putredine cum fœtore horrendo scaturire vermibus. Neque enim supererat qui ea humo cooperiret, omnibus vel extinctis gladio vel fame, vel propter famem paternum solum relinquentibus. Interia ita terra cultore destituta, lata ubique solitudo patebat per novem annos. Inter* Eboracum *et* Dunelmum

† *Gul. Malm.* vix Temp. *R. Step.*

‡ *Sim. Dun.* vix. An. 1164.

Dunelmum *nusquam villa inhabitata, bestiarum tantum et latronum latibula, magnæ itinerantium fuere timori.*

Ordericus Vitalis Ubicensis, a Church Historian, who was nearly contemporary with this Accident, cannot excuse his Countryman *William* for his inhuman Barbarity executed on this Occasion. What he says of it take in his own Words:

Spatia centum milliarum castra ejus diffunduntur. Plerosque gladio vindice ferit, aliorum latebras evertit, terras devastat, et domus cum rebus omnibus concremat. Nusquam tanta crudelitate usus est Gulielmus, *hic turpiter vitio succubuit, dum iram suam regere contempsit, et reos innocuosque pari animadversione peremit. Jussit enim, ira stimulante, segetibus et pecoribus cum vasis et omni genere alimentorum repleri, et igne injecto penitus omnia simul comburi; et sic omnem alimoniam per totam regionem trans* Humbram *pariter devastari. Unde sequenti tempore tam gravis in* Anglia *late sævit penuria, et inermem et simplicem populum tanta famis involvit miseria, ut* Christianæ *gentis utriusque sexus et omnis ætatis homines perirent plusquam centum millia. In multis* Gulielmum *nostra libenter extulit relatio; sed in hoc, quod una justum et injustum tabidæ famis lancea æque transfixit, laudare non audeo. Nam, dum innocuos, infantes, juvenesque, vernantes, et floridos canicie senes fame periclitari video, misericordia motus miserabilis populi mœroribus et anxietatibus magis condoleo, quam frivolis adulationibus inutiliter studeo. Præterea indubitanter assero, quod impune non remittitur tam fatalis occisio; summos enim et imos intuetur omnipotens judex, ac æque omnium facta discutiet ac puniet districtissimus vindex, et palam omnibus enodet Dei perpetua lex.* Lib. 4. *p.* 514.

We believe we may venture to say that no History whatever can parallel these Accounts; nor was there ever a Tyrant in the Christian or Pagan World, that exercised his Power so much to the Destruction of his Fellow-Creatures, before or since. A farther Account of this great Devastation may not be unacceptable to the Reader in old *English* rhymical Verse, taken out of *Peter Langtoft*'s Chronicle, published by Mr. *Hearn*.

Now William *has sojourned and slayne alle his Enmys,*
And to the Southe is turned, als King thot wan the Pris.

Tidings cam him fulle ſtout, that a grete Oſte and Stark,
With Harold *and with* Knoute, *the King's Sonnes of* Denmark,
Were aryved in Humbere, *and an Earl* Turkylle,
With Foulk withouten Numbere the Norreis *ſelle tham tille,*
Comen to the Earl Edgar, *with all thos of his Kinde,*
Sir Walthof *he is thar, tho with that he met finde*
Marlſwain Turkylle *Son, ond* Swayne *o doughty Knyght;*
Of Scotlande Goſpatrick, *with tham at all his Myght.*
The Normans *in the Southe were in ſoe grete Affray,*
Of Kaſtells and of Tounes, they com oute alle Day.
To York *ran ilk a Man, to reſcet in that Toune,*
That no Danes *Man the Walles to breke doune.*
Sir William Mellet *was Warden of the Cuntres,*
Sibrigh *the Gaunt was ſet with to keep the Pees.*
Thiſe tuo brought tydyng, thei were comen by that Coſte,
Therefore William *the King did turne agayn his Hoſte,*
And ſwore a grete Othe, that he ſuld never ſpare
Neither Lithe nor Loſe, Northeren *whut ſo thei were.*
William *turned agayn, and held what he had ſworn,*
All mad he waſteyn, Paſture, Medow, and Korne.
And ſlough both Fader and Sonne, Women lete thei gon,
Hors and Houndes thei ete, uncithis ſkaped non.
Now dwellis William *efte, full bare was money wone,*
Of gode Men er none lefte, but ſlayn er ilk one.
Grete Sin did William, *that ſwilk Wo did werk,*
So grete Vengeance he nam, of Men of holy Kirk,
That did no Wem till him, ne no Treſpaſs,
Fro York *unto* Durham *no wonyng Stede was,*
Nien Yere, ſays my Buke, laſted ſo grete Sorrow,
The Biſhop Clerkes tuke their Lyves for two borrowe.

The Subject is too melancholy to dwell any longer upon, or trouble the Reader with any more Proofs to make good our Aſſertion. We ſhall only ſay, that the Uſage *William* gave our City is yet felt, having never ſince his Time ſhewed half the Splendor that it did before, nor probably ever will again.

The City of *London*, though now ſo overgrown and mighty, was not to be compared to the capital City of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom in thoſe Days. " We ſhaul underſtaund, ſays *J. Hardynge* *, that in thoſe Dayes the Cyte

* J. Hardynge *floruit temp.* Hen. V.

Cyte of *London* had much Building from *Ludgate* towarde *Weſtminſter*, and litle or non wher the Chefe or Harte of the Cyte ys now, except that in diverſe Places ſtoode Houſyng, but they ſtoode oute of Ordere. So many Townes or Cytes as *York*, *Canterbury*, and diverſe othere in *Englande*, paſſed *London* for Buyldyng in thoſe Dayes; but after the Conqueſte it increaſed, and ſhortly aſtere paſſed all otheres."

Johannes Severianus, ſpeaking of *York*, and the Troubles in the Heptarchy, has theſe Words †: *Præfatum vero oppidum in id virium et temeritatis temporis proceſſu, excrevit, ut urbibus antiquis audeat ſe conferre:* For tho' we have often ſeen it ſuffer grievouſly under the *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, and other Invaſions, yet it always returned, in any Receſs, to its former Greatneſs. *William*'s Barbarity ſtruck at the very Roots of it, and his Malice went ſo far as to eraze, as much as poſſible, all the noble Remains of Antiquity it could then produce; for, ſays *Leland* ‡, *Hæc clades deturpavit, aut pautius penitus abraſit, quicquid erat monumentorum aut antiquæ nobilitatis a* Romanis *relictæ* Eboraci. And *Malmſbury* writes, as if he ſaw this Deſolation, *in aliquibus tamen parietum ruinis, qui ſemiruti remanſere videas mira* Romanorum *artificia.* What Wonder then that we have ſo few *Roman* Antiquities to produce? The Suburbs of the City before the Conqueſt, (*An.* 1072) according to *Leland* §, extended to the Towns a Mile round it, *conſtans fama eſt aliquot villas eſſe uno ab* Eboroco *milliario, ubi, ante tempora* Gulielmi *Nothi termini erant ſuburbanarum ædium.* To conclude this whole Affair, the Author of the *Polychronicon* writes ‖, "That *York* ſeemed as fair as the City of *Rome*, before it was burnt by *William* the Conqueror;" and what was juſtly enough, by *William Harriſon*, ſtyled *Altera Roma*, from the Beauty and fine Buildings of it *, and by *Alcuin*, *Caput totius Regni*, at this Period was nothing but a Heap of Ruins.

Quis, talia fando,
Temperet a lacrimis?

We have now a Gap of Time, which it is impoſſible to fill up with any Materials to the Purpoſe. Our City

 lay

† *Leland*'s Col. ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.* ‖ *R. Higdeni* Polychron.
* Deſcription of *Brit.*

lay dead, as it were, after *William*'s cruel Usage, near an Age, for few Signs of Life can be met with in History about it, the Contests betwixt the two Metropolitical Archbishops excepted. However, we may imagine it had crept out of its Rubbish in King *Stephen*'s Time, and had once more reared its Head, when another unhappy Accident befel it. A casual Fire (*Anno* 1137) burnt down the Cathedral Church, St. *Mary*'s Abbey †, St. *Leonard*'s Hospital, with 39 Parish Churches in the City, and *Trinity* Church in the Suburbs. Mr. *Camden* writes that the famous Library in the Cathedral, mentioned above, was destroyed by this Fire; but *R. Hoveden* dates its Destruction more justly from the former Conflagration. The Hand of Fate was still heavy upon us, and this repeated Blow was sensibly felt by the Inhabitants, who were reduced so low by it, that their Churches, especially the Cathedral, lay a long Time in Rubbish, for Want of Means to re-erect them. In King *Stephen*'s Time, besides the bloody Wars that occupied his whole Reign, *England* may be said to be all in a Flame, there being no less than twenty Cities and chief Towns casually burnt in a very short Space, (*Anno* 1138) amongst which ours had the Misfortune to be the greatest Sufferer.

David, King of *Scotland*, knowing the Nation was divided into two great Parties, and a bloody Civil War begun betwixt *Maud* the Empress and *Stephen*, took this Opportunity to enter *England* with a powerful Army ‡, and sending his Horse abroad into the Country, commanded them to waste and spoil all before them. In the mean Time he purposed to besiege *York*, which, if he could have taken, he determined to have made a Frontier Town against *Stephen* and his Adherents; wherefore calling in his Horse, he marched towards the City, and sat down before it.

In the mean Time Archbishop *Thurstan*, whom *Stephen* had made Lieutenant-Governor of the North, called together the Nobility and Gentry of the Counties, and those adjoining to the City of *York*, whose Names are thus recorded by *Richard*, Prior of *Hexham* §: *William de Albemarl* ||, *Walter de Gant*, *Robert de Brus*, *Roger de Mowbray*, *Walter Espec*, *Ilbert de Lacy*, *William de*

† *Stowe*, &c. ‡ *Hollingshead*. § *Richard Hagust*.

|| Made the first Earl of *York*, by *Stephen*. Chron. *Sax*. p. 241.

de Percy, *Richard de Curcy*, *William Fossard*, and *Robert de Stouteville*, all ancient Barons of this County, with *William Peverel* and *Geofrey Halsaline*, of *Nottinghamshire*, and *Robert de Ferrers*, of *Derbyshire*. These Barons, enraged to see their Country so miserably wasted by the *Scots*, raised Forces, and, being encouraged by an Oration the Archbishop made to them, marched against the Enemy with great Bravery. The King of *Scotland* did not wait their coming, but drew his Army from before *York*, and retired Northward with some Precipitation. The *English* Lords came up with him at *Northallerton*, where a terrible Battle was fought, and the *Scots* were entirely routed, 10,000 of their Men being slain upon the Spot. This Battle is called, by Historians, *Bellum Standardi*, or the Battle of the Standard; whence, says the Prior, *Hugo de Sotavagina*, Archdeacon of *York* at that Time, wrote the following Distich on the Ensign erected in the Field of Battle:

Dicitur a Stando Standardum, *quod stetit illic*
Militiæ probitas vincere sive mori.

Standard from *Staud* this Fight we aptly call,
Our Men here stood, to conquer or to fall.

And now, instead of terrible Wars, Fire, Famine, Murders, and Desolations, which we have been all along obliged to stick to in these historical Annals for many Ages last past, the Tables are turned to give an Account of Parliaments, Conventions, Coronations, Royal Marriages and Interviews, which our City has been honoured with in some succeeding Years from this Period. Blood and Fire will for a Time be Strangers, except in some Matters of much less Moment, to our Subject; and must give Way to a more pleasant Recital of the Pomps and Ceremonies of our former *English* Monarchs, displayed in our ancient City on several Occasions. This will require the Skill of both the Politician and Courtier, to set them forth in the Colours they deserve; for Want of which Abilities, we must be obliged to wave a great many Flourishes naturally arising in our Way; and the Reader must be content with a plain Relation of Matter of Fact, as we find it delivered by original Historians.

Our City continued in a State of profound Peace for some Ages after this; for though the *Scotch* Wars were

violent enough in ſome of the ſucceeding Reigns, yet they were to the Northward of us, and never reached *York* but once, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper Place. The Miſeries of the foregoing Ages, and the Happineſs of this, in Relation to our City, is ſung by a *Scotch* Poet and Hiſtorian in theſe Lines *,

Viſito quam felix Ebraucus *condidit urbem,*
Petro *ſe debet pontificalis apex.*
Civibus hæc toties viduata, noviſque repleta,
Diruta proſpexit mænia ſæpe ſua.
Quid manus hoſtilis queat eſt experta frequenter.
Sed quid? nunc pacis otia longa fovent.

Thus engliſhed †

There happy *Ebrank*'s loſty Towers appear,
Who owe their Mitre to St. *Peter*'s Care.
How oft in Duſt the hapleſs Town hath lain?
How oft its Walls have chang'd? how oft its Men?
How oft the Rage of Sword and Fire has mourn'd?
But now's long Joy and laſting Peace return'd.

Another *Scotch* Poet has likewiſe ſung our Praiſes in the following Verſes ‡:

Præſidet extremis Artoæ *finibus oræ*
Urbs vetus, in veteri facta ſubinde nova;
Romanis *aquilis quondam ducibuſque ſuperba,*
Quam poſt barbaricæ diripuere manus.
Pictus *atrox*, Scotus, Danus, Normannus, *et* Anglus,
Fulmina in hanc martis detonuere ſui.
Poſt diras rerum clades, totque aſpera fata,
Blandius aſpirans aura ſerena ſubit.
Londinum *caput eſt et regni urbs prima* Britanni,
Eboracum *a prima jure ſecunda venit.*

O'er the laſt Borders of the northern Land,
York's ancient Towers, tho' oft made new, command.
Of *Rome*'s great Princes once the loſty Seat,
'Till barbarous Foes o'erwhelm'd the ſinking State.
The *Picts*, the *Scots*, the *Danes*, and *Normans*, here
Diſcharg'd the loudeſt Thunders of the War.

But

* *Alexander Necham.* † *Camden.*
‡ *John Johnſon of Aberdeen.* *Camden.*

But this once ceas'd, and every Storm o'erblown,
A happier Gale refresh'd the rising Town.
Let *London* still the just Precedence claim,
York ever shall be proud to be the next in Fame.

One of the first Parliaments * mentioned in History by that Name, was held in *York*, about the Year 1160, in the Reign of *Henry* the Second. At this Convention, as *Buchanan* calls it, *Malcolm* the *Scotch* King was summoned to appear, to answer to such Articles as were to be alledged against him by *Henry*. The chief Article was, that *Malcolm*, when he attended the *English* King in his Wars in *France*, betrayed all their Counsels to the Enemy. The *Scotch* King, by many substantial Reasons, overthrew this Allegation; but he could not prevent the Sentence passing on him, which it is supposed was the Reason of his being summoned, that was, to lose all the Lands he held of *Henry* in *England*, and to do Homage also for his Kingdom of *Scotland* for himself and Successors. For doing the last, which was what *Henry* chiefly aimed at, he relinquished *Northumberland* of the former Part of the Sentence to him. This Condescension of their King the *Scotch* Nobility highly resented, and, at his Return, were with great Difficulty brought to forgive him.

This Parliament, or Convention of the Estates, was not the same as now, the House of Commons not being of so old a Date; but composed of the Barons and Bishops, and other great Men of the Land, whom the King pleased to call together on any extraordinary Occasion. It is the first, however, that we can find, that was ever held in this City, or perhaps in *England*; *Rapin*'s Saxon *Wittengemot* was a Thing not known in the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of the Heptarchy; at least it has not fallen in our Way to describe it. The grand Affair which made *Henry* collect his Nobles at this Time, is a Business of such Consequence to the succeeding *Scotch* Wars, that we think it proper, for the Reader's better Information, to beg Leave to explain it.

Ever since the *Saxon* Government in *England* became universal, and the Power of the Nation united, the *English* Kings looked on *Scotland* with an avaritious Eye; and took all the Opportunites they could to gain an entire Conquest over that Part of the Island. Some of the

* *H. Boet.*

Scotch

Scotch Kings held the three Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Huntingdonshire*, as a Fealty from the Crown of *England*; for which they did Homage to the King of *England* at his Accession, or when he pleased to call for it. But this was not all the *English* Kings aimed at; the Sovereignty of *Scotland* was the chief Claim, and the Ground of a perpetual Quarrel betwixt them. Nor did the Kings of *England* ever miss an Opportunity, when the *Scotch* Affairs were at a low Ebb, to make their Kings submit to perform that Ceremony, or run the Hazard of a Declaration of War against them. It was on this Account that *Henry* II. summoned *Malcolm* to *York*, before himself and Barons, to answer to a feigned Accusation, where he was terrified into a Compliance; for which he lost the Hearts of his Nobility, who were always strictly tenacious of their ancient Rights and Privileges.

In the Year 1171, this *Henry* called another Convention of the Barons and Bishops of the Realm at *York*, before whom he cited *William*, the Successor of *Malcolm*, to appear and do Homage to him for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* *. This *William* had before been taken Prisoner, and ransomed at *York* for the Sum of 4000 *l.* *William* durst do no other than obey the Summons, and accordingly set out from *Scotland*, with *David* his Brother, and appeared before the King and Parliament at *York*, where his Homage was taken in the most submissive Manner possible. *Knighton* says that *William*, with the Consent of all his Peers and Prelates, did Homage to *Henry* for the Kingdom of *Scotland*; that he likewise signed Letters Patents, binding himself and all his Successors, and all the Subjects of *Scotland*, to do Homage and Fealty, with all Faithfulness, whenever the Kings of *England* should require it; in Token of which Subjection, the *Scottish* King offered and deposited upon the Altar of St. *Peter*, in the Cathedral Church at *York*, his † Breast-Plate,

* *Scotch* Chron.

† Capellum, lanceam, *et* sellam *super altare beati* PETRI EBOR. *obtulit, quæ in eadem ecclesia usque ad hodiernam diem remanent, et servantur.* Knighton. *inter* x. *script.* In a Claim of King *Edward* I. to his Rights in *Scotland* sent to the Pope, Mention is made of these Pledges of *Scotch* Subjection, then kept in the Cathedral Church of *York*; but they are long since lost. *Ryley*'s Placit. Parl. 596. in Append.

Plate, Spear, and Saddle; which *Knighton* ſays remained there in his Time. The Peers of *Scotland*, now humble enough, took an Oath, binding them and their Heirs, that if at any Time their King ſhould go off from his Faith and break this Agreement, they would riſe with one Accord and compel him to ſtick cloſe to the ſame.

This was the moſt abject Submiſſion that ever the *Scots* made to the *Engliſh* Nation. *Buchanan* himſelf, who is mighty apt to ſlip or gild over the Tranſactions of his Countrymen, when he thinks them any ways derogatory to the Honour of the *Scotch* Name, does not deny the Fact above; but ſeems to bewail the Miſeries of their Nation, who were then reduced to ſuch Extremities, that they had no other Way left to redeem their good King, as he calls him, and ſave themſelves from certain Ruin.

In the ſucceeding Reign of *Richard* King of *England*, (*Anno* 1189) and at his Coronation, an Accident happened of ſingular Concern to our City, and attended with ſuch Conſequences as Hiſtory can ſcarce parallel; a particular Account of which, taken chiefly from *William* of *Newburgh*, and *Walter Hemingford*, Canon of *Giſburgh*, both *Yorkſhire* Monks, who are naturally led to be copious in relating the Tranſactions of their own County, cannot be unacceptable to the Reader.

The *Jews* were a People firſt introduced into *England* by *William* the Conqueror; a Tribe of theſe placed themſelves at *York* ſoon after; where, by Trade, they were grown ſo immenſely rich, that they were found to be worth the plundering both by Prince and People, as oft as they could form an Excuſe for that Purpoſe. The Fear they conſtantly lived under made them take all Opportunities, by rich Preſents, *&c.* to ingratiate themſelves with the reigning Prince, that they might ſecurely live under his Protection; which Favour was ſometimes hard to gain, ſo zealouſly affected to the Chriſtian Religion were our former *Engliſh* Kings, that they could not bear an open avowed Enemy to it to live amongſt them. *Richard* the Firſt was as zealous a Chriſtian as ever ſat on the *Engliſh* Throne, and as bitter an Enemy to its Opponents. Notwithſtanding which the

the *Jews* were undiſturbed; but, abhorring their Religion, and, as our Authority ſpeaks, doubting ſome Sorcery or other ſiniſter End from them, he ſtrictly commanded that, at his Coronation, no *Jews* ſhould appear either at Church or at Dinner.

* Some of the richeſt and principal Men of the *Jews* in the Kingdom were ſummoned from all Parts where they reſided, by their Brethren in *London*, to come up to the Coronation, and preſent ſome very rich Gift to the new King, in order to procure his Friendſhip towards them, for confirming the Privileges and Liberties granted them by his Predeceſſors. The Chief of the *Jews* at *York* were two very rich and wealthy Merchants, and very great Uſurers, called *Benedict* and *Jocenus*, or *Joceus* †. Theſe went from hence to *London* with a pompous Retinue, in order to meet their Brethren, and attend the Coronation. Notwithſtanding the King's Injunction, many of the *Jews* had the Curioſity to mix with the Croud, in order to ſee the Ceremony; where being diſcovered by the Guards, they were beat and abuſed, and ſome few ſlain. The People, who watched all Opportunities to plunder their Houſes, took it preſently for granted that the King had given Orders they ſhould all be deſtroyed. Poſſeſſed with this Notion, a general Maſſacre began in *London*, where the *Jews* were murdered, their Houſes plundered, and burnt to the Ground with their Wives and Children in them. The King ordered immediately a Proclamation to ſtop theſe Proceedings on the ſevereſt Penalties; notwithſtanding which, the Example of the Metropolis was followed by divers other Places in the Realm, as at *Norwich*, *Lynn*, *Stamford*, but eſpecially *York*; where, ſay our Authors, the cruel Commands of the fierceſt Tyrant, the Rigour of the ſevereſt Laws, could never have ſo far exceeded the Bounds of Reaſon and Humanity, as to tolerate ſuch a Proceeding.

Benedict and *Jocenus*, our *Jews* of *York*, it ſeems, had the Curioſity to go amongſt the reſt to ſee the Ceremony; *Benedict* was grievouſly bruiſed and wounded in the Conflict,

* *Gul. Newburgienſis* hiſt. *Walter. Hemingford* inter xx. ſcript. ed. *Gale*.

† *Thomas Wykes*, more probably, calls him *Jeſias*. Chron. *Thom. Wykes*, inter xx. ſcript.

flict, and being dragged into a * Church, was there forced to renounce *Judaism* and be baptized. The next Day, when the Tumult was ceased, he was brought before the King, who demanded of him whether he was a Christian or no? *Benedict* answered, That he had been forced into Baptism, but that he continued a *Jew* in his Heart, and ever should do; that he chose much rather to suffer Death at his Hands, since the severe Usage he had undergone the Day before informed him that he could not long survive it. At which Words, being driven from the King's Presence, he was restored to the *Jews*; but the miserable Man soon after expired.

Jocenus, his Companion, had the good Fortune to escape the Fray in *London*; but at *York*, where he thought himself the safest, he met with a much worse Fate. The King soon after going on his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, had left Orders with the Lord Chancellor to protect the *Jews*, and punish severely all that should offend them. But this was little regarded at *York*, for a Conspiracy was formed against them by several of the City and County; Men thirsting for Blood, say our Authorities, who wanted but an Opportunity to put their cruel Designs in Execution. A considerable Part of the City took Fire in a very boisterous Night, by Accident as was supposed, but rather imagined to be done on purpose, that the Citizens being busy in extinguishing the Flames might not obstruct their barbarous Intentions. In this Interval the Conspirators broke into the House of *Benedict*, slain at *London*; which being prodigiously strong, his Wife, Children, and Friends had made a Sanctuary of, as dreading some Commotion. But this being overcome by Engines prepared for that Purpose, they entered and murdered the whole Family, gutted the House, and afterwards set Fire to it, and burnt it to the Ground. An Alarm of this Kind struck all the *Jews* at *York* with the utmost Terror; but *Jocenus* especially dreaded their Fury so much, that he got Leave of the Governor to convey all his vast Bulk of Wealth into the Castle, as if it had belonged to the King, or was under his Protection. In a very few Days these Night Robbers and Plunderers, with greater Force and Fury, returned and attacked the House of

* *Baptizatus est a* Willielmo *priore S.* Mariæ Eboraci *in ecclesia S.* Innocent. *& vocatus est* Willielmus. R. Hoveden.

of *Jocenus*; which, though exceedingly ſtrong, underwent the ſame Fate as the former; except that the *Jew*, preſaging the Evil, had withdrawn himſelf, Wife and Children, into the Caſtle. His Example was followed by moſt of the *Jews* in the City, leaving few or none of their Goods behind them. The Robbers being enraged at the Loſs of ſo much Plunder, which they had already devoured in their Mind, threw off all Diſguiſe or any Fear of Magiſtrates or Laws, and not being content with the Deſtruction of their Houſes, flew like Madmen on ſome *Jews* that were left out of the Caſtle, and either forced them to be baptized or ſuffer immediate Death. Whilſt this was acting in the City, the Multitude of *Jews* that had taken Sanctuary in the Caſtle, ſeemed perfectly ſecure from the Malice of their Enemies: But it happened that the Governor coming out of the Caſtle upon ſome Buſineſs of his own, when he would have returned was prevented by the *Jews*, who feared leſt in this Time he might have made ſome Agreement with their Enemies to deliver them up. The Governor went immediately to the * High Sheriff of the County, who was then in *York* negotiating the King's Affairs, and told him that the *Jews*, under Pretence of begging Protection in the Caſtle, had fraudulently ſhut him out of it. The High Sheriff was angry to the laſt Degree; which was ſtill inflamed by thoſe near him, who wiſhed the *Jews* no Good, by ſaying that it was the higheſt Indignity to the Perſon of the King himſelf, to have one of the moſt conſiderable Fortreſſes in the Kingdom ſeized by theſe Miſcreants. He inſtantly ordered out the Writ of *Poſſe Comitatus* to raiſe the Country to beſiege the Caſtle. *Excurrit irrevocabile verbum*, ſays *Hemingford*; and now was ſhewn the Zeal, adds he, of the *Chriſtian* Populace; for an innumerable Company of armed Men, as well from the City as Country, roſe at once and begirt the Fortreſs round. When the High Sheriff ſaw this he began to repent of his too haſty Order, and would fain have recalled his Writ; but, to thoſe incenſed People, whatever he could ſay or do, by Authority or Reaſon, was to no Purpoſe. The better or wiſer Sort of the Citizens, aware of the King's Diſpleaſure,

* The High Sheriff of this County, 1 *Rich.* I. was *Randul. de Glanvile.*

pleasure, cautiously avoided these extravagant Proceedings. A great many of the Clergy however were in it; and amongst them a certain Friar, agitated by a furious mistaken Zeal, was violent in the Business. The Castle was fiercely assail'd for several Days together, and no one was bolder in all Attempts than this Canon Hermit of the *Præmonstratensian* Order, as our Authors stile him; for clad in a * white Vesture he was every where diligent, and crying out with a loud Voice *that the Enemies of Christ should be destroyed*, by his own Labour and Boldness he greatly encouraged the rest of the Besiegers. But being too strenuous in his Endeavours in fixing the Battering-Engines against the Walls, he came so near them that a large Stone put an End to his Zeal, by dashing out his Brains.

The *Jews* being driven to great Distress, held a Council among themselves what was to be done; they had offered a mighty Sum of Money only to escape with their Lives, but it was rejected †. When a certain Rabbin, or Doctor of their Law, who was come from foreign Parts to teach and instruct the *Jews*, stood up amongst them and said ‡, *Men of* Israel, *our God, whose Laws I have prescribed to you, commands that we should at any Time die for our Law; and behold, now Death looks us in the Face, and we have but to choose whether we should lead a base and scandalous Life, or take the best Method to come at a gallant and glorious Death. If we fall into the Hands of our Enemies, at their own Will and Pleasure we must die; but our Creator when he gave us Life, did also enjoin us that with our own Hands, and of our own Accord, we should devoutly restore it to him again, rather than wait on the Cruelty of any Enemy. This many of our Brethren in many great Tribulations have bravely performed; they knew how to do it, and the most decent Manner of Execution is pointed out to us.* Many of the *Jews* embraced the dreadful Counsel of the Rabbin; but the rest thought his Advice much too harsh and would not consent. The Elder perceiving this said, *Those that this good and pious Course displeases, let them separate and be cut off from the Holy Congregation; we for the Sake of our paternal Law despise the Love of transitory Life.* Several withdrew up-

* Probably the Habit of his Order, that being white. *Vid.* Dug. *Mon.* † *Hoveden.* ‡ *M. Paris.*

on this, and rather chose to try the Victor's Clemency than follow the Rabbin's Advice. Before they begun to execute the horrid Sentence, the Elder commanded that all their rich Houshold Goods, Stuff and Garments, should be publickly burnt; nay, even their Plate, which would not suffer by the Fire, was by an artful and malicious Method strangely damnified, lest the Enemy should be enriched by their Spoils. This done, and Fire put to all the Towers of the Castle, whilst their Companions who had chosen Life looked sullenly on, each Man prepared for the Slaughter. Being told by their Elder that those who bore the steadiest Minds should first cut the Throats of their Wives and Children, the celebrated *Jocenus* began the Execution by doing that barbarous Act on his own Wife, (whom our Historians call *Anna)* and five Children. The Example was speedily followed by the rest of the Masters of Families; and afterwards the Rabbin cut the Throat of *Jocenus* himself, as a Point of Honour he chose to do him above the rest. In short, the whole Crew of miserable Men, who had thus voluntarily given themselves up to Destruction, slew themselves or one another; and amongst the rest fell their impious Adviser *.

In the mean Time the Fire that had been put to the Castle raged much; which those poor *Jews* who had chosen Life endeavoured as much as possible to quell. At Day-break the Besiegers thronged, as usual, to assault the Fortress; when the wretched Remains of the Massacre within stood upon the Walls, and in a most lamentable Manner declared the horrid Catastrophe of their Brethren; they threw their dead Bodies over the Wall, to convince them of it; and in a most suppliant and moving Manner begged Mercy, with an Assurance of

* An Instance somewhat parallel to this of *Jewish* Fortitude, is in *Josephus*; who writes, that he and 40 of his Brethren hid themselves in a Cave, but being found out by the *Romans*, *Vespasian* offered them Quarter, which they all refused. *Josephus* advised them to cast Lots one after another for their Lives, and he upon whom the Lot fell was to be killed by the next Man, thus every Man to take his Fortune round. The Advice was followed and executed so far, that *Josephus* himself, by great Chance, with one other *Jew*, were all that were left alive, whom he persuaded to surrender to the *Romans*. But this he owns to *Vespasian* was contrary to *Jewish* Law and Custom, to fall alive into their Enemy's Hands. *L'Estrange's Josephus.*

of all of them turning Christians. But the Heads and Ringleaders of these mercilefs Blood-Hounds, of whom one *Richard*, says our Author, called for his Bestiality *Mala Bestia*, was the Chief, took no Compassion on their Sufferings. However, feigning a Concern, the *Jews* let them into the Castle; which was no sooner done than they slew every one of those poor Creatures, who, add our Authorities, to the last cried out for Baptism. The worthy Exploit performed, the Heroes ran strait to the Cathedral Church, where the Bonds the Christians were bound to the *Jews* in for Money were deposited, and violently broke open the Chests, took and burnt all the Writings in the Midst of the Church, and thus set themselves and many more free from their avaritious Usury. And, after all, each Man went his Way, the Soldiers to their Colours, and the Commons to their Houses, in as much Joy and Triumph as if they had done the most gallant and meritorious Action.

This Massacre happened at *York* on the 11th Day of *March*, *Anno*. 11$\frac{8}{9}$8. Certain it is, that the Bonds in the Church, and the Plunder they expected to find in their Houses, more than a Zeal for the Christian Religion, provoked these Miscreants to commit such an inhuman Massacre; for such indeed was their Procurement, though the *Jews* performed the executive Part mostly themselves. *William* of *Newburgh* writes, that there were 500 Men took Sanctuary in the Castle, besides Women and Children; if so, this Slaughter must be very considerable; and it cannot be computed that less than 1000 or 1500 Persons were destroyed.

But we must now (*Anno* 1190) see what Vengeance King *Richard* took on his rapacious Subjects, for committing such lawless and unprecedented Robberies. The King himself was then engaged in the Holy War; but before he left *England* he not only put forth the Proclamation aforesaid in Favour of the *Jews*, but gave them his Word and Honour they should no more be disturbed. When the News of this bloody Affair at *York* reached him in the *Holy Land*, he was in a vehement Passion that his Commands should be so far slighted; and sent Orders to the Bishop of *Ely*, his Chancellor and Regent, to go down in Person to *York*, and execute strict Justice, without Favour or Affection, on all Offen-

ders. The Bishop, a Man of fierce Nature and proud, set out with a strong Body of Troops, and came to the City; but the chief Authors of the Riot having Notice of his coming, were fled into *Scotland*. He examined the Citizens with great Strictness, who denied having the least Hand in it, nor were they aiding or assisting the Rioters in any Degree, which they offered undeniably to prove. They said the whole Affair was transacted by the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns, who came upon them in such Multitudes of armed Men, that they were not able, either by Force or Advice, to prevent the Consequence. This Excuse did not wholly satisfy the Bishop, for he laid a very large Fine on the City, and made each Man pay his Proportion before he left the Place. Hearing that this was done by a Precept from the High Sheriff, he removed both him and the Governor of the Castle from their Places, committed them to Prison, and gave the Government of the County to his Brother *Osbert de Longcamp* *. He built or repaired a Castle in the old Fortification which King *William Rufus* had formerly strengthened. The Commonalty of the City he did not molest, since their Ringleaders were gone off; but the Soldiers who were concerned in the Fray he caused to be punished and turned out of the Service; and after having taken 100 Hostages of the City, as Bondsmen to answer for the good Behaviour of the rest, and to the Charge of being guilty of the Death of the *Jews* before the King, he departed. These Hostages, we find, were kept at *Northampton*; and the Citizens made an Account of ten Marks to the King for their Redemption, after they had laid four Years in Custody †. Thus, says *Hemingford*, the Bishop rather sought to satisfy his own avaritious Temper by Mulcts, Fines, *&c.* than do the Justice he ought to have done; for not one Man, adds he, either then or since, was executed for the Villany ‡.

This

* *Deinde idem cancellarius tradidit* Osberto de Longo Campo, *fratri suo comitatum* Eboracensem *in custodia, et præcepit firmare castellum in* veteri castellaria *quod rex* Willielmus Rufus *ibi construxerat.* Hoveden.

† *Rot. Pipe* 5. *R.* I. 1194.

‡ One *Richard Malebisse*, probably of the *Acaster* Family, paid 300 Marks for his Pardon, *&c.* on Account of being concerned in the

This Prelate's haughty Pride may be shewn also by another Instance *; for the Clergy of the Metropolitan Church of *York*, not receiving him with the Honours due to an Apostolical Legate, to wit, Procession, &c. he laid the whole Church under an Interdict; and kept it on till such Time as the Bells of the Cathedral were taken down to the Ground, and the Canons, Vicars, and other Ecclesiastics came in an humble Manner and made Submission at his Feet.

Notwithstanding this terrible Destruction of the *Jews*, the City was supplied with a new Colony of them, who, under the Protection of our Kings, grew rich, and lived here in great Splendor and Magnificence. That they continued Inhabitants of this City to their total Expulsion † by *Edward* I. and that they carried on their old Trade of Usury here, is evident from their ancient Mortgages on Lands in our Neighbourhood, some of which, with the Relaxations, we here give from a Ledger-Book anciently belonging to *Fountain*'s Abbey.

Ex registro originali de *Fontibus*, p. 465. *Grenehamerton.*

OMnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris Alanus *filius* Alexandri de Hamerton *salutem. Noveritis quod ego vendidi monachis de* Fontibus *duas bovatas terre in territorio de* Hamerton *cum toftis et croftis infra villam et extra; illas, scilicet, quas prius habuerunt de me ad terminum, pro decem marcis argenti quas pacaverunt pro me* Ursello Judeo Ebor. *cui obligatus eram. Ita quod si ego, vel heredes mei, aut aliquis alius, clamium vel calumpniam, gravamen vel molestiam, versus predictos monachos de predicta terra cum pertinentiis unquam . . . . . licebit eisdem monachis cartam meam cum talliis de predicta pecunia, quas habent penes se, prefato* Judeo *vel heredibus suis reddere; licebit etiam eidem* Judeo *vel heridibus suis, sine aliqua con-*

the Slaughter of the *Jews* at *York*, 6 *Rich.* I. Again 20 Marks to have his Land restored, which was seized on that Occasion. *Madox*'s Excheq. 300. And that he *Richard Malebisse*, and *Walter de Carlton* and *Richard de Rukeney*, his Esquires, should enjoy the King's Peace to the King's Return. *Rot. Pipe* 4. *Ric.* I.

* *R. Hoveden.*

† The *Jews* were all banish'd the Realm *An.* 1290. 18 *Edw.* I. the Number of them expulsed at this Time was 15,060 Persons, to whom the King only allowed what ready Money they had to carry with them; and the King amassed great Riches by the Sale of their Houses and Goods. *Holl.* Chron. *Stowe.*

contradictione, prefatam terram in manu sua saisire, donec de tanta pecunia eisdem monachis fuerit satisfact.

In cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui.

Willielmo de Hamerton, Alano de Kyrkeby, Roberto de Muncketon, Christianis, *Leone episcopo, Aaron et Joceio Judeis Ebor. et multis aliis.*

OMnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Ursellus *filius* Samsonis Judeus Ebor. *salutem. Noveritis quod* Alanus *filius* Alexandri de Hamerton *et heredes sui sunt quieti de omnibus debitis et demandis in quibus idem* Alanus *unquam michi tenebatur ab initio seculi usque ad festum sancti* Michaelis *anno gratie* M.CC. *tricesimo octavo,* 1238.

In cujus rei testimonium presens scriptum littera mea Hebraica *consignavi.*

OMnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Ursellus *filius* Samsonis Judeus Ebor. *salutem. Noveritis me quietum clamasse de me et heredibus meis in perpetuum monachis de* Fontibus, *duas bovatas terre cum pertinentiis in territorio de* Hamerton, *quas* Alanus *filius* Alex. de Hamerton *eis vendidit. Ita quod ego vel heredes mei versus predictas duas bovatas nichil exigere possumus aliquo tempore occasione alicujus debiti quod predictus* Alanus *unquam nobis debuit ab initio seculi usque ad finem seculi.*

In cujus rei testimonium presens scriptum littera mea Ebrayca *consignavi.*

The *Jews* made Use of no Seals where the Figure was prominent or convex on the Wax, as forbid by their Laws; so it is supposed this Man, as well as others, signed his own Name, or some other Word, in *Hebrew*, as a Testimony, instead of a Seal. But Mr. *Anstis*, in his excellent Manuscript Treatise of ancient Seals, observes that they sometimes used Signatures which made a concave Impression, and brings a Quotation out of *Maimonides*, *C.* 3. *N.* 13. to prove it.

The Names of two Places in and about the City still retain the Memory of the *Jews*, that is *Jubbergate* or *Jewbargate*, and *Jewbury* or *Jewburgh*.

In the Reign of King *John* (*An.* 1199) the *Scots* had recovered their Spirits, and a War was likely to break out

out betwixt the two Nations *. But *John*, having Work enough cut out for him in *France* and at home, proposed a Mediation of this Affair; and a Meeting betwixt the two Kings and their Nobles was held at *York* †. Here it was agreed that *Richard* and *Henry*, Sons to *John*, should, in the Space of nine Years, marry *Margaret* and *Isabel*, Daughters to *William*, &c. For the Confirmation of which nine Noblemen of *Scotland* were delivered to the *English* King.

In this Assembly at *York* King *William* surrendered into the Hands of King *John* the Lands of *Cumberland*, *Huntingdonshire*, and *Northumberland*, to the Intent that he should assign them again to his Son Prince *Alexander*, who was to do Homage for the same, according to the Manner and Custom in that Case provided, for a Recognition that those Districts were held of the Kings of *England*, as superior Lords of the same.

During the intestine Troubles of *England* (*An.* 1216) betwixt King *John* and his Barons, our City is not mentioned, the more Southern Parts being only affected. Except that in the last Year of this King the Northern Barons having recovered some Strength from their last Overthrow, came and laid Siege to *York* ‡. But receiving 1000 Marks from the Inhabitants, they granted Truce to them till the Octaves of *Pentecost*.

In the Reign of *John*'s Successor, *Henry* III. ‖ (*Anno* 1220) the Civil Broils being in some Measure appeased, that King, willing to have a strict Alliance with *Scotland*, in order to be the better able to cope with his factious Barons, came to a Convention at *York*; where, on St. *Barnabas*' Day, the King of *Scots* swore before *Pandulph*, the Pope's Legate, to take *Joan*, *Henry*'s Sister, to Wife, and in three Days after solemnly married her. This was the Lady whom the *Scots* in Derision called *Joan Makepeace*. A Name not in vain, says *Buchanan*, for from that Time there was a strict Alliance betwixt the two Kings as long as they lived. There are in the *Fœdera* two Acts of State, dated at this Time at *York*, under these Titles:

De

* *Scotch* Chron. *M. Paris.*

† The Citizens of *York* were fined 100 *l.* for not coming to meet the King when he came to the City, *&c.* *Maddox's* Excheq. p. 392.

‡ *Stowe.* ‖ *Hen.* III. *reg. A.* 4.

De sorore regis Alexandro *regi* Scotiæ *tradend. in uxor. Dat. apud* Eborum *in præsentia domini* Pandulphi Norwicensis *electi, domini* Papæ *camerarii & apost. sedis legati,* 15 *die mensis* Junii, *anno regni nostri quarto, A. D.* 1220 *.

De maritagio regis Scotiæ Alexandri *cum sorore regis* Angliæ. *Dat. apud* Ebor. *die predict.*

As likewise the Jointure which *Alexander* made to his Queen *Joan* under this Title:

De dote concessa a rege Scotiæ *sponsæ suæ* Johannæ *sororĭ regis* Angliæ. *Dat. apud* Eborum, *ut supra* †.

In the 14th Year of the Reign of *Henry* III. *An.* 1230, we find that Prince at *York* ‡, where he kept his *Christmas* in a most magnificent Manner, and had invited his Brother *Alexander*, King of *Scotland*, to meet him. At this Festival were present, besides the two Kings, *Otho*, the Cardinal Legate, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Spiritual Ecclesiasticks, with the Earls, Barons, and General Officers of the Kingdom, and the King's whole Houshold. The King of *England*, with great Prodigality, bestowed upon his Brother many magnificent Presents, says *M. Paris*, such as fine Horses, Rings, Jewels, precious Stones, and various other Gifts. The two Kings dined together in publick three Days successively, in the most splendid Manner, and celebrated the Festival with all imaginable Pleasure and Satisfaction. On the fourth Day they parted.

But this Interview was nothing in Comparison to another which happened at *York*, *Anno* 1251, betwixt the aforesaid *Henry* of *England* and *Alexander* III. Son of the former King of *Scotland*. This was so extraordinary a Meeting which our City was then honoured with, that we shall beg Leave to be very particular in the Description of it from the Monk of St. *Alban*'s History, who was Contemporary and the Annalist of *Henry* the Third's Reign.

In the Year 1251, 35 *Henry* III. that Monarch came to *York* in order to marry his Daughter, just then marriageable, to *Alexander* the young King of *Scotland*; and, to see the Ceremony performed with that Grandeur and Mag-

* *Ryme's Fœdera.*

† *Omnium querelarum inter* Angliæ *et* Scotiæ *reges finalis concordia; coram* Othone, *cardinali legato, apud* Eboracum, *cum multis testibus, An.* 1242. *Rymer's Fœdera*, Tom. I. p. 400.

‡ *M. Paris.*

Magnificence that the Nuptials betwixt two ſuch extraordinary Perſonages deſerved, there came alſo from each Kingdom a Multitude of Clergy and Laity, in order to ſee this great Wedding, for the Report of it had ſpread far and wide. Along with the King and Queen of *England* came all the Peers of the Realm. With the King of *Scotland* came his Mother, the Queen Dowager of that Kingdom, who on this Occaſion was ſent for from *France*. She was of the Houſe of *Coucy*, and brought along with her divers of the *French* Nobility, who, with the *Scotch* that accompanied their King, made a grand Appearance. When they were all arrived at *York*, thoſe who came with the King of *Scots* were carefully lodged together in one Street.

But it happened that ſome of the *Engliſh* Noblemen's Servants, which were called Marſhals, whilſt they were providing Lodgings for their Maſters, fell out about them, and firſt fought it at Fiſts, then with Clubs, and laſtly with Swords; in which Fray ſeveral were grievouſly wounded, and one ſlain outright. The Officers which the King of *England* had with him, who were grave and modeſt Men, ſo beſtirred themſelves that they appeaſed this Tumult, and made Peace both amongſt the Servants and their Maſters. The Archbiſhop's Officers alſo, leſt the Scarcity of Lodgings ſhould occaſion any more ſuch Bickerings, took Care to ſettle every Man according to his Quality, in as good a Manner as the Hurry would permit of.

On *Chriſtmas-Day Henry* conferred the Honour of Knighthood on *Alexander* the *Scotch* King, and on 20 other young Noblemen of his Retinue. He arrayed them all in moſt ſumptuous and elegant Habits, ſuitable to the Occaſion. On the next Day the King of *Scots* was married to the Daughter of the King of *England*, by the Archbiſhop, in the Cathedral; but, to prevent the ill Conſequence which might happen from ſuch Multitudes preſſing to ſee the Solemnity, the Ceremony was ſecretly and unexpectedly done very early in the Morning. Here was ſuch a Mixture of Nations; ſuch Crouds of *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Scotch* Nobility; ſuch an incredible Number of Officers of War dreſſed in effeminate Habits, priding themſelves in Silk and Sattin Ornaments, that if, adds the old Monk, I ſhould deſcribe to

the

the full the wanton Vanities of the Age, it would occasion a Wearinesſ, as well as Admiration, in the Ears of the Auditors. More than 1000 Military Commanders *queintly* *, vulgarly ſpeaking, clad in Silk Veſtures, appeared at the Nuptials on the Part of the King of *England*; and the next Day throwing them by, attended in quite new Attire. The King of *Scots* was waited on by 60 Knights, and a great Number of Gentlemen, richly habited and adorned, which made a moſt gallant Appearance.

At this Meeting the King of *Scotland* did Homage to the King of *England* for ſome Lands he held of him in *Lothian*. But when King *Henry* urged him to do the ſame for the whole Realm of *Scotland*, as ſeveral of the *Scottiſh* King's Predeceſſors had done to *Henry*'s, *Alexander* anſwered, *That he came thither peaceably to do Honour to the King of* England, *and by his Conſent to marry his Daughter, in order to knit a ſtronger Friendſhip between them; that he could not anſwer ſuch a difficult Queſtion, which he had not beſides conſulted his Peers and Counſellors about.* *Henry*, when he heard this prudent Reply of the young Monarch, whatever might be his real Sentiments, diſſembled ſo far as not to obſtruct or darken the Glory of this great Feſtival by any more Diſcourſe about it.

The Earl Marſhal of *England*, according to an ancient Cuſtom, demanded the King of *Scotland*'s Palfrey as his Fee for his Knighthood: But he was alſo anſwered, *That the King of* Scotland *would not ſuffer ſuch an Exaction; for that, if he had liked it, he might have had that Honour from ſome other Prince, or one of his own Nobility; but, out of Reſpect and Reverence to ſo great a King as his Neighbour and Father-in-Law was, he rather choſe to have it from his Hands than any other.* Thus, ſays *Matthew* of *Paris*, by *Henry*'s Commands all other Controverſies ceaſed.

An Inſtance of this young King's Humanity and good Nature is alſo apparent by this: Being informed that the Lord *Lovel* had been expelled the Court for Bribery, he was ſolicited to reinſtate him in the King's Favour. He

* *Cointiſe. M. P.* rendered *quiently* in the Gloſſary. *Milites veſtitu ſerico, ut vulgariter loquamur*, cointiſes. *Sanè* cointiſe Gallis *eſt elegantia*, Coint, *nitidus, & nos* queint *eadem ſignificatione retinemus.* Gloſſ. in Hiſt. *M. P.*

He took a fit Opportunity and fell down on his Knees before *Henry*, and would not be perſuaded to riſe till the King had promiſed to grant him his Requeſt. This was to pardon *Lovel*, which was done, and he was afterwards made Lord Treaſurer.

The two Kings ſpent *Chriſtmas* jovially; in which, adds *Matthew*, if I was fully to explain the great Abundance and Diverſity of Victuals, the various Changes of rich Attire, the Mirth and Jollity of the Gueſts, with the Quantity of ſtrong Liquor they drank, thoſe that were not Eye-Witneſſes would never credit the Recital. To give one Inſtance as an Example for all: The Archbiſhop [*Walter Grey*] himſelf ſpent upon his Royal Gueſts and their Company, at one Entertainment, and at the firſt Courſe, ſixty fat Oxen. Sometimes they eat with him, and at other Times with King *Henry*; and whatever this tranſitory World could afford was exhibited in great Abundance. The Archbiſhop, like a Northern Prince, ſhewed the greateſt Hoſpitality to all. He entertained the whole Company ſeveral Times, and in all Caſes of Neceſſity lent his helping Hand for their better Accommodation; as in the Care of the Strangers Lodgings, providing Provender and Paſturage for their Horſes; in Fuel for Fires, and Gifts of Money he ſatisfied all their Wants; inſomuch that this Meeting, for his Maſter's Honour, coſt him 4000 Marks. Which was all ſown, adds the Monk, on a barren Soil, and never roſe to his Profit. It did however this Service, that by this Magnificence he added to his uſual Character, and ſtopped the Mouths of all invidious Slanderers.

The Nuptial Solemnities ended, with the Entertainments, the King of *Scotland* begged Leave to depart into his own Kingdom with his beautiful Bride; on whom waited Sir *Robert Norrice*, Knt. Marſhal of the King's Houſe, Sir *Stephen Bauſan*, as alſo the Lady *Maud*, Widow of Lord *William Cantalupe*, with ſeveral others.

We ſhall now proceed from this Marriage to the reſt of the memorable Events that have happened in our City, ſubjoining for the Reader's better Information, and for the Connection of the Facts, that the ſudden Deaths of this young King and Queen of *Scotland*, with thoſe of a Son and Daughter, their whole Stock of Children, followed ſo quick as to make a Continuation

of

of Mourning, says *Buchanan*, in that Kingdom. And Reason enough for it; the Royal Line failing by this Mortality, opened a Door for so many Titles to enter and make their Claim, as tore the whole Nation to Pieces. In the Competition, *Baliol* and *Bruce* were the most remarkable Claimants. The *English* Kings knew how to make their Advantage of this Division, and did not a little foment the Disturbance, by siding with each of these Rivals for Sovereignty as they saw Occasion.

The War was bloody on all Sides during the Reigns of the three *Edwards* of *England*, and brings our City much in Question during the Continuance of it; but since nothing remarkable is met with on the Civil Affairs of the City during the rest of *Henry* the Third's Reign, we come next to give an Account of what happened in the Time of his ever-famous Son and Successor.

After *Easter*, *Anno* 1291, King *Edward* going to *Scotland*, staid some Time at *York*, where the famous *Welshman Rice ap Meredith*, before taken in *Wales*, was brought, tried for High Treason, and condemned *. He was drawn thro' the City to the Gallows, and there hanged and quartered.

Anno 1298, *Edward* I. summoned a Parliament to meet at *York* †, and in an especial Manner required his mutinous Barons to attend it on the Day after St. *Hilary*, without Excuse or Delay, accounting them Rebels that disobeyed. Accordingly came at the Summons the Earls of *Warren*, *Gloucester*, *Marshal*, *Hereford*, and *Arundale*, with *Guy* Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, in his Father's Room. Of Barons, the Lords *Henry Piercy*, *John Wake*, and Lord *Segrave*, with many more Nobles, too tedious to mention. These being assembled, the King's Confirmation of *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foresta* was read: After which the Bishop of *Carlisle*, in *Pontificalibus*, pronounced a heavy Curse against all those that went about to break the same. And because the *Scottish* Lords appeared not according to Summons, it was agreed that the whole *English* Army should rendezvous at *York* in *April* following, and a general Muster to be then and there taken of it. At this Parliament the Commons of the Realm granted the King the Ninth Penny of their Goods ‡; the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Clergy of

* *Stowe.* † *Speed.* ‡ *Daniel.*

of his Province, the Tenth Penny; and the Archbishop of *York*, with his Clergy, a Fifth.

It was now that a Flame broke out, which burnt with Violence for near a Century in the Continuance of these *Scottish* Wars. According to the last Summons, the Army under the Command of the Earl of *Surry*, whom the King had made General in his Absence, met at *York*. The *Scotch* Lords not yet coming in, though they were again summoned to do it, the Army marched on to *Newcastle*, and from thence to *Roxburgh*, which the *Scots* had besieged.

King *Edward* having finished his Business in *Flanders*, hasted over to *England*, and removed the Courts of Justice to *York*. Here he summoned another Parliament, as also the *Scotch* Nobility to meet at it; which they not obeying, he issued out his Commission of Array, ordering all his Subjects to meet him in Arms at *Roxburgh* on St. *John Baptist* Day next ensuing, which they accordingly did. What followed was the Battle of *Falkirk*, a fatal Day to the *Scotch*, and which soon after occasioned the Conquest of the whole Kingdom *.

The King held another Parliament at *York*, *An.* 1299; from whence he proceeded, as soon as the Spring would give him Leave, to pursue his last Victory in *Scotland* †.

In the Year 1306, after the total Reduction of *North-Britain*, King *Edward* came to *York*, where he staid some Time, and from thence went to *London*. The Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer, after they had continued seven Years in this City, were now removed back again. These Courts of Justice, says an Historian ‡, were brought from *London* to *York*, that the King and his Council might be near one another and *Scotland*, to provide better for the Conquest or Defence of that Kingdom §.

Anno 1307, this great King ended his Days, in the Midst of his Conquests, at *Burgh upon Sands*, in *Northumberland*, and was buried at *Westminster*. He was succeeded by his Son

* There were slain at this Battle, of the *Scotch* 20,000. *N. Trivet.*—40,000. *M. West.*—30,000. *Knighton.*—60,000. *T. Wykes.*

† *Knighton.* ‡ Chron. *T. Wykes.*

§ *Maddox*, in his Book of the Exchequer, gives the Records of this Matter, p. 553. They were kept in the Castle of *York*. *Ryley's Placita Parl.* 225.

Edward II. in whose Time Affairs took a different Turn: For this King having nothing of the Spirit or Conduct of his Father, either at the Council Board or in the Field, suffered not only all *Scotland* to be regained from him, but also had the Mortification to see a *Scotch* Army brave him in his own Dominions as far as *York*.

In the fourth Year of his Reign, *Anno* 1311, he kept his *Christmas* at *York*, where *Piers Gaveston* and his Followers, who had been banished from him by his Father, came to him and were received, says our Author *, as a Gift from Heaven. As if he foresaw an Invasion, he now caused the Walls of the City to be strongly fortified, and put in a Posture of Defence, which proved very necessary to be done.

In the eighth Year of his Reign, *Anno* 1314, after the fatal Battle of *Bannockburn*, in which the *Scotch* Historian † says we had 50,000 Men slain upon the Spot, the King himself, narrowly escaping, fled to *York*, not thinking himself safe till he got thither. Here he called a great Council of the *English* Nobles, that were spared from Slaughter, to consult what Methods he might take to restore his shattered Army, and revenge himself on *Robert Bruce*: But they could not find any Expedient for it at that Time, nor did they stir of some Years after, notwithstanding the many Provocations they received from the *Scots*.

Anno 1319, King *Edward* being informed that *Robert* King of *Scotland* was gone into *Ireland*, and had carried over with him the Flower of his Army, thought this a fit Opportunity to revenge his former Losses ‡. Accordingly he came down to *York* in order to raise an Army, but found that City and Country so thinly stocked with Inhabitants, that he was obliged to draw from the Southern and Western Parts of the Kingdom to compleat his Forces.

On the 15th of *October*, the same Year, the Clerks of the Exchequer, by the King's Order, set out for *York*, with the Book called *Doomsday*, and other Records, which, with Provision, laded twenty-one Carts §. The Judges of the King's Bench came also, and sat and did Business in that City for the Space of six Months ‖.

Edward

* *Stowe.* † *Buchanan.* ‡ Ibid. § *Stowe.*

‖ The Precepts for this Removal of the Courts is in *Ryley*, p. 564, dated *Ebur.* 28 *Maii*, *Anno Reg.* 12.

Edward having got an Army together, set out from *York* to besiege *Berwick*; but he was scarcely got thither * when *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray*, the *Scotch* General, passed the River *Solway*, and marched another Way into *England*, where he wasted all with Fire and Sword till he came to the very Gates of *York*, and had like to have taken the Queen before she could get into the City †. The City, however, he did not attempt to besiege, but burnt and destroyed the Suburbs; which done, he drew off his Men and marched back towards his own Country ‡.

The Archbishop of *York* §, a reverend, grave, old Divine, but a young Soldier, more for the Indignity of the Affront, says the *Scotch* Historian ||, than any Hopes of Success, took up Arms, and assembled such Forces as he could raise, composed of Clergymen, Monks, Canons, and other Spiritual Men of the Church, with a confused Heap of Husbandmen, Labourers, Artificers, and Tradesmen, in all to the Number of 10,000. These able Soldiers had as experienced Commanders, the Archbishop and Bishop of *Ely*, Lord Chancellor, being the Leaders of these warlike Troops; much fitter to pray for the Success of a Battle than to fight it **. This formidable Army, breathing nothing but Revenge, followed the *Scotch*, but they did not follow the Proverb, *to build a Bridge for a flying Enemy*, and overtook them at *Myton upon Swale*, about eleven Miles from *York*. The *Scotch* Army finding themselves pursued, drew up on the other Side of the River in Battalia. Then they set Fire to some Hay-Stacks which were upon the Place, the Smoke of which driving with a brisk Wind in the Faces of the *English* as they passed the River, so blinded them that they could not see the Enemy, who came down in good Order upon them, and without any great Resistance entirely routed them. There were slain and drowned of the *English* above 2000, some say 4000; the rest, with their Generals, made great Haste back to the City. In this Conflict fell *Nicholas Flemming*, then Mayor of *York*, who had headed up his Citizens to the Battle. There were taken Prisoners Sir *John de Pabeham*, Knt. *William Armine*, and several others. Here was such a Fall of the

 Priesthood,

* *Buchanan.* † *Daniel.* ‡ *Walsingham.* § *Will. de Melton.* || *Buchanan.* ** *Hollingshead.*

Priesthood, that the *English*, says *Buchanan*, called this Fight, for a long Time after, the *White Battle*.

This Battle was fought *October* 12, 1319. The Archbishop had Business enough to fill up Vacancies in the Church at his Return. But in an especial Manner he shewed his Gratitude to the Mayor, whose Body was honourably buried in the Parish Church of St. *Wilfred*; and an Indulgence granted of forty Days Relaxation of Sin to all Parishioners thereof *, who, being truly contrite, penitent, and confessed, should say for his Soul the Lord's Prayer, and the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin. A Chantry was also founded for him in the same Church †.

King *Edward* hearing of this Overthrow as he lay before *Berwick*, raised the Siege and retired to *York*.

Whatever were the Misfortunes in the Reign of this King, they were chiefly owing to the Civil Dissentions in *England* betwixt him and his Uncle *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, with other great Lords of the Realm, which gave the *Scotch* such extraordinary Advantage over the *English* at that Time: For had this King been followed with the same Zeal his Father was, he might not only have stemmed the Tide, but perhaps have had it in his Power to have turned it against his foreign Enemies ‡. We must allow this to be a Reason sufficient to account for most or all of his Miscarriages, as those who will consult the History of those Times may find. After various Disputes and several bloody Battles betwixt the King and his Barons, he at length entirely subdued them; for at the Battle of *Boroughbridge*, *An.* 1321, *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster* was taken Prisoner by *Andrew de Harclay*; *Humphry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, slain, and their whole Army cut in Pieces. With the Earl were taken many more Barons, who were all brought to *York* to the King. The Barons were tried by Judges appointed for that Purpose, condemn'd, and sentenc'd to be hang'd and quarter'd; and by the Instigation of the *Spencers*, says *Knighton*, the Sentence was executed upon several of them in different Parts of the Kingdom. *John* Lord *Clifford*, *Roger* Lord *Mowbray*, and Sir *Joceline d'Eivill*, suffered at *York*. The Earl of *Lancaster*, out of Regard to his Blood and near Alliance to the King, was sentenced

* Mr. *Torre*. † See St. *Wilfred* in *Blake-street*. ‡ *Hollingshead*.

ced to be beheaded*, which was executed upon him before his own Castle at *Pontefract*. *Andrew de Harclay* for this great Piece of Service was made Earl of *Carlisle*, but he did not enjoy his new Dignity long; for hatching an Invasion with the *Scots*, he was seized at *Carlisle*, tried, condemned, and executed, and one of his Quarters placed upon the Bridge at *York*. †

The next Year (*An.* 1322) about *Ascension-Day*, King *Edward* called another Parliament at *York* ‡, wherein he exerted the regal Power to some Purpose. The whole Decree, which had been passed at *London* against his Favourites the *Spencers*, was thoroughly examined and intirely disannulled, and the *Spencers* restored to all their Lands and Offices. The Lord *Hugh Spencer*, the Father, was made Earl of *Winchester*; the Lord *Andrew Harclay*, as mentioned above, Earl of *Carlisle*. In this Parliament were also disinherited all that had bore Arms against the King, and sided with the Barons. Here also the King made *Robert Baldock*, a Man very ill beloved, Lord Chancellor.

At this Parliament the King caused all the Ordinances made by the Barons to be examined by Men skilled in the Laws; and such as were thought necessary to be established, he commanded to be called *Statutes*. A great Subsidy was now granted to the King by the Temporality; and the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* gave Fivepence out of every Mark; those of this Province Fourpence.

With this Supply *Edward* raised so great an Army, that he thought nothing could resist it, and marched into *Scotland*: But his ill Fortune still pursued him; for meeting with no Forage to support his Troops, the *Scots* having purposely destroyed it, he was obliged to retire into *England*. *Robert* the *Scotch* King, perceiving this, watched his Motions so narrowly, that he surprized him at Dinner; some say in *Byland* Abby, about fourteen Miles from *York*, and falling upon his Forces unawares,

* This Judgment is inrolled in the *King's Bench, Hilary Term*, 18 *Ed.* II. *Rot.* 34.

† *Dug.* Bar.

‡ An Act of State is in the *Fœdera*, with this Title: *De parliamento nuper apud* Ripon *summonito, apud* Ebor. *tenend. teste Rege apud* Ebor. 4 *die* Novembris, 1322.

they were easily routed and put to Flight *. The *Scots* took several Prisoners, amongst whom was *John de Dreux*, Earl of *Richmond* and Duke of *Britain*. The King himself narrowly escaped, by the Goodness of his Horse, to the City of *York*, where he staid some Months, kept his *Christmas*, and diverted the Chagrin his last Overthrow had given him by all the Amusements he could compass.

In short, the whole Life of this unfortunate Prince was almost a continued Series of ill Accidents; yet he was a Prince, says *Daniel*, rather weak than wicked; and whatever Exorbitancies he might commit, he was outdone by his People, adds he, in the rough and scandalous Usage he received from them most of his Reign; and being at last deposed by his Queen and Son, he was barbarously murdered in his Imprisonment in *Berkly* Castle, which is one Instance of King *Charles* the First's remarkable Annotation, *That there is but a small Step betwixt the Prisons and Graves of Princes.*

Edward III. was crowned King of *England* (*An.* 1327) at fourteen Years of Age. In the very first Year of his Reign the *Scots* entered *England* with two powerful Armies, under the Conduct of two famous Generals, *Thomas Randolph* and *James Douglas*. These were sent, says *Buchanan*, with 20,000 gallant Light Horse, but no Foot, by King *Robert*, and penetrated as far as *Stanhope-Park* in *Weardale*. When the young King was apprised of this, he ordered a general Rendezvous of the whole Army at *York*, in order to put a Stop to these bold Invaders. The *Scots* had then so mean an Opinion of the *English* Valour, occasioned by their many Victories in the last Reign, that they derided them in the most scurrilous Manner, and got this Distich put up over the Church-Door of St. *Peter's*, opposite to *Staingate* in *York*, says our Author, when the King was in the City. †

Long Beards heartless, painted Hoods witless,
Gay Coats graceless, makes England *thriftless.*

This Taunt was thrown at the *English* in those Days, say our Historians, as well upon Account of their Pusillanimity, as their Dress and Length of Beard; but it was

* *Buchanan.* † *Hollingshead, &c.*

was not long before these Deriders of *English* Manhood were called to so strict an Account, that the Smart of it was felt for some Ages after.

Whilst the King lay at *York*, preparing for this Expedition against the *Scots*, there came to his Aid *John* Lord *Beaumont* of *Hainault*, said to be one of the most gallant Knights then in the World. *Froisart* has given us the Names of divers other Knights and Commanders that accompanied this Lord, which, with his own Retinue, made up 500 Men. *Knighton* says the Number of all the Foreigners, that came to gain Honour under this hopeful young King, amounted to 2000. The King assigned Lodgings to most of these Strangers in the Suburbs; but to Lord *John* himself he allotted an Abby of White Monks * in the City for the Residence of him and his Attendants. The King, with the Queen-Mother, lodged in the Monastery belonging to the Friers Minors †, which must have been a stately Building in those Days; for we are told they each kept Court apart in it. The King's was very magnificent in order to do Honour to the Strangers, and such Care was taken that Provisions of all Kinds were both plentiful and cheap. The City and Country, says our Authority, were rich, and flourished in Abundance; and tho' the King laid here six Weeks with an Army of 60,000 Men about him, yet all that Time the Price of Provisions was nothing raised, but every Thing was sold as reasonable as it was before. There was Plenty of *Rhenish*, *Gascoign*, and *Anjovan* Wines ‡, with Pullein, Wild Fowl, and other Provision of that Kind at moderate Rates. Hay, Oats, *&c.* were daily brought to the Strangers Lodgings for their Use; so that they had great Reason to be well satisfied with their Entertainment.

But this Prosperity had liked to have proved very fatal to them; for presuming much on the King's Favour and Protection, they carried themselves with all imaginable Haughtiness towards his Subjects. The *English* resented this Usage as they ought, and a Contention begun, which ended not without much Bloodshed on both Sides.

On

* *Froisart.*

† *La maison de freres mineurs.* Froisart.

‡ *Froisart* calls it *Vin d'Aussois*, which his Annotator supposes to W. . e of *Alsace sur de Rhine.*

On *Trinity-Sunday* the King, for the Sake of these strange Lords, held a solemn and magnificent Feast at the Friary aforesaid *. To his usual Attendance of 500 Knights, he then added 50 more; and the Queen, his Mother, had in her Retinue 60 Ladies of the greatest Rank and Beauty in the Kingdom. There was that Day, says our Author, a most splendid Entertainment, and a truly royal Shew of whatever was choice and excellent: At Night there was a most gallant Ball; but whilst the Lords and Ladies were in the Midst of their Diversions, a strange and hideous Noise interrupted them, and alarmed the whole Court. It seems the Servants and Pages of these foreign Auxiliaries had, by their Insolence, so exasperated the Minds of some *English* Archers †, who lodged with them in the Suburbs, that a great Fray began amongst them. This Discord continually increased, new Abettors successively coming in on each Side, till near 3000 of the Archers being gathered together, many of the *Hainaulters* were slain, and the rest flying were fain to enter their Lodgings, and fortify themselves as well as they could against the Fury of their Enemies. Most Part of the Knights their Commanders were at Court; but on the first Noise of the Fray they hastened to their Lodgings to defend themselves and their People. Some Part of the City was fired in the Disturbance, many of the *Hainaulters* were slain and more hurt; but at last, by the Authority of the King, and earnest Endeavours of the Queen-Mother, who had a great Affection for the Foreigners, the Archers were stayed, and the Quarrel ceased for that Time. ‡ But that very Night the Strangers, not so much thinking of Sleep as Revenge, being now headed by their Commanders, arose privately, and joining together set upon the Archers of *Lincolnshire* and *Northamptonshire*, for the Men of each County were marshalled and quartered by themselves, and slew 300 of them. In the Morning they certainly had paid dear for this desperate Action, for a Body of 6000 *English* Soldiers had combined together to kill them every Man, either within Doors or without, as they could come at them; but that the King took Care to protect his Foreigners, by setting strong Guards about their Lodgings, and displacing

* *Froisart.* † *Knighton.* ‡ *Froisart.*

placing the Archers from their former Quarters. However the Strangers were so uneasy that they scarce durst sleep, but kept good Watch, their Horses ready saddled and their Arms at Hand for a Month together after this; so well they knew it behoved them, says *Joshua Barnes**, to look about them after such an egregious Affront to the common Soldiery of *England*. Of the *English* slain in this Conflict, there were 80 *Lincolnshire* Men † buried under one Stone in the Church-Yard belonging to the now demolished Church of St. *Clement* in *Fossgate*.

King *Edward* had lain at *York* with his vast Army for three Weeks, when the *Scotch* Ambassadors arrived there in order to treat of Peace; and when in three Weeks more no Terms of Accommodation could be agreed on betwixt the two contending Powers, the Ambassadors returned, and the King gave Command that in a Week's Time every Man should be ready to march against the Enemy; that such, to whom the Care was committed, should find and provide Carts, Waggons, *&c.* for the Carriage of Tents, Pavillions, and other Warlike Preparations proper for the Expedition. This done, at the Day appointed the King and all his Barons, with their whole Army, began their March from *York*, all gallantly armed, with Trumpets sounding, and Banners waving in the Wind. *J. Barnes* has collected the Names of many Nobles who were with the King at *York*, and attended him in this Expedition, which would be too tedious here to mention. But we must not omit taking Notice, that the foreign Troops, both in their March and in their Quarters, were placed immediately next the King's own Guards, as well to secure them from the Archers, who still meditated Revenge, as to do them the greater Honour; and to let the whole Army know, that whoever sought their Damage, would at the same Time highly trespass upon the King himself.

In the *Fœdera* we find a Mandate from the King for putting the City of *York* into a Posture of Defence, which

* *J. Barnes's Edward* III.

† The *Henauders* and the *Englishmen* faute by Chaunce on *Trinite Sundaye* at *York*, where 80 *Lincolnshiremen* were sleyne, and buried under a Stone in St. *Clement* Chirch Trove in *Fossgate*. *Leland Coll.* out of a Chronique in *Peter College* Library.

which we shall beg Leave to give the following Translation of: *

The King to his well-beloved the Mayor and Bailiffs of his City of York, *greeting.*

SINCE the *Scots*, our Enemies and Rebels, have thought fit to enter our Kingdom in an hostile Manner near *Carlisle*, with all their Power, as we are certainly informed, and kill, burn, destroy, and act other Mischiefs as far as they are able, we have drawn down our Army in order, by God's Assistance, to restrain their Malice, and to that End turn our Steps towards that Country and those Enemies.

We considering our aforesaid City of *York*, especially whilst *Isbell* Queen of *England*, our most dear Mother, our Brother and Sisters † abide in the same, to be more safely kept and guarded, lest any sudden Danger from our Enemy's Approach should happen to the said City, or Fear or Fright to our Mother, Brother and Sisters, which God avert, for Want of sufficient Munition and Guard,

We strictly command and charge you, upon your Faiths and Allegiance, and on the Forfeiture of every Thing you can forfeit to us, immediately at Sight of these Presents, without Excuse or Delay, to inspect and overlook all your Walls, Ditches, and Towers, and the Ammunition proper for the Defence of the said City, taking with you such of our faithful Servants as will be chosen for this Purpose; and to take such Order for its Defence, that no Danger can happen to the City by Neglect of such Safe-Guards.

And we by these Presents give you full Power and Authority to distrain and compell all and singular Owners of Houses or Rents in the said City, or Merchants or Strangers inhabiting the same, by the Seizure of their Bodies or Goods, to be aiding towards the Security of the Walls, Bulwarks, or Towers, as you in your Discretion shall think fit to ordain, for the making other useful and necessary Works about it; punishing all those that

* *Rymer's Fœdera, sub An.* 1327.

† Prince *John* of *Eltham*, and the Princesses *Joan* and *Eleanor*. See *Speed's* Chron.

that are found to contradict or rebel against this Order by Imprisonment, or what other Methods you think fit.

Study therefore to use such Diligence in the Execution of the Premises, that we may find it in the Effect of your Works; and that we may have no Occasion from your Negligence, should Danger happen, to take severe Notice of you.

Dated at Durham, *July* 15, *A.* 1327.

By the KING.

This special Mandate sensibly shews that the King and his Council were in great Fear of the *Scots* at that Time, lest, whilst he was hunting them more Northward, they should slip him and attempt something upon *York*, as they had done in the former Reign.

We shall follow *Edward* no farther in this Expedition, than just to hint that the *Scotch* Army was at length overtaken, and being cooped up by the *English* in *Stanhope-Park* for fifteen Days, were almost famished, and upon the Point of surrendering; when, by the Treachery of Lord *Mortimer*, as is said, they slipped through *Edward*'s Fingers, and shewed that they were really what *Buchanan* calls them, *Light Horsemen*, by an expeditious March into their own Country. The young King, greatly chagrined at missing his Prey, when it was already in his Net, returned back to *York*, and went from thence to *London*.

Lord *John* of *Hainault* was bounteously rewarded by the King notwithstanding the Disappointment, and honourably sent back into his own Country. The next Year he returned with his Niece *Philippa*, Daughter to *William* Earl of *Hainault*, his Brother, and with a great Retinue conducted her to *York*, where the Court then was, in order for her Marriage with the King of *England* in that City.

Before we enter upon a Description of the Ceremony of this grand Affair, it will be necessary to premise somewhat relating to this Princess, who is spoken of by all Historians as the most celebrated Beauty of the Age she lived in. *Philippa* was the youngest Daughter of *William* Earl of *Hainault* and *Holland*, and *Jane de Valois*: She was, says *J. Barnes*, a most beautiful lovely Creature, the Mirror of her Sex, and was then scarce fourteen Years old.

old. The Persons sent about this Treaty of Marriage were Dr. *Roger Northborough*, Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, two Knights Bannerets, and two other Gentlemen learned in the Laws. These Persons had Commission to treat with the Earl, and choose a Wife for their King out of his five Daughters. The Ambassadors, attended with an honourable Equipage, came to *Valenciennes*, the chief City of *Hainault*; the Earl *William* and his Countess received them very gladly, and entertained them with great Splendor and Magnificence. Upon a set Day the Earl brought out his five Daughters before them, to take their Choice of. At the Sight of so much Beauty and delicate Shapes they all stood amazed, not knowing to which to give the Preference; till the piercing Eye of the Bishop observing with good Heed the Lady *Philippa* to be of a good sanguine Complexion agreeing with that of the King's, he secretly advised his Colleagues that she was the Lady most likely, by her sweet Disposition, to please the King their Master, and also to bring forth a numerous and hopeful Progeny, his Judgment prevailed, and *Philippa*, though the youngest of the Ladies, was pitched upon for their Queen.

The King kept his *Christmas* at *York*, *Anno* 1328, in great State and Magnificence; and, before the Solemnity of the Festival was ended, Lord *John* of *Hainault* arrived with his beautiful Niece and a very numerous Attendance. They were received by the young King with all the Pomp and Ceremony so great a Monarch could possibly shew on this extraordinary Occasion: Justs, Tournaments, Triumphs, Plays, and all other Pastimes then in Use, were exhibited, in order to testify his Joy, and do the greater Honour to his charming Bride.

On the 24th of *January*, being *Sunday*, the Eve of St. *Paul*'s Conversion, the Marriage was publickly solemnized in the Cathedral; at which Solemnity the Most Reverend Dr. *William Melton*, Archbishop of *York*, and the Right Reverend Dr. *John Hotham*, Bishop of *Ely*, sang the Mass. Upon these happy Nuptials the whole Kingdom teemed with Joy, and the Court at *York* expressed it in a more than ordinary Manner; for there were nothing, says *Froissart*, but Justs and Tournaments in the Daytime, Maskings, Revels, and Interludes, with Songs and Dances

Dances in the Evenings, along with continual feasting for three Weeks together.

Queen *Philippa* proved very prolifick, for she bore King *Edward* seven Sons and three Daughters almost in the Space of as many Years.

During this great Concourse at *York* the *Hainaulters*, still bearing Malice in their Hearts, set Fire to, and almost consumed, a whole Parish in the Suburbs of the City, by reason of a Difference raised betwixt the Inhatants and them. The Cause was no mean one, for the Strangers had made bold to ravish several of the others Wives, Daughters, and Maid Servants. The *Suburbians*, provoked at such outrageous Proceedings, challenged the *Hainaulters* to fight them; and a select Company of each, well armed, one *Wednesday* before Sunrising, *dormiente tota Civitate*, says our Authority *, met in a Street called *Watlingate*, and fought their Quarrel fairly out. In this Conflict were slain, and drowned in the River *Ouse*, of the *Hainaulters* 527, besides those who were mortally wounded and died soon after. Of the *English* fell likewise 242.

We look upon this Account to be true, notwithstanding that we have no other Testimony than the *Collectanea* to support it. The Contest in the preceding Year was still fresh in their Memories, and a new Provocation would easily stir up a Resentment. The Affair might be so hush'd up, out of Respect to the Queen's Countrymen, that few Historians of that Age could come to the Knowledge of it, and there is no Circumstance in the Relation which can make it be taken for the Tumult before mentioned. It is certain these Foreigners behaved very insolently to the *English* at both Times of their coming to *York*, which our ancient *British* Spirit could ill bear, without endeavouring to retaliate the Affront. The former Contest shews a just Resentment of Injuries in the *English* in general; and the latter is an evident Proof, to our present Citizens, of the Spirit and Valour of their Ancestors.

King *Edward* summoned a Parliament to meet at *York*, *Anno* 1332, but the special Affairs that should have been done at it, were frustrated by the Squabbles which

 happened

* *Leland's* Coll.

happened betwixt the two Archbishops about the bearing their Crosses in each other's Province *.

The King, in his March to *Scotland*, staid and kept his *Christmas* at *York*. From thence he proceeded on his Journey; and having pretty well adjusted Matters with King *Baliol*, he returned to this City to hold a Parliament which had been summoned to meet here on the Day before St. *Peter in Cathedra*, being *Feb.* 21, 1334 †.

Joshua Barnes has collected all the Statutes and other Transactions done and agreed to at this Session of Parliament, which lasted from the Date above to *May* 15. But as we choose not to swell our Subject with what is unnecessary, we shall omit them.

It appears in *Cotton*'s *Collections*, published by *Prynn*, that in the Reigns of *Edward* II. and *Edward* III. there were no less than twelve Parliaments held at *York* under these Years, 3. 8. 12. 12. 13. 15. *Ed.* II. and 1. 2. 6. 7. 9. 10. *Ed.* III.

At this Meeting of the King, Lords and Commons of *England*, *John Baliol*, King of *Scotland*, was to have done particular Homage to *Edward* for holding that Kingdom; but his Affairs were then at so low an Ebb, that he durst not trust himself for Fear of being seized by the *Scotch* Lords in his Journey: So he sent the Lords *Beaumont* and *Montacute* to *York* to excuse him to *Edward*.

During the Wars in *France*, in which *Edward*, and his ever-renowned Son the *Black Prince*, won such signal Victories, *David Bruce*, *Baliol*'s Competitor, undertook to invade *England*, which was then left to the sole Governance of the Queen. *David* made himself sure of Conquest, and resolved to destroy the Towns and Country with Fire and Sword till he came to *York*, where he only expected Opposition (four Towns excepted, *viz.* *Hexham*, *Corbridge*, *Durham*, and *Darlington*, which he was advised to spare, and keep as Store-Houses for his Army's Subsistence). With this Resolution he entered *England* in 1347; and, meeting none to oppose him, dealt his Fire and Sword about unmercifully, and really penetrated so far, that some of his Army burnt Part of the Suburbs of *York*, but after retired to their main Body.

Philippa, our ever-famous Queen, was then in *York*; and, though a Woman, shewed in this Case such Courage

* *J. Barnes.* † Act. Pub.

rage and Conduct, as was worthy the Wife and Mother of ſuch a Huſband and Son *. She got what Forces ſhe could together at *York*, and from thence marched in Perſon with them againſt the Enemy. The *Scots*, not expecting ſuch a Viſit, were drawn to Battle at a Place called *Nevil's Croſs*, near *Durham*, and after an obſtinate Reſiſtance were wholly routed, 15,000 of their Men being left dead upon the Spot, and their King himſelf taken Priſoner †. The Archbiſhop of *York*, *William de la Zouch*, commanded the ſecond Corps of the *Engliſh* Army, and behaved very gallantly in the Fight.

After the Battle the victorious Queen return'd to *York* with great Joy and Triumph, where King *David* was ſoon after delivered to her by *John Coplande* (who took him Priſoner) with much Ceremony ‡. The Queen ſtaid in the City till ſhe had ſeen it ſtrongly fortified; and then, leaving the Lords *Percy* and *Nevill* to govern the North, ſhe returned to *London*, carrying her Royal Priſoner along with her to preſent to her Huſband.

Anno 1348 began a great Mortality in the City of *York*, which continued to ſpread with great Violence from *Aſcenſion-Day* to the Feaſt of St. *James* the Apoſtle §.

The reſt of *Edward* the Third's glorious Reign being chiefly employed in the Wars of *France*, is therefore foreign to our Purpoſe: We ſhall only ſay that *William* of *Hatfield*, the ſecond Son of *Edward*, by his Queen *Philippa*, died young, and was buried in our Cathedral ||. And *Edmund Langley*, the fifth Son, was, in the Reign of his Succeſſor, made the firſt Duke of *York*.

Richard II. began his Reign *Anno* 1377, in the Courſe of which were no Feats of War concerning us; but in Civil Affairs, by the King's eſpecial Grace and Favour, divers Honours, Privileges, and Immunities were granted us.

Anno 1385 we find this King at *York* in an Expedition he made againſt the *Scots*, which was only memorable for the Death of Lord *Ralph Stafford*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Stafford*, who was ſlain in the Fields near *Biſhopthorp* by Sir *John Holland*, the King's Half-Brother **. The Occaſion of the Quarrel, and the King's

 Reſent-

* *Froiſart.* † *Hollingſhead*, *Oct.* 17, 1347. ‡ *Hollingſhead.* § *Stubbs. Act. Pont.* Ebor. || *Speed.* ** *Knighton.*

Resentment, are Matters inserted at large in *Stowe* and *Hollingshead*, and therefore unnecessary here.

Anno 1389 came King *Richard* to *York*, says *Knighton*, in order to accommodate some Differences which had arisen betwixt the Archbishop, the Dean and Chapter, and the Mayor and Commonalty of the City. The Affair was of great Consequence; but the King, by excellent Management, perfectly settled it *, and, as our Authority speaks, was so favourable to the Citizens as to grant them almost all they desired of him. It was at this Time (say our own Records) King *Richard* took his Sword from his Side, and gave it to be borne before *William de Selby*, as first Lord Mayor of *York*.

Anno 1390 a contagious Distemper began in these Northern Parts, and swept out of *York*, in a very small Time, 1100 Persons †; and in the next Year the same Kind of Pestilence, we suppose, broke out with greater Violence all over *England*, and, as our Authorities testify, there died, in the City of *York* only, 11,000 in a short Space.

The Courts of King's Bench and Chancery were removed from *London* to *York*, *Anno* 1392, at the Instigation of *Thomas Arundel*, then Archbishop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*. This was designed for the Benefit of the City, but they remained here only from *Midsummer* to *Christmas*, and then returned. In this Year King *Richard* presented the first Mace to the City to be borne before the Lord Mayor thereof. And,

Anno 1396, in the 19th Year of his Reign, he appointed two Sheriffs instead of three Bailiffs, and made it a County of itself; which, with several Privileges and large Immunities recited in the Charter granted by this King to the City and Citizens of *York*, prove that he paid an extraordinary Regard to it.

Nor were the Inhabitants unmindful of these Royal Concessions and great Benefactions, but took the first Opportunity to testify their Loyalty and Gratitude to *Richard*, even after his Deposition and Murder. This, though it cost them dear, deserves a perpetual Memorial, because the Efforts they made proceeded purely from the Principles above.

The

* *Causa igitur hujusmodi cum luculento consilio ad plenum regaliter discisa, reddidit rex civibus, quasi in omnibus, votum suum.* Knighton.

† *Stowe. Hollingshead.*

The Subject of the Depoſition of this Prince, and his moſt execrable Murder, is a Theme ſo melancholy, that our City, to their great Honour, had nothing to do with it.

Anno 1399, *Henry* IV. having, by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, the Malecontents of *England*, depoſed his lawful Sovereign, mounted his Throne, and impriſoned him in *Pontefract* Caſtle, where he was ſoon after moſt inhumanly put to Death.

Anno 1405, *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, was a chief Inſtrument of King *Henry*'s Exaltation; but not long after having loſt his Brother and Son, ſlain at the Battle of *Shrewſbury**, he confederated with the Archbiſhop of *York*, *Richard Scroop*, whoſe Brother the King had beheaded, and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl Marſhal, whoſe Father died an Exile in *Venice*, all mortal Enemies to *Henry*, and concerted his Ruin. The Lords *Fauconberg*, *Bardolf*, *Haſtings*, and many others joined them in this Conſpiracy. They had agreed to meet at *York*, at a Time appointed, where the Earl of *Northumberland* was to take the ſupreme Command of their united Forces: But the Archbiſhop's Impatience fruſtrated the Deſign; for being retired from Court to his See, together with the Earl Marſhal, he thought to facilitate the Enterprize by giving the Cauſe a Sanction of religious Juſtice. And having framed ſeveral Articles againſt the King, and ſent Copies of them into other Counties, he cauſed them to be fixed upon the Church-Doors of his own City and Dioceſe. This was to invite the People to take Arms, in order to reform Abuſes introduced by the ill Management of the preſent Government. The Archbiſhop was of an amiable Countenance, of great Learning and Virtue, and having till this preſent led a blameleſs Life, he was far from being ſuſpected of any evil Intentions; ſo that when he was pleaſed to declare his Mind to the People in a Sermon which he preached to them in his Cathedral, full 20,000 Men ſuddenly roſe and came to his Standard at *York*, which Standard was painted with the five Wounds of our Saviour. †

This Diligence was unſeaſonable both for the Archbiſhop and his Confederates ‡; for *Henry*, by this Means, having early Notice of their Intentions, had levied thirty

* *Biondi.* † *T. Walſingham.* ‡ *Hollingſhead.*

thousand fighting Men, and sent them, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Westmoreland** and his own Son *John*†, against these Northern Malecontents. At their coming to *York* the Earl found the Archbishop so advantageously encamped on the Forest of *Galtrys*, just without the City, that he did not think fit to attack him, though much inferior in Forces, but encamped his Army right over against the other. And now the Earl changing the Lion's Skin for the Fox's, and following the *French* Adage, *à defaut de la force il faut employer le ruse*, sent the Archbishop Word, *That he wondered a Man of his Profession should be found in such a Posture, since he could not shew any Reason why he should arm the King's People contrary to the King's Peace.* To which the Archbishop mildly answered, *That he was so far from infringing the King's Peace, that all which he did tended to the Preservation of it.* Upon this, entering into the Merits of the Cause on either Side, a Treaty was begun, and the Articles of Grievances shewn; which, for the Earl's better Satisfaction, the Archbishop thought fit to send him by a Gentleman of his own. The Earl, though he was determined what to do in the Case, seemed to rest satisfied with the Justness of them; but said, *That a Business of this high Nature being in Question, it was requisite they should meet together and treat thereof, which might easily be done, each of them bringing a like Number of Men betwixt the two Camps*‡. There is no Net, says the polite *Italian*§, so secure as that which is spread in Commendation of him who is to be deceived. For the good Archbishop, measuring other Men's Consciences by his own, hearing his Actions applauded by one he thought his Enemy, was confident he could bring the Earl over to his Interest, and therefore made no Difficulty to give him the Meeting; and, which is more, brought the Earl Marshal, reluctant enough, along with him.

At

* *Ralph Nevill* Earl of *Westmoreland*.

† *John* Earl of *Lancaster*, afterwards Duke of *Bedford*.

‡ This whole Controversy is elegantly described in *Shakespear*'s Historical Play of *Henry* IV.

§ Sir *Francis Biondi*, Knight, an *Italian*, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles* I. wrote an elegant History, as Bishop *Nicholson* justly calls it, in his own Language, of the Civil Wars betwixt the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, translated into *English* by *Henry* Earl of *Monmouth*.

At this Meeting, with equal Numbers betwixt the two Camps, *Westmoreland*, after some short Discourse, seemed perfectly satisfied, and professed, *That in so just a Cause, he himself would fight to the last of his Life.* The Generals then shook Hands in Sight of both Armies; Wine was called for, and drank about in Token of Friendship and mutual Love. And now the Earl said to the Archbishop, *That their Differences being ended in a joint Consent, it was not expedient to detain any longer so many People, with so much Inconvenience to themselves, from their Houses and Shops; but that being suddenly disbanded, it was but Reason they should together with them enjoy the Fruits of the established Reconciliation.* The Archbishop believed the Earl, and his People him, who immediately broke up their Camp and returned to the City, joyful enough no doubt to avoid a Battle, and go back to their Shops, from which they were most of them taken. The Bowls of Wine in the mean Time went briskly round; whilst the Earl's Party, scattered at first, imperceptibly gathering one by one together, grew to such a Multitude, that he arrested the Archbishop for High Treason upon the Spot, as also the Earl Marshal; notwithstanding this he plighted his Faith to them that they should not suffer in their Lives: But meeting the King at *Pontefract* as he was hastening to *York*, he brought back with him the Prisoners, who, says *Biondi*, much commiserated and bemoaned, were adjudged to die, and were forthwith beheaded.

There fell along with the Archbishop and Earl Marshal Sir *John Lamplugh*, Sir *Robert Plumpton*, with several others. The Earl's Body was, by the King's Permission, says *Walsingham*, suffered to be buried in the Cathedral; but his Head, fixed upon a Stake, stood on the City Bridge till the King, by his Writ dated the 6th of *August*, in the sixth Year of his Reign, commanded it to be removed.

And now *Henry* took ample Vengeance on the Citizens of *York* for siding with their Archbishop; for we find in the Public Acts the following Mandate directed to two of his Captains, as we suppose them to be.

The King to his chosen and faithful Servants John Stanley *and* Roger Leeche, *Greeting:* *

KNOW ye that for certain special Causes, intimately concerning us and the State of our Kingdom of *England*, we do assign you, together or separately, our City of *York*, together with all and singular Liberties, Franchises, and Privileges to the Citizens of the said City, by our Progenitors or Predecessors sometime Kings of *England*, or ourself, before this Time granted and confirmed, to take and seize into our Hands; and the said City thus taken and seized, till further Orders from us, in our Name to keep and govern.

And therefore we command you, or either of you, diligently to take Heed to the Premises, and that you should do and execute them in the Manner aforesaid.

Also we command all and singular High Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and their Officers, and all other our faithful Subjects, as well within Liberties as without, by the Tenor of these Presents, strictly to aid and assist you, or either of you, in the Execution of the Premises, being helpful, advising, and obedient to you as they ought.

In Testimony of which, &c.

Witness the King at his Castle of Pontefract *the third Day of* June, 1405, *in the sixth Year of his Reign.*

By the KING.

This severe Mandate from *Henry* fell like a Clap of Thunder on our City, and was sent before him as a Taste of what they were to expect at his Arrival †. What followed were Trials, Executions, Pains, Penalties, and grievous Fines, which he imposed and exacted with great Rigour on all the Citizens who had followed the Archbishop ‡. After which he marched Northward against the Earl of *Northumberland*, who hearing of the Fate of his Confederates, had retired to his Government of *Berwick:* But *Henry* not thinking it politic to leave so many vexed Spirits behind him, who might expect worse Treatment at his Return, by the Advice of his Council sent back a general Pardon, dated from *Ripon* ‖, and directed to the High Sheriffs of several Counties for all the Archbishop's Adherents, amongst those our City received

* Act. Pub. tom. vii. † *Hollingshead.* ‡ *Biondi.* ‖ Act. Pub.

received the ſame Favour; which, though thinned in its Inhabitants and ſtripped of its Treaſure, yet was now reinſtated in its former Privileges.

In 1408 King *Henry* made *York* another Viſit on much the ſame Errand as before; for we are told that after the Diſcomfiture of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Forces, by Sir *Thomas Rokeſby*, High Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, on *Bramham-Moor*, where the old Earl was ſlain *, the King came to *York*, where what he had left undone before was now compleated in the Executions and Confiſcations of ſeveral Citizens, though we do not find they had aided the Earl in his Enterprize. Amongſt thoſe that ſuffered Death was the Abbot of *Hales*, who, being taken in Armour at the Battle, was here executed. The Earl of *Northumberland*, the chief Inſtrument in depoſing *Richard* and raiſing up this *Henry*, after having the Misfortune to live to ſee moſt of his Family cut off before him, was himſelf ſlain at this Battle †. His Head, covered with Silver Hairs, being put upon a Stake, was carried, in a Kind of mock Proceſſion, thro' all the Towns to *London*, and then placed on the Bridge, where, ſays *Hollingſhead*, it long ſtood as a Monument of Divine Juſtice.

Our Chronicles mention nothing more relating to our City in *Henry* the Fourth's Reign, except taking Notice that in the ſecond Year of it, at his Return out of *Scotland*, he came to *York* and ſaw a Duel, or martial Combat by Challenge, fought there betwixt two foreign and two *Engliſh* Knights, in which the latter prevailed. One of the *Engliſh*, Sir *John Cornwall*, ſo pleaſed the King by his Valour ſhewn in the Combat, that he gave him his Siſter, the Widow of *John* Earl of *Holland* and *Huntingdon*, to Wife ‡.

In 1412 *Henry* V. began his ſhort, but glorious Reign, which may alſo be called a politic one; for by amuſing his People in carrying on a proſperous War in *France*, he kept them from prying into his Title at home. Our Chronicles produce very little to our Purpoſe during his Time; but our City's old Regiſters give a Mandate from this King to the Lord Mayor of *York*, to ſeize and confiſcate the Eſtate and Effects of *Thomas* Lord *Scrope* of *Maſham*, beheaded for High Treaſon at *South-*

* *Stowe.* † *Dug.* Bar. ‡ *Speed.*

Southampton in the first Year of his Reign. His Head came along with the Mandate, by which it was ordered to be placed on the Top of *Micklegate-Bar*. This Lord *Scrope* was Lord Treasurer of *England*, and had married *Joan* Duchess Dowager of *York*.

The Proceedings in this Matter, taken from the City Registers, are in the following Words:

DIE Mercurii, *viz. Ultima die mensis* Julii, *anno Domini millesimo quadrigentesimo decimo quinto, et regni regis* Henrici *quinti, post conquestum* Angliæ *anno tertio. Dominus* Richardus de York, *comes* Cantabrigiæ, *frater honorabilis ducis domini* Edwardi *ducis* Ebor. *necnon dominus* Henricus *dominus* Lescrop de Masham, *quem dictus dominus rex plus aliis diligebat, et cui contra quam plures sibi emulos gratitudinis maxima insignia exhibebat, et dominus* Thomas Gray de Heton *arrestati fuerunt apud castrum de* Porchestre *juxta* Southampton, *pro quibusdam proditionibus contra ligeantiam suam in destructionem personæ dicti domini nostri regis nequiter præexcogitatis, et per ipsos sponte voluntarie et sine vi publice confessatis, et post modum die Lunæ, viz. Quinto die mensis* Augusti *annis domini et regis prædictis, iidem domini* Richardus, Henricus, *et* Thomas *apud* Southampton, *causante proditione eorum fuerunt adjudicati morti et postea decollati, et caput dicti domini* Henrici Lescrop *positum super portam de* Mickellyth, Ebor. *post cujus mortem,* Willielmus Alne *tunc major et escaetor infra civitatem et suburbia ac precinctum civitatis* Ebor. *quam plura bona ejusdem domini* Lescrop *in thesaurario ecclesiæ cathedralis* Ebor. *existentia, ad usum domini nostri regis prædicti confiscari nitebatur et illuc veniens ibidem invenit* Johannem Waterton, *armigerum, et* Petrum de la Hay, *escaetores domini regis in comitatu* Ebor. *de bonis prædictis se intromittentes, et hoc comperto, dictus* Willielus Alne, *major et escaetor prædictus in presentia nonnullorum civium dictæ civitatis eis inhibuit, ne quidqam attemptare præsumerent. Quod libertatem ejusdem civitatis cum ex concessione nonnullorum regum et confirmationum præfati domini nostri regis* Angliæ *officium escaetoris in quibuscunque locis dictæ civitatis suburbiisque et procinctu ejusdem, ubilibet ad majorem dictæ civitatis qui pro tempore fuerit, pertinuit et debet pertinere. Et memoratus* Johannes Waterton, *asseruit*

ruit quod non erat intentionis suæ libertatibus ipsius civitatis præjudicare in aliquo: imo hoc quod in hoc casu facere videbatur id fecit virtute quarundam literarum domini nostri regis sibi specialiter directarum quas ostendit ibidem et earum tenor sequitur et est talis: Henricus, *Dei gratia, Rex* Angliæ *et* Franciæ, *et dominus* Hiberniæ, *dilecto sibi* Johanni Waterton, *armigero, salutem. Sciatis quod quibusdam certis de causis nos ad præsens specialiter moventibus assignavimus vos ad omnia et singula bona et cattalla quæ fuerunt* Henrici Lescrop, *qui erga nos et ligeantiam nostram forisfecit, et quæ occasione illa nobis pertinent et pertinere debent, ubicunque fuerint inventa, sine dilatione arrestandum, et ea sub hujusmodi arresto quousque aliud inde duxerimus demandandum salve et secure custodiendum seu custodiri faciendum. Et ideo vobis præcipimus quod circa præmissa diligenter intendatis et ea faciatis et exequamini in forma prædicta. Damus autem universis et singulis viris majoribus, ballivis, constabulariis, ministris, ac aliis fidelibus et subditis nostris tam infra libertates quam extra tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis quod vobis in executione præmissorum intendentes sint, consulentes et auxiliantes, prout decet. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes teste meipso apud* Southampton, *sexto die* Augusti, *anno regni nostri tertio. Subsequente vicesimo die dicti mensis* Augusti, *annis Domini et Regis supradictis dictus* Willielmus Alne, *major et escaetor ad hospitale sancti* Leonardi *in civitate* Ebor. *accessit et in præsentia domini* Galfridi Lescrop, *militis, necnon fratris* Johannis Danyell *Gardiani ejusdem hospitalis et alioram fratrum, quandam longam cistam in infirmario ipsius hospitalis stantem, vinculis ferreis undique fortissime ligatam, cum nonnullis cartis et scripturis terras et tenementa dicti domini* Henrici Lescrop, *in diversis* Angliæ *partibus, in ipsa cista repositis, arrestavit et ipsam cistam versus utrumque finem super foramina seraturarum sigillo officii majoratus dictæ civitatis in cera rubra sigillavit; quadam sera pendente in medio ipsius cistæ appensa, sigillata signeto* Rogeri de Burton, *clerici communis de mandato dicti majoris et escaetoris. Et contigit vicesimo tertio die dicti mensis* Augusti, *annis Domini, et regis supradictis, quod quædam navis carcata cum nonnullis bonis prætensis dicti domini* Henrici Lescrop, *apud* Seint Leonard Lendyngs, *in aqua de* Use *arrestata fuit tanquam forisfactura domino*

regi

regi debita, et facta inquisitione diligenti, tandem compertum erat, per dictum Willielmum Alne, *majorem,* Thomam Santon, Johannem Moreton, *et alios aldermanos civitatis prædictæ, quod omnia et singula bona quæ fuerunt in ipsa navi fuerint liberata* Johannæ *ducissæ* Eboraci, *relictæ dicti domini* Henrici Lescrop, *per* Johannem Waterton *supradictum, per quandam indenturam inter eos inde confectam: cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba:*

Ceste endente facte a Everwyk, *le* 23 *d'*August *l'an du regne le Roye* Henry *quint, puys le conquest d'*Angleterre *tierce, peutre* John de Waterton, *esquier, et par nostre treredoubte par le roy d'une parte, et* Johanne, *duchesse* Deverwyk, *d'autre parte, temoigne que le dit* John *ad livere au dicte doure* Johanne *par garder, les parcelles suys escriptz à la voluntée du roy, en primes quatre pottes d'argent auntiens chescun contenant dymy galon. Item une petit hanap d'or, round chasée a le manier d'un gobelet. Item sept hanaps d'argent aunciens, platt' ousque deu covertes de mesme la suyt. Item* 24 *disces d'argent aunciens, només potageers de diverses formes. Item* 12 *salsar d'argent aunciens, de diverses formes. Item* 3 *basyns d'argent, aunciens, de diverses formes. Item* 3 *ewers d'argent, aunciens, des queux un saunz coverter. Item un entier lice, aunciens, de dymy worsted de rouge noir, et blaunks, ouesque* 3 *curtyns et* 3 *costiers de mesme la suyt. Item* 2 *quyssbyns de sylk, aunciens. Item* 6 *quyssbyns de dymy worsted, de diverses colors. Item* 2 *materas aunciens. Item* 7 *pair de fustians blanketts,* 2 *carpes,* 2 *pair de hucheux. Item une ymage de nostre dame d'or coronnée, ouesque perillez. Item* 2 *petitz hanaps d'argent, d'orrez, gravez, ouesque wrethes d'une suyte. Item une hanap d'argent, dorrè, grave, ouesque une wrethe de trefoillez. Item une hanap d'argent ouesque lez armes de sire* Lescrop. *Item une hanap d'argent d'orre, chased, en mannier d'une estoile. Item* 2 *petitz ewers d'argent, d'orrez, l'une chased et l'autre pounched. Item une payr basyns d'argent, d'orrez, pounched en la fountz lez armes* Lescrop. *Item* 6 *chargeors d'argent, novelle, oue lez armes* Lescrop. *Item* 12 *esquellez d'argent, novelles, oue mesmes lez armes. Item* 12 *pottageours et* 12 *salsers d'argent, novelles de mesme la suyte, et armes. Item une hanap d'or, grave, en mannier de losenge en le pomell, un petit perell. Item* 1 *petit ewer d'or par mesme, la hanap pounched, oue une wreth de divers foilez, oue une knop*

de

de perell. En tesmoignance de quele chose, lez partiez superdictes au cestes endenteurs ont mys lors sealz, donne a Euerwick *le an et jour suisdites. Et subsequente decimo die* Octobris *anno prædicto, dictus* Williemus Alne, *major, de voluntate et præcepto domini* Johannis *ducis* Bedford, *custodis* Angliæ *sigillum officii sui supra foramina dictæ cistæ, ut præfertur, positum et dictam seram pendentem amovit et abstulit in præsentia magistrorum* Roberti Fitz-Hugh, *magistri dicti hospitalis,* Willielmi Cawood, *canonici* Ebor. *domini* Galfridi Lescrop, *cler'*, Johannis Neusom, *armigeri,* Richardi Beverlay, *jurisperiti,* Rogeri Burton, *prædicti notarii publici, et aliorum.*

The Earl of *Cambridge*, who had married the Heiress of the House of *York*, with Sir *Thomas Grey*, was beheaded at the same Time with Lord *Scrope*: And this, says *Rapin*, was the first Spark of that Fire which almost consumed, in Process of Time, the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*. Most of our Historians are so busy in attending this Monarch in his *French* Wars, that a Progress he made to *York* has escaped their Notice.

Walsingham writes, that, *Anno* 1421, 9 *Henry* V. after the Coronation of *Catharine* of *France* at *Westminster*, the King and Queen made a Progress through the Kingdom to *York*; and from thence they went to visit the Shrine of St. *John* of *Beverley*. It was at *York* that the News came to him of the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother, slain in *France*. There had been a strong Report that the Tomb of St. *John* of *Beverley* sweat Blood all the Day that the famous Battle of *Agincourt* was fought; and it being imputed to the Merits of that Saint that this great Victory was gained, *Henry*, a zealous Catholick Prince, thought it his Duty to make a Pilgrimage to the Shrine. And this is all that we can learn of this great Monarch's Transactions at *York*, or in these Parts.

Henry VI. the very reverse of his Father, was fitter for a monastick than a regal Life. His weak and unsteady Hand, made feebler by the Murder of his Uncle, *Humphry* Duke of *Gloucester*, was by no Means fit to guide the Helm of Government in so turbulent a Season. The House of *York* laid hold of this Opportunity to assert their Title to the Throne, and, after wading through a Sea of Blood, at length obtained it. It is not

our Purpose to describe these melancholy Times at large, those that choose may read them elegantly treated of by Sir *Francis Biondi*, an *Italian* Writer, who must shew the least Partiality to either House, and therefore what relates to our Subject is chiefly copied from that Author.

After the Battle of *Wakefield*, *An.* 1460, where *Richard* Duke of *York* met his Fate, his Head, which had boldly aspired to a Golden Diadem, was crowned with Paper in Derision, put on a long Pole, and placed on the Top of *Micklegate-Bar*, with his Face to the City, as *Shakespear* makes the haughty Queen *Margaret*, opprobriously, speak that

York *may overlook the Town of* York.

With the Duke's Head were likewise placed those of *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *Richard Limbrick*, Sir *Ralph Stanley*, *John Harrow*, Capt. *Hanson*, &c. all taken Prisoners at the aforesaid Battle, and beheaded at *Pontefract* *.

But this Success of the *Red-Rose* Party did not last long; for *Edward* Earl of *March*, upon the Death of his Father, waived the Title of Duke of *York*, and got himself almost every where proclaimed King of *England*; after which came on the most remarkable bloody Battle ever fought perhaps in the whole World. It was truly the *Pharsalia* of this Nation, and deserves a Pen equal to *Lucan*'s to describe it.

Edward, after the Death of his Father, being received for King, and as such proclaimed, immediately left *London* †. He easily gathered together a great Army, for being a Prince, says *Hollingshead*, highly favoured of the People for Liberality, Clemency, upright Dealing, and extraordinary Courage, each Man made an Offer to him of all he had, so that his Forces were very soon 49,000 strong, with which he encamped at *Pontefract*, himself residing in the Castle, and his Army round him. It was then thought proper to send Lord *Fitzwater*, with a Detachment, to guard the Pass at *Ferrybridge*, to prevent any sudden Surprize from the Enemy.

Henry, his Queen, and their Army, lay in and about *York*, to the Number, as most account, of 60,000 fighting Men. The Command of this Army was given to the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Clifford*,

* *Hollingshead.* † *Biondi.*

Clifford, all mortal Enemies to the House of *York*, and whose Fathers had all perished in this unhappy Quarrel at the Battle of St. *Alban's*. These Generals set forward from *York* with their Forces, leaving *Henry*, his Queen, and Son in the City, as in a Place of the greatest Security to their Persons. Understanding that *Edward* had gained and guarded the Pass at *Ferrybridge*, they made a Halt, and sent Lord *Clifford* with a Body of Light Horse to dislodge them. *Clifford* made such Haste, that, setting upon the Bridge by Break of Day, he easily won it, the Guards being all asleep, and not dreaming of an Enemy so near them. Lord *Fitz-Water* awaked by the Noise, supposing it to arise from some Tumult among his own Men, jumped out of Bed, and unarmed, with only a Battle-Ax in his Hand, went to appease them; but, too late aware of his Mistake, he was there slain, together with the Bastard of *Salisbury*, Brother to the famous Earl of *Warwick*. This young Gentleman's Death, *Anno* 1461, as well as the unhappy Success of this first Encounter, so much grieved the Earl, that after riding full Speed to *Edward* to inform him of this Event, he alighted off Horseback, and thrust his Sword into the Horse's Belly, saying at the same Time, *Fly who will fly, I will not fly; here will I stay with as many as will keep me Company*; and kissing the Cross on the Hilt of his Sword, by Way of Vow, put it up again.

Edward, who did very much resent this Misfortune, not that it was of so great Consequence in itself, but that, it being the first Encounter, an ill Omen might be drawn from it, made Proclamation that it should be lawful for any Man to depart that had not a Mind to fight, and promised large Recompences to those that would tarry, but Death to those who staid and after fled, with Reward and double Pay to those that should kill them. No Man accepted so ignominious a Leave, but all chose rather to die than declare themselves such base Cowards. Lord *Clifford*'s Success was in the mean Time of no long Continuance; for Lord *Fauconberg* had passed the River *Aire* at *Castleford*, three Miles above *Ferrybridge*, accompanied by Sir *Walter Blount* and *Robert Horn*, with an Intention to surprize him; whereof *Clifford* being apprized, he drew off his Men, and retired in great Haste to the main Body. In this Retreat

he fell in unawares with a Party, and having his Helmet off, either for Heat or Pain, was ſhot into the Throat with an Arrow, as ſome ſay, without a Head, and inſtantly fell down dead. A Fate too good for ſuch a Monſter, who, in cool Blood, had ſome Time before murdered an innocent Child of ten Years of Age, the Earl of *Rutland*, *Edward*'s youngeſt Brother, whoſe moving Interceſſion for Mercy from him might have extorted Compaſſion from the rougheſt Barbarian.

When this Conflict was over, *Edward*'s whole Army marched to meet the Enemy, and in the Fields (called by ſome YORK-FIELDS) betwixt *Towton* and *Saxton*, two Miles South-Weſt of *Tadcaſter*, found them drawn up ready to receive them. The Number of Forces on the *Yorkiſts* Side was then 40,660 Men; the other exceeded, being full 60,000. The Right Wing of *Edward*'s Army was commanded by the Earl of *Warwick*; the Left by Lord *Fauconberg*, in the Abſence of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was ſick; the main Body was led by *Edward* himſelf; and the Rear-Guard committed to the Care of Sir *John Venſoe* and Sir *John Denham*, two valiant Commanders. The *Lancaſtrian* Generals we have already mentioned. Before the Battle began, *Edward* commanded that this dreadful Proclamation ſhould be made betwixt the two Armies, *viz.* That no Priſoner ſhould be taken, but all indifferently put to the Sword; which was anſwered by the like Proclamation from the other Side. *Edward* did not do this out of Cruelty, ſay Hiſtorians, but that his Army, being much inferior in Number, might not be incumber'd with Priſoners.

On the 29th of *March*, being *Palm-Sunday*, early in the Morning, the Fight began, firſt with a Flight of Arrows from *Henry*'s Men, which, by reaſon of a Shower of Snow which blew with the Wind full in their Faces when they ſhot, were of no Execution, but all dropp'd ſhort of their Mark. When *Fauconberg* perceived this, he ordered his Men to ſhoot one Flight, then to retire back three Paces, and ſtand; which they did, till the *Lancaſtrians* had emptied their Quivers in vain. The *Yorkiſts* then advanced upon them, and not only ſent their own Arrows, which, aided by the Wind, came full againſt them, but alſo picked up the ſhort Arrows of the Enemy in their March, and returned them to their Maſters.

Masters. All Historians agree that this Conduct of *Fauconberg*'s was a great Help to the Victory. The Earl of *Northumberland* and Sir *Andrew Trolop*, who led the Van-Guard, seeing this Disadvantage, pushed their Men as fast as possible to Handy-Blows; and now began a Battle indeed! each Man stood his Ground till slain or disabled, and then another took his Place. The Proclamation for not giving Quarter seemed quite needless, the extreme Hatred betwixt the two Parties calling for nothing but Blood and Death. Ten Hours this direful Conflict lasted in Suspence, and Victory fluctuated from Side to Side, till at length it settled in the House of *York*, in a great Measure owing to their King and Leader. *Edward* was an Eye-Witness of his Soldiers' Valour, and they of his Captain-like Courage; a Sight which rather made them choose to die than not to imitate him. In short, the *Lancastrians* gave Way and fled towards *York*; but seeking in a tumultuary Manner to gain the Bridge at *Tadcaster*, so many of them fell into the Rivulet *Cock* as quite filled it up, and the *Yorkists* went over their Backs to pursue their Brethren. This Rivulet and the River *Wharfe*, into which it empties itself a little below, were dyed with Blood; which is no Wonder, if the Number which Historians give of the Slain is to be credited. Thirty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-six *Englishmen* here fell a Sacrifice for their Fathers' Transgressions; and the Wounds of which they died, being made by Arrows, Battle-Axes, or Swords, would bleed plentifully *. The Blood of the Slain, says an Historian, laid caked with the Snow, which at that Time covered the Face of the Ground, and afterwards, dissolving with it, ran in a most horrible Manner down the Furrows and Ditches of the Fields for two or three Miles together †. Not one Man was taken Prisoner except the Earl of *Devonshire*, and he seemed to be saved because they were weary with killing. The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter* fled the Field, and brought the fatal News to *Henry* and his Queen at *York*, whom they per-

 suaded

* Sir *J. Habb. Edw.* IV.

† *Occisorum nempe cruor cum nive jam commixtus, qui totam tunc temporis operiebat terræ superficiem, postmodum usque duo vel tria miliaria cum nive resoluta per sulcos et lacunas horribiliter decurrit.*— Hist. croy. cont. Fire-Arms were in Use before this Battle, but we do not find that any were made Use of at it.

ſuaded to fly with them into *Scotland*; nor was their Haſte in vain, for victorious *Edward* was cloſe at their Heels, and they had ſcarce left the City before he entered it in Hopes to ſurprize them.

Miſſing of his principal Aim, the firſt Thing *Edward* did was to take down his Father's Head along with the others that had been placed on the Bar, and had them buried with their Bodies; and then cauſed *Thomas Courtney*, Earl of *Devon*, the Earl of *Kyme*, Sir *William Hill*, and Sir *Thomas Foulford* to be beheaded, and ſet their Heads in the ſame Place *.

Anno 1464 King *Edward* came to *York*, accompanied by his Brethren and moſt of the Nobility of the Realm, bringing along with him a mighty Army againſt the *Scotch*, *French*, and *Northumbrians*, who had taken Arms in *Henry*'s Favour. At *Hexham* the Armies met, and a ſore Battle was fought betwixt them, but the Victory fell to *Edward*. *Henry*, ſays *Hollingſhead*, ſhewed himſelf here an excellent Horſeman, for he rode ſo faſt that none could overtake him; his Equipage, however, and ſeveral of his Servants, fell into the Enemy's Hands. In the former was found the Royal Cap, called *Abacot* †, being garniſhed with two rich Crowns, with which *Edward* was again crown'd, *May* 4, with great Solemnity, at *York*. Lord *George* and Sir *Humphry Nevil* now loſt their Heads in this City; and 25 more Perſons, all taken Priſoners at the laſt Battle, were here executed.

It is an eaſy Matter to gueſs what Part our City took during all theſe inteſtine Troubles, and whoſe Cauſe the Citizens favoured moſt, when we mention a Record of an extraordinary Grant from this King to them, which is in the Tower of *London*. The Patent is dated at *York*, *June* 10, *Anno Reg.* 4, 1464, and expreſſes the King's great Concern for the Sufferings and Hardſhips the City had undergone during theſe Wars, inſomuch as to be almoſt reduced to the loweſt Degree of Poverty by them. In Conſideration of which he not only relinquiſhes the uſual Farm of the City, but aſſigns them an annual Rent of 40 *l.* to be paid them out of his Cuſtoms in

* *Hollingſhead.*

† *Spelman* cites only the Chronicle of this Year for this Word, which he ſays ſignifies a Royal Cap enſigned with two Crowns, which doubtleſs were thoſe of *England* and *France*.

in the Port of *Hull*, for twelve Years to come. It is in these Words * :

Pro Majore et Civibus Civitatis *Ebor*. Rex. *Ed*. IV.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos nedum decasuram et ruinam civitatis nost. Ebor. *ac grandia expensa deperdita et onera que dilecti nobis cives ejusdem civitat. occasione guerrarum litium et discensionum in partibus borealibus hic nuper sustinuerunt quo pretextu ipsi in extremam paupertatis abissum penitus sunt ejecti, verum etiam excessivam feodi firmam quam iidem cives pro civitate* predict. *ac si esset in statu pristine felicitatis sue, nobis annuatim reddere tenentur, considerantes de gratia nost. speciali ac in ipsor. civium paupertatis et indigentie relevamen nec non dictor. gravium onerum suorum supportationem dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes damus et concedimus dilectis nobis majori et civibus civitatis nost. predict. quadraginta libras percipiend. annuatim eisdem majori et civibus durante termino duodecim annor. de subsidio trium solidor. de dolio et duodecim denariorum de libra in portu de villa nost. de* Kingeston super Hull *pervenient. et crescent. per manus custumariorum sive collectorum ejusdem subsidii pro temp. existent. ad festa S.* Michael. *et* Pasche *per equales portiones, aliquo statuto actu ordinatione permissione seu restrictione in contrarium fact. et ordinat. seu provis. aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obstante.*

In cujus, &c.

Teste Rege apud Ebor. x. *die* Junii.

Per ipsum regem et de data predict. &c.

Et mandatum est customariis sive collectoribus subsidii trium solid. de dolio et duodecim denarior. de libra in portu ville nost. de Kingeston super Hull, *qui nunc sunt et qui pro tempore erunt quod eisdem majori et civibus dilectis quadraginta libras durante termino predict. ad festa predicta de subsidio predict. in portu predict. pervenient. de tempore in tempus solvant juxta tenorem litt. nost. predict. recipientes a prefatis majore et civibus litteras suas acquietentie que pro nobis sufficientes fuerint in hac parte* †.

Teste ut supra.

For

* Several Orders, Grants, *&c.* are in the *Fœdera*, dated at *York*; which proves that the King staid near a Month here after the Battle to settle Affairs.

† 1464. *Pat.* 4. Ed. IV. *p.* 3. *m.* 9.

For ſome Years after this did *Edward*, with little Diſturbance, keep Poſſeſſion of the Crown; but at length the Scales turned, and he who had driven *Henry* into Exile was obliged to ſhare the ſame Fortune himſelf, and ſeek Protection in a foreign Country. This was wholly owing to the Deſertion of the famous Earl of *Warwick* from him and his Family's Intereſt. The Earl being diſgraced in an Embaſſy to *France* by *Edward*, who had privately married a Lady in *England* whilſt *Warwick* was publickly treating of a Marriage for him with the *French* King's Siſter in *France*, took it ſo heinouſly that he not only went over to *Henry*'s Cauſe himſelf, but likewiſe perſuaded his two Brothers, the Marquis of *Montacute* and Lord *George*, the one Lord Preſident, the other Archbiſhop of *York*, to take the ſame Courſe. The Springs and Motives of this next Revolution, being ſet on Foot in our City, require a particular Diſquiſition.

The Earl's two Brothers had a Conſultation with him at *Calais*, of which Town he was Governor; and there it was agreed that they two ſhould ſtir up ſome Commotion in the North, whilſt he ſhould land in the South. They took this Method to put their Deſign in Execution: There was in our City an Hoſpital dedicated to St. *Leonard*, where, ſays our Author *, by an ancient Inſtitution, the Poor were fed, and the Diſeaſed healed. The Intention was ſo laudable, that there was no Owner of Ground in all that County that did not contribute, at the Time of Harveſt, ſomewhat to the Maintenance of it. This Contribution at firſt was voluntary; but after, by Uſe, became a Cuſtom, and even inforced by Parliament †, and they had proper Officers to collect it for the Service of the Hoſpital. The two malecontent Lords cauſed a Report to be ſpread in the Country, that the Hoſpital, having ſufficient Revenues of its own, had no Need of this Contribution of Corn, which only went to enrich the Provoſts and Prieſts, and was of no Benefit to the Poor. It was no hard Matter to bring the People to believe this, eſpecially ſince it was their Intereſt; and the News quickly ſpreading from one Mouth to another; the Collectors were not only denied their uſual Allotments, but inſulted and wounded in the Execution of their

* *Biondi. Hall*'s Chron. † 2 *Hen.* VI. c. 2.

their Offices. The Populace being enraged that they ſhould ſo long bear this Exaction, as they now thought it, reſolved to revenge themſelves upon the Hoſpital, and even the City itſelf. About 15,000 of them aſſembled and marched towards *York*; the Inhabitants of the City were in great Conſternation at the News, not knowing whether they ſhould keep within the Walls, or ſally forth to give them Battle before their Numbers increaſed. The Marquis eaſed them of this Fear; for making a ſmall Draught of ſome choice Men, he fell upon them unexpectedly in the Night, even under the City Walls, overthrew them, killed and took Priſoners great Numbers, amongſt whom was their Leader *Robert Holdern*, whoſe Head he cauſed to be ſtruck off before one of the City Gates. This was a Piece of Policy in the Marquis, which, like all the reſt of his future Conduct, was unaccountable. To have joined theſe Men, thus raiſed, ſeemed the faireſt Way to execute their Deſigns againſt *Edward*; and there can be no Reaſon given for his deſtroying of them, but that by this Action he might gain more Confidence with the King, in order to work his Downfal the ſurer.

However, by this the Rebels were only quelled, not quaſhed; for upon the Death of their Leader, the eldeſt Sons of the Lord *Fitzhugh*, and *Nevil* Lord *Latimer*, both of them young Men, to give the better Grace to their Enterprize, were choſen to command them: Theſe two young Gentlemen were nigh Relations to the Earl of *Warwick*, the one his Nephew, and the other Couſin German; but yet in this Affair they were ſubordinate to the Direction of an elder Commander, Sir *John Conniers*, whom our Author ſtyles one of the valianteſt Men in thoſe Parts. Thus headed, the Rebels would have gone again to *York*, but wanting Artillery to batter the Walls, they boldly faced Southward; and the Wheel thus put in Motion never ſtopped till *Edward* was caſt from the Top to the Bottom of it. Taken Priſoner by the Earl of *Warwick*, he was committed to the Care and Cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *York*, who placed him in the Caſtle of *Middleham*, where being too ſlackly guarded, he ſoon found Means to make his Eſcape, and fled beyond Seas for Protection to his Aunt the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*.

In

In 1471 *Henry* was once more reinstated in his kingly Dignity, by that great Setter-up and Puller-down of Kings, *Warwick*, and changed a Prison for a Throne; but his evil Fate suffered him not to enjoy it long: For *Edward*, having influenced the Duke of *Burgundy* to lend him an Aid of Men and Money, set Sail and landed at *Ravensburgh*, a Town which formerly stood on the outmost Promontory of the *Holderness* Coast of *Yorkshire*, with 2000 Soldiers besides Mariners. The first Thing he did was to send out some Light Horse to descry the Country and sound the Affections of the Inhabitants; who finding them very averse to his Title, and perfectly easy under *Henry*, he artfully changed his Note, and gave out that he now utterly disclaimed his regal Title, and came only to gain his patrimonial Estate of *York* under Obedience to *Henry*. This politic Step had its Effect, every one admired his Moderation, and thought it the highest Injustice to keep him from his Dukedom: But *Warwick*, though he heard all this, believed nothing of it, and sent strict Orders to *York* not to admit him, with the like Charge to other Places, and a Command to his Brother the Marquis, who lay then with a great Army at *Pontefract*, to march immediately and fight him; which however the Marquis neglected. *Edward* in the mean Time was advancing towards *York*, proclaiming every where *Henry* King, and styling himself only Duke of *York*.

Coming near the City he was met on the Road by two Aldermen *, who were sent to acquaint him, *That the City could not receive him, but that they were obliged to do him all possible Mischief if he came that Way*. He answered them, *That he came not to fight against the King, nor any ways to molest him, acknowledging him to be his Sovereign Lord; but he thought he might very well enter into the Duchy of* York, *his ancient Patrimony; hoping, that as there were none could justly inhibit him this, so they least of any, being the natural Subjects of his House, from whence they had at all Times received all Manner of Grace and Favour*.

The

* *Hollingshead* says it was *Thomas Conniers*, then Recorder of *York*, who met *Edward* in this Manner; but we meet with no such Name in the Catalogue of Recorders.

The Aldermen returned with this Anſwer, and *Edward* following ſoftly after, the Citizens Minds were inſtantly changed; thoſe who were got upon the Walls to defend them againſt him, now came down to be his Guides and Conductors, and to keep him from being injured by any one*. Two of the Citizens, *Robert Clifford* and *Thomas Burgh*, were ſent out to aſſure him that he might ſafely advance, for no Man would hinder his Admittance into the City. The Magiſtrates, however, uſed more Precaution, for at his coming to the Gates, and addreſſing himſelf to them with his uſual Affability, ſtyling them at every Word, *your Worſhips*; they told him they would readily admit him if he would ſwear to two Things: Firſt, To preſerve the City's Liberties; next, To be obedient and faithful to all King *Henry*'s Commands. This Oath, however bitter the Potion was, he ſcrupled not to ſwallow, Religion in Princes ever giving Way to their Intereſt, and a Prieſt being there ready for the Purpoſe, it was given him at the City Gates with much Solemnity; nay, in his Entrance he rode directly to the Cathedral, and there in a more ſolemn Manner confirmed it at the Altar. This wilful Perjury, Hiſtorians remark, though the due Puniſhment of it was with-held from *Edward* himſelf, yet fell in full Meaſure on his Children. Sir *Richard Baker* indeed excuſes this Action, and ſays, *Edward* IV. ſwore at the Gates of *York* that he came only to ſeek his *own Inheritance*, meaning the *Kingdom*, and not his *Dukedom*; by which, adds that Hiſtorian, he was not forſworn.

Hall, in his Chronicle, gives the Conference that *Edward* held with the Citizens of *York* under the Walls, in theſe Words:

" My Lord Mayor and you Worſhipful Aldermen, for each of you is ſo, (and then, as a good Nomenclator, had many of their Names) I come not to demand the Kingdom which I did for ſome Years enjoy, but was driven out of by the Fury and Raſhneſs of the Earl of *Warwick* and others: I am much ſatisfied that ſuch a Pinnacle is not the ſafeſt Station: I am reſolved from henceforth to ſtand upon lower Ground: I found the Crown clogged with ſo many Cares that I deem it not worth taking up again: I ſhall not diſturb King *Henry* in that, I only deſire my own Town and my proper Inheritance,

* *Hollingſhead.*

heritance, derived to me from my Anceſtors the Dukes of *York*, and I have good Cauſe to hope that you the Lord Mayor, Worſhipful Aldermen, and Citizens will aid me in this: This noble City is in all our Names, you the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Citizens of *York*, and I by my Right Duke of *York*; this is all the Favour I deſire, that you and I may have the ſame Place inſerted in our Names, which is YORK."

The Lord Mayor anſwered: "Moſt Noble Duke, for other Style you ſeem not to require, or if you ſhould can we acknowledge; we are very ſenſible what bloody Conflicts have been for the Crown, which hath been the Ball of Contention between the *Red Roſe* and the *White*; I name the *Red Roſe* firſt, becauſe that is in the preſent Poſſeſſion, and if you, Sir Duke, ſhould ſet on Foot the Claim of the *White Roſe*, we know not what Miſchief might follow; ſure we are we ſhould, if we admit you, be blamed by King *Henry*, and by that Make-King the Earl of *Warwick*, whom you mention: Therefore in few Words this is our Reſolution, that unleſs you will ſwear not to make any Pretenſion to the Crown, nor diſturb the King in the Government, and not to prejudice the Rights and Privileges of this City, we will not admit you to enter into this Place."

But no ſooner had *Edward* got Poſſeſſion of the City, than he immediately aſſumed his regal Title; and having cajoled their Worſhips into the Loan of a round Sum of Money, he left a ſufficient Garriſon in it, and marched Southward. The Marquis *Montacute* was all this Time aſleep, one would think, at *Pontefract*, and never once oppoſed him in his Paſſage. *Edward* not caring to come with his ſmall Army into his Jaws at *Ferrybridge*, paſſed over the River *Aire* at *Caſtleford*, only three Miles higher, without the leaſt Reſiſtance. This Conduct of the Marquis might make one ſuſpect that he ſecretly favoured *Edward*'s Cauſe; and yet the Battle of *Barnet*, fought ſoon after, where he and his Brother *Warwick* loſt their Lives, evinces the contrary. *Edward* having gained this Conqueſt, and ſent *Henry* once more to the Tower, where the Butcher *Richard* took Care to ſecure him from any more Elopements, reigned peaceably to the End of his Days.

There

There is but one Accident more regarding us in the remaining Part of this King's Reign, mentioned in one of our old Registers *, that *Edward* on the 20th Day of *September*, 1478 †, made a Progress into the North, accompanied with a very numerous Suit of Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, and Barons, and a great Croud of other Courtiers. He was met in his Journey by all the Gentry and public Officers of these Parts; and amongst the rest by *John Ferriby* ‡, then Lord Mayor of *York*, who, accompanied with many of the richest Citizens, went as far as *Wentbridge* to meet him, and escorted him to *Pontefract*: Upon the Mayor's taking his Leave, the King assured him that he intended to visit his loving Subjects the Citizens of *York*. In a Week's Time the King with all his Nobles came to the City; he was met at some Distance by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty on Horseback, and by the rest of the better Sort of Citizens on Horseback or on Foot, who conducted the King with loud Acclamations into the City. He made the City a Present of a Sum of Money, as is apparent, says the Register, in the City's Book of that Year; but the particular Sum is here, either by Time or Wilfulness, obliterated. The King staid a few Days in *York*, and then set forward for *London*.

On the 9th of *April*, 1483, died *Edward* IV. His Brother *Richard*, whom he had left Protector and Guardian over the young King and Realm, was then in *York* §, and here had a solemn Funeral Requiem performed in the Cathedral for the Repose of his Brother's Soul. It was here also that the Duke of *Buckingham* sent a trusty Servant, one *Percival*, says *Hall*, to instil those Notions of Ambition into him, which afterwards proved of such dire Effect to his Nephews as well as himself.

But it is plain that *Richard* had laid his Schemes for obtaining the Crown even before his Brother's Death; and here we shall beg Leave to give some of his evil Machinations, affecting our City in particular, as a Taste of those

* Ex regist. in custod. civium *Ebor.*

† The Registrarian gives the King this pompous Title, *Illustrissimus, ac uti fama omnium fert metuendissimus, ac christianissimus* Edwardus *Rex*, &c.

‡ *Anno* 1478, *John Ferriby*, Mayor. See Catalogue of Mayors. *Nobilis hujusce almæ urbis ea vice major.* Regist. *Ebor.*

§ *Hollingshead.*

those Times, from an old Record not yet delivered down in Print by any Historian that we know of. *

By a Deposition taken the 14th of *February*, 1482, it appears that his Projects were working in our City, the Substance of which is as follows:

Memorandum, "That the 14th Day of *February*, in the twenty-second Year of King *Edward* IV. came afore *John Marshall*†, Lieutenant, *Robert Rede Gyrdewler*, unto the Council-Chamber, with odyr Persons with him, and then and there shewyd, how that *William Welles*, Carpenter, should report, That the last Day of *January* last past, sityng at the Ale at *Eden Berys*, *Gutherymgate*, that one askyd and said emong the Felliship sityng at Ale, Syrs, whome shall we have to our Mair this Yere? Whereunto answered and said *Stephen Hodgson*, Syrs, methyng, and it please the Commons, I wodd we had Master *Wrangwish*, for he is the Mair that my Lord of *Gloucester* will do for, *&c.*" ‡

The whole Deposition is too long to insert; but it is obvious by this Part of it, that there were some underhand Dealings in the City in *Richard*'s Favour, as the Consequence will shew, this *Thomas Wrangwish* being Mayor the Year after, and assisted at *Richard*'s Coronation in *York*.

Richard, soon after his Brother's Death, began to shew himself more openly; and by taking from about his Nephews their surest Friends, the Queen their Mother, and her Brethren, made Way for his own Ambition. At this Time he thought it his Interest to cajole the whole Kingdom with kind Letters, fair Speeches and Promises, in order to bring them the more readily over to countenance his Designs. *York* and the Northern Parts were his strongest Attachment, and in order to make the City more in his Interest, a remarkable Letter was sent from him, and delivered in great Form to the Lord Mayor by *Thomas Brackenbury*, one of his Creatures, which we shall give from the Manuscript, as far as it is legible, *verbatim*.

The

* In the Chamber on *Ousebridge*.

† Deputy Mayor, we suppose, for he had been Lord Mayor two Years before. *Catalogue of Mayors*.

‡ Ex chart. in custod. com. *Ebor*.

The Duke of Gloucester, *Brother and Uncle of Kings Protectour and Defensour, Grett Chamberleyne, Constable, and Lord High Admiral of* England. *

To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Mair, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Commonality of the City of York.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, wee grett you wele.

WHeras by your Letter of Supplication to us, delivered by our Servant *John Brackenbury*, wee understaund that by reason of your great Charges that yee have had and susteined, as well in the Defence of this Realm against the *Scottes* as otherways, your Worshipful Citty remains greatly unpaid for, and the which yee desire us to be gud Mover unto the King's Grace, for any Ease of such Charges as yee yerely bere and pay unto his Grace's Highness. Wee let you wott that for such great Matter and Buisnesses, and wee now have to doe for the Wele and Usefulness of the Realme; we as yet ne can have convenient Leisure to accomplish this your Besiness, but be assured that, for your kind and lusyng Disposition to us at all Tymes shewed, which wee never can forgett, wee in all gudly Haste shall so endeavour for your Ease in this Behalf, as that ..... yee shall veryly understand we be your especial gud and lusyng Lord, as our said Friend shall shew you; to whome it wod lyke you hym to give further Credence to, and for your diligent Service which he hath done to our singular Plesure unto us at this Time, we pray you to give unto him Laud and Thanks, and God keep you. Given under our Signet at the Tower at *London* this 8th Day of *June*.

This Letter was artfully contrived to curry Favour with the Citizens of *York*, at a very critical Juncture; and it was soon followed by another of a different Nature, which the same Record gives in these Words.

Memorandum, " The 15th of *June*, in the first Yere of the Reign of *Edward* V. *Richard Ratcliff*, Knight, delivered to *John Newton*, Mair, a Letter from the Duke of *Gloucestre*, the Tenour of which ensueth.

* Ex libro chart. in custod. com. *Ebor*.

The Duc of Gloucestre, *Brother and Uncle of Kinges Protectour, Defensour, Gret Chamberleyne, Constable, and Admiral of* England.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, wee greet you well,

AND as you love the Wele of us, and the Wele and Surety of your own self, we heartily pray you to come up unto us to *London*, in all the Diligence ye can possible, after the Sight hereof, with as many as ye can make defensibly arrayed, there to aid and assist us against the Queen, her bloody Adherents and Affinity, which have entended, and dayly do entend, to murder and utterly destroy us, and our Cousyn the Duc of *Buckingham*, and the old Royal Blood of this Realm; and as is now openly known by their subtle and dampnable Wais forecasted the same, and also the final Destruction and Disherison of you, and all odyr the Enheritors and Men of Honour, as well of the North Parts as odyr Countrees that belongen unto us, as our trusty Servant this Bearer shall more at large shew you, to whom we pray you to give Credence; and as ever we may do for you in Tym comyng, fail not but haste you to us.

Given under our Signet at *London* the 10th of *June*.

The Reader may observe that this Letter is dated but two Days after the former, so that the Protector's Danger came very suddenly upon him, if he did not know it when he wrote the first; but his Fallacy and Policy is now easily seen thro'. Sir *Richard Radcliff* had brought the Queen's Relations down to *Pontefract* Castle and imprisoned them, from whence he came to *York* and delivered this Letter to the Mayor, and our Manuscript says that it was agreed betwixt them, that such Forces as the City could raise, of such a sudden, should be on the *Wednesday* Night next at *Pontefract*, where the Earl of *Northumberland* waited for them, to conduct them and others to *London*. We find the Proclamation for raising them in these Words:

Forma

Forma Proclamat. factæ in Civit. 19 *Die Menſis* Junii, *Anno Regni Regis* Edwardi *quinti primo.* *

RICHARD, Brother and Unkill of Kinges, Duc of *Glouceſtre*, Protectour, Defendour, Gret Chamberleyne, Conſtabill, and Admirall of *England*, ſtraitly charge and command all Manner of Men, in their beſt defenſible Array, incontenent after this Proclamation made, do riſe and come up to *London* to his Highneſs in Company of his Couſyne the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Nevil*, and odyr Men of Worſhip by his Highneſs appointed, there to aid and aſſiſt him to the ſubdewing, correcting, and puniſhing the Quene, her Blode, and odyr hyr Adherents, which hath intended and dayly doth intend to murthur and utterly deſtroy his Royal Perſon, his Couſyne the Duc of *Buckingham*, and odyr of old Royal Blode of this Realm, as alſoe the Nobillmen of their Companys; and as it is notably known by many ſubtill and dampnabill Wais forecaſted the ſame, and alſo the final Deſtruction and Diſheryſon of them, and of all others the Inheritors and Men of Honour, as well of theſe North Parts, as of other Cuntrees that belongen them. And therefore in all Diligence prepare yourſelf, and come up as yee love your Honour, Weles, and Suretys, and the Suretys of yourſelf and the Commonweil of this Realm.

What Effect this Proclamation produced Hiſtory informs us, which, though not much to the Credit of our Fellow-Citizens, muſt be given. It is true that *George Buck*, Eſq; who has wrote a panegyrical Account of this King's Reign, calls them 4000 Gentlemen of the North, who came up to aſſiſt at *Richard*'s Coronation †. *Hall* and *Grafton* ſay there were 5000, but ſpeak opprobriouſly of our Countrymen, "evil apparelled and worſe harneſſed, ſay they, which, when muſtered, were the Contempt of the Beholders." *Fabian* ‡, who lived at this Time, and probably ſaw this Armament, being a *Londoner*, has left this Account of them: "*Richard* not

* Ex libro chart. in cuſtod. com. *Ebor.*

† *Kennet*'s Hiſtory of *England.*

‡ *Robert Fabian* ended his Chronicle the laſt o' *Richard* III. He was Sheriff of *London* in 1494.

daring to truſt the *Londoners*, for Fear of the Queenes Bloud, an othere of which he had Jealouſye, he ſent for a Strenth of Men out of the North. The which came ſhortly to *London* a little before his Coronation, and muſtered in the *Morefeelds* well upon 4000 Men in their beſt Jacks and ruſty Salletts, with a few in white Harneſſe, but not burniſhed to the Sale; and ſhortly after his Coronation were countermaunded home with ſufficient Rewards for their Travaile."

Richard having got Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, his Nephews impriſoned, and their Relations executed at *Pontefract*, made a Progreſs into the North as far as *York*, in order for a ſecond Coronation in that City. To this Place (if the Hypocrite could ever be ſincere) he ſeemed to pay an extraordinary Regard; though, according to *Rapin*, his Pretence of going down now was to miniſter Juſtice every where; nor could he help executing ſome of his Northern Soldiers, who in their March back from *London* had committed great Outrages. *Richard* made his Progreſs by *Windſor*, *Oxford*, and *Coventry* to *Nottingham*; during this, the execrable Murder of the two young Princes was perpetrated in the Tower; a Fact ſo horrid that every Tongue muſt faulter and every Hand tremble, that either ſpeaks or writes of it. From *Nottingham* we find a Letter in the ſame Record, wrote by his Secretary, to ſtir up a Zeal in the Citizens of *York* towards his better Reception there. The Letter is an Original indeed, and proves the Secretary worthy of the Maſter.

To the gude Maſters the Mair, Recorder, and Aldermen, and Sheriffs of the Cite of York. *

I Recommend me unto you as heartyly as I can. Thanked be *Jeſu* the King's Grace is in good Health, as is likewiſe the Queenes Grace, and in all their Progreſs have byn worſhipfully reſeyved with Pageants and odyr, *&c.* And his Lords and Judges in every Place fittyng determinyng the Compleyntes of pore Folkes, with due Punicion of Offenders againſt his Lawes. The Cauſe I writ to you now is, for ſo much as I veryly know the King's Mind and entire Affection that his Grace beareth towards you and your worſhipful Cite,

* Ex libro chart. ſupradict.

Cite, for manifold your kind and lovyn Desynings to his Grace, shewed heretofore, which his Grace will never forget, and intendeth therefore soe to doe unto you, that all the Kings that ever reigned bestowed upon you did they never soe much; doubt not hereof, ne make ne Manner of Petition or Desire of any Thing by his Highness to you to be graunted. But this I advise you, as laudably as your Wisdom can imagin, to receive him and the Queen at their coming, dispose you to do as well with Pageants with such gude Speeches, as can gudely, this short Warning considered, be devised, and under such Form as Master *Lancaster* of the King's Councell this Brynger shall sumwhat advertise you of my Mind in that Behalf; as in hangyng the Streetes thro' which the King's Grace shall come with Clothes of Arras, Tappestre Work, and other; for there comen many Sothern Lords and Men of Worship with them, which will mark greatly your resayving thar Graces. Me neded not thus to advise you, howbeit many Things I shew you thus of good Heart, and for the singular Zele and Love which I beer to you and your Cite afore all other. Ye shall well know that I shall not forbere calling on his Grace for your Weles, ne remember it as Master *Lancaster* shall shew you, which in Part heard the King's Grace speak hereon, to whom touching the Premisses it may like you . . . . . in Haste, the 23d Day of *August* at *Nottingham*, with the Hand of your Friend and Lover,

JOHN KENDALE, *Secretary*.

This Letter needs no Comment; it must produce an extraordinary Emulation in our Citizens to outvy other Places, and even one another, in the Pomp and Ceremony of the King's Reception; but we cannot meet with a particular Account of it in our Records. Mr. *Buck*, whom we have quoted before, says that *Richard* coming to the goodly and ancient City of *York*, the Scope and Goal of his Progress, he was received with all possible Honour and Festivity. And now all Things are preparing for the Coronation, in order for which the King sent from *York*, on the last Day of *August*, to *Piers Courteis*, Keeper of his Wardrobe, the following Order. *

* *Kennet*'s Notes on *G. Buck*, Esq.

By

By the KING.

WE wol and charge you to deliver to the Bryngers hereof for us the Parcells following; that is to ſay, One Doublett of Purple Sattin lined with Holland Cloth, and enterlined with Buſke; one Doublett of tawney Sattin, lined in likewiſe; two ſhort Gowns of Crymſyn Cloth of Gold, the one with Drippis and the other with Netts, lined with green Velvet; one Cloak with a Cape of Velvet ingrayned, the Bow lined with black Velvet; one Stomacher of Purple Sattin, and one Stomacher of tawney Sattin; one Gown of green Velvet lined with tawney Sattin; one Yard and three Quarters Courſe of Sike (Silk) medled with Gold, and as much black Corſe of Silk for our Spurs; two Yards and Half and three Nayles of white Cloth of Gold for a Crynelze for a Borde; five Yards of black Velvet for the Lining of a Gown of green Sattin; one Plakard made of Part of the ſaid two Yards; and one Half and two Nayles of white Cloth of Gold lined with Buckram; three Pair of Spurrs ſhort, all gilt; two Pair of Spurrs long, white Parcell gilt; two Yards of black Buckram for amending of the Lining of diverſe Trappers; one Banner of Sarſanet of our Lady; one Banner of the Trinity; one Banner of St. *George*; one Banner of St. *Edward*; one of St. *Cuthbert*; one of our own Arms, all Sarcenet; three Coats of Arms beaten with fine Gold for our own Perſon; five Coat Armors for Heralds lined with Buckram; forty Trumpet Banners of Sarcenett; ſeven hundred and forty Penſills of Buckram; three hundred and fifty Penſills of Tarter; four Standards of Sarcenett with Boars; thirteen thouſand Quinyſans of Fuſtian with Boars. And theſe our Letters, *&c.*

How this Cargo of extraordinary Garniture was uſed is not ſo particularly known; but we may ſuppoſe that the Coronation was performed with great Magnificence. *Hall* indeed tells us, that *Richard* was received at *York* with great Pomp and Triumph by the Citizens: That at the Day of his Cornonation, to which, by Proclamation, he had invited the whole Country, the Clergy of the Church in their richeſt Copes, and with a reverend Ceremony, went about the Streets in Proceſſion; after whom

whom followed the King with his Crown and Sceptre, apparelled in his Surcoat Robe Royal, accompanied with a great Number of the Nobility of the Realm: Then followed Queen *Ann* his Wife, crowned likewise, leading in her Left Hand Prince *Edward* her Son, having on his Head a Demy Crown appointed for the Degree of a Prince. In this Manner they marched to the Cathedral, where Archbishop *Rotheram* set the Crown on *Richard*'s Head in the Chapter-House *. On the same Day was *Edward* his Son, a Youth of ten Years of Age, invested with the Principality of *Wales* by a Golden Rod and a Coronet of Gold, and other Ensigns. The King now knighted *Gaufridus de Sasiola*, Ambassador from the Queen of *Spain*, who was present at this Solemnity, by putting a Collar of Gold about his Neck, and striking three Times upon his Shoulders with his Sword, and by other Marks of Honour, according to the *English* Custom, with agreeable Words added †; in Testimony whereof the King gave him his Letters Patents, dated at his Court at *York*. He also here knighted *Richard*, surnamed of *Gloucester* ‡, his Bastard Son, and many Gentlemen of these Parts. The Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Realm were present on this solemn Occasion; and indeed it was a Day of great State, says *Polydore Vergil*, there being then three Princes in *York* wearing Crowns, the King, the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*. And now followed Tilts and Tournaments, Masques, Revels, and Stage-Plays, with other triumphant Sports, with Feasting to the utmost Prodigality; in which was squandered away all that Treasure, which his glorious Brother had for many Years been collecting with great Skill and Industry; and being left by his last Will to the Disposal of his Executors, was snatched up by *Richard* at his Intrusion

* *September* 8, 1483. † *Kennet* on *Buck*.

‡ This *Richard* of *Gloucester*, Bastard Son to King *Richard*, has a very odd Account given of the Course of Life he was driven to take after his Father was slain: It is said he bound himself Apprentice to a Bricklayer, and actually worked at that Trade for several Years; till at length being found out, a Gentleman took Pity on him, and suffered him to build a House in his Park, in which he lived and died. The Story at Length is given in the Rev. Mr. *Peck*'s *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. II. Some better Memorials of it may be had from the Right Hon. the Earl of *Winchelsea*, in whose noble Park of *Eastwell*, in *Kent*, this *Richard Plantagenet*, as the Parish Register calls him, resided and ended his Days.

trusion into the Kingdom, says our Authority, which runs contemporary with these Times, and wasted in this Manner. *

Before *Richard* left *York* he did not forget the Promise made by him and his Secretary to the City and Citizens for old Services and new, and, willing to do some extraordinary Bounty to them, we find this imperfect Memorial of it. †

Memorandum, "That the xviith Day of the Month of *September*, in the first Yere of the Reign of King *Richard* the Third, *John Newton* then being Mair of the Cite of *York*, our said Sovereign Lord the King, of his most special gude Grace, remembering the gude Service that the said Cite hath don to his gude Grace . . . . . made to defray and fitt in the Yorney made in the same Yere to *Edenburg* and . . . . . to *London* to the Cornonation of his gude Grace; callid afore his gude Grace the said Day to the Chapter-House of the Cathedral Church of S. *Peter* in *York*, the said Mair, his Bredyr the Aldermen, and mong other the Commons of the said Cite, and then and there our said Sovereign Lord openly reherfed the said Service to his gude Grace don, and also the Dekay and the great Poverty of the said Cite, of his most special gude Grace without any Petition or asking of any Thing by the said Mair or any odyr, our said Sovereign Lord only of his abundant Grace most graciously and habundantly granted and gave in Relief of the said Cite in esyng of the *Tolls*, *Murage*, *Bucher-Pennys*, and *Skaitgild* of the said Cite yerely xxiii*l.* xi*s.* ii *d.* for evyr; that is to say, for the Murage xx *l.* and the Residue to the Sheriffs; so that from thence forward it shold be lefull to every Person coming to the said Cite with their Guds and Cattell, and them freely to sell in the same without any Thing gratifying . . . . or paying for Toll or Murage of any of the said Guds; and his Grace . . . . . most graciously granted to the Mair.

* *Non deerant tunc thesauri ulli quibus tam elevatæ mentis suæ propositum adimpleret; cum ea quæ gloriosissimus rex* Edwardus *frater suus, summo ingenio, summaque industria multis ante annis collegerat, quæque ad complimentum suæ ultimæ voluntatis suorum executorum dispositioni commisserat, iste quam primum de sua intrusione in regnum cogitavit, omnia diripuit.* Hist. Croy. Cont.

† Ex chart. supradict.

Mair and Commonality of the ſaid Cite yerely xl *l.* for ever, to the Behoof of the Commonality and Chamber of the ſaid Cite; and yerely to the Mair for the Tyme being, as his Chief Serjeant at Ayrms, xii *d.* of the Day, that is to ſay, by the Yere xviii *l.* vi *s.*" *

Richard's Munificence to our City at this Time, whether it proceeded from Gratitude or Policy, was a truly Royal Gift. Amongſt all his Vices we never found him taxed with Covetouſneſs; he had many Reaſons, both on his own and Family's Account, to induce him even to do more for a City, which had always ſignalized itſelf in the Intereſt of his Houſe. Every one that is acquainted with *Engliſh* Hiſtory muſt know, that there is hardly any Part of it ſo dark as the ſhort Reign of this King. The *Lancaſtrian* Party, which deſtroyed and ſucceeded him, took Care to ſuppreſs his Virtues, and to paint his Vices in the moſt glaring Colours. However, what Opinion our Citizens of *York* had of King *Richard* at that Time, will beſt appear by their own Records, in which they took Care to regiſter every particular Letter and Meſſage they received from him; and as his Fate drew nigh they endeavoured to ſhew their Loyalty, or their Gratitude, to this Prince in the beſt Manner they were able. Some more Letters which were ſent to the Mayor and Citizens when the Commotions begun, as likewiſe their daily Orders in Council about the State of Affairs, to the King's Death and after, may not be unacceptable to the Reader in a literal Extract from the City's Regiſters. †

Very

* To give the Reader a better Notion of the Value of theſe Royal Gifts, take this *Computus* from the *Chronicon Pretioſum* of Biſhop *Fleetwood*, of what Price Corn bore in the South of *England*, in 1463, juſt twenty Years before this.

Anno 1463, at *London*,	*s.*	*d.*	At *Norfolk* the ſame Year,		
Wheat *per* Quarter	2	0	Wheat ———	1	8
Barley ———	1	10	Barley ———	1	0
Peas ———	3	4	Malt ———	1	8
Oats ———	1	2	Oats (Mr. *Stowe*)	1	0

So that the Value of One Shilling, even in the Time of the Civil Wars, bought one Quarter of Barley or Oats, which makes the Donation very conſiderable.

† Theſe Regiſters are to be found, according to the Date of the Year, in the Chamber on *Ouſebridge*. The Regiſter the following is chiefly collected from, is marked *Ab anno* 1479 *ad* 1485 *R.* but it is imperfect towards the End.

Very ſoon after *Richard* had been crowned at *York*, the Duke of *Buckingham* took up Arms againſt him; of which Inſurrection the King ſent Notice to the Citizens of *York*; a Memorial of which is entered in the Records as follows:

Memorandum, 13 *Oct.* 1 *Richard* III. *John Otyr*, Yeoman of the Crown, brought the following Letter to the Lord Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Comunality.

By the K I N G.

To our Truſty and Right Well-beloved the Maire, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Communalitie of the Citie of York.

Truſty and Right Wel-beloved,

WE grete ye wele, and let ye wit that the Duke of *Buckingham* traiterouſly is turned upon us, contrary to the Dute of his Legeance, and entendeth the utter Deſtruction of us, you, and all other our true Subgietts that have taken our Part; whoſe traiterous Entent we with God's Grace entend briefly to reſiſt and ſubdue. We deſire and pray you in our hearty wiſe that ye will ſend unto us as many Men defenſibly arraied on Horſeback, as ye may godely make to our Town of *Liceſtre*, the 21 Day of this preſent Month withouten Fail, as ye will tendre our Honner and your own Wele, and wee ſhall ſo ſee you paid for your Reward and Charges as yee ſhall hold yee wele content, geving further Credence to our truſty Purſuvant this Berer.

Geven under our Signet at our Cite of *Lincoln* the xith Day of *October*.

A Proclamation, under the Privy-Seal, dated at *Lincoln*, *October* 15, declaring the Duke of *Buckingham* a Traitor, was proclaimed at *York*, *October* 16, 1483, ſays the Record.

In the ſame Records we find another Letter dated the the 11th of *April*, which muſt be in the Year 1484, when the Tide was beginning to turn againſt King *Richard*, giving an Account of the Number of Lyes, as he expreſſes himſelf, and contumelious Speeches which were then ſpread abroad againſt him, requiring the Magiſtrates of this City to ſuppreſs all ſuch Slanders, and to take up the

the Spreaders of it. The Letter is a very particular one, and ſhews the Depth of Policy in this King's Reign more than any Thing that we have yet ſeen publiſhed of it; and therefore ſhall give it *verbatim*.

To our Truſty and Wel-beloved the Maire and his Brethre of the Citye of York.

Truſty and Wel-beloved, we grete you wele.

AND where it is ſoe that diverſe ſeditious and evil-diſpoſed Perſonnes, both in our Citie of *London* and elſwhere within this our Realme, enforce themſelfs daily to ſowe Sede of Noiſe and Diſclaindre agayneſt our Perſone, and agenſt many of the Lords and Eſtates of our Land, to abuſe the Multitude of our Subgetts and alter ther Mynds from us, if they could by any Meane atteyne to that there miſchevous Entent and Purpoſe; ſome by ſetting up of Billes, ſome by Meſſage and ſending furth of falſe and abhominable Langage and Lyes; ſome by bold and preſumptuous opene Spech, wherthewyth the innocent People, whiche wold live in Reſt and Peas, and truly undre our Obbeiſſance as they ought to do, being gretely abuſed, and oft Tymes put in Daungeres of there Lives, Landes, and Goods, as ofte as they folowe the Stepps and Deviſes of the ſaid ſeditious and miſchevous Perſones, to our Hevyneſſe and Pitie. For Remedy wherof, and to thentent the Truth openlye declared ſhuld repreſſe all ſuche falſe and contrived Inventions, we now of late called before us the Maire and Aldermen of our Citie of *London*, togidder with the mooſt ſadde and diſgrete Perſones of the ſame Cite in grete Numbre, being preſent, many of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of our Land, and the Subſtance of all our Houſholde, to whom we largely ſhewed our true Entent and Mynde in all ſuche Thinges which the ſaide Noiſe and Diſclandre renne upon, in ſuch wiſe as we doubt not all wel-diſpoſed Perſones were and be therwith right wele content; where we alſoe at the ſame Tyme gafe ſtraitly in Charge, as well to the ſaid Maire as to all other our Officers, Servants, and faithfull Subgettes, wherſoere they be, that from henſfurth as ofte as they find any Perſone ſpeking of us, or any other Lord or Eſtate of this our Land, otherways then is according to

Honour, Trouth, and the Peas and Ritefullneſſe of this our Realme, or telling of Tales and Tidings wherby the People might be ſtirred to Commotions and unlawfull Aſſembles, or any Strife and Debate ariſe between Lord and Lord, or us and any of the Lords and Eſtates of this our Land, they take and arreſt the ſame Perſone unto the Tyme he have broght furth hyme or them of whom he underſtode that that is ſpoken, and ſo proceding from oon to other unto the Tyme the furſt Auctor and Maker of the ſaid ſeditious Speche and Langage be taken and punyſhed according to his Deſerts. And that whoſoever furſt finde any ſeditious Bills ſet up in any Place he take it downe, and without reding or ſhewing the ſame to any other Perſone, bring it forthwith unto us, or ſome of the Lords or other of our Counſaill. All which Charges and Commandements, ſoo by us taken and geven by our Mouthe to our Citie of *London*, we notifie unto you by theſe our Letters, to thentent that ye ſhewe the ſame within all the Places of your Juriſdiction, and ſee there the due Execution of the ſame from Tyme to Tyme, as ye woll eſchewe our grevous Indignation, and anſwere unto us at your extreme Perill. Given under our Signet at our Citie of *London* the xith Day of *April*.

By the KING.

Richard's ſhort Reign drawing ſtill nearer a Period, and his tragical End approaching, we find ſeveral Orders of Council entered in the Regiſter of thoſe Times, of the Date and in the Manner following:

Veneris *poſt Feſtum S.* Thome, *Martyris, viz.* viii° *Die* Julii, (1485) *An. Reg. Regis* R. III. *tertio.*

Nicholaus Lancaſtre, Mr.	*Thomas Ellay*,	XXIV.
Thomas Wrangwiche,	*Willielmus Spence*,	
Willielmus Snawſell,	*Willielmus Tayte*,	
Johannus Tong,	*Ricardus Clerk*,	
Willielmus Chymney,	*Johannes Hay*,	
Thomas Fynch, Vic.	*Willielmus White*,	
	Milo Grenebank,	

Wer aſſembled in the Counſail Chambre within the *Gaildhall* of this Citie, where and when it was thought by

by the Counſail, that ſuch Bill of Proclamation as was then ſhewed by the Maire, delivered unto hym on the King's Behalve by the Sheref of the Shire to be proclamed thrugh out the Citie, ſhould be ſhewed unto the Serchers of evere Craft within this Citie, which ſhall have in Commaundement by the Maire, that evere Man of any Craft within this Citie forſaid, being francheſt, be redie defenſibly arrayed to attend upon the Mayre of this Citie and his Brethre for the Savegard of the ſame, to the King's Behove, or otherwayes at his Commaundment.

Martis *poſt Feſtum Aſſumpt. Beate* Marie *Virg. viz.* xvi *Die* Auguſti, *An. Reg. Regis* R. III. *tertio.*

Nicholaus Lancaſtre,	M^r.	*Thomas Cator,*	*de* xxiv.
Willielmus Snawſell,	*de* xii.	*Willielmus Spenſe,*	
Johannes Tong,		*Willielmus Tayte,*	
Willielmus Chymney,		*Ricardus Clercke,*	
		Johannes Hay,	
Johannes Gylliot,	Vic.	*Willielmus White,*	
Thomas Fynche		*Ricardus Hardſang,*	

Wer aſſembled in the Counſail Chambre upon *Ouſe-Brig*, where and when it was determyned by the ſame, that *John Spon*, Sergeant to the Maſe, ſhuld ride to *Nottingham* to the King's Grace, to underſtaund his Pleſure in ſending up any of his Subgettes within this Citie to his ſaid Grace, for the ſubduing of his Enemies lately arrived in the Partes of *Wales*, or otherwiſe to be diſpoſed at his moſt high Pleſure. Alſo it was determyned that all ſuch Aldermen and other of the Counſail as was ſojournyng, for the Plage that reigneth, without the Citie, ſhuld be ſent for to give their beſt Adviſes in ſuch Things as concerned the Wele and Savegard of the ſaid Citie, and all othyr Inhabitants of the ſame.—Alſo that every Warden of this Citie ſerche the Inhabitants within his Ward, that they have ſufficient Wapens and Arms for their Defence of the Wall of this Citie.—Alſo that ther ſhall Proclamations be maide thrugh out this Citie, that evere Man fraunchest within this Citie be redie, in the moſt defenſible Araye, to attend upon the Maire for the Welfare of this Citie within an Owres Warnyng, on Payne of Impriſonment.

Veneris *post Fest. Assumpt.* &c. *viz.* xix *Die* Augusti, *An. ut supra.*

Nicholaus Lancastre, Mr. &c. N° 17. } Wer assembled in the Counsail Chambre, wher and when it was determined upon the Report of *John Nicholson*, who was comen home from the King's Grace fro *Baskwood*, that iv. c. Men of the Citie defensibly arrayed, *John Hastings*, Gentleman to the Mace, being Captayn, shuld in all Hast possible depart towards the King's Grace for the subduyng of his Enemyes forsaid; wherupon eche Parish in the Citie was sessed as it appeareth hereafter; and that eche Sougior shuld have x *s.* for x Days, being furth xii *d.* by Day; and also that the Counsail shuld meet at ii of the Clock at Afternone the same Day at the *Geld-hall*, ther to poynt such Personnes as shuld take Wages, and there to receve the same.

Martis *Vigil. S.* Bartholomei, *viz.* xxiii° *Die* Augusti, *An.* &c. *vacat. Regal. potest.*

Nicholaus Lancastre, Mr. &c. N° 15. } Wer assembled in the Counsail Chambre, wher and when it was shewed by diverse Personnes, especially by *John Spon* sent unto the *Feld of Redemore*, to bring Tydings from the same to the Citie, that King *Richard*, late lawfully reigning over us, was, thrugh grete Treason of the Duc of *Northfolk*, and many othyr that turned agenst hym, with many othyr Lords and Nobilitie of thes North Partes, was pitiously slane and murdred, to the grete Hevyness of this Citie, the Names of whom followeth herafter.

Wherfore it was determyned, for so much as it was that the Erle of *Northumberland* was comen to *Wressel*, that a Lettre shuld be conveyed unto the said Erle, beseching hym to give unto them his best Advise how to dispose them at this wofull Season, both to his Honor and Worship, and Well and Prouffit of this Citie. The Tenor wherof followeth:

To, &c. *the Erle of* Northumberland.

" Right potent and right noble, our moost honorable, especial, and singular good Lord, in our moost humble wise

wiſe we recommend us unto your good Lordſhip, loving Almighty God of your home Enduryng at this wooful Seaſon, beſeching your good Lordſhip to be towards us and this Citie as ye have ben hertofore right good and tendre Lord, and ſo to advertiſe us at this Tyme, as may be to the Honor of your Lordſhip as well and Prouffit of us and Sauffegard of this ſaid Citie, wherunto we ſhall applye us both with Bodie and Goods, and to owe unto your Lordſhip our faithful and true Further we beſeech your Lordſhip to geve full Faith and Credence unto our Servant *John Nicholſon*, the Berer hereof, in ſuch Things as he ſhall ſhewe unto your Lordſhip of our Behalve; and the bleſſed Trinity, *&c.*"

Yours, &c.

Maire, Aldermen, Sheriffs, xxiv *of the Counſail of the Citie of* York, *with thole Communalitie of the ſame.*

Mecurii *Feſtum S.* Bartholomei, *viz.* 23° *Die* Auguſti, *Anno, &c. Vacat regalis poteſtas.*

Nicholaus Lancaſtre Mr. *&c.* N° 13. } Wer aſſembled in the Counſail Chambre, wher and when it was determined that the Maire, with his Brethre ſhuld attend and mete Sir *Henry Percey* at ii o' the Clok at Afternone, at the Miln in the Strete without *Walmgate-Bar*, ther to underſtand how they ſhall be diſpoſed enent the King's Grace *Henry* the Sevent, ſo proclamed and crowned at the Feld of *Redemore*.

Alſo it was determined that oon Sir *Roger Cotam*, Knight unto the ſaid King's Grace, now comen to this Citie to proclame the ſaid King *Henry*, ſhuld be preſented with ii —— and ii Gallons of Wyne at the Chambre Coſt.

Alſo *John Nicholſon*, which was ſent to *Wreſſell* to the Erle of *Northumberland* with Writing, appered in the Counſail Chambre, and ſhewed how it was ſhewed unto hym by Sir *Henry Percy* being ther, that the ſaid Erle was with the King at *Leiceſtre* for the Well of himſelf and this Citie, and that the ſaid Sir *Henry* wold be at the Milne without the Bar as above. Wherfore it was determined to meet with hyme ther.

Alſo the ſame Day, forſomuch as the forſaid Sir *Roger Cotam* durſt not for Fere of Deth come thrugh the Citie to ſpeake with the Maire and his Brethre, it was thought that they ſhuld goo unto him, wherupon the Maire and his Brethre went unto the Sign of the *Boore*, and ther they ſpeak with the ſaid Knight, which ſhewed unto them that the King named and proclamed *Henry* the VII. grete them well, and wold be unto them and this Citie as good and gratiouſe Soveraign Lord as any of his Noble Progenitors was before, with othyr Words of Comforth; wherof the Maire and his Brethre thankes him moch, and ſoo departed.

Alſo it was determined that ſuch Sogiers as went furth of this Citie having Wages for x Dayes xii *d.* by the Day, and was furth but iiii Dayes and a Half, ſhuld have Wages for vi Dayes and no more, and the Reſidue of the Money to be repaid to the Chamberlaynes, to pay to ſuch Pariſhes as paid the ſame.

Jovis *poſt Feſt. S.* Bartholomei, *viz.* 25° *Die* Auguſti, *A. Dom.* 1485.

Nicholaus Lancaſtre, Mr. &c. N° 11. } Wer aſſembled in the Coun-ſail Chambre, wher and when it was determined that *William Wells*, *William Chimney*, *Robert Hawk*, Aldermen, *William Tayte* and *John Hay* of the xxiv. ſhall ride unto the Kings Grace *Henry* the vii. in the Name of th'ole Bodie of this Citie, beſeching his Grace to be good and gracious Lord unto this Citie as othyr his noble Progenitours hath ben tofore, and to confirme of his moſt habundant Grace all ſuch Franchiſes, Liberties, Fees, and Freedoms as hath ben granted to the ſaid Citie hertofore by his ſaid noble Progenitours; and that ther be ſeveral Letters made as well to the Erle of *Northumberland* as the Lord *Stanelay*, for the good Speed of the Premiſes: Alſo that the ſaid Aldermen and ii. of the xxiiii. be accompanyed with xv. Yomen and Horſes, and have Gownes of Muſt Deviles, and ther Gownes of othyr Color convenient for them; and that *Alexander Dauſon*, Chamberlayn, ride with the ſame Perſonnes, and bere all Coſts provided of the Chambre.

Alſo, that ther ſhal be a Proclamacion mad thrugh out this Citie, which Proclamacion was delivered unto the

the Mayre and his Brethre by one of the Kings Herolds, called *Wyndſore*, in the Counſail Chambre, having upon hym a Cote Armor of the Armes of *England* and *Fraunce*; which Herold ſhewed unto the Mayre by Mouthe, that the Kings Grace grete hym and his Bredre wele, and would be as good and gracious Lord unto this Citie as any of his Progenitours were before him, with othyr moch Wordes of Comforth, wherfore he deſired hym on the Kings Behalve to make a Proclamacion after the Tenor that followeth:

Copia Proclamationis Henrici *Regis* Ang. VII.

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *Fraunce*, Prince of *Wales*, and Lord of *Irland*, ſtrictly charges and commaundeth upon Peyne of Deth, that no Manner of Man robbe nor ſpoyle na Manner of Commons comyng from the Feld; but ſuffre theme to paſſe home to ther Cuntrees and Dwelling-Places with their Horſes and Harneſſe. And morover that noo Manner of Man take upon hym to goe to noo Gentilmanz Place, neither in the Cuntree, nor within Cities nor Borows, nor pike no Quarells for old or for new Matters, but kepe the Kings Peace upon Payne of Hanging, *&c.* And morover if ther be any Man affered to be robbed and ſpoyled of his Goods, let hym come to Maſter *Richard Borow*, the King's Sergeant here, and he ſhall have a Warrant for his Bodie and his Goods, unto the Tyme the Kings Pleaſure be knowne.——And morover the King aſſertayneth you, that *Richard* Duc of *Glouceſtre*, late callid King *Richard*, was ſlayne at a Place called *Sandeford*, within the Shyre of *Leiceſtre*, and brought dede of the Feld unto the Towne of *Leiceſtre*, and ther was laide oppenly, that every Man might ſe and luke upon him; and alſo ther was ſlayne uppon the ſame Feld *John* late Duc of *Northfolk*, *John* late Erle of *Lincoln*, *Thomas* late Erle of *Surrey* *, *Fraunceys* Vicount *Lovell*, Sir *Walter Deveres*, Lord *Ferreres*, *Richard Ratcliff*, Knight, *Robert Brachenbury*, Knight; with many othyr Knights, Squires, and Gentilmen, of whoſe Soules God have Mercy.

After

* This is evidently a Miſtake. The Earl of *Surry* was not ſlain, but taken Priſoner, and afterwards pardoned and taken into Favour.

After which Proclamation made, the ſaid Mayre and his Brethre comyng to the Chambre agayn, determined that the ſaid Harold, for his Meſſage and comforthable Words, ſhuld have in Reward of the Chambre vi. Marks iiii. Aungells.

Copie of a Letter directed to the Erle of Northumberland *for the good Spede forſaid.*

RIght potent and right noble, our mooſt eſpecial and ſingular good Lord, in our mooſt humble wiſe we recommend us unto your good Lordſhip, loving Almighty God of your proſprouſe Lif, the which *Jeſu* continue in Felicity both ghoſtly and bodily, thanking your good Lordſhip of your tendre Luff and Favor which your Lordſhip ever hath borne towards us and this Citie, whom we beſeeche you continue, and in eſpecial at this Seaſon, in the which we know right wele your Lordſhip unto us is mooſt neceſſarye: And wheras we ſend up unto the Kings Grace iii. of our Aldermen and othyr of our Counſail Chambre to beſeche his Grace to accept us benignely unto his Grace, graunting unto us and this Citie all ſuch Fraunchiſes, Liberties, Freedoms, and annual Fees, with all othyr Commodities and Prouffitts unto the ſame belonging, and graciouſly graunted by all othyr his mooſt noble Progenitours; we beſeche your good Lordſhip in the good Furtherance and Spede herof, to ſhew unto our ſaid Brethre your noble Adviſe how to labor to the ſaid Kings Grace for the ſame; and we ſhall ever pray for the Staite of you, right potent and right noble, our mooſt eſpecial and ſingular good Lord in Felicitie ever to endure.

From *York* the 26th Day of *Auguſt*. } *Your Orators and Servants, the Mayre, Aldermen, and Sheruffs, and* xxiv *of the Counſail of the Citie of* York, *with th'ole Communalitie of the ſame.*

Sabbati, *viz.* xxvii° *Die* Auguſti, *Anno Regni Regis* Henrici *ſeptimi primo incipien.*

Nicholaus Lancaſtre, Mr. *&c.* N°. 5. } Wer aſſembled in the Counſail Chambre, when and wher oon *Robert Rawdon*, Gentilman, Sergeant unto the Kings Grace, perſonally appered

pered, and gave unto the Maire and the Counſail a Commandement and Warrant under the Kings Signet and Signe Manual to him direct, to attache *Robert* [*Stillington*] Biſhop of *Bath*, and Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, Knight, and to bring them perſonaly unto his Highneſſe, and to ſeaſe into his Hands all their Goods, moveable and immoveable, as it appereth more at large in the Warrant, the Tenor wherof followeth herafter. Wherupon the ſaid *Rawdon* inſtantly deſired the ſaid Maire and Sheriffs on the Kings Behalve, as his true liege Men and Subgetts, that, in thexecution of his ſaid Warrant, they wold geve ther Attendaunce, Aid, and Aſſiſtence. Wherin, after ſom Conſultation upon the ſame, for ſo moch as the ſaid Biſhop was attached tofore by oon Herold *Wyndſore*, and *Robert Borow*, Gentilman, the Kings Servants, and broght unto the Citie, and lay within the Franchеſſe and Liberty of the ſame, and was ſore craſed, by Reaſon of his Trouble and Carying, the Maire taking with hym the above-written of the Counſail of the Chambre, the ſaid *Rawdon* and *Rob. Borow*, inſtantly prepared to go to the ſaid Biſhop to Maſter *Neleſon* Place, to ſpeke with him; being come unto hym unto the ſaid Place, wher and when it was appointed of the Conſent of the ſaid *Rawdon*, that the ſaid Biſhop ſhuld continue ſtill within the ſaid Citie for iv. or v. Days for his Eaſe and Reſt. The Tenor of the Warrant foloweth:

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *Fraunce*, and Lord of *Irland*, to our truſty and wel-beloved *Robert Rawdon*, Gentleman, greeting. For as moch as *Robert* Biſhop of *Bath*, and Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, Knight, Adherents and Aſſiſtents to our grete Enemy *Richard*, late Duc of *Glouceſtre*, to his Aide and Aſſiſtence, have by deverſe Ways offended agenſt the Crowne to us of Right appurteyneyng, we will and charge you, and by this our Warrant commit and geve you Power to attache the ſaid Biſhop and Knight, and them perſonaly bring unto us, and to ſeaſe into our Hands all ſuch Goods, Moveables and Immoveables, as, the 22d Day of *Auguſt*, in the firſt Year of our Reigne, appurteyned and belonged unto them, wherſoever they be found, as well in Places privileged as elleſwhere, and the ſame ſoo ſeaſed to put into ſuch Suerte and Savegard

as

as ye will anſwer to us for them at all Tymes. Chargyng morover, and ſtrictly commaundyng all our true Subgettes and Legemen that to thexecution herof they geve you Attendaunce, Aide, and Aſſiſtence, without doeing of any Thyng that ſhall be prejudicial to the Premiſſes, as they will avoyde our grievious Diſpleaſure, and anſwer unto us at their Peril.

Geven undre our Signet at our Towne of *Leiceſtre*, the 23d Day of *Auguſt*, the firſt Yere of our Reign.

Per Signet. et Sigillum manuale

F O X.

Lune, *viz. penult. Die* Auguſti, *Anno Reg. Regis* Henrici *primo.*

Nicholaus Lancaſtre, Mr. *&c.* N° 9. } Wer aſſembled in the Counſail Chambre, wher and when it was determined, that the Gates and Poſturnes of the Citie ſhuld be ſhut evere Night at ix of the Clock, and opened at Morowning at iiii: And that iiii Men of evere Warde be warned to watch at evere Gate evere Night for the Safegard of the Citie, and the Inhabitants of the ſame. Alſo ther was a Lettre direct from the Kings Grace unto the Maire and his Brethre, charging them by the ſame to geve ther Aſſiſtence and Aide in ſuch Matters as appereth in the ſaid Letters, wherof the Tenor followeth.

By the K I N G.

To our Truſty and Wel-beloved the Maire, Aldermen, and Sherriffs of our Citie of York.

TRuſty and wel-beloved, we grete you wele, and late you wit that, for diverſe Cauſes us touching, we ſend unto your Partes our truſty and wel-beloved Servant Sir *John Halewell*, Knight, wherfore we woll and pray you, and upon that on your Liegeance inſtantly charge and command you, that in all ſuch Matters as the ſaid Sir *John* ſhall ſhew unto you on our Behalve, yee give your Aſſiſtence and Aide, and that yee ne faile therof as yee will deſerve of us our eſpecial Thankes.

Geven undre our Signet at our Towne of *Leyceſtre*, the xxiii Day of *Auguſt*.

Sabbatti,

Sabbati, *viz.* iiii° *Die* Septembris, *Regni Regis* Henrici VII. *primo.*

Nicholaus Lancastre, Mr. &c. N° 16. } Wer assembled in the Counsail Chambre within the *Guildhall*, when and where it was shewed by *Thomas Wrangwishe*, *William Welles*, *William Chymney*, Aldermen, *William Tate* and *John Hay*, of the xxiv. late sent unto the King for the Well of this Citie, that the said Kings Grace accept them in the Name of tholl Bodie of this Citie, graciously unto his Highnesse graunting that the said Citie shuld be holdein of the same, and that the Inhabitants and Citizens of the said City shall have and enjoy all and all Manner of Fraunchisses, Liberties, Freedoms, Graunts, Issues, and Prouffits unto them belonging, in as large and ample Manner and Forme, with better, as any of his noble Progenitours had graunted to the said Citie at any Tyme hertofore. The which Premisses was shewed by the Mouth of the said *Thomas Wrangwishe*, not only unto the Mayre and the Counsail, but also incontinently to the Commons assembled the said Day in the *Guildhall* forsaid. After which the Maire taking with hym all above written entered the Chambre agayn, where, after due Thanks geven unto the said *Thomas Wrangwishe* and his Felows, for ther grete Labor and comfortable Tidings, it was determined that *William Welles* and *William Chymney* shuld towards their Horsehyre have in Reward xx*s.* and either of the xxiv v*s.* And on this —— *desunt cætera.*

These Sketches of History, long buried in Silence, we bring to Light, as a Taste of those Times rendered dark enough by the Writers of the *Lancastrian* Party. Here is Subject sufficient for an Historian to expatiate largely upon, and to such we leave it, the growing Bulk of this Work not suffering us to enter into it; let the Times then speak for themselves.

It is plain that *Richard*, represented by most as a Monster of Mankind, was not so esteemed in his Lifetime in these Northern Parts; and had the Earl of *Northhumberland* staid and raised Forces here, he might have endangered *Henry*'s new-acquired Diadem. Wanting that

that Nobleman's perſonal Appearance amongſt them, our City had nothing to do but, with the reſt of the Kingdom, to ſubmit to the Conqueror, whoſe Policy taught him to ſhew great Acts of Clemency at his Entrance into Government, though he muſt know that neither his Title nor his Family were recognized or reſpected in theſe Northern Parts of the Kingdom.

The firſt Thing the Victor did after his Conqueſt near *Boſworth*, *Anno* 1485, was to ſend immediately for the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, the Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*, whom he had ſworn to marry before his Invaſion. This Princeſs had been ſent by *Richard* a Kind of Priſoner to *Sheriff-Hutton* Caſtle in our Neighbourhood, as a Place of great Strength and Security. It is ſaid the Uncle intended to marry his Niece himſelf, to prevent any other from doing it. The Meſſenger made Uſe of by *Henry* on this important Occaſion ſeems to be Sir *John Halewell*, mentioned in one of the Warrants, the ſecret Commiſſion he was intruſted with pointing at no leſs. The Princeſs was conducted publickly up to *London*, and a numerous Suit of Nobility met and attended her. But there was another of Royal Blood in the ſame Caſtle, whom *Henry*'s Jealouſy would not allow ſuch Pageantry to: This was no leſs a Perſon than *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of *Warwick*, only Son to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the late King *Richard*'s elder Brother, juſt then fifteen Years of Age. This Branch of a Royal Stock was born to be unhappy, if the Knowledge of his Birth-Right, which was induſtriouſly kept from him, as well as every Part of Education, had not made him thoughtleſs about it. To whoſe Care and Cuſtody *Richard* had intruſted theſe two Particulars we know not; the Caſtle was then in Poſſeſſion of the *Nevils*. This is another great Inſtance of the Truſt he had in the Northern, rather than the Southern, Parts of the Kingdom. We are told that *Henry* diſpatched away Sir *Robert Willoughby*, the Day after the Battle, to take the Prince from his Keepers, and convey him privately to the Tower of *London*. It was not long after that this innocent Youth ſhared the ſame Fate with his Couſins, *Edward* V. and his Brother, with this Difference only, that the former execrable Deed is ſaid to have been acted in the Dead of the Night, and *Henry*, with as much Juſtice, cauſed his

Head

Head to be ſtruck off in open Day-Light. In this Prince the Royal Line of the *Plantagenets* failed.

Monſ. *Rapin de Thoyras*, an Hiſtorian apparently oppoſite to an Hereditary Title to the Crown of *England*, writes thus, however, of this unfortunate Prince: " A Prince, ſays he, who was the ſole Relick of the Male Iſſue of *Edward* III. which had been ſo numerous, but was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by the late Civil Wars, laſt of the *Angavin* or *Plantagenet* Race, which had been in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, from Father to Son, during the Space of 330 Years."

The Princeſs *Elizabeth* was preſently married to *Henry*; but he always ſeemed to ſcorn the Title he had with her, and was the firſt King of *England* that choſe rather to make his Claim to the Crown *de Facto* than *de Jure* *. It was three Years before he would have her crowned according to his Oath; *and it is very true*, ſays the great Lord *Verulam*, *that* Henry *ſhewed himſelf no very indulgent Huſband to the Lady* Elizabeth, *tho' ſhe was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful, and but then nineteen Years of Age. His Averſion to the Houſe of* York, continues that Author, *was ſo predominant in him, that it found Place not only in his Wars and Councils, but in his Chamber, and even in his Bed.*

We ſhall now conclude this Chapter, being a Series of 420 Years, and haſten to our Hiſtorical Annals in the Reigns of this *Henry* and his Succeſſors.

* *Bacon's Henry* VII.

A Continuation of the Historical Annals of the City, from the Union of the Houses of York *and* Lancaster, *to the present Times.*

HENRY VII. called the *English Solomon*, having mounted the Throne, (*An.* 1486) kept Possession of it all his Life, with Strength of Judgment and Policy, deserving in some Measure that high Title. However, the Partizans of the House of *York* could not bear that a Prince of the other Family should reign over them, notwithstanding the specious Title he drew from the Queen might very well serve to gild over his own. Several Commotions were raised, in which those that concerned *Lambert Symnel* and *Perkin Warbeck* were not inconsiderable, and gave him no small Trouble to compose. The Northern Counties, and especially the City of *York*, preserved their Respect to the Family which bore that Title, and seemed to watch all Opportunities to testify their Loyalty to it. In the second Year of his Reign, (1488) in a Progress *Henry* made into the North, in order to stop an Insurrection which was then just setting on Foot in this Country, he came to *York*, whither he had sent before him a great Multitude of unarmed Men, that he might rather seem to pacify than exasperate his Adversaries. This Piece of Policy had like to have proved fatal to him; for, says the History of *Croyland*, he had certainly been taken by them, whilst he was devoutly solemnizing St. *George*'s Day in that City, had not the Earl of *Northumberland* been more prudent in coming to his Rescue. *Henry* seized upon some of the principal Movers of this Disturbance, and presently caused them to be hang'd upon a Gibbet at *York*: After which, adds our Authority, the King returned in Peace to the South. *

This Insurrection had been countenanced by the Lord *Lovel*, the two *Staffords* †, and afterwards headed by the Earl of *Lincoln*, who had landed with *Lambert Symnel* from *Ireland* with Forces, and caused him to be proclaimed by the Stile of King *Edward* VI. against *Henry* VII. This Sham-Monarch, soon after his Landing, sent a Letter to the Mayor, &c. of *York*, which, with

* Hist. *Croy.* contin. † *Bacon's Henry* VII.

with the Resolutions of the Magistracy upon it, is entered in one of their Registers as follows:

Copy of a Letter directed to the Mayor, &c. from the Lords of Lincoln, Lovel, *et al. late landed in* Froneys, *in the Name of their King, calling himself King* EDWARD *the Sixth.* Will. Todd, *Mayor*, 2 HENRY VII.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Mayor, his Brethren, and Commonalty of our City of York,

Trusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well.

AND for so much as we been comen within this our Realme, not only by God's Grace to attain our Right of the same, but also for the Reliefe and Weal of our said Realm; you and all other our true Subjects, which hath been gretely injured and oppressed in Default of nowne Ministration of good Rules and Justice, desire therefore, and in our right herty wise pray you, that in this Behalfe ye woll shew unto us your good Aides and Favours; and where we and such Power as we have brought with us by Meane of Travayle of the See, and upon the Land, beene gretely weryed and laboured, it woll like you that we may have Reliefe, and Ease of Logeing and Vitaills within our Citie there, and soe to depart, and truly pay for that as we shall take; and in your so doing, ye shall doe Thing unto us of right acceptable Pleasure, and for the same find us your good and soveraign Lord at all Times hereafter, and of your Dispositions herein to ascertain us by this Bringer.

Yevene undre our Signet at *Masham* the viii Day of *June.*

"The which Letter was immediately sent to the Earl of *Northumberland* for to see; and a Copy of the same was sent to Sir *Richard Tunstall*, and another delivered to Master *Payne*, to shew it to the King's Grace: And further what the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Counsel of the City of *York*, assembled in the Counsel-Chamber within the *Guildhall*, departed from the Counsel, and commanded and was agreed, that every Warden should be in Harness and raise his Ward, and keep due Watch, that no Person should have Entry into the said City,

but ſuch as be true Liege-men unto our Soveraign Lord the King, *Henry* VII. And the ſaid Mayor incontinently, by the Advice of his Brethren, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common-Counſel aforeſaid, ſent in Meſſage unto the ſaid Lords of *Lincoln* and *Lovel* three of the Chamberlains, giving them in Commandment to ſhew unto the ſaid Lords, that my Lord the Mayor, my Maſters his Brethren, Aldermen, the Sheriffs, Common-Counſel, with the whole Commonality of the City of *York*, be finally determined, that he, whom the ſaid Lords called their King, they, nor none of their Retinue or Company intending to approach this City, ſhould have any Entry into the ſame, but to withſtand them with their Bodies and Goods, if they would atteyne ſo to do."

Symnel and his Adherents came directly to *York*, after the King had left it, in Hopes to be powerfully reinforced in theſe Parts, not doing the City or Country any Harm, that their Mock-King might gain a greater Character, and ſeem tender of his Subjects Lives; but finding the Country not to come in as they expected, they went incontinent to meet the King, and fight him with the Numbers they had. What followed was the Battle of *Stoke*, where *Henry* got the Victory, and the counterfeit *Plantagenet*, taken Priſoner, was made a Turnſpit in the Palace; in which Poſt he behaved himſelf ſo handſomely, that, after ſome Years, he was raiſed to be one of the King's Falconers.

In 1489 the Parliament had granted certain Subſidies to defray the Expence of an Army ſent into *Britany*; this was to be levied by a Tax on Land through *England*, which was readily paid by all the Counties except *Yorkſhire* and the Biſhoprick of *Durham* *. The two laſt, ſays Lord *Verulam*, openly and reſolutely refuſed to pay it; not out of Neceſſity, but by reaſon of the old Humour of theſe Counties, where the Memory of King *Richard* was ſo ſtrong, *That it laid like Lees in the Bottom of Men's Hearts, and if the Veſſels were once ſtirred it would riſe.* The Commiſſioners appointed for the gathering this Tax were amazed at this great Rub in their Way, and applied to the Earl of *Northumberland* for

* *Biondi.*

for his Advice and Aid in this Affair: The Earl forthwith wrote to Court about it, and received Anſwer from the King, that, peremptorily, he would not abate one Penny; becauſe, ſince it was a Tax granted by Parliament, if he did, it might encourage other Counties to hope for an Abatement; and he would never allow the People to diſannul the Authority of a Parliament in which their Votes were included. Upon this Advice the Earl ſummoned all the Nobility and Gentry to *York*, and ſpeaking to them in that imperious Language the King had ſent him, the Words ſuiting his natural Diſpoſition, it did not only irritate them to a great Degree, but imagining the Words to be as much the Earl's own as the King's, and that he had been the chief Adviſer in laying this Tax, they roſe and aſſailed his Houſe, and ſlew him with many of his Servants *. The Sword thus drawn, they threw away the Scabbard, and choſe for their Leader Sir *John Egremond*, whom Lord *Bacon* calls a factious Perſon, and one who had a long Time borne an ill Mind towards the King: To him they added a Fellow of mean Degree, called *John a Chambre*, who bore much Sway amongſt the common People, and was a perfect *Boutefeu*. With theſe Commanders they entered into open Rebellion, giving out in flat Terms that they would march againſt King *Henry*, and fight for their Liberties and Properties.

When the King heard of this new Inſurrection he ſeemed little troubled therewith, but ſent *Thomas* Earl of *Surry*, whom he had not long before releaſed out of the Tower and pardoned, with a competent Power againſt the Rebels. The Earl met and fought with the principal Band of them, defeated them, and took *John a Chambre*, their Ringleader, Priſoner, with ſeveral others. The reſt fled to *York*, where, upon the General's Approach, they durſt not ſtand a Siege, but ran out of the City, ſome one Way and ſome another. *Egremond* got into *Flanders*, where he was protected by *Margaret*, Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, Siſter to *Edward* IV. and *Henry*'s

* This Earl was buried at *Beverley*, where he had a ſtately Monument, but now much defaced. The Deſtruction of this Earl ſo ſoon after the Revolution in Favour of *Henry*, was probably in Revenge for his deſerting the Houſe of *York*, who had reſtored him to thoſe Honours forfeited by his Father at *Towton*.

mortal Enemy. *John a Chambre* was executed in great State at *York*; for he was hanged on a Gibbet raised a Stage higher than ordinary, in the Midst of a square Gallows, as a Traitor Paramount; and a Number of his Men, that were his chief Accomplices, were hanged upon the lower Story round about him. *

The King, though he made Use of the Earl of *Surry* for a General, yet followed after, and, notwithstanding he heard of the Victory, came on as far as *York*, in order to pacify and settle that City and County; from whence he returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surry* his Lieutenant in these Northern Parts, and Sir *Richard Tunstal* his principal Commissioner to levy the Subsidy, of which he did not remit one Denier. †

This Strictness in *Henry* so dampt the Spirits of the Northern Malecontents, that, whatever they might think of his Title, they never more offered to disturb him; and even in the Rebellion occasioned by *Perkin Warbeck*'s Claim, the Sham-Duke of *York*, our Chronicles make no Mention of any Insurrection in these Parts in his Favour.

We suppose them quiet, submissive, and very good Subjects during the rest of this King's Reign; and as a Testimony of the Loyalty of the City of *York*, we find, in our Records, an Account of the Reception of *Margaret*, *Henry*'s eldest Daughter, into the City, in her Journey for *Scotland*, in order to consummate a Marriage, which had been solemnized by Proxy, betwixt this Princess and *James* IV. King of *Scotland*, some Time before in *London*, which we shall give in the original Words and Orthography. ‡

" On *Saturday* the 14th of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1503, Sir *John Gylliot*, Merchant, Knight of the *Bath*, being then Lord Mayor of the City of *York*, and *John Ellis* and *Thomas Braikes*, Sheriffs, *Margaret* the King's eldest Daughter, and Wife of *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, came to *York*, accompanied with many Lords, Ladies, Knyghtes, and Esquyers, and Gentlemen, to the Number of five hundreth Persons, being met by the Sheriffs in Crymsyn Gownes, attended by one hundreth Persons on Horseback in one Clothing, at the

* Lord *Bacon*. *Stowe*'s Chron. † Lord *Bacon*.

‡ From the City Register.

the Midſt of *Tadcaſter* Bridge, who, with humble Salutations, welcomed her Majeſty into the Libertys of the ſaid City, and ſo bare their white Wands before her until ſhe came at *Micklegate-Bar*; and ther the Lord Mayor, cloathed in fine Crymſin Sattin engrayned, having a Collar of Gold of his Majeſtys Livery about his Neck, being on Horſeback, his Saddle of fine Crymſin Velvet, and the Trappis of the ſame, with gilt Bullion; his Footmen apparelled in green Sattin, with the Armes of the City and his own Armes, accompanyed with the Recorder and Aldermen in Scarlet together on Horſeback, their Sadles being covered with fine Cloath bordered with black Velvet, and their Trappis of the ſame with gilt Bullion, the Twenty-four in their red Gownes on Foot, with the Tradeſmen and Commoners honeſtly cloathed, ſtanding on the North-Side of the Bar, made low Obeyſance unto her Grace, who with all her Company was moſt nobly and richly apparelled, and ſo came near unto her Chayr upon the Palfreys covered with Cloth of Gold, who cauſing the Palfreys to ſtand ſtill, the Lord Mayor ſaid, *Moſt noble and excellent Princeſs, I and my Brethren, with all the Commonality of this City, in our moſt heartieſt wiſe, welcometh your noble Grace, with all thoſe the other Nobles that attend upon you*; at which Words ſhe inclined herſelf towards the Lord Mayor, *and thanked him, his Brethren, and all the reſt of the City*; and then it was ordered by the Lord Treaſurer that the Lord Mayor ſhould ride next before her Chayr, betwixt two Serjeants at Armes, to bear the Mace to her Lodgings.

" On the Morrow, about Nine o'Clock in the Forenoon, the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Twenty-four, and Chamberlaynes, went into the Biſhop's Pallace, and ther preſented her with a goodly ſtanding Silver Piece with a Cover, well over-guilt, and an hundreth Angells of Gold in the ſame, amounting to the Summe of Eighty-three Poundes Six Shillings and Eightpence, for which ſhe heartily thanked him, his Brethren, and all the Body of the City; and ſo went forward towards the Minſter, the Lord Archbiſhop and other Biſhops and Nobles going before her in Order, the Lord Mayor bearing the Mace betwixt two Serjeants at Armes next before her; and after Maſs was done, returned back to

the

the Pallace to Dinner, the Lord Mayor bearing the Mace as aforesaid, untill she came to her Chamber, and ther took his Leave till *Monday* Morning.

"On *Monday* Morning about Twelve of the Clock her Grace took her Chayre to go on her Voyage that Night to *Newburgh*; and then every Science stood in Order from the Minster Gates to *Bootham Bar*, the Lord Mayor and his Brethren riding in like Order as they did at her coming, the Sheriffs bearing their Rods, rode forth at the said Bar before her untill they came at *Mawdlyn* Chappel, and there the Lord Mayor making a long Oration, took his Leave; whereupon she heartily thanked his Lordship and the rest, and said, *My Lord Mayor, your Brethren, and all the whole City of* York, *I shall evermore endeavour to love you and this City all the Dayes of my Life.* And so departed on her Journey."

The Ceremonial of attending this Lady in her Progress, and her Reception into the City of *York*, is better recorded by a then Officer at Arms, from whose orginal Record the following is transcribed.

"The fifteenth Day of the said Monneth departed the Quene fro *Pountfret* in faire Company, as others Times before, the Mayr, Aldermen, Bourges, and Habitanns in the conveying of her, and from thens she want to Dynner to *Dadcaster*.

"And att the partyng after Dynner, cam to hyr my Lord *Latymer* and my Lady his Wiffe, vary well appoynted, companyed of many Gentylmen and Gentylwomen, to the Nombre of L. Horses, hys Folk arayed Liveray.

"And out of the said *Dadcaster* cam the two Shriffs of the City of *Yorke*, wellcommyng the Quene in ther Fraunchyses, in Company of many Officers of the Towne and oth Bourges and Habitanns, well honestly apoynted and horst, to the Nombre of iiii^{xx} Horsys. And two Mille fro *Dadcaster* cam to her the Lord *Scroupp*, of *Bolton*, and the Lord *Scroupp*, of *Upsall*, his Sone, in Company of many Gentylmen well appoyntyd, and ther Folke in suchwise to the Nombre of xx. Horsys of ther Liverays, and well Horsys.

"And fore Mille from the sayd Towne met the sayd Quene the Lady *Conyars* nobly dreft, and in hyr Company

pany many Gentyllwomen, and others honneſtly appoynted, to the Nombre of 60. Horſys.

" At two Mille fro the ſayd Cite cam toward the ſaid Quene, my Lord the Earle of *Northumberland* well horſt opon a fayr Corſer, with a forr Cloth to the Grounde of Cramſyn Velvett, all borded of Orfavery, his Armes vary rich in many Places uppon his Saddle and Harnays, his Sterrops gylt.

" Hymſelfe arayed of a Gowne of the ſaid Cramſyn, the Opnyngs of the Slyves and the Collar of grett Bordeux of Stones; hys Boutts of Velvet black; his Spours gylt in many Places maid Gambads plaiſants for to ſee; ny to him two Fotemen ther Jackets of that ſam as before to hys Devyſes; and before him hee had 3 Hunſmen mounted upon fayr Horſys, ther ſhort Jackets of Orfavery, and Harnays of the ſaid Horſys of that ſame rychly dreſt; and after them rode the Maiſter of hys Horſe, arayed of hys Liveray of Velvyt, monted upon a gentyl Horſe, and Campanes of Silver and gylt, and held in his Haund annother fayr Corſer of all Thyngs, his Harnays apoynted as before is ſaid.

" Wyth hym in hys Company was many noble Knyghts; that is to weytt, Sur *John Hayſtyngs*, Sur *John Penynthon*, Sur *Lancelot Thirlekeld*, Sur *Thomas Curwen*, Sur *John Normanville*, Sur *Robert* of *Aſke*, all Knyghts, arayed of hys ſayd Liveray of Velvet with ſome Goldſmyth Wark; grett Chaynnes and war well mounted, ſome of ther Horſe Harnes full of Campanes, ſum of Gold and Sylver, and the others of Sylver.

" Alſo ther was hys Officer of Armes, named *Northumberland-Herault*, aray'd of his ſayd Liveray of Velvet, berring hys Cotte ſens the Mettyng tyll to hys departyng thorough all the Entryng and Yſſue of good Towns and Citez.

" Alſo others Gentylmen in ſuch wys aray'd of hys ſaid Liveray, ſum in Velvet, others in Damaſke and Chamlett, the others of Cloth, well monted, to the Nombre of three hundreth Horſys.

" And a Mylle owte of the ſaid Cite the ſaid Quene apoynted hyr in hyr Horſe-Letere rychly beſene, hyr Ladys and Gentelwomen right freſhly aray'd.

" Alſo all the Nobles, Lordes, Knyghts, Gentylmen, and others of her Company apoynted in ſo good Manere

Manere and ſo ryche, that a goodly Sight it was for to beholde.

" And at the Entryng of the Soubarbes was the iiii. Orders *Mendiens* in Proceſſyon before hyr.

" And in the Stat as before, in fayr Order ſhe entred in the ſayd Cyte, Trompetts, Mynſtrells, Sakebowtts, and high Wods retentyſynge that was fayr for here Cotts of Armes open, ryches Maſſes in Haund, Horſys of Deſyr, and noble Herts delibered.

" And within the ſayd Cite, ny to the Gatt, was my Lord the Mayr Syr *John Guillot*, Knyght, compenyd of the Aldermen all on Horſeback, and honneſtly arayed in Gownys of Scarlatte, the ſayd Mayr of Sattin Cramſyn, goods Channes on ther Necks, and reſayved the ſaid Quene varey mykely, and after they rode before hyr to the Mother Church, the ſayd Mayr beryng hys Maſſe.

" And ny to them wer within the Streytts on Fowte and in good Order, the honneſts Bourges and Habitanns of the ſayd Cite honneſtly beſene in ther beſt Aray, all the Wyndowes ſo full of Nobles, Ladyes, Gentylwomen, Damſells, Bourgeſys, and others in ſo grett Multitude, that it was a fayr Sight for to ſee.

" Thus contynued the Space of too Houres or ſhe wer conveyed to the Mother Church, wher was the Reverends Fathers in God my Lord the Archbyſchop of *Yorke*, the Byſchop of *Durham*, the Abbot Saunt *Marie*, and the Souffringhan in Pontificall, with the College togeder reveſted of riches Coppes; and ny to the Founte was notably appynted the Place wher the Croſſe was, the wich ſhee kiſſed, and after to the Hert of the Church ſhe wente to make hyr Offrynge.

" And that doon ſhe was conveyd thorough the ſaid Company to the Pallays wher ſhe was lodged, and ſo every Men hym owtdrew to hys Lodgyngs them to rafreſh; bot it was grett Melodie for to here the Bells rynge thorough the Citie.

" And the next Day, that was the *Sonday* the xvith Day of the ſaid Monneth, remayn'd the ſaid Quene in the ſaid Towne of *Yorke*, and at Ten of the Clock ſhe was convey'd to the Church with the ſaid Archbyſchop, Byſchops of *Durham*, *Morrey*, and *Norwyſche*, the Prelats before, and others honorable Folks of the Churche,

my

my Lord of *Surrey*, the Lord hyr Chammerlayn, and others Nobles, Knyghts, Squires, Gentylmen, the ſaid Mayre, Aldermen, and Scheryffs, to the Nombre of two Hundreth and more. With hyr wer Ladys and Gentylwomen of hyr Company, and Straungers to the Nombre of xl. and ſo was ſhe convey'd to the Church. It was a fair Syght for to ſee the Company ſo rychly apoynted.

" Thus Noble ſhe was convey'd into her Travers, wher befor her was an Auter dreſt of many ryches and noble Jewels, and an hygh Awter in likewyſe; and hard Maſſe in meane Time that the ſaid Archbyſchop maid hymſelfe redy.

" After the ſaid Maſſe begonne the Proceſſyon generall varey fayr, wher was fyrſt the Croſſys and the Colleges veſted of varey rych Copys; and after them came the Souffringhan Subdyacon, the Abbot of Saunte *Marye* Dyacon; the Croſſe borne before the Archbyſchop, with hym the Byſchop of *Durham*, all in Pontificall.

" After them cam the Lords that followeth rychly apoynted, the Lord *Willeby*, Lord *Scroupp*, and hys Son the Lord *Latimer*, the Lord *Haſtyngs*, Therle of *Kent*, and hys Son Lord *Straunge*, Therle of *Northumberland*, the Byſchop of *Morrey* and of *Norwyche*, the Lord Mair, Therle of *Surrey*, the Lord Chamberlain, the Officers of Armes, and the Sergents.

" And after cam the Quene rychly aray'd in a Gowne of Cloth of Gold, a rych Coller of precyouſes Stones, and a Gyrdle wrought of fin Gold hauntyng doo to the Gerth, and the Counteſſe of *Surrey* bare her Trayne; a Gentleman Huyſcher helping after hyr the Ladys and Gentylwomen as before, varey rychly dreſt in goodly Gownys, gretts Collers, gretts Chaynnes, Gyrdles of Gold, and others Richeſſes.

" And after hyr followed the Nobles, Knyghts, Gentylmen, and Squires in fayr Aray, honneſtly apoynted, having grett Chaynnes upon them; and the ſaid Church was ſo full of honneſte Perſonnes, Ladyes, and Gentylwomen of the ſaid Towne, and many other People in ſo grett Nombre, that impoſſible ſchould be for to be nombred; but ſo good Ordre there was, that none cry ne Noiſe was maid.

" The

" The Erle of *Northumberland* was arayed in a varey ryche Gowne of Cloth of Gold, hys thre Gentylmen of Honor, dreſt with longs Jackets full of Orfavery, varey rychly wrought with his Devyſes, like wys hys Folks.

" After the Proceſſyon doon, begonne the hygh Maſſe by the ſaid Archbyſchop, the which was ſtalled as the Cuſtome is to do in Company of hym the ſaid Abbot and Souffiringhan, with others honnorable Perſonnes of the Churche, and ſange the Servyce of the ſaid Maſſe, the Chappelle of my ſaid Lord of *Northumberland* much ſolempnelly.

" And at the Hour of the Offertory was the ſaid Quene brought to the Offrynge in the Preſence of the ſaid Prelates, Lords, and others Knyghts, Squyers, and Gentylmen, *&c.* whome ſche offred ſhe retourned ageyn, eidy Man went ageyn in hys Place as before, and to hyr gaffe hyr Offryng the ſaid Erle of *Surrey*.

" The Maſſe doon, the Quene was, by the ſaid Company precedente in fayr Aray and Ordre, brought agayn to the Pallays, and within the grett Chammer was preſented before hyr my Lady the Counteſſe of *Northumberland*, well accompany'd of many Knyghts and Gentylmen, and Ladyes and Gentylwomen, the Quene kiſſing hyr in the welcommynge; and as ſoon as ſche was com in hyr Chammer ſhe begonne to dynne, Trompetts and other Inſtruements rang to the auncyenne Manere laſtyng the ſaid Dynner.

" The ſaid Archbyſchop holdyng open Hows in makyng good Cher to all commyng togeder, my Lord the Mayr the Scheryffs ſo, as raporte to me them that was ther Perſons.

" The xvii^th^ Day of the ſaid Monneth the ſaid Quene departed fro the ſaid Cite of *York* in varey fayr Company and Ordre, rychly apoynted, the ſaid Archbiſchop and Byſchops beforeſaid, the Lord the Mair, Scheryffs, and the Aldermen, the Streytts and the Wyndows ſo full of People that it was a fair Thynge for to ſee.

" And without the ſaid Cite the ſaid Lord Mayre and his Company take Licence, and furthermore dyd the Lords the Byſchop of *Norwych*, of *Kent*, of *Straunge*, *Haſtyngs*, and *Willeby*, and many others mor Knyghts Gentylmen went with them ageyn.

" And

"And after this doon, ſhe took hyr Way to *Newbrough* the Priore, to the which Place ſhe was receyved by the ſaid Prior and Religyous, honneſtly reveſted with the Croſſe, at the Gatt of the Church."

Henry VII. died, *Anno* 1509, without any more Occurrences to furniſh our Annals with. He was ſucceeded by his only Son *Henry*, who was crowned King of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, at the Age of ſixteen Years, by the Title of *Henry* VIII.

September 9, 1513, was fought the famous Battle of *Flodden*, in which *James* the Fourth of *Scotland*, King *Henry*'s Brother-in-Law, was killed, and his Army entirely routed. The Earl of *Surry* commanded the *Engliſh* Army, being Lord Lieutenant of the North, in *Henry*'s Abſence, who was then at the Siege of *Tournay*, in *French Flanders*. The Earl had drawn 26,000 Men together to oppoſe the *Scots*, 500 of whom were raiſed in the City and Ainſty by the Lord Lieutenant's Warrant for that Purpoſe. The Body of the *Scotch* King, ſlain in that Fight, was brought to *York*, expoſed to public View, and kept there by the Earl till the King's Return from *France*, and then carried and preſented to him at *Richmond*.

Many Years now paſſed without any Materials for our Hiſtory; but about 27 *Henry* VIII. the Suppreſſion of the leſſer Monaſteries and the Innovations in Religion cauſed ſeveral Inſurrections and Commotions in *England*, eſpecially in the Northern Parts; amongſt which a Conſpiracy was carried on by Lord *Darcy*, *Robert Aſk*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Wife, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *Stephen Hamerton*, *Nicholas Tempeſt* and *William Lumley*, Eſqrs. Theſe Men, at the Head of 40,000 Prieſts, Peaſants, and Labourers, declared by their Proclamation, ſolemnly made, that this their Riſing and Commotion ſhould extend no farther than only to the Maintenance and Defence of the Faith of *Chriſt*, and Deliverance of Holy Church, ſore decayed and oppreſs'd; and alſo for the Furtherance as well of private as public Matters in the Realm, in regard to the Welfare of the King's poor Subjects *.

 This

* *Hollingſhead*'s Chron.

This Insurrection was styled, by the Ringleaders of it, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*; and under that specious Pretence they kept together some Time, and committed several Outrages. The King sent an Army against them, with a Proclamation for a general Pardon, which had the good Effect to disperse the Crowd, and the Heads of the Revolters were taken; most of whom, with the Abbots of *Fountains*, *Jervaux*, and *Rivaulx*, and the Prior of *Burlington*, were executed at Tyburn. Sir *Robert Constable* was hung in Chains over *Beverley-Gate* at *Hull*; and *Robert Ask*, who was the principal of them all, had the same Suspension on a Tower, probably *Clifford*'s Tower, at *York*, *Anno* 1537.

Several Insurrections succeeded this in the North: It seems they took the Change in Religion much worse than in the Southern Parts of the Kingdom, and made several smart Struggles against it.

The King intending also the Suppression of the greater Monasteries, which he effected in the 31st of his Reign, for the preventing of future Dangers, and keeping those Northern Counties in Quiet, raised a President and Council at *York*, and gave them two several Powers and Authorities, under one great Seal, of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *&c.* within the Counties of *York*, *Durham*, *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and *Cumberland*, the City of *York* and County of the same, the City of *Carlisle*, the Town and County of *Kingston upon Hull*, *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and *Berwick upon Tweed*; which Court was continued till the Troubles of the King and Nation, in the Time of *Charles* I.

The Officers of the Court consisted of

1. Lord President.
2. The Vice President.
3. Four or more learned Counsel.
4. The Secretary.
5. The King's Attorney.
6. Two Examiners.
7. One Register.
8. Fourteen Attorneys.
9. One Clerk of the Attachments.
10. Two Clerks of the Seal.
11. One Clerk of the Tickets.
12. One Serjeant at Arms.
13. One Pursuivant.
14. Ten Collectors of Fines.
15. Two Tipstaves.

All being at length pretty quiet, the King thought it Policy to go a Progress amongst them, and receive their Submission in Person.

In

In the Month of *August* *, *Anno* 1541, King *Henry* began his Progress to the City of *York*, where, for a Rebellion this very Year, Sir *John Nevil*, Knight, and ten Persons more, were taken and executed.

The King passed through *Lincolnshire*, where humble Submission was made to him by the Temporality, confessing their Faults, and thanking him for his Pardon. The Town of *Stamford* presented him with 20 *l.* the City of *Lincoln* with 40 *l.* and the Town of *Boston* with 50 *l.* That Part of the County called *Lindsey* gave 300 *l.* and *Kestern*, with the Church at *Lincoln*, 50 *l.* more.

At his Entrance into *Yorkshire* he was met by 200 Gentlemen of that County, in Velvet Coats and suitable Accoutrements, with 4000 tall Yeomen and Servants, well horsed. These, on their Knees, made Submission to his Majesty by the Mouth of Sir *Robert Bowes*, and presented him with 900 *l.*

On *Barnsdale* the Archbishop of *York*, with upwards of 300 of his Clergy, met the King, and, making a like Submission, gave him 600 *l.* From thence this great King, gallantly attended, came to the City of *York*, where he was received with as much Magnificence as the City's present Condition could shew. All due Submission being made, the Lord Mayor presented his Majesty with 100 *l.* as did also the Mayors of *Newcastle* and *Hull*, who came to *York* to meet him.

It was at this Time and in this City, says *Speed*, that *Henry* had proposed a Meeting betwixt the King of *Scots* and him, in order to settle a firm Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms; which Meeting, though at first agreed to, was aftewards withstood by the *Scotch* Nobility, who were doubtful of *Henry*'s Sincerity. He staid in *York* twelve Days, from thence he went to *Hull*, and so crossing the *Humber*, returned through *Lincolnshire* into the South.

Anno 1546 died *Henry* VIII. with the terrible Character of neither sparing Man in his Anger, nor Woman in his Lust, throughout his whole Reign. His only Son succeeded him by the Name of *Edward* VI. being then just nine Years old.

In the second Year of this King's Reign, *Anno* 1548, a small Insurrection began in these Parts †, at *Seamer*, near

* *Hollingshead, Stowe*, &c. † *Stowe*'s Chron.

near *Scarbrough*. The principal Raisers of this Sedition were very inconsiderable Fellows to have their Names recorded in History, being *William Ambler* of *East-Hesterton*, Yeoman; *Thomas Dale*, Parish Clerk of *Seamer*; and one *Stevenson* of the same Town, who rose upon the old Topick of reforming Abuses crept into Religion, and in the Night set the Beacon on Fire at *Staxton*, and so gathered together a rude Rout to the Number of 3000. A Party of this Rabble went to Mr. *White*'s House, and took him, and *Clapton* his Wife's Brother, one *Savage* *, a Merchant of *York*, and *Berry*, a Servant to Sir *Walter Mildmay*, out of their Beds, carried them upon the Wolds near *Seamer*, there murdered them, and left their Bodies quite naked for the Crows to feed upon. The Lord President sent out a Detachment against them from *York*, and a general Pardon to all that would immediately submit, upon which most of them dispersed; but *Ambler* and the above-named Rebels refused the Mercy; however, they were soon taken, brought to *York*, and executed *September* 21, 1549, along with six others, busy Stirrers in this Sedition.

On the 15th of *April*, 1551, began that terrible contagious Distemper the Sweating Sickness in *England*; a Disease never heard of before nor since in the whole World. To be a little particular in the Account of this strange Contagion, the Effects of which were severely felt in our City, and because it may very well serve to fill up a large Gap in our Annals, we presume may not be unacceptable to the Reader.

This Plague first shewed itself at *Shrewsbury* †, in *April* aforesaid, but had not ceased in the North of *England* till the End of *September* following. It broke out in *London* in *July*, and was so violent that in the very first Week it swept off 800 Persons; People in the best State of Health, as indeed is usual in other Contagions, were the most liable to be seized by it; and at first was certain Death to them in twenty-four Hours Time. This sudden and severe Attack so terrified People of all Sorts, that those who could any ways afford it left the Kingdom: But, what is almost incredible, the Contagion

* Supposed to be *Richard Savage*, who was Sheriff of *York* in 1540.

† *Hollingshead. Stowe.*

tagion followed them, and them only; for at *Antwerp* and several other Towns in *Flanders*, where the *English* had retired to, and were mixed with divers other Nations, not one but they were infected with it. The Manner of its first seizing a Person was with a sudden Chilness, then succeeded a violent Sweat; and upon the Admission of the least Cold, immediately the Chilness returned, and Death. Sleep at first was mortal in it, for they usually swooned away, or else died upon waking, if they slept but half a Quarter of an Hour. *Stowe* instances the quick Fatality of this Disease by seven Householders, who all supped chearfully together over Night, but before Eight the next Morning six of them were dead; few that were taken with full Stomachs escaped. No physical Regimen did any Service, except keeping moderately close, with some Air and a little warm Liquor, as Posset-Drink, or the like, for thirty Hours together, and then the Danger was past, if the Person did not go too suddenly into the Cold. This Disease, says *Hollingshead*, going clear through the Kingdom, and affecting none but our Natives abroad, made the Nation begin to repent and give Alms, and remember God, from whom that Plague might well seem to be sent; but as the Contagion in Time ceased, so our Devotion soon after decayed. How many died in this City of this strange Distemper is not remarked; but we are told, in Mr. *Hildyard*'s Collections, that this Year there was a great Plague in *York*.

The young King *Edward* was taken ill of a violent Cold in *January*, which ended in a Consumption, whereof he died on the 6th of *July* following, in the sixteenth Year of his Age, and in the seventh Year of his Reign. He was succeeded (1553) by

Mary, the eldest Daughter of King *Henry* VIII. by *Catherine* of *Spain*. In the short Reign of this Queen we have nothing to our Purpose to be inserted here. Our Historians have shewn her a Woman of a bloody and cruel Disposition, but our City bears no Manner of Testimony of it; for not one Execution, either for Treason or Religion, was performed in it during her Administration; at least the copious Mr. *Fox* is silent as to any such Matter.

Anno 1556, says *Stowe*, an Ambassador from the high and mighty *Evan Vasiliwisch*, Emperor of all *Russia*, &c. by Name *Osep Napea*, was sent to the famous and excellent Princes *Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, with Presents, in order to establish a Commerce betwixt the two Nations. It seems the Ambassador's Ship being driven from the rest by Stress of Weather, was tossed upon the Seas four Months, and at length shipwrecked on the Coast of *Scotland*; his *Russian* Excellency and some few others only saved. As soon as it was known in *London* that the Ambassador was in Safety, the Merchants procured Letters from Queen *Mary* to the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, for his kind Entertainment there, and safe Conduct up to *London*. In his Journey from North to South he came to *York*, where he must have been a strange Sight, being the first of his Country ever seen in *England*.

Queen *Mary* died (*Anno* 1558) and was succeded by *Elizabeth*, another Daughter of King *Henry* by *Anna Bullein*.

In 1569 a bold Conspiracy was set on Foot by *Thomas Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and others, against this Queen *. The Rebellion began in the North, and was afterwards strengthened by the coming in of *Charles Nevil*, Earl of *Westmoreland*, and others. Their Design was to have seized the Earl of *Sussex*, the Queen's Lieutenant of the North, at the House he then lived in, we suppose the Archbishop's Palace in *Cawood*; but being prevented, the Affair was let drop to another Opportunity. Soon after the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Designs being known at Court, he was sent for by special Messengers to appear there: These had well nigh surprized him in his Bed at his Manor of *Topcliff*, but by a Stratagem he escaped. After this the two Earls threw off all Disguise, raised Forces, and published their Intentions, which were no less than to restore the Catholick Religion, and to advance *Mary* Queen of *Scots* to the *English* Throne. In the Heat of this Zeal they hastened to *Durham* with their Army, and forthwith went to the Cathedral, where they tore and destroyed all the Bibles, Communion-Books, &c. that they could meet with. The same Night they marched to *Branspeth*, the next Day

* *Speed*'s Chron.

Day to *Darlington*; *where*, says *Hollingshead*, a Contemporary and bitter Enemy to them, *they lewdly heard Mass, and besprinkled all their Army with Holy Water*. Their Forces increasing, they marched from thence to *Richmond*, then to *Ripon*, where they again had Mass said in the Cathedral. It was here, to give the greater Sanction to their Cause, that they had a Cross with a Banner, painted with the five Wounds of our Saviour, borne before them: Their Standard-Bearer was one *Richard Norton*, whom *Speed* and *Hollingshead* call *Old Norton*. The same Night they marched on to *Boroughbridge*, and the next Day to *Wetherby*; on which Day at Night a Party of them entered *Tadcaster*, and took 200 Footmen, chasing their Leaders who were conducting them to the Earl of *Sussex* at *York*. The Day following the Rebels mustered on *Clifford-Moor*, where their Numbers amounted to 1600 Horse and 4000 Foot. With these Forces their Intention was to march directly to besiege *York*; but judging themselves yet too weak, they altered their Rout, and retired back into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, in order to lay Siege to *Barnard-Castle*. This Castle, though fiercely assailed, was valiantly defended against their whole Army for the Space of eleven Days, by Sir *George Bowes* and *Robert Bowes* his Brother. Being greatly distressed, Sir *George* capitulated, and delivered the Castle to them on Composition, to march out with Bag and Baggage, Armour, Munition, *&c.* which he and his Garrison forthwith did towards *York*.

At this City the Earl of *Sussex* was drawing Forces together in order to quash this Rebellion; and having raised 5000 effective Men, the Lord Lieutenant, accompanied by the Earl of *Rutland* his Lieutenant, the Lord *Hunsden* General of the Horse, *William* Lord *Evers*, who had the Command of the Rear, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Treasurer, all marched from *York*, on *Sunday*, *December* 11, in order to fight the Rebels. On the 12th they halted at *Sessay*, and Sir *George Bowes*, from *Barnard-Castle*, meeting them, the Lord President made him Marshal of the Army. From hence they marched to *Northallerton*, *Smeaton*, *Croft-Bridge*, and so on to *Aukland*; whereupon the Rebels thought fit to retire to *Hexham*. Their Stay there was not long; for upon a Report that the Queen had another great Army march-

ing

ing towards them under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick* and Lord *Clinton*, the two Earls, their Generals, found it was dangerous to ſtay, and therefore fled into *Scotland*, leaving their miſerable Army to ſhift for themſelves; who, being thus deſerted by their Leaders, fled ſeveral Ways, but were moſtly killed or taken by the Queen's Army and the Country People. Of thoſe that were taken were executed at *Durham* to the Number of ſixty-ſix, Conſtables and ſuch Fellows; for we find none of any Note here except an Aldermen, named *Struther*, and a Prieſt called Parſon *Plumtree*. Sir *George Bowes* had it now in his Power to glut his Revenge, which he did to the Purpoſe: *Stowe* ſays he had it from himſelf, that he cauſed ſome of them to be executed in every Market-Town, and every public Place, from *Newcaſtle* to *Wetherby*, a Country ſixty computed Miles long and forty broad, which muſt needs deſtroy great Numbers of theſe Wretches.

On *Good-Friday*, *March* 27, 1570, *Simon Digby*, of *Aſkew*, *John Fulthorpe*, of *Iſelbeck*, in this County, Eſqrs. *Robert Pennyman*, of *Stoxley*, *Thomas Biſhop*, the younger, of *Pocklington*, Gentlemen, were drawn from the Caſtle of *York* to the Place of Execution, called *Knaveſmire*, and there hanged, headed, and quartered: Their four Heads were ſet up on the four principal Gates of the City, with four of their Quarters; the other Quarters were ſet up in divers Places in the County.

The two Earls being fled into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* found Means ſoon after to get into *Flanders*, where, according to *Speed*'s charitable Inſinuation, he died miſerably eaten up with the Pox. The other unfortunate Nobleman, having been forced to live ſculking ſome Time amongſt the robbing Borderers, was at length found out and betrayed by a Perſon he had very much obliged in like Circumſtances, the Earl of *Moreton**, then Vice-Roy of *Scotland*, who delivered him to the Lord *Hunſden*, Governor of *Berwick*; and being brought to *York*, having been before attainted by Parliament, he was on the 22d of *Auguſt*, 1572, beheaded on a Scaffold ſet up for that Purpoſe in the *Pavement*;

* This was, ſays *Dugdale*, in order to curry Favour with *Elizabeth*, that ſhe might deliver to him *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, then Priſoner in *England*. *Dug*. Bar.

Pavement; his Head was set on a high Pole on *Micklegate-Bar*, where it continued for two Years, but was afterwards stolen from thence; his Body was buried in *Crux* Church by two of his Servants, where it now lies without any Memorial. *He died*, says *Speed*, *avowing the Pope's Supremacy, denying Subjection to the Queen, affirming the Land to be in a Schism, and her obedient Subjects no better than Hereticks.*

Immediately upon Queen *Elizabeth*'s Demise, which happened on the 22d of *March*, 1602, *James* VI. King of *Scotland*, Son to the late Queen *Mary* of that Kingdom, and Grandson to that Princess whom we received with so much Honour and Respect in this City some Years before, was proclaimed King of *England*, *&c.* in *London*. But notwithstanding the speedy and public Notice given of the Queen's Death, together with the Proclamation of the immediate and undoubted lawful Successor to the *English* Crown and Kingdom, says the Continuator of *Stowe*'s Annals, yet the News of it did not reach the City of *York* (only computed 150 Miles distant) until *Sunday*, *March* 27; neither, adds he, did the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *York* give full Credit to the Report then, though they had received it from the Lord *Burleigh*, then Lord President of the Council in the North, and Lord Lietenant of *Yorkshire*. *Robert Water*, Lord Mayor of *York*, with the Aldermen his Brethren, had prepared themselves to have made Proclamation in their chief Market-Place of the Death of the Queen, and the present Right of King *James* to the Succession, that *Sunday* Morning; yet such was their Doubt of the Truth of the Report, that they stopped Proceedings till they had sent the Recorder with *Thomas Herbert* and *Robert Askwith*, Aldermen, to the Lord President, to know what Certainty his Lordship had of it: The Lord President answered them, that he had no other Intelligence but only from a secret Friend at Court, whom he believed. But whilst they were thus in the House of the Lord President, a Gentleman of his own arrived with a Packet of Letters from the Nobility and Privy-Counsellors, declaring the Qeeen's Death, and the Proclamation of the King by them and the Lord Mayor of *London*. Then instantly the Lord Mayor of *York* and his Brethren, having received the Proclamation in Print,

proclaimed

proclaimed the King of *Scots* their true and lawful King; that is to ſay, JAMES *by the Grace of God, King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender*, &c. in all the public Places of the City, with all Duty, Love, Integrity, and joyful Acclamations.

Mr. *Edmund Howes*, the Continuator of *Stowe's* Hiſtory, ſeems, by the Particularity of this Affair, which we have taken from him, to have been either a Native or an Inhabitant of this City, or one, at leaſt, that paid a great Regard to the Affairs of it. The Reader will the more readily come into this Conjecture, when he ſees the Account this Author gives of King *James's* Reception into *York*, in his firſt Progreſs from *Edinburgh* to *London*, which we ſhall beg Leave to give in his own Words.

" On the 15th of *April*, 1603, his Majeſty ſet forwards from *Durham* towards *Yorke*, his Traine ſtill increaſing by the Numbers of Gentlemen from the South Parts; that came to offer him Fealty; whoſe Love although he greatly tendered, yet did their Multitudes ſo oppreſs the Country, and made Proviſion ſo dear, that he was fain to publiſh an Inhibition againſt the inordinate and daily Acceſs of the People coming, that many were ſtopped in their Way.

" The High Sheriffe of *Yorkſhire*, very well accompanied, attended his Majeſty to Maſter *Inglebyes* beſide *Topcliffe*, being about ſixteen Miles from *Walworth*, where the King had lain the Night before, who with all Joy and Humility received his Majeſty, and he reſted there that Night.

" The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Yorke*, upon certayne Knowledge of the King's Journey into *England*, with all Diligence consulted what was fitteſt to be done for the receiving and entertayning ſo mighty and gracious a Soveraygne, as well within the City as at the outmoſt Bounds thereof; as alſo what further Service or duteous Reſpect they ought to ſhew his Majeſty uppon ſo good and memorable Occaſion as now was offered unto them; and thereupon they ſent *Robert Aſkwith*, Alderman, unto *Newcaſtle*, and there, in the Behalfe of the Lord Mayor and Citizens of *Yorke*, to make Tender of their zealous Love and Dutie, for the which his Majeſtie gave them heartie Thankes.

" And

" And uppon *Saturday* the 16th of *April*, *John Robinson* and *George Buck*, Sheriffes of *Yorke*, with their white Roddes, being accompanyed with an hundreth Cittizens, and threescore other Esquiers, Gentlemen, and others, the most substantial Persons, being all well mounted, they received the King at the East End of *Skip-Bridge*, which was the utmost Boundes of the Libertyes of the Cittie of *Yorke*; and there kneeling, the Sheriffes delivered their white Roddes unto the King, with Acknowledgment of their Love and Allegiance unto his Majestie, for the which the King, with cheerfull Countenance, thanked them, and gave them their Roddes agayne; the which they carried all the Way upright in their Handes, ryding all the Way next before the Sergeants at Armes.

" And before the King came to the Cittie, his Majesty had sent Syr *Thomas Challenor* to the Lord Major and Aldermen, to knowe who formerlie had borne the Sworde before the Kinges of *England* at their coming to *Yorke*, and to whome of Right that Office for that Tyme appertayned, because it had been anciently performed by the Earles of *Cumberland*, as hereditary to that House, but was now chalenged by the Lord President of the North for the Time being, as proper to his Place: But uppon due Search and Examination it was agreed, that the Honor to bear the Sworde before the King in *Yorke* belonged unto *George* Earl of *Cumberland*, who all the while the King was in *Yorke* bare the Sworde, for so the King willed, and for that Purpose sent Syr *Thomas Challenor* agayne to the Lord Major, and the Lord Major bare the great Mace of the Cittie, going alwayes on the Lefte Hand of the Earle.

" And when the King came to the Cittie, which was well prepared to give his Highness and his Royal Trayne Entertainement, then the Lord Major, with the twelve Aldermen in their Scarlet Robes, and the Foure-and-twenty in Crimosin Gownes, accompanyed with many others of the gravest Menne, met the King at *Micklegate* Bar, his Majesty going betweene the Duke of *Linneox* and Lord *Hume*; and when the King came near to the Scaffold where the Lord Major, with the Recorder, the twelve Aldermen, and the Foure-and-twentie, all kneeling, the Lord Major said, *Most high and mightie Prince*,

I and my Brethren do most heartilie wellcome your Majestie to your Highness Cittie, and in Token of our Duties, I deliver unto your Majestie all my Authoritie of this your Highness Cittie, and then rose uppe and kissed the Sword and delivered it into the Kinges Hand, and the King gave it to the Duke of *Linneox*, who, according to the Kinges Appoyntment, delivered it unto the Earle of *Cumberland* to beare it before his Majestie.

" The Lord Major also delivered up the Keyes of the Cittie, which the Lord *Hume* received and carried them to the Manor: And when the Recorder had ended his grave Oration in Behalfe of the Cittie, then the Lord Major, as the King commanded, tooke Horse and bare the Cittie Mace, ryding on the Lefte Hande of the Earle of *Cumberland*, who bare the Sword of the Cittie, and so attended his Majestie to St. *Peter*'s Church, and was there royaly received by the Deanes, Prebends, and the whole Quyer of Singing Menne of that Cathedral Church in their richest Coapes: At the Entrance into the Church the Deane made a learned Oration in *Latine*, which ended, the King ascended the Quyer: The Canapa was supported by six Lords, and was placed in a Throne prepared for his Majestie; and during Divine Service there came three Sergeantes at Armes with their Maces pressing to stand by the Throne, but the Earle of *Cumberland* put them downe, saying, that Place for that Tyme belonged to him and the Lord Major, and not to them.

" Divine Service being ended, the King returned in the same Royal Manner he came; the Canapa being carryed over him unto the Mannor of St. *Maryes*, where the Lord *Burleigh* and Councel gave their Attendance, and received his Majestie, where Doctor *Bennet* having ended his eloquent Oration, the King went into his Chamber, the Sworde and Mace being there borne by the Earle and Lord Major, who left the Sworde and Mace there that Night, and when the Lord Major was to depart, the Lord *Hume* delivered him agayne the Keyes of the Cittie.

" The next Day, being *Sunday* the 17th of *April*, 1603, the Lord Major, with the Recorder, the Aldermen and Sheriffes, and the Twentie-foure with all their chiefe Officers, and the Preacher of the Cittie and Towne Clerk, in

in very comely Order went unto the Manor; of whome, so soon as the King hadde Knowledge of their comming, willed that so many of them as the Roome would permitte should come into the Privie Chamber, where the Lord Major presented his Majestie with a fayr Cuppe, with a Cover of Silver and gilt, weighing seventie and three Ounces, and in the same two hundreth Angells of Golde; and the Lord Major sayde, *Most high and mightie Prince, I and my Brethren, and all the whole Communaltie of this your Highnesse Citie, present unto your most excellent Majestie this Cuppe and Golde, in Token of the dutifull Affection wee beare your Highnesse in our Heartes, most humblie beseeching your Highnesse favourable Acceptaunce thereof, and your most gracious Favour to this your Highnesse Citie of* Yorke; the which his Majestie gratiously accepted, and saide unto them, *God will bless you the better for your Good-will towards your King.* The Lord Major humbly besought the King to dine with him uppon the next *Tuesdai*; the King answered, he should ride thence before that Tyme, but he would break his Fast with him in the next Morning.

" This *Sundai* the King went to the Minster and heard a Sermon made by the Dean *, who was Byshoppe of *Limericke*, in *Ireland*, the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Sheriffes, and Foure-and-twenty attended upon the King, the Earl still bearing the Sword, the Lord Major the Mace, and the Sheriffs bearing up their Roddes, as well within the Church as in the Streets, marching before the King unto the Mannor; the next Day being *Mondaie*, at Nine a Clock the Lord Major come to the Mannor, being accompanyed and attended by the Recorder, the Aldermen, and Foure-and-twenty, and others, and attended there; and at Tenne of the Clock the King, with his Royal Traine, went to the Lord Major's House and there dined; after Dinner the King walked to the Deanes House, and was there entertained with a Banquette; at the Deanerie the King took Horse and passed through the Cittie forth at *Micklegate* towards *Grimstone*, the House of Sir *Edward Stanhope*, the Earle of *Cumberlande* and the Lord Major beareing the Sword and Mace before the King untill they came unto the House of St. *Kathren*, at which Place the Earl said, *Is it*

* Dr. *Thornborough*.

it your Majesties Pleasure that I deliver the Sword agayne unto my Lord Major, for he is now at the utmost Partes of the Liberties of this Cittie? Then the King willed the Earle to deliver the Major his Sworde again: Then the Major alighted from his Horse and kneeling, tooke his Leave of the King, and the King pulling off his Glove, tooke the Major by the Hande and gave him Thankes, and so rode towards *Grimstone*, being attended by the Shrieffes to the Midell of *Tadcaster* Bridge, being the utmost Boundes of their Liberties. The next Day the Lord Major, according as he was commanded by a Nobleman, came the next Morning unto the Court at *Grimstone*, accompanyed with the Recorder and foure of his Brethren, *viz. W. Robinson, James Birkbie, William Greenburie*, and *Robert Askwith*, and certain chiefe Officers of the Cittie; and when his Majestie understood of their coming, he willed that the Major, with Master *Robinson* and Master *Birkbie*, should be brought up into his Bed-Chamber; and the King said, *My Lord Major, our Meaning was to have bestowed a Knighthood upon you in your own House, but the Companie being so great, we rather thought it good to have you here*; and then his Majestie knighted the Lord Major *, for which Honour the Lord Major gave his Majestie most humble and heartie Thankes, and returned."

This was the first Reception King *James* met with in the City of *York* from the Citizens; and it was here also that the Lords of the Council did attend his Majesty; and all Preparation was made that he might appear in this Northern Metropolis like a King of *England*, and take that State on him which was not known in *Scotland* †. The King seemed so much pleased with the Duty and Honours paid him by the Lord Mayor and Citizens, that at Dinner with them he expressed himself much in Favour of the City, seemed concerned that their River was in so bad a Condition, and said, *It should be made more navigable, and that he himself would come and be a Burgess among them.* ‡

We

* Sir *Robert Water*.
† History of the Court of King *James* I.
‡ *Hildyard's* Antiquities of *York*.

We come next to the Queen's Reception into *York*, in her Journey to *London* from *Edinburgh*; the same Annalist, we have before quoted, writes thus of this Affair.

"The Queen, says he, being in all Respects prepared, accompanyed, and attended as was meet for soe great a Princesse, being likewise accompanyed with her two eldeste Children; that is to say, Prince *Harry* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, they made a happy Journey from *Scotland* to *England*, and were in all Places wheresoever they arrived most joyfully received and entertained in as loving, duteous, and honourable a Manner as all Cities, Townes, and particularly Knyghtes and Gentlemen had had formerlie done to the Kinges most excellent Majesty, which for Brevities Sake I here omit; and for a Taste for all will only speak briefly of their coming to the Cittie of *Yorke*, where the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Cittizens attending their coming at the outmost Boundes of their Liberties, with all Magnificence brought the Queen, the Prince, and the Lady *Elizabeth* unto the Cittie of *York* the 11th of *June*, where they reposed themselves certain Daies, in which Space the Cittie spared not for any Coste to give them Royal Entertainment, and presented them with several Giftes as true Signes of their zealous Love and Duty; the Queen came thither on *Whitsun-Eve*, and upon *Wednesday* following, the Queen, with the Prince and the Lady *Elizabeth*, rode from *York* to *Grimstone*, &c."

The Presents that were bestowed on this Occasion, were, first, a large Silver Cup with a Cover double gilt, weighing forty-eight Ounces to the Queen, with fourscore Angels of Gold included in it; to the Prince was presented a Silver Cup with a Cover double gilt, Weight twenty Ounces, and 20 *l.* in Gold; and, lastly, to the Princess *Elizabeth* a Purse of Twenty Angels of Gold.

In 1604 no less than 3512 Persons died of the Plague in *York*; the Markets were all cried down; the Lord President's Courts adjourned to *Ripon* and *Durham*, and many of the Citizens left their Houses; the Infected were sent to *Hob-Moor* and *Horse-Fair*, where Booths were erected for them of Boards; the Minster and Minster-Yard were close shut up. This is the last Contagion this City has been visited with. *Et avertat Deus in æternum.*

About *Martinmas* (1607) began an extreme Frost; the River *Ouse* was wholly frozen up so hard that you might have passed with Cart and Carriage as well as upon firm Ground. Many Sports were practised on the Ice, as shooting at eleven Score, bowling, playing at Football, Cudgels, *&c.* and a Horse-Race was run from the Tower at *Marygate* End, along and under the great Arch of the Bridge, to the Crane at *Skeldergate* Postern.

On the 16th of *January*, 1614, it began to snow and freeze, and so by Intervals snowed without any Thaw till the 7th of *March* following; at which Time was such a heavy Snow upon the Earth as was not remembered by any Man then living. It pleased God that at the Thaw fell very little Rain; nevertheless the Flood was so great, that the *Ouse* ran down *Northstreet* and *Skeldergate* with such Violence, as to force all the Inhabitants of those Streets to leave their Houses. This Inundation chanced to happen in the Assize-Week, *John Armytage*, Esquire, being then High Sheriff of *Yorkshire*. Business was hereby much obstructed; at *Ousebridge* End four Boats were continually employed in carrying People cross the River, and the like in *Walmgate* cross the *Foss*. This Inundation continued at the Height ten Days, and many Bridges were driven down by it in the Country, and much Land overflowed. After this Storm followed such fair and dry Weather, that in *April* the Ground was as dusty as in any Time of Summer: This Drought continued till the 20th of *August* following without any Rain at all, and made such a Scarcity of Hay, Beans, and Barley, that the former was sold at *York* for 30*s.* and 40*s.* a Wain Load, and at *Leeds* for 4*l.*

On the 10th of *August*, 1617, King *James* came to *York*, in his Progress towards *Scotland*, accompanied with many Earls, Barons, Knights, and Esquires, both *Scotch* and *English*. The Sheriffs of the City, clad in their Scarlet Gowns, attended by 100 young Citizens on Horseback in suitable Habits, met the King on *Tadcaster* Bridge, and carried their white Rods before him till they came at *Micklegate* Bar. Here the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Twenty-four, with many other Citizens, standing on the North-Side within the Rails, welcomed his Majesty to his City of *York*; the Lord Mayor on his Knees presented the Sword, with all the Keys of the Gates

Gates and Posterns, and likewise presented a standing Cup with a Cover of Silver double gilt, which cost 30*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* a Purse of 3*l.* Price, with 100 double Sovereigns in it, and made a very worthy and witty Speech at the Delivery of each Particular to the King. After him Serjeant *Hutton*, Recorder, made a long Oration; which ended, the King delivered the City's Sword to the Earl of *Cumberland*, the City's Chief Captain, as he is here called, who carried it, and the Lord Mayor the Mace, before his Majesty. On the Top of *Ousebridge* another Speech was made to the King by one *Sands Percvine*, a *London* Poet, concerning the cutting of the River, and making it more navigable. From thence his Majesty rode to the Minster, where he heard Divine Service, and so to the Manor, where he kept his Court.

The next Day he dined with the Lord *Sheffield*, Lord President, at Sir *George Young*'s House in the Minster-Yard, where he lay during the King's Abode at the Manor: After Dinner and Banquet he made eight Knights, walked into the Cathedral, viewed the Chapter-House and Church, which he much commended for its elegant Workmanship.

The Day after his Majesty rode in his Coach through the City with all his Train to *Bishopthorp*, where he dined with *Toby Matthew*, Archbishop.

On the 13th, being *Sunday*, his Majesty went to the Cathedral, where the Archbishop preached a learned Sermon before him: After Sermon ended he touched about seventy Persons for the *King's Evil*. This Day he and his whole Court dined with the Lord Mayor; after Dinner he knighted the Lord Mayor *, and Serjeant *Hutton*, the Recorder. †

On *Monday* the King rode to *Sheriff-Hutton* Park.

On *Tuesday*, *August* 15, Dr. *Hodgson*, Chancellor of the Church and Chaplain to his Majesty, preached before him at the Manor: After Sermon the King took Coach in the Manor-Yard, where the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs took their Leaves of his Majesty, who went that Night to *Ripon*.

At this Time the City was charged with 117*l.* in Fees to the King's Officers.

* Sir *Robert Askwith*.

† Sir *Richard Hutton*, afterwards Judge *Hutton*.

Anno 1625 King *James* died, and was ſucceeded by *Charles* his ſecond Son, the eldeſt *(Henry)* dying before the Father.

We now enter upon a buſy Reign indeed, unfortunate in all Repects both to Prince and People. What Share our City bore in theſe home-bred Diviſions, is very conſiderable; and ſince not handed down ſo diſtinctly as it ought by any Hiſtorian, we have taken Pains to collect from Manuſcripts, Records, and Hiſtories, what we found worthy of Notice, and ſhall beg Leave to be very particular in the Recital. The Reader will find that our City's Loyalty was, in an eſpecial Manner, exemplified to its Sovereign, quite through theſe dreadful Scenes of Blood and Miſery.

King *Charles*, in a peaceable Progreſs for *Scotland*, came to *York*, *May* 24, 1633. He was met on *Tadcaſter* Bridge by the Sheriffs with ſix Score Liveries, and conducted by them to the City. The Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen ſtanding within *Micklegate* Bar, on a Scaffold erected for that Purpoſe, ſaluted the King at his Entrance, and the Lord Mayor on his Knees delivered up the Keys of the City in a blue Silk String, as alſo the Sword and Mace, and delivered himſelf in the following Manner:

Moſt High and Mighty Monarch,

OUR moſt gracious and ever-renowned Sovereign, whoſe Perſon is the Image of the glorious God, whoſe Courſes are Paths of Piety and Religion, whoſe Wiſdom and Goodneſs is the peaceable Government of this your Commonwealth; ever happy be the Day of your Birth, and thrice happy be the Day that brings your gracious Majeſty hither to this your antient and famous City of *York*; whoſe Royal Preſence as it does abundantly ſatisfy our Expectations, ſo doth it fill the Hearts of us your humble Subjects and Citizens with ſuch overflowing of Conſolations, as that our Tongues would become unfit Meſſengers of our Hearts, ſhould they endeavour to expreſs them.

And, in humble Teſtimony of our Obedience, we render unto you all Power with the Sword of Juſtice, that it hath pleaſed your gracious Majeſty and Noble Progenitors to have honoured the Government of this your

your antient City withal; rejoicing to return unto you what we have received from you, accounting it our greateſt Happineſs to live under the Command of him, who is the Light of his Subjects Eyes, the Glory and Admiration of the known World.

And with the Sword, in further Teſtimony of our Faith and Obedience, we alſo preſent unto you this Mace, with the Keys of our City-Gates, acknowledging and well aſſuring ourſelves never to be ſo happy as when we are under your gracious Government and Protection, whoſe Ingreſs and ſtaying here with us we humbly deſire may be delightful and happy unto your further Progreſs, and Return may be proſperous and ſucceſsful.

And that it may be ſo, let all true-hearted Subjects ever pray, *Vivat Rex*, God bleſs King *Charles*. *Amen, Amen.*

The Recorder of *York*, when the Lord Mayor had ended his Harangue, addreſſed himſelf on his Knees to the King as follows:

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR faithful and obedient Subjects, the Mayor and Commonalty of this City, in all humble Manner preſent themſelves and their bounden Services to your ſacred Majeſty, which, according to precedent Cuſtom, they humbly preſent by me, though every Way unfit to ſpeak in your Royal Preſence; and therefore I humbly beg your Majeſty's favourable Excuſe of my Imperfections, and that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to licenſe me a few Words on the Behalf of this your City, which is the Metropolitan of theſe Parts, ſituate towards the Middle of this Iſland, and equally diſtanced between your two regal Cities of the ſame.

This City, dread Sovereign Lord, for Antiquity is not inferior to any other of this Realm; in former Time it hath been beautified by the Reſidence and Courts of ſome *Roman* Emperors, and afterwards of divers Kings, enriched by Trade, and by thoſe Means was greater and more populous than now it is; for of later Times Trading here decreaſed, and that principally by reaſon of ſome Hindrance in the River, and the Greatneſs of Ships now in Uſe; for which nevertheleſs this River,

by

by your Royal Assistance, might be made serviceable, and until that be done, there is no Hope that this City will attain its former Splendor and Greatness.

In the mean Time we are much supported by other Means from your Royal Majesty; as by an eminent Seat of Justice here continued before the Lord President and Council, to the great Ease and Benefit of us and all other your Subjects in these Parts; likewise of your munificent Charter for Confirmation of our antient Liberties, with ample Addition of divers more.

And now that we have an opportune Time, by your gracious Presence, we render to your excellent Majesty our humblest Thankfulness for these Royal Favours, and, together with them, for all other Benefits which we enjoy by your Majesty's religious and just Government; in regard whereof may be truly said of your Majesty, in your own Person, as was some Time said of the wise King, that there is *Sapientia in Dei in Rege ad faciendam Justitiam.*

But, most especially, when we consider the happy and admired Peace wherein we live, whilst other Nations are full of the Miseries of Wars, as if this singular Blessing was appropriated to your Majesty alone, and so derived to us your Subjects, then we want Words sufficiently to express our Thankfulness for such Protection; but in your Majesty's own pious Words do acknowledge that you reign *Christo auspice*; and we heartily pray Almighty God, that your sacred Majesty may long and prosperously reign over us, and that your Throne may be established on you and yours to the World's End, with Increase of all Honour and Felicity. *Amen.*

The Recorder having ended his Oration, the King ordered the Sword *, Mace, and Keys to be delivered back to the Lord Mayor, who, mounted on Horseback, clad in a Scarlet Gown faced with rich Furr, carried the Mace before his Majesty, four Footmen in black Velvet attending him; the Aldermen, richly decked and horsed, made up the Ceremony, riding before the King to the Manor.

The

* There being none present who had Right to bear the Sword, we suppose it carried as in the next Solemnity.

The next Day the King dined with the Lord Mayor at his Houſe in the *Pavement*, and knighted him * and the Recorder †. The Day after he dined with the Archbiſhop, and knighted his Son; and the Day following took Coach at the Manor for *Scotland*. The Preſents at this Time were a large Silver Cup and Cover, and a Purſe of Gold to the Value of 100*l.* or more.

King *Charles* was moſt ſumptuouſly entertained in the City at this Time; and Mr. *Echard* remarks two Things on that Head; firſt, that the Goodwill and Loyalty of this and ſome other Corporations was in a very noble Manner ſhewn to their King; as alſo that at this Time Feaſting to Exceſs was introduced into *England*; which, ſays he, has ever ſince been carried on to the great Damage of many Eſtates and more Manners in the Kingdom.

The *Scots* having thought fit to rebel, the King came down to *York* (*March* 30, 1639) in an Expedition againſt them, accompanied by moſt of the Nobility and General Officers of the Kingdom. He was met by the Sheriffs at *Tadcaſter*, as uſual, and by them conducted to *Micklegate* Bar, where the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, *&c.* attended him. After delivering up the Sword, Mace, and Keys by the Lord Mayor, and returning them by the King, the Recorder, *Thomas Widdrington*, Eſq; addreſſed himſelf to his Majeſty on his Knees as follows:

Moſt gracious and dread Sovereign,

BE graciouſly pleaſed to pardon this Stay, that we the leaſt and meaneſt Motes in the Firmament of your Majeſty's Government, ſhould thus dare to cauſe you, our bright and glorious Sun, to ſtand: Give us Leave, who are the Members of this antient and decayed City, to make known unto your Majeſty, even our Sun itſelf, where the Sun now ſtands in the City of *York*, which now, like an ill-drawn Picture, needs a Name; a Place ſo unlike itſelf, that I may venture to ſay *Niobe* was never ſo unlike *Niobe*; never old Man ſo unlike himſelf being young, as is the City of *York* ſo unlike the City of *York*; heretofore an Imperial City, the Place of the Life and Death of the Emperor *Conſtantius Chlorus*, in whoſe Grave a burning Lamp was found many Centuries of

* Sir *William Allenſon*. † Sir *William Belt*.

of Years after. The Place honoured with the Birth of *Conſtantine* the Great, and with the moſt noble Library of *Egbert*.

I might go further, but this were only to ſhew or rather ſpeak of antient Tombs.

This City was afterwards twice burned, ſo that the very Aſhes of theſe Antiquities are not to be found; and if later Scars had not defaced our former Glory, what was it truly in Effect of what we now enjoy?

The Births, Lives, and Deaths of Emperors are not ſo much for the Honour of *York*, as that King *Charles* was once Duke of *York*; your very Royal Aſpect ſurmounts our former Glory, and ſcatters our later Clouds.

It is more Honour to us that King *Charles* has given a new Life, Nativity, and Being, by a moſt benign and liberal Charter, than that *Conſtantine the Great* had his firſt Being here. And as for the Lamp found in the Grave of *Chlorus*, your Majeſty maintains a Lamp of Juſtice in this City, which burns more clearly than that of *Chlorus*, and ſhines into five ſeveral Counties, at which each Subject may light a Torch; by the Brightneſs whereof he may ſee his own Right, and find and taſte ſome of that ſweet and wholſome Manna, here at his own Door, which drops from the Influence of your Majeſty's moſt juſt and gracious Government. So that if the Library of *Egbert* was now extant amongſt us, that very Idea of Eloquence, which the moſt ſkilful Orator could extract out of it, would not be able to expreſs what we owe to your Majeſty, there being not any Acknowledgments anſwerable to our Obligations.

For beſides all this, the Beams and Lightnings of thoſe eminent Virtues, ſublime Gifts, and Illuminations wherewith you are endowed, do caſt ſo forcible Reflections upon the Eyes of all Men, that you fill not only this City, this Kingdom, but the whole Univerſe with Splendor. You have eſtabliſhed your Throne on two Columns of Diamond, Piety and Juſtice; the one gives you to God, the other gives Men to you, and all your Subjects are moſt happy in both.

For ourſelves, moſt gracious King, your Majeſty's humbleſt and meaneſt Subjects, Obedience, the beſt of Sacrifices, is the only Sacrifice which we have to offer to your moſt ſacred Majeſty: Yet vouchſafe to believe,

moſt

moſt mighty King, that even our Works, ſuch as they are, ſhall not reſemble thoſe Sacrifices whereout the Heart is plucked, and where, of all the Head, nothing is left but the Tongue; our Sacrifices are thoſe of our Hearts, not of our Tongues.

The Memory of King *Charles* ſhall ever be ſacred unto us as long as there remains an Altar, or that Oblation is offered on Earth. The moſt devout and fervent Prayers of your Majeſty's daily Votaries, the poor Citizens of *York*, are, and ever ſhall be, that the Scepter of King *Charles* may, like *Aaron*'s Rod, bud and bloſſom, and be an eternal Teſtimony againſt all Rebels; and our moſt chearful and unanimous Acclamations are, That King *Charles* may long live and triumphantly reign; and that this Kingdom may never want a King *Charles* over it.

This Oration ended, the Lord Mayor mounted on Horſeback with his Brethren, their Horſes in rich Furniture; four Footmen attending the Mayor clad in black Velvet, with the City's Arms embroidered before and behind them. The Lord Mayor carried the Mace before the King, and the common Sword-Bearer the Sword, but not with the Point erect. In this Order they marched through the City to the Palace.

The Country being now up in Arms, the Trained-Bands of the City and Ainſty, clad in Buff-Coats, Scarlet Breeches with Silver Lace, Ruſſet-Boots, black Caps and Feathers, to the Number of 600 Men, ſtood drawn up on the Outſide of *Micklegate* Bar, to receive the King at his Entrance, and gave him a handſome Volley; and when the King was got to the Manor they drew up in *Biſhop's-Fields*, over againſt it, and performed an Exerciſe, where the Muſketeers diſcharged four Times. On *Sunday*, when the King went to the Cathedral, theſe Men of Arms ſtood Rank and File in the Minſter-Yard for his Majeſty to paſs through them. Their whole Behaviour ſo pleaſed the King, that he ordered a Sum of Money to be diſtributed amongſt them, and gave them Thanks in Perſon.

On *Sunday* in the Afternoon the King held a Council at the Manor on the *Scotch* Affairs; and as this was the Rendezvous of the whole Army that was to march againſt

thoſe

those Rebels, the King's Time was chiefly taken up in reviewing his Troops which were quartered in the City and the neighbouring Market-Towns.

Upon *Thursday* before *Easter*, (*April* 11) the King kept his *Maunday* in the Cathedral, where the Bishop of *Ely* washed the Feet of thirty-nine poor aged Men in warm water, and dried them with a Linen Cloth: Afterwards the Bishop of *Winchester* washed them over again in white Wine, wiped and kissed them. The King gave to every one of the poor Men a Gown of very good Cloth, a Holland Shirt, new Stockings and Shoes. Also in one Leathern Purse every one had 20 *d.* in Money given him, and in another Purse thirty-nine single Pennies, the Number of his own Years being then thirty-nine. Lastly, each Man had a Wooden Scale full of Wine given him, Scale and all, a Jole of Salt-Fish, and a Jole of Salmon, with a Sixpenny Loaf of Bread. This Ceremony was performed in the South Isle of the Minster, near where the Bells hang *.

Upon

* In an old Writing given our late Antiquarian *F. Drake*, Esq; by the late Rev. Mr. *Creyk*, is this more particular Account of the Ceremony of *Maunday* at *York*, &c.

Thursday before *Easter*, 1639.

The *Maunday* given in *York* Minster, for the King, by the Bishop of *Winchester*, in Manner as followeth, to thirty-nine poor Men sitting along one by another.

First, The Right Foot of every of them washed in cold Water by the Bishop's Pantler, and Sixpence a-piece given them in Money. *Secondly*, Washed again in Claret Wyne lukewarme by the Bishop's Chaplain. *Thirdly*, Washed again, and dryed by the Bishop himselfe, and kist every Tyme.

2. To each of them three Ells of coarse Holland for a Shirt.
3. To each of them a Cloth Gowne of gray Freese.
4. To each of them one Pair of Shoes.
5. To each of them a Wooden Dubler, whereon was a Jowle of old Ling, a Jowle of Salmond, six red Herrings, and two Loaves of Bread.
6. To each of them a little Purse, wherein was xx *d.* in Money, and so many single Pennies as the King was Years of Age, being thirty-nine.
7. To every of them a little Scale of Claret Wyne, which they drank off; and so, after a few Prayers read, the Ceremony ended, and the poor Men carried away all that was given them.

During the Tyme the King touched those that had the Disease called the Evill, were read these Words: *They shall lay their Hands upon the Sick, and they shall recover.*

During the Tyme the King put about every of their Necks an Angel of Gold with a white Ribben, were read these Words: *That Light was the true Light which lighteth every Man which cometh into the World.*

Upon *Good-Friday* the King touched for the King's Evil, in the Minster, 200 Persons †. Upon *Easter-Sunday* the King received the Sacrament at the Cathedral. On *Monday* he ordered 70 *l.* to be given to each of the four Wards of the City, to be distributed amongst poor Widows. On *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* he touched each Day 100 Persons for the Evil. At his leisure Hours, during his Stay in *York*, his usual Diversion was to play at a Game called the *Balloon*.

Before the King left *York*, he and his whole Court were nobly treated by the Lord Mayor, *Roger Jaques*, Esq; whom his Majesty knighted, and *Thomas Widderington*, Esq; Recorder. The florid Harangue this last-named Gentleman made the King at his Entrance, is printed in *Rushworth*, except the last Paragraph, which containing some warmer Expressions of Loyalty than are usual to meet with, and by no Means suiting his future Conduct, the Orator, though he spoke them, thought not fit for the Press.

King *Charles*, after he had staid near a Month in *York*, took his Journey, with his Nobility and all his Army, towards *Scotland*, *April* 29. At his Approach the *Scots* submitted, laid down their Arms, and swore Obedience to their Sovereign. But

The very next Year, (1640) when the King had disbanded his Forces and thought all quiet, the *Scottish* Army, under the Command of *Alexander Lesley*, Earl of *Leven*, and the Marquis of *Montrose*, entered *England* in Defiance of the most solemn Oaths, says Mr. *Echard*, contrary to their Allegiance to their natural King, and in direct Opposition to his ancient Rights and Authority over them. This bold Attempt put the whole Kingdom in an Uproar; the Militia was raised, and a strong Press for Soldiers in all Places. Thro' *York* marched several Bodies of Light Horse, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord *Conway*, Sir *John Digby*, and other Leaders, as they could collect their Forces. These were strong enough to have driven the *Scots* home again; but by the Neglect of Lord *Conway*, the King's General, they were suffered, after a slight Skirmish, to possess themselves of all *Northumberland* and the Bishoprick of *Durham*,

† *From an old MS. of Mr.* Creyk's.

Durham, to the Skirts of *Yorkſhire*; all which they taxed at 850 *l. per Diem*, and loudly threaten'd they would be in *York* e'er long.

To put a Stop to this bold Invaſion, the King ſet out from *London* on the 23d of *Auguſt*, accompanied by the Marquis of *Hamilton* and the Duke of *Lenox*, and in three Days arrived at *York*, where he was received with the uſual Gifts, Speeches, and Ceremonies.

From *York* the King publiſhed a Proclamation, in which he declared, "That he had endeavoured to appeaſe the rebellious Courſes of his Subjects in *Scotland*, who, under Pretence of Religion, had thought to ſhake off his Regal Government, and did now take Arms and invade the Kingdom of *England*; and therefore he declared that thoſe who had already entered, or ſhould preſume in a warlike Manner to enter, any Part of *England*, ſhould be adjudged, and were thereby denounced, Rebels and Traitors againſt his Majeſty. However, he added, if they would yet acknowledge their former Crimes, crave Pardon, and yield Obedience for the Time to come, he tendered them his gracious Pardon, they returning home, and demeaning themſelves like loyal Subjects for the future." *

This Proclamation had no Effect upon the Rebels, but they continued in the Country they had taken Poſſeſſion of, and, abundantly ſatisfied with what they never hoped to enjoy, made no Haſte to advance their new Conqueſts. †

On the 31ſt of *Auguſt* the King, for his greater Security at *York*, rode about the City, accompanied by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, ſeveral General Officers, ſome Aldermen and Citizens, and with Pickaxes, Spades, and Shovels marked out ſeveral Intrenchments and Fortifications. ‡

On the 1ſt of *September* the King and his Council having Advice that the *Scots* did not come forward, but remained at *Newcaſtle*, the next Day the King diſpatched the Hon. *John Bellaſyſe*, ſecond Son to Lord *Fauconberg*, with a Command that, upon their Allegiance, they ſhould not ſtir any further till a Treaty was begun.

On

* *Echard.* † Lord *Clarendon.* ‡ *Ex MS.*

On the 4th of *September* came a Petition to the King from the *Scots*, thus directed:

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of your Commissioners of the late Parliament, and others of his Majesty's most loyal Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland. *

The Substance of which is as follows: "That whereas by many Sufferings they were constrained, for Relief and obtaining their humble and just Desires, to come into *England*, where they had lived upon their own Means, Victuals, and Goods brought along with them, neither troubling the Peace of the Kingdom, nor hurting any of his Majesty's Subjects, till they were constrained to use Violence against those who opposed their peaceable Passage at *Newburn upon Tyne*, who have brought their own Blood upon their own Heads. For preventing the like or greater Opposition, and that they might come to his Majesty's Presence, for obtaining from his Justice and Goodness full Satisfaction to their Demands, they, his Majesty's most humble and loyal Subjects, do persist in that most humble and submissive Way of petitioning, which neither good Success nor bad shall make them desist from humbly entreating that his Majesty, in the Depth of his Royal Wisdom, would consider their pressing Grievances, and with the Consent of the *English* Parliament would settle a firm and durable Peace against all Invasions both from Sea and Land.

"That they might with Chearfulness pay his Majesty, their native King, all Duty and Obedience against the many and great Evils at this Time threatening both Kingdoms, which makes all his Majesty's good Subjects tremble to think on, and which they unanimously pray God to avert, that his Majesty's Throne may be established in Righteousness."

To which his Majesty gave this Answer by his Secretary:

At the Court at York, Sept. 5, 1640.

"His Majesty has seen and considered the within-written Petition, and is graciously pleased to return this Answer by me, that he finds it in such general Terms,

* *Rushworth*'s Coll. *sub hoc Anno.*

that, till you expreſs the Particulars of your Deſires, his Majeſty can give no direct Anſwer thereunto; wherefore his Majeſty requireth that you would ſet down the Particulars of your Demands with Expedition, he having been always ready to redreſs the Grievances of his People; and, for the more mature Deliberation of the weighty Affairs, his Majeſty hath already given out Summons for the Meeting of the Peers of this Kingdom in the City of *York*, the 24th Day of this Month, that with the Advice of the Peers you may receive ſuch Anſwer to your Petition, as ſhall moſt tend to his Honour, and the Peace and Welfare of his Dominions; and in the mean Time, if Peace be that you ſo much deſire as you pretend, he expects, and by this his Majeſty commands that you advance no further with your Army into theſe Parts, which is the only Means that is left for the preſent to preſerve Peace between the two Nations, and to bring theſe unhappy Differences into a Reformation, which none is more deſirous of than his moſt ſacred Majeſty.

LANERICKE."

The King, in this Exigency of his Affairs at this Time, reſolved upon an Exepedient, which Lord *Clarendon* calls a new Invention not before heard of, or ſo old that it had not been practiſed for ſome Hundreds of Years, which was to call a great Council of all the Peers of *England* to meet and attend his Majeſty at *York*. The Ground and Intention of this particular Summons was never known; but, adds the Noble Hiſtorian, it probably was the Reſult of troubled and afflicted Thoughts, ſince no other Way occurred; yet ſuch a Reſolution was taken, and Writs immediately iſſued under the Great Seal to all Peers to attend his Majeſty at *York* within twenty Days, and Preparations were made to receive them accordingly.

Whoever will look back into theſe Annals will find, that, in the former *Scotch* Wars, many Conſultations of this Kind were held in this very City, on any ſudden Invaſion, where the Commons were not concerned. In 1298 *Edward* I. ſummoned all the Peers of the Realm, excluſive of the Commons, to meet at *York* on an extraordinary Occaſion. In his Son's unfortunate Reign there were many more; and indeed all thoſe Meetings at *York*, which are termed Parliaments during the *Scotch* Wars,

Wars, were no other than a great Council of the Bishops, Abbots, and Barons of the Realm, haſtily convened by the King's Writ, and if any of the Commons had the Honour to be called amongſt them, it was by the ſame Authority, and not by any Election of the People. Affairs were much too preſſing to wait ſuch dilatory Methods, as at this Time, when the Enemy had entered into the Country, plundered and ſpoiled the Inhabitants; and, notwithſtanding their ſpecious Pretences in the Petition, continued to exact the 850 *l.* a Day with great Rigour.

This Affair however at this Time made a great Noiſe, and was blown up with great Zeal by the King's Enemies into a Report, that the King intended to lay aſide one of the three Eſtates of the Nation; when in Truth it was no more than, as Lord *Clarendon* expreſſes it, an Expedient for the Purpoſe, ſince no other Way occurred. The Form of the Writ itſelf may be matched with many of the ſame Kind in the *Fœdera Ang.* and ſince it reſpects our Subject in two Particulars, we ſhall give it as follows: *

REX, Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto *patri conſiliario noſtro* Willielmo, *eadem gratia* Cantuar. *archiepiſcopo totius* Angliæ *primati et metropolitano, ſalutem: Quia ſuper quibuſdam arduis et urgentiſſimis negotiis nos & regni noſtri ſtatum coronæque noſtræ jura ſpecialiter concernentibus, vobiſcum et cum aliis prælatis magnatibus et proceribus ipſius regni apud civitatem noſtram* Eboraci, *die Jovis* 24 *die inſtantis menſis* Septembris, *colloquium habere volumus et tractatum; vobis, in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungimus et mandamus, quod, ceſſante excuſatione quacunque, dictis die et loco perſonaliter interſitis nobiſcum et cum prælatis magnatibus et proceribus prædictis ſuper dict. negotiis tractaturi, veſtrumque conſilium impenſuri; et hoc ſicut nos et honorem noſtrum ac tranquillitatem regni noſtri juriumque noſtrorum prædict. diligitis nullatenus omittatis.*

Teſte meipſo apud Eboracum, *ſeptimo die* Sept. 1640.

Per ipſum REGEM.

The ſame Day the Writs went out, Sir *Jacob Aſtley* † came into *York* with the King's whole Army, making about 12,000 Foot and 3000 Horſe. Theſe Forces were encamped, Half in *Clifton-Fields* and Half in *Biſhop-Fields*,

* *Ruſhworth*'s Coll. † *Ex MS.*

Fields, on both Sides the River *Ouse*, and a Bridge of Boats conjoined them. There came into *York* at this Time 50 odd Pieces of Ordnance, great and ſmall, 132 Waggons laden with Powder, Match, and Shot, with ſeveral other Carriages full of Pickaxes, Spades, and Shovels, all from the King's Magazine at *Hull*. Many of the Cannon were planted before the Camp, where ſeveral Ramparts and Bulwarks were thrown up; the reſt of the Cannon and Carriages ſtood in the *Almonry-Yard*. There was a Court of Guard kept at every Bar and Poſtern in the City, Day and Night, for the Space of nine Weeks; for notwithſtanding the open Pretences of the *Scots*, the King had been ſecretly informed that they intended to ſurprize him in *York*, and therefore it behoved him to make theſe Preparations to receive them. The Army lay incamped, in the Manner aforeſaid, from the firſt of *September* till near *Martinmas*; and then, by reaſon of the cold Weather, they were quartered in the neighbouring Towns and Villages.

Many were the Petitions that came to the King at this Time, from all Parts, for him to call a Parliament.

On the 10th of *September* the King called the *Yorkſhire* Gentry together, and propoſed to them the Payment of the Trained-Bands for two Months; which Propoſition they took into preſent Conſideration, being much ſatisfied that his Majeſty had ſummoned a great Council of his Peers to meet at *York*.

On the next Day they returned anſwer to this Effect: That the Petitioners have conſulted together concerning the Payment of the Trained-Bands for two Months, and have agreed upon doing the ſame, for which Purpoſe they will uſe their utmoſt Endeavours; humbly beſeeching his Majeſty to conſider, out of his Royal Wiſdom, how to compoſe the Differences with the *Scots*, that the Country may enjoy Peace again, and not run more into Danger; and do moſt humbly beſeech his Majeſty to think of ſummoning a Parliament, the only Way to confirm a Peace betwixt both Kingdoms.

Mr. *Ruſhworth* makes this Remak, That the *Yorkſhire* Gentry deſired the Lord *Strafford* to preſent this Petition to his Majeſty, which he inclined to do, leaving out thoſe Words of Advice to the King to call a Parliament, for that he knew it was the King's full Purpoſe

to

to do it; but, adds he, the *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen's Hearts, and the Voice of the whole Kingdom, being fervent for a Parliament, they were unwilling to leave out theſe Words of ſummoning a Parliament; therefore they delivered their Petition themſelves, which was well taken by his Majeſty.

Two Petitions were preſented to the King from the poor diſtreſſed Inhabitants of the County of *Northumberland* and Biſhoprick of *Durham*, complaining grievouſly of the intolerable Hardſhips impoſed upon them by the *Scotch*: "That beſides the Sum of 850*l.* a Day, they demand a great Proportion of Hay and Straw, by Means of which their Cattle, if any ſhould be left them, were in Danger of being ſtarved. They had none but God and his Majeſty to fly to for Relief in this unexpected Calamity; humbly beſeeching the King to take Pity of their Miſeries, *&c.*"

On the 24th of *September* the great Aſſembly of Peers met in the Deanry, the Hall of which was richly hung with Tapeſtry for that Purpoſe; the King's Chair of State was placed upon the Half-Pace of the Stairs, at the upper End of the Hall, from whence his Majeſty delivered himſelf in the following Speech to them:

My Lords,

UPON ſudden Invaſions, where the Danger was near and inſtant, it hath been the Cuſtom of my Predeceſſors to aſſemble the great Council of the Peers, and by their Advice and Aſſiſtance to give a timely Remedy to ſuch Evils, which could not admit a Delay ſo long as muſt of Neceſſity be allowed for aſſembling of a Parliament.

This being our Condition at this Time, and an Army of Rebels lodged within this Kingdom, I thought it moſt fit to conform myſelf to the Practice of my Predeceſſors in like Caſes; that, with your Advice and Aſſiſtance, we might juſtly proceed to the Chaſtiſement of theſe Inſolencies, and ſecuring of my good Subjects.

In the firſt Place I muſt let you know, that I deſire nothing more than to be rightly underſtood of my People; and to that End I have of myſelf reſolved to call a Parliament, having already given Order to the Lord-Keeper to iſſue the Writs inſtantly, ſo that the Parliament

ment may be aſſembled by the 3d of *November* next; whither, if my Subjects bring thoſe good Affections which become them towards me, it ſhall not fail on my Part to make it a happy Meeting. In the mean Time there are two Points wherein I ſhall deſire your Advice, which indeed are the chief End of your Meeting.

Firſt, What Anſwer to give to the Petition of the Rebels, and in what Manner to treat with them; of which, that you may give a ſure Judgment, I have ordered that your Lordſhips ſhall be clearly and fully informed of the State of the whole Buſineſs, and upon what Reaſon the Advices which my Privy-Council unanimouſly gave me were grounded.

The ſecond is, How my Army ſhall be kept on Foot and maintained until the Supplies from a Parliament may be had: For ſo long as the *Scotch* Army remains in *England*, I think no Man will counſel me to diſband mine; for that would be an unſpeakable Loſs to all this Part of the Kingdom, by ſubjecting them to the greedy Appetite of the Rebels, beſides the unſpeakable Diſhonour that would thereby fall upon this Nation.

We ſhall not trouble the Reader with the Debates at this firſt Day's Meeting, which he may ſo readily meet with in *Ruſhorth*, *Clarendon*, and *Echard*, but only ſay, that when the *Scotch* Petition came to be read, who, ſays the Noble Hiſtorian, knew their Time, and had always given the King, how rough and undutiful ſoever their Actions were, as good and as ſubmiſſive Words as can be imagined; this Petition, *full of as much Submiſſion as a Victory itſelf could produce*, as was urged by ſome Lords, could not but beget a Treaty; and accordingly ſixteen Peers * were nominated for it, *York* being the Place mentioned by the King for that Purpoſe, which the *Scots* would not conſent to; giving for Reaſon that it was not a Place ſecure, ſince their great Enemy the Earl of *Strafford* commanded there in Chief; ſo *Ripon* was nominated by them, and agreed to by the King.

The Treaty being opened, the great Council of Peers continued to meet, and took into Conſideration the give

* E. of *Hertford*,	E. of *Warwick*,	Viſ. *Mandevile*,	Lord *Pawlet*,
E. of *Bedford*,	E. of *Briſtol*,	Lord *Wharton*,	Lord *Howard*,
E. of *Eſſex*,	E. of *Holland*,	Lord *Paget*,	Lord *Savile*,
E. of *Saliſbury*	E. of *Berkſhire*,	Lord *Brook*,	Lord *Dunſmore*.

King's ſecond Propoſition concerning the keeping up and paying the Forces, and being acquainted by the Lord *Strafford* that it would take 200,000*l.* to ſupport them, it was reſolved that the Sum ſhould be borrowed of the City of *London*; and a Letter from the Lords was prepared and ſent accordingly.

In one of the Day's Debates *Edward* Lord *Herbert*, commonly called *The black Lord Herbert*, unſatisfied with the Demands of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, which was no leſs than 40,000*l.* a Month, adviſed the King to fortify *York*, and refuſe it; the Reaſons he gave in his Speech are as follow, from *Ruſhworth*:

" *First*, That *Newcaſtle* being taken, it was neceſſary to fortify *York*, there being no other conſiderable Place betwixt the *Scots* and *London*, which might detain their Army from advancing forwards.

" *Secondly*, That Reaſons of State having admitted the Fortification of our moſt inland Towns againſt Weapons uſed in former Times, it may as well admit Fortification againſt the Weapons uſed in theſe Times.

" *Thirdly*, That Towns have been always averſe to Wars and Tumults, as ſubſiſting by the peaceable Ways of Trade and Traffick; inſomuch that when either great Perſons, for their private Intereſts, or the Commons, for their Grievances, have taken Arms, Townſmen have been noted ever to continue in their accuſtomed Loyalty and Devotion.

" *Fourthly*, That this agreeth with the Cuſtom of all other Countries, there being no Town any where he knew in Chriſtendom, of the Greatneſs of *York*, that hath not its Baſtions and Bulwarks.

" As for the Charges, the Citizens of *York* might undertake that by his Majeſty's Permiſſion; for ſince it is Maxim of War, that every Town may fortify its Circumference within the Space of two Months, the Expences cannot be great.

" And for the Manner of doing it, nothing elſe is needful, but that at the Diſtance of every twenty-five Score Paces round about the Town, the Walls ſhould be thrown down, and certain Baſtions or Bulwarks of Earth be erected by the Advice of ſome good Engineer.

" For the performing whereof every Townſman might give

give his helping Hand, digging and caſting up Earth, only where the ſaid Engineer ſhould appoint: And for Ordnance, Ammunition, and a Magazine, the Townſmen, likewiſe for their Security, might be at the Charge thereof in theſe dangerous Times; it being better to emply ſome Money ſo to prevent the taking of the Town, than to run the Hazard of being in that Eſtate in which the *Newcaſtle* Men now are. I could add ſomething concerning an ancient Law or Cuſtom called *Murage*, by which Money was raiſed for fortiſying of inland Towns; but becauſe I know not of what Validity this Law or Cuſtom is at this Time, I ſhall refer the further Conſideration thereof to the Learned in our Antiquities.

"I ſhall conclude therefore, with your Majeſty's good Favour, for the fortifying of *York*, as aſſuring myſelf, that if for Want of ſuch Fortification it fall into the *Scotchmen*'s Hands, they will quickly fortify it as they have already done *Newcaſtle*."

This Lord ſpoke alſo very warmly againſt the Treaty carrying on at *Ripon*, ſaid many ſmart Things againſt it and the *Scotch* excrbitant Demand, and concluded his whole Speech with this ſenſible Paragraph:

"That if his Majeſty would try whether they meant really a Treaty or an Invaſion, the Commiſſioners ſhould move for diſbanding the Armies on both Sides, all Things elſe remaining in the State they now are, until the Treaty was ended; howſoever the 40,000*l.* monthly ſhould be kept rather for paying the King's Army and reinforcing it, if Need were, than any other Way whatſoever."

We cannot forbear taking Notice, that whilſt the King was at *York* this Time, and the Treaty ſubſiſting, the brave Marquis of *Montroſe*, one of the *Scotch* Generals, obſerving the ſcandalous Proceedings at the Treaty, was ſo touched with the Reflection of eſpouſing ſo bad a Cauſe, that he wrote a dutiful and ſubmiſſive Letter to the King, offering to ſupport him with his Life and Fortune. A Copy of this Letter, to ſhew what Sort of People the King had about him, was immediately ſent back to *Leſley*, the other General, who challenged the Marquis with holding Correſpondence with the Enemy;

my; the Marquis undauntedly owned it, and asked, *Who it was that durst reckon the King an Enemy?* Which Bravery of his so quashed the Charge, that they durst not proceed against him in a judicial Manner. *

From the 24th of *September* to the 18th of *October* following, did the King and his great Council of Peers continue to sit as usual; and in this Month of *October* a Chapter of the Garter was held at *York*, wherein the Earl of *Strafford* was elected a Companion. The Entry of this is in the Register of the Garter, wherein the the tragical Reason for that unfortunate Nobleman's being never installed, is put down in such strong Terms, that we choose to give it *verbatim*.

Out of the REGISTER of the GARTER.

ANNO MDCXL. *cum rebelles* Scoti Angliæ *finibus incubarent, beatissimæ memoriæ princeps* Carolus *primus, convocato* Eboraci *magno porcerum concilio, mense* Octobris *virum illustrissimum* Thomam *comitem* Straffordiæ, *vicecomitem* Wentworthiæ, *et* Hiberniæ *pro-regem, nobilissimi ordinis comitem elegit; numquam vero inaugurabatur, quippe qui paulo post a parliamento tanquam majestatis pro tribunali postulatus, et quanquam magna animi præsentia inimicorum articulos et criminationes quam facillime diluerct, ipse rex sese interponeret, et innocentiam ejus (quantum ad summa articulorum capita) judiciorum pœna liberare conaretur, perduellionis nihil omnius damnatus, et apud turris* Londinensis *collem,* Maii 12°, 1641, *capite plexus est. Sic cecidit prudentissimus rei civilis administrator; regiæque causæ, ecclesiastici ordinis, patriæque libertatis, veluti victima occubuit, illud vero sanguinis profluvium, quod ex illius venis incisis effluebat, permultos exinde annos sistere non potuerunt.*

The Commissioners, from Time to Time, repaired to *York*, to let the King and Council know how they proceeded, which all ended in nothing; for many of the Commissioners being of the same Principles, as to Religion and Politicks, with the Rebels they treated with, cared not how much the King's Affairs were embarrassed, and therefore chose rather to persuade the King to remove the

* *Eclard's* History of *England*, &c.

the Treaty to *London*, and subject the Country still to pay the Contribution of 850 *l.* a Day till all was concluded on, rather than suffer the Earl of *Strafford* to dislodge them, which he had already begun to do by defeating three or four of their Regiments which advanced too far during the Treaty, and shewed the Country that there was a better Way to get rid of this rebellious Rout, their cruel Oppressors, than long-spun Treaties and fruitless Negotiations.

Thus did the King and his Lords remove from hence to *London*, without concluding any Thing with the *Scotch* but a Cessation, in order to meet the Parliament, which no one can blame the King for being slow in calling, who considers the Consequences; for they were no sooner got together but they were seen to be his most implacable Enemies, and never left their Persecutions till they had made the first and second Estates of the Nation yield up all to the third.

For Proof of this, their first Attempts were to weaken the King's Council, by taking from his Side Archbishop *Laud* and *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford:* And to begin with the Earl they voted down the Council Court of this City, which had stood near an Age in *York*; and was no Doubt of great Advantage to it, whatever it might be to the rest of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Strafford* was the last President and Judge of this Court, and had a more ample Commission than any before him.

November 20, 1641, the King came to *York*, accompanied with the Prince of *Wales*, the Palsgrave of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and several other Nobles. He was received in the City with the usual Formalities; the next Day he dined with the Lord Mayor and knighted him *, and *Robert Berwick*, Esq; Recorder. This was in a Progress the King was making to *Scotland*, where he had summoned a Parliament in order to try their Tempers towards him, being well assured he could not find them worse disposed than those he had left at *Westminster*.

At the King's Return to *London*, Matters growing every Day worse betwixt him and his Parliament, and loudly

* Sir *Christopher Croft*, Knight, Lord Mayor, 1641. *Ex MS.*

loudly threatening a Rupture, the King thought fit, ſays Lord *Clarendon*, to put a former Deſign in Execution, which was to remove himſelf and Court to *York*, as a Place, adds he, of good Reception and Convenience for thoſe that were willing to attend him. Accordingly the King, Prince *Charles*, the Prince Elector, and other Nobles, with ſome Hazard to his own Perſon, but more to his Attendants, ſet out from *London*, and *March* 18, 164[1], came to *York*. Here it was, ſays *Echard*, that the King began to breathe freſh Air, and he ſoon found himſelf more at Eaſe, and in a Condition more ſafe and eligible than before. Moſt Perſons of Quality of this great County, and of thoſe adjacent, reſorted to him, and many Perſons of Condition from *London*, and the Southern Parts, who had not the Courage to attend upon him at *Whitehall*, or near the Parliament; ſome out of a Senſe of Duty and Gratitude, and others out of Indignation at the Parliament's Proceedings, came to *York*; ſo that in a ſhort Time the Court appeared with ſome Luſtre, and our City may be truly called to this perſecuted King *a City of Refuge*.

To welcome his Majeſty into theſe Parts he was preſented, ſoon after his Arrival at *York*, with the following Petition, ſubſcribed by great Numbers of the *Yorkſhire* Nobility and Gentry, Miniſters and Freeholders aſſembled at the Aſſizes held in this City at that Time. The Petition runs in theſe Words in *Ruſhworth*:

Moſt humbly ſheweth,

THAT although the piercing Anguiſh of our Souls, proceeding from the general Diſtraction of this Kingdom, be eaſed by the Comfort of your Majeſty's Royal Preſence and gracious Confidence in the Affections of this County, which hath filled our Hearts with Hopes, and our Tongues with Joy; yet the Fellow-feeling of our paſſionate Sorrows, and heart-breaking Apprehenſions which overwhelms the other Parts of this afflicted Kingdom, do inforce us (after the humble Tender of our Lives and Fortunes, for the Safety and Aſſurance of your Majeſty's Royal Perſon, Crown, Honour and Eſtate, juſt Prerogative and Sovereignty, in any Capacity wherein we may ſerve your Majeſty according to the Laws) to follow that Sacrifice of bounden

Duty, with our earneſt Prayers and Petitions, which ſhall not cry in your princely Ears for Help to almoſt-ruined *Ireland*; nor implore your Majeſty's Concurrence for the Propagation of the Proteſtant Religion, and Suppreſſion of Popery, ſince your Majeſty's gracious Declaration of yourſelf in thoſe Particulars, render it an unpardonable Crime to deſire further Aſſurance or Addition to your Majeſty's own Words, ſacred before God and Man: But emboldened by your Royal Reſolution, declared to take away not only the juſt Fears, but alſo the Jealouſies of your loyal Subjects, and inforced by that infallible Oracle of Truth, that a Kingdom divided cannot ſtand, we, from the Centre of every one of our Hearts, moſt earneſtly ſupplicate that your Majeſty (being moſt intereſted in the flouriſhing State and Union of your Dominions, and, by long Experience in Government, beſt acquainted with Prevention of Dangers, and Remedy of Evils) will be graciouſly pleaſed to declare ſuch fit Means and Expedients, as may take away all Diſtances and Miſunderſtandings betwixt your Majeſty and your great Council; to whom we will alſo addreſs ourſelves for ſuch Endeavours on their Parts, as may beget in your Majeſty a Confidence in their Counſels, and that bleſſed Union ſo neceſſary to this perplexed Kingdom, and moſt deſired by us and all your Majeſty's loving and faithful Subjects.

And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray for your Majeſty's long and proſperous Reign, &c.

Upon the Delivery of this Petition his Majeſty immediately returned them this Anſwer:

Maſter Sheriff and Gentlemen,

I Believe you expect not a preſent and particular Anſwer to your Petition, becauſe it is new to me; only in general I muſt tell you, that I ſee by it that I am not deceived in the Confidence I have in the Affections of this County to my Perſon and State, and I aſſure you that I will not deceive your Confidence, which at this Time you have declared in your Petition to have in me; and I am glad to ſee that it is not upon miſtaken Grounds, as other Petitions have been to me ſince I came to this Place, concerning which let me obſerve unto you,

you, that my Anſwers were to clear thoſe Miſtakings; for I never did go about to puniſh or diſcourage them from petitioning to me in an humble Way, though the Subject did not agree with my Senſe; albeit, within the Memory of Man, People have been diſcouraged and threatened to be puniſhed for Petitions.

I obſerve that your Petition is ſo modeſt, that it doth not mention any Particular for your own Good, which indeed I expected, as knowing that in ſome Particulars I have great Reaſon to do; and therefore, that you may not fare the worſe for your Modeſty, I will put you in Mind of three Particulars, which I conceive to be for the Good of this County.

The *firſt* is concerning your Trained-Bands, to reduce them to a leſſer Number, for which I profeſs to ſtand engaged by Promiſe to you, which I had performed long ſince, if I had been put in Mind of it; and now I tell you ſhew me but the Way, and, when you ſhall think fit, I ſhall inſtantly reduce them to that Number which I promiſed you two Years ago.

The *ſecond* is, that which is owing to this County for Billet-Money, the Truth is, that for the preſent I cannot repay it; only I will ſay this, that if all the Water had come to the right Mill, upon my Word you had been long ago ſatisfied in this Particular; and ſo I leave to your Diſcretions which Way you will adviſe, and aſſiſt me to comply with your Engagements in this Point.

The *third*, that for which I was petitioned as I came up the laſt Year, both by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City, and likewiſe by divers others of this County, as I went Southward, and that is concerning the Court of *York*: And firſt let me tell you, that as yet I know no legal Diſſolution of it; for hitherto formally there has nothing come to me, either directly or indidirectly, for the taking of it away; therefore I may ſay, it is rather ſhaken in Pieces than diſſolved. Now my Deſire is, in Compliance to what I anſwered laſt Year unto the ſeveral Petitions delivered to me on this Subject, that you would conſult and agree among yourſelves in what Manner you would have the Court eſtabliſhed moſt to your own Contentments, and to the Good of all theſe Northern Parts, in ſuch a legal Way as that it

may not justly be accepted again; and I assure you, on the Word of an honest Man, that you shall not blame me, if you have not full Satisfaction in it.

Within a Day or two ye shall have a particular Answer to your Petition, which shall be such a one as I am confident will give you good Satisfaction, and put you into such a Way as I hope may produce good Effects for the Good of all this Kingdom.

In two Days his Majesty's Secretary of State delivered to the *Yorkshire* Gentry this Answer to their Petition.

IN the first Place his Majesty is glad to see what you say concerning the Relief of his distressed Subjects in *Ireland*, and the Propagation of the true Religion amongst us against the Superstition of Popery, is only to shew your Confidence in his princely Word, wherein he again hath commanded me to assure you, that he will neither deceive your Trust nor wrong himself so much, as not to be very punctual in Performance of the Engagements he hath already made concerning those Particulars, which besides the Performance of his Word, which he holds most dear to him, his own Inclinations naturally induce him unto.

Now concerning the Prayer of your Petition, his Majesty doth graciously interpret, that your desiring him to declare such fit Means and Expedients as may take away all Distance and Misunderstandings betwixt his Majesty and his great Council, is no otherwise than to have the more authentick Ground, and the better Direction which Way to carry yourselves in your Addresses to the Parliament for that Effect: And therefore his Majesty assures you that not only the best, (but as he conceives) the sole Way for this good Understanding betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament (which he assures you that he no less desires than yourselves) is, that the Parliament will take his Majesty's Message of the 20th of *January* last into Consideration speedily, seriously, and effectually; and that the Militia of this Kingdom may be settled by Act of Parliament, according to his Majesty's Explanation of his Answer concerning the Militia, which he made in the Answer returned to both Houses upon the Petition presented to him the 25th of *March*

March laſt: And therefore his Majeſty deſires you to take thoſe Anſwers and that Meſſage into your ſerious Conſideration, and thereupon to proceed (according to the Intimation in your Petition) in your Addreſſes to the Parliament, as you ſhall judge fitteſt for the Good of this Kingdom, and the Expreſſions of your Duty and Affection to his Majeſty's Perſon and State.

At the Court at *York*, *April* 7, 1642.

OLIVER NICHOLAS.

The King gave Orders for his Majeſty's Printers to ſet up their Preſſes, which was done in the Houſe formerly St. *William*'s College, but then Sir *Henry Jenkins*'s, in the Minſter-Yard, in order to begin a Paper War, which was briſkly carried on by both Parties till they entered upon a real one.

April 7, the King kept his *Maunday* in the Cathedral, where the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Lord Almoner, peformed the uſual Ceremonies; the ſame Day *James* Duke of *York* came to this City, where the Day following the King kept the Feſtival of St. *George* in great State, and the young Duke of *York* was made Knight Companion of the Garter, in the Chaper-Houſe, with the utmoſt Magnificence.

The Regiſter of the *Garter* ſaith this was *April* 20, 1642; and adds, that the Companions preſent at the Election were the Prince of *Wales*, the Elector *Palatine*, and the Earl of *Lindſey*; at which ſaid Chapter Prince *Rupert* was likewiſe elected. The following is a Copy of the Entry.

From the REGISTER of the GARTER.

SUB finem anni 1641, *rex factioſis civium* Londinenſium *tumultibus, a curia albæ baſilicæ pulſus, gradatim verſus* Eboracum *tendit ubi* Aprilis 20, 1642, *capitulum celebravit ſupremus præſentibus honoratiſſimis DD. illuſtriſſimo* Walliæ *principe, electore* Palatino *duce* Richmondio, *et comite* Lindſeio *in hoc capitulo ſupremus, commilitonum numero requiſito ad capitulum complendum inſuper habito filium ſuum ſecundum illuſtriſſimum principem* Jacobum *ducem* Eboracenſem, *et nepotem principem* Rupertum *electorem ad* Rhenum *nobiliſſimi ordinis commilitones elegit, iiſque ſic in ordinem cooptatis indulſit, ut titulo, honore et*

superioritate pro electionis tempore fruerentur, quamvis pro solenni more inaugurari non possint, quum Windesora *hisce solennitatibus peragendis sacrata, sub rebellium ditione teneretur, cum hac tamen exceptionis clausula, ut quam primum per tumultus liceret, ambo* Windesoræ *inaugurarentur.*

The Inscription on the Plate for *James* Duke of *York*, in the second Stall of the Chapel at *Windsor*, is thus, after his Titles:

—— *elen à* YORK, *le vingtiesme jour d'*Avril, 1642; *et à cause de la rebellion suivante ne fut pas installé au chateau de* Windesore *jusq'au quinxiesme jour d'*Avril, 1661.

We shall not trouble the Reader with the Particulars of the Affair at *Hull*, so very well known; but only say that the King, after his Repulse by Sir *John Hotham*, laid that Night at *Beverley*, and the next Day returned to *York*, full of Trouble and Indignation for this high Affront, which he foresaw would produce infinite Mischiefs.

We cannot however omit a Petition which was delivered to his Majesty at *York*, upon his Arrival there, by a great Number of the Gentlemen of that County, concerning the Magazine at *Hull*, before his Majesty went thither; and a Message from the King himself to the Parliament, with a Relation of his Motives of going to *Hull*, his Treatment there, and a Demand of Justice against Sir *John Hotham*, in these Words:

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Petition of the Gentry and Commons of the County of York.

Most Royal Sovereign,

ENcouraged by your Majesty's many Testimonies of your gracious Goodness to us and our County, which we can never sufficiently acknowledge; we, in all Duty and Loyalty of Heart, address ourselves to your sacred Majesty, beseeching you to cast your Eyes and Thoughts upon the Safety of your own Person, and your princely Issue, and this whole County; a great Means of which we conceive doth consist in the Arms and Ammunition at *Hull*, placed there by your princely Care and

and Charge, and ſince, upon general Apprehenſions of Dangers from foreign Parts repreſented to your Majeſty, thought fit as yet to be continued; we, for our Parts, conceiving ourſelves to be ſtill in Danger, do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed to take ſuch Courſe and Order that your Magazine may ſtill there remain, for the better ſecuring of theſe and the Northern Parts; and the rather, becauſe we think fit, that that Part of the Kingdom ſhould be beſt provided where your ſacred Perſon doth reſide: *Your Perſon being like* David's, *the Light of* Iſrael, *and more worth than ten Thouſand of us,*

We ſhall daily pray, &c.

His Majeſty's Meſſage ſent to the Parliament, April 24, 1642, *concerning Sir* John Hotham's *Refuſal to give his Majeſty Entrance into* Hull.

HIS Majeſty having received the Petition incloſed from moſt of the chief Gentlemen near about *York*, deſiring the Stay of his Majeſty's Arms and Munition in his Magazin eat *Hull*, for the Safety not only of his Majeſty's Perſon and Children, but likewiſe of all theſe Northern Parts, the manifold Rumours of great Dangers inducing them to make their ſaid Supplication, thought it moſt fit to go himſelf in Perſon to his Town of *Hull*, to view his Arms and Munition there, that thereupon he might give Directions what Part thereof might be neceſſary to remain there, for the Security and Satisfaction of his Northern Subjects, and what Part thereof might be ſpared for *Ireland*, the arming of his Majeſty's *Scotch* Subjects that are to go there, or to repleniſh his chieſeſt Magazine in the Tower of *London*: Where being come upon the 23d of this inſtant *April*, much contrary to his Expectation, he found all the Gates ſhut upon him, and the Bridges drawn up, by the expreſs Command of Sir *John Hotham*, who, for the preſent, commands a Garriſon there, and from the Walls flatly denied his Majeſty Entrance into his ſaid Town; the Reaſon of which Denial was as ſtrange to his Majeſty as the Thing itſelf, it being, That he could not admit his Majeſty without Breach of Truſt to his Parliament, which did the more incenſe his Majeſty's

Anger

Anger against him; for that he most seditiously and traiterously would have put his Disobedience upon his Majesty's Parliament; which his Majesty being willing to clear, demanded of him if he had the Impudence to aver that the Parliament had directed him to deny his Majesty Entrance, and that if he had any such Order that he should shew it in Writing, for otherways his Majesty could not believe it, which he could no ways produce, but maliciously made that false Interpretation, according to his own Inferences, confessing that he had no such positive Order, which his Majesty was ever confident of: But his Majesty not willing to take so much Pains in vain, offered to come into that his Town only with twenty Horse, finding that the Main of his Pretence lay, that his Majesty's Train was able to command the Garrison; notwithstang his Majesty was so desirous to go thither in a private Way, that he gave Warning thereof but over Night, which he refusing; but by Way of Condition, which his Majesty thought much below him, held it most necessary to declare him a Traitor, unless, upon better Thoughts, he should yield Obedience, which he doubly deserved, as well for refusing Entrance to his natural Sovereign, as by laying the Reason thereof groundlesly and maliciously upon his Parliament.

One Circumstance his Majesty cannot forget, that his Son the Duke of *York*, and his Nephew the Prince Elector, having gone thither the Day before, Sir *John Hotham* delayed the letting them out to his Majesty till after some Consultation.

Hereupon his Majesty has thought it expedient to demand Justice of his Parliament against the said Sir *John Hotham*, to be exemplarily inflicted on him according to the Laws; and the rather, because his Majesty would give them a fit Occasion to free themselves of this Imputation by him so injuriously cast upon them, to the End that his Majesty may have the easier Way for chastizing so high a Disobedience. *

All the Answer the Parliament thought fit to give to this Message was this, printed in their Votes, and is extant in *Rushworth*.

Resolved

* The foregoing *Petition* and *Message* are taken out of a Pamphlet imprinted at *London* by *Thomas Faucett*, 1642.

Resolved upon the Question, Die Jovis 28 April, 1642,

"That Sir *John Hotham*, Knt. according to this Relation, hath done nothing but in Obedience to the Command of both Houses of Parliament.

Resolved, &c. "That this declaring of Sir *John Hotham* Traitor, being a Member of the House of Commons, is a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.

Resolved, &c. "That this declaring of Sir *John Hotham* Traitor, without due Process of Law, is against the Liberty of the Subject, and against the Law of the Land."

To this they added a Declaration at large, wherein they vindicated their Proceedings, insisted upon publick Rights, and boldly asserted that they had done nothing contrary to his Majesty's Royal Sovereignty in the Town, or his legal Property in the Magazine. This smart Declaration was sent and delivered to the King at *York* by Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Sir *Henry Cholmley*. These Gentlemen, besides this Commission, were charged by the Parliament with another, which was to reside at *York*, to be Spies upon the King and his Actions. This last Commission, though the King well knew it, as well by their Behaviour to him as otherways, says *Echard*, yet his Affairs were then at so low an Ebb that he durst not commit them to Prison, nor expel them the City, nor even inhibit them the Court; so they continued in *York* above a Month, in perfect Defiance of him and his Authority.

On the other Hand, the Nobility and Gentry of the County of *York* looked upon the Affair of *Hull* to be an open Declaration of War; and, in a Petition to his Majesty at his Return, they expressed a mighty Sense and Passion on his Majesty's Behalf, and offered to raise the Power of the Country, and take the Town by Force; but he rejected that Proposal.

Many were the Declarations, Messages, Resolutions, and Petitions which passed between the King and his Parliament and others, whilst he resided at *York*, which may be seen and perused in printed Copies of those Times, or in *Rushworth*; to give them all at Length would swell this Work to an enormous Size, for barely to mention them all is too much.

The

The King was amuſing himſelf at *York* in employing his Tongue with Speeches, and his Pen with Remonſtrances, whilſt the Parliament was laying in Stores of Money, Ammunition, *&c.* and ſo ſtrongly reinforced the Garriſon at *Hull*, that Sir *John Hotham* was in no Fear of an Aſſault, but was in a better Condition to attack and take *York*, than the King was to take *Hull*.

May 4, 1642, the King publiſhed an Anſwer to the Declaration, Votes, and Order of Aſſiſtance of both Houſes of Parliament concerning the Magazine at *Hull*, which ends thus:

"We conclude with Maſter *Pymm*'s own Words, *If the Prerogative of the King overwhelm the Liberty of the People, it will be turned to Tyranny; if Liberty undermine the Prerogative, it will grow into Anarchy*, and ſo we may ſay into Confuſion."

His Majeſty had ſent out a Summons to the *Yorkſhire* Gentry to meet him at the City of *York* on the 12th of this Month, and accordingly, they being aſſembled together to the Number of 4000, his Majeſty ſpoke to them as follows: *

Gentlemen,

I Have Cauſe of adding, not altering, what I meant to ſay to you. When I gave out the Summons for this Day's Appearance, I little thought of theſe Meſſengers, or of ſuch a Meſſage as they brought, the which (becauſe it confirms me in what I intend to ſpeak, and that I deſire you ſhould be truly informed of all Paſſages between me and the Parliament) you ſhall hear read, firſt my Anſwer to the Declaration of both Houſes concerning *Hull*; the Anſwer of the Parliament to my two Meſſages concerning *Hull*; together with my Reply to the ſame, and my Meſſage to both Houſes, declaring the Reaſons why I refuſed to paſs the Bill concerning the Militia.

All which being read, his Majeſty proceeded,

I will make no Paraphraſes upon what you have heard, it more befitting a Lawyer than a King, only this Obſervation, ſince Treaſon is countenanced ſo near me, it is

* This Speech was printed at *York* by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, and by the Aſſigns of *John Bill*, 1642.

is Time to look to my Safety. I avow it is Part of my Wonder that Men (whom I thought heretofore discreet and moderate) should have undertaken this Employment; and that since they came (I having delivered them the Answer you have heard, and commanded them to return personally with it to the Parliament) should have flatly disobeyed in Pretence of the Parliament's Commands. My End in telling you this is to warn you of them; for since these Men have brought me such a Message, and disobeyed so lawful a Command, I will not say what their Intent of staying here is, only I bid you take Heed, not knowing what Doctrine of Disobediece they may preach to you under Colour of obeying the Parment. Hitherto I have found and kept you quiet, the enjoying of which was a chief Cause of my coming hither, (Tumults and Disorders having made me leave the South) and not to make this a Seat of War, as Malice would (but I hope in vain) make you believe. Now if Disturbances come, I know who I have Reason to suspect.

To be short; you see that my Magazine is going to be taken from me, (being my own proper Goods) directly against my Will. The Militia (against Law and my Consent) is going to be put in Execution; and lastly, Sir *John Hotham*'s Treason is countenanced. All this considered, none can blame me to apprehend Dangers; therefore I have thought fit upon these real Grounds to tell you that I am resolved to have a Guard (the Parliament having had one all this while upon Imaginary Jealousies) only to secure my Person. In which I desire your Concurrence and Assistance, and that I may be able to protect you, the Laws, and the true Protestant Profession from any Affront or Injury that may be offered, which I mean to maintain myself without Charge to the Country, intending no longer to keep them on Foot, than I shall be secured of just Apprehensions, by having Satisfaction in the Particulars aforementioned.

This Speech was taken into Consideration by two different Parties; the Republicans of the County met the High Sheriff at the Dean's House, and subscribed an Answer to his Majesty's Propositions, wherein " they desired

desired his Majesty to throw himself intirely upon his Parliament, of whose loyal Care and Affection to his Majesty's Honour and Safety they were most confident. That the Gentlemen who were lately employed to attend his Majesty from both Houses, were Men of Quality and Estates in this County, and trusted to serve in that most honourable Assembly. They humbly craved Leave to express their Confidence in their unstained Loyalty and Affection to his Majesty, as his Majesty may securely admit their Attendance to negotiate their Employments, until they be recalled by the Parliament. And for their Fidelity they did all engage themselves to his Majesty, and were most assured, that his Royal Person would be secure in the general Fidelity of his Subjects in this County without any extraordinary Guard." *

At the Head of the Subscribers to this Answer was Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; it was delivered to the King by the High Sheriff, and by whom his Majesty returned this short Answer:

His Majesty expects the like Affection from you, that he doth from the other Gentlemen; and that he hath the same Confidence in you that he hath in them.

But the loyal Party, being much more numerous, convened themselves, and agreed upon the following Declaration:

WE the Knights and Gentlemen, whose Names are subscribed, do unanimously present this our Answer to your Majesty's Propositions concerning the raising of a Guard of Horse for the Security and Defence of your sacred Person.

To which Proposition, as we conceive ourselves bound by Allegiance, do willingly concur: For that Purpose humbly desiring that the aforesaid may be raised by legal Authority; and likewise that it may consist of Persons unquestionable in their Religion, and Gentlemen.

The

* Sir *Richard Hutton*, of *Goldsburgh*, Knight, was High Sheriff of the County this Year (1642.)

The Substance of his Majesty's Answer to this was,

His Majesty gave them Thanks, for it appeared as a satisfactory Answer, and in it they had shewed great Circumspection and Wisdom, by choosing such whose Loyalty could not be questioned, and by excluding Recusants, and all suspected to be disaffected.

Immediately upon this 200 young Gentlemen of this County voluntarily listed themselves into a Troop, under the Command of the Prince of *Wales*, whose Lieutenant-Colonel was Sir *Francis Wortley*. His Majesty had also a Regiment of 700 Foot of the Trained-Bands, commanded by Sir *Robert Strickland*. This small Armament the King constantly caused to be paid every *Saturday* at his own Charge, when he had little more than would defray the Expences of his own Table, which was kept with all the Parsimony imaginable, the Prince and Duke not having Tables apart, as was usual, but eating at his Majesty's. The Court was kept at this Time at old Sir *Arthur Ingram*'s House in the *Minster-Yard*, and not in the *Manor*. *

For the Favour and Affection shewn him by the *Yorkshire* Gentry, his Majesty directed the following Letter to them.

To our Right Trusty and Well-beloved the Gentry of York, *and others of this our County of* York, *whom it doth or may concern.* †

WE have, with great Contentment, considered your dutiful and affectionate Answer to our Proposition concerning the unsufferable Affront we received at *Hull*. We have not been deceived in that Confidence we have had in your Affection; wherefore we desire you to assure the rest of your Countrymen, who, thro' Negligence, were omitted to be summoned, that we shall never abuse your Love by any Power wherewith God shall enable us, to the least Violation of the least of your Liberties, or the Diminution of those Immunities which we have granted you this Parliament, though they be beyond the Acts of most, if not all, our Predecessors;

 being

* *Ex* MS.

† Printed at *York* by the King's Printers, 1642.

being resolved with a constant and firm Resolution to have the Law of this Land duly observed, and shall endeavour only so to preserve our just Royal Rights as may enable us to protect our Kingdom and People, according to the antient Honours of the Kings of *England*, and according to the Trust which by the Law of God and this Land is put into the Crown; being sufficiently warned by the late Affront at *Hull* not to transfer the same out of our Power. Concerning which Affront we will take some Time to advise which Way we may usefully employ your Affections; in the mean Time we shall take it well from all such as shall personally attend us, so followed and provided as they shall think fit, for the better Safety of our Person, because we know not what sudden Violence or Affront may be offered to us, having lately received such an actual Testimony of rebellious Intentions as Sir *John Hotham* hath expressed at *Hull*. Being thus secured by your Affections and Assistance, we promise you our Protection from any contrary Power whatever, and that you shall not be molested for your humble and modest Petition, as of late you have been threatened.

Given at our Court at York, May 16, 1642.

The small Army in the North, raised for Defence of the King's Person, made a great Noise in the South, and the Parliament laid hold of the Occasion to declare that the King was levying Forces to subdue them; and now came out thundering Pamphlets to instil Fears and Jealousies into the People, one of which was published by their own Authority, with this dreadful Title:

Horrible News from York, Hull, *and* Newcastle, *concerning the King's Majesty's Intent to take up Arms against the Parliament:*

With his Majesty's Threatnings to imprison the Lord Fairfax, *Sir* Philip Stapleton, *and the rest of the Committee appointed by the Parliament to sit at* York, *and the joint Votes of both Houses concerning the same:*

Also the Lord Stamford's *Report to the Parliament concerning the Danger of* Hull, *and his Majesty's Resolutions to take up Arms.*

Imprim. JO. BROWN, Cler. Parl.

This

This Blow was occasioned by a Letter sent from the before-named Gentlemen, the Parliament's Committee at *York*, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, together with a Copy of the King's last Speech to the Gentry of *Yorkshire*, and the different Resolutions upon it. As this Letter gives a particular Account of the Transactions at this Meeting, and because it betrays them to be what the King really took them for, *viz. Spies* upon his Actions, we shall give, *verbatim*, as follows: *

SIR,

IN our last Letter we gave you an Account of our first and second Waiting on the King. We writ to you then that his Majesty commanded us to attend him Yesterday, being *Thursday*, to hear what he said to the Gentlemen, which a little before the Meeting he seconded by a particular Message; being come thither his Majesty caused the several Messages between him and the Parliament, mentioned in this inclosed printed Paper, to be read.

This was done with much Humming and Applause of the King's Messages, by some Persons who had placed themselves near about where the King stood; but when any Thing from the Parliament came to be read, with so much hissing and reviling the Parliament, that tho' in Respect and Duty to the King's Person, we could not resent it as otherways we should have done, yet we have since expostulated and complained of it to his Majesty. Some were so bold as to say openly, that *the Parliament Men should set their Houses in Order, for many of them should shortly have their Heads off.* One of which, as since we are credibly informed, was one *Hurst*, a Servant to one Mr. *William Crofts*. In this which was said by the King, you will see what Reason we had to vindicate ourselves; and therefore we immediately repaired to the Dean's House with all the other Gentlemen, and there we took Notice of the rough Usage we had received; we told them that it was neither Indiscretion nor Disobedience in us, (as his Majesty was pleased to call it) to deliver the Parliament's Message, or to stay here,

 though

* From a Pamphlet printed at *London*, 1642, by Authority. This Letter is also in *Rushworth, sub hoc Anno.*

though commanded to the contrary; ſince we conceived no Man needed to be ſatisfied in ſo clear a Caſe as this, that every Member of each Houſe ought to obey their Commands when they were pleaſed to employ them: But ſince his Majeſty thought fit to bid them take Heed of us, not knowing what Doctrine of Diſobedience we might preach to them, we appealed to every Man, whether we had in Word or Deed, in public or in private, done any Thing that became not honeſt Men, and Perſons employed from the Parliament: That we had communicated our Inſtructions to his Majeſty, being that we would avow all our Actions, and that we were confident it would not be ſaid we had tranſgreſſed them. This was very well taken and juſtified by the Country. Yeſterday there came divers Thouſands of Freeholders to this City, though none but the Gentry were ſummoned; but receiving a Command from the King not to come to Court, they forbore and ſtaid in the Caſtle-Yard, yet ſent this Petition * incloſed from his Majeſty, and received the Anſwer annexed thereunto. There was likewiſe a Committee of twelve Gentlemen appointed Yeſternight to conſider of drawing up an Anſwer to the King's Propoſition concerning a Guard; but nothing could be done then, becauſe it was paſt Three o'Clock before the Gentlemen were admitted to the King. This Morning the Freeholders aſſembled again in the Caſtle-Yard, and there they made this Proteſtation incloſed, of their Right of voting in what concerneth the Peace of the Country, as having their Intereſt therein.

When we all met this Morning at the Dean's Houſe, we who are your Committees received this Meſſage by Sir *Edward Stanhope*, That he came from his Majeſty to command us that we ſhould depart from this Meeting, and if we did ſtay, his Majeſty would judge us guilty of that he ſpoke on Yeſterday, which was *Tampering*: Notwithſtanding which Command we read the fourth Article of our Inſtructions to the whole Company, that being pertinent to the Buſineſs we were then upon, and deſired them to conſider, whether the Parliament had not expreſſed therein ſuch a Care of the King's Safety, that

* The Petition, Anſwer, and Proteſtation are too long to be inſerted here.

that there would be little Need of Guards. We told them we had a good Right of being there as Freeholders of the County; but that, in Obedience to the King, we would depart for this Time; but whenſoever there ſhould be Occaſion for our being there, in Purſuance of our Inſtructions and Commands from the Parliament, we ſhould be ready. The whole Company expreſſed great Satisfaction, and deſired a Copy of that Inſtruction, which we gave them. We were the more willing at that Time to go from thence, becauſe we ſhould not only give Obedience to the King's Command, which otherways he would have ſaid we conſtantly diſobeyed, but becauſe the Committee of twelve appointed Yeſternight were then to withdraw, ſo that there was nothing for the preſent for us to do. We immediately went to the King and beſought him, that ſince we were continually ſo diſcountenanced by him in the Face of our Country, that he would be pleaſed to let us know in particular wherein we had given the Occaſion; for we otherways conceived we were deprived of that Liberty, which was our Due in reſpect of that Intereſt we had here. His Majeſty was pleaſed to tell us, that if we would lay aſide that Condition of Committees from the Parliament, he would not hinder us to be there as Gentlemen of the Country; we humbly replied that we could not lay that down; nor could we be abſent from any Meeting where our Preſence was required for the Service as Committees from the Parliament; to which his Majeſty ſaid, That indeed he thought we could not lay it down, neither was it reaſonable that we ſhould have Votes and be in a double Capacity.

The Committee hath been together moſt Part of this Day; but, not agreeing, ſix of them have drawn up this Anſwer incloſed, which they have communicated to the Gentlemen and Freeholders. The greater Part of the Gentlemen and all the Freeholders have agreed to and ſubſcribed it. The other ſix have concluded upon this other Anſwer, conſenting to a Guard of Horſe; but this we do not hear they have gotten many Names to, nor can we get a Copy of thoſe Names as yet, tho' theſe be very few; yet whether they can bring in any Horſe or no, we cannot yet judge. The King has received both theſe Reſolutions, which, with his Anſwers

to them, you have likewise here inclosed. His Majesty had declared himself Yesterday that he would raise the Regiment which was Sir *Robert Strickland*'s for his Foot Guard, but he hath now laid aside that Resolution. The Freeholders of the County are now newly summoned to attend his Majesty about a Week hence, the three Ridings on three several Days, but for what Service we do not know.

Sir, you have here a large Narrative of the Passages at this Meeting, what Dangers this poor Country lies under we humbly refer it to you to judge, not taking upon us to deliver any Opinion. The Business lasted so long that it hindered us from giving a more speedy Account. Sir, this is what at this Time is sent from

Your assured Friends and Servants,

York, Maii 13, 1642.

FER. FAIRFAX,
HU. CHOLMLEY,
PHILIP STAPLETON,
HE. CHOLMLEY.

The Parliament, to secure their Committee from Imprisonment, now thought fit to pass this Order against it.

"That whosoever should offer to attach and imprison any Members of both the Houses employed in their Service, it should be held as a high Breach of the Privileges of Parliaments."

May 20, 1642, the *Portuguese* Ambassador came to *York*; and what added exceedingly to the King's Satisfaction, Sir *Edward Littleton*, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, by an excellent Management, brought off that important Mark of Sovereignty, as well as himself, safe to his Master.

About this Time the King gave Notice to the Lord-Keeper at *London* to issue forth Writs for the Adjournment of the next Term to *York*, but this was obstructed by a Vote of the House.

Many of the Peers now left their Seats in Parliament, and came to pay their Duty to the King at *York*. A List of which Noblemen, as it was then printed at *London*, with a Design to blacken them, is as follows:

The Lord-Keeper; Duke of *Richmond*; Marquisses of *Hartford* and *Hamilton*; the Earls of *Cumberland*, *Bath*, *South-*

Southampton, Dorset, Salisbury, Northampton, Devonshire, Carlisle, Clare, Westmoreland, Monmouth, Lindsey, Newcastle, Dover, Carnarvan, Newport, and *Thanet*; the Lords *Mowbray, Strange, Willoughby, Longavile, Rich, Andover, Faulkonbridge, Lovelace, Paulet, Newark, Coventry, Savile, Dunsmore, Seymour,* and *Capell.*

The Parliament presented a Petition * to his Majesty at *York* concerning the disbanding of his Guard; intimating, "That under Colour of raising a Guard (which considering the Fidelity and Care of his Parliament there can be no Use for) his Majesty hath commanded Troops both of Horse and Foot to assemble at *York*, and which is a just Cause of great Jealousy and Danger to the whole Kingdom.

"They therefore humbly beseech his Majesty to disband all such Forces, and rely for his Security, as his Predecessors had done, on the Affections of his People; otherways they should hold themselves bound in Duty towards God, and the Trust reposed in them by the People, to employ their Care and utmost Power to secure the Parliament, and preserve the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom."

Along with their Petition they sent his Majesty three Resolutions of Parliament, *viz.*

Die Veneris Maii 20, 1642, *Resolved upon the Question,*

First, "That it appears that the King (seduced by wicked Counsel) intends to make War against the Parliament, who, in all their Consultations and Actions, have proposed no other End unto themselves but the Care of his Kingdoms, and the Performance of all Duty and Loyalty to his Person.

Secondly, "That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, and contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of this Government.

Thirdly,

* Out of a Quarto Book published at *London*, 1643, intitled, *An exact Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Orders, Ordinances, Proclamations, Petitions, Messages, Answers, and other remarkable Passages between the King's Most Excellent Majesty and his High Court of Parliament, from* December 1641 *to* March 1643.

Thirdly, " That whoſoever ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt him in ſuch Wars, are Traitors by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been ſo adjudged by two Acts of Parliament *, and ought to ſuffer as Traitors. †

His MAJESTY's Anſwer.

WE cannot but extremely wonder that the cauſeleſs Jealouſies concerning us, raiſed and fomented by a malignant Party in this Kingdom, which deſire nothing more than to ſnatch themſelves particular Advantages out of a general Combuſtion, (which Means of Advantage ſhall never be adminiſtered to them by our Fault or ſeeking) ſhould not only be able to ſeduce a weak Party in this our Kingdom, but ſeem to find ſo much Countenance even from both Houſes, as that our raiſing of a Guard (without further Deſign than for the Safety of our Perſon, an Action ſo legal in Manner, ſo peaceable upon Cauſes ſo evident and neceſſary) ſhould not only be looked upon and petitioned againſt by them, as a cauſeleſs Jealouſy, but declared to be the raiſing of a War againſt them, contrary to our former Profeſſions of our Care of Religion and Law: And we no leſs wonder that this Action of ours ſhould be ſaid (in a very large Expreſſion) to be apprehended by the Inhabitants of this Country, as an Affrightment and Diſturbance to our People, having been as well received here, as it is every where to be juſtified; and (we ſpeak now of the general, not of a few ſeduced Particulars) aſſiſted and ſped by this Country, with that loyal Affection and Alacrity, as is a moſt excellent Example ſet to the reſt of the Kingdom, of Care of our Safety upon all Occaſions, and ſhall never be forgotten by us, nor we hope by our Poſterity; but ſhall ever be paid to them in that which the proper Expreſſion of a Prince's Gratitude, and perpetual vigilant Care to govern them juſtly, and to preſerve the only Rule by which they can be governed, the Law of the Land. And we are confident, that if you were yourſelves Eye-witneſſes, you would ſo ſee the contrary, as to give little preſent Thanks, and hereafter little Credit to your Informers: And if you have no

* 11 *Rich.* II. 1 *Hen.* IV.

† Theſe Votes and ſome old Acts of Parliament, taken out of the Records of the Tower, were ordered to be printed.

Jo. Brown, *Cleric. Parliamentorum*, Collection, &c

no better Intelligence of the Inclinations of the reſt of the Kingdom, certainly the Minds of our People (which to ſome Ends and Purpoſes you repreſent) are but ill repreſented unto you.

Have you ſo many Months together not contented yourſelves to rely for Security, (as your Predeceſſors have done upon the Affection of the People, but by your own ſingle Authority raiſed to yourſelves a Guard, and that ſometimes of no ordinary Numbers, and in no ordinary Way) and could not all thoſe Pikes and Proteſtations, that Army on one Side and that Navy on the other, perſuade us to command you to diſband your Forces, and to content yourſelves with your ordinary (that is with no) Guard, and work in us an Opinion, that you appeared to levy War againſt us, or had any further Deſign? And is it poſſible that the ſame Perſons ſhould be ſo apt to ſuſpect and condemn us who have been ſo unapt in the ſame Matter (upon much more Ground) to tax or ſuſpect them? This is our Caſe, notwithſtanding the Care and Fidelity of our Parliament, our Fort is kept by armed Men againſt us, our proper Goods firſt detained from us, and then, contrary to our Command, by ſtrong Hand offered to be carried away (in which at once all our Property as a private Perſon, all our Authority as a King, are wreſted from us) and yet for us to ſecure ourſelves in a legal Way, that Sir *John Hotham* may not by the ſame Forces, or by more raiſed, by Pretence of the ſame Authority, (for they ſay he daily raiſeth ſome, and we know it no new Thing in him to pretend Orders he cannot ſhew) continue the War that he hath levied againſt us, and as well impriſon our Perſon as detain our Goods, and as well ſhut us up in *York* as ſhut us out of *Hull*, is ſaid to be eſteemed a Cauſe of great Jealouſy to the Parliament, a raiſing War againſt them, and of Danger to the whole Kingdom. While theſe Injuries and Indignities offered to us are countenanced by them who ought to be moſt forward in our Vindication and their Puniſhment, in Obſervation of their Oaths and of the Truſt repoſed in them by the People, and to avoid the Diſſolution of the preſent Government. Upon which Caſe the whole World is to judge, whether we had not Reaſon not wholly to rely upon the Care and Fidelity of our Parliament, (being ſo ſtrangely blinded

blinded by malignant Spirits as not to perceive our Injuries) but to take ſome Care of our own Perſon, and in order to that to make Uſe of that Authority which the Laws declare to be in us; and whether this Parliament, with ſuch a threatening Concluſion, accompanied with more threatening Votes, gives us not Cauſe rather to increaſe than diminiſh our Guard; eſpecially ſince we ſaw before the Petition a printed Paper dated *May* 17, underwritten *Hen. Elſing, Cler. D. Com.* commanding, in the Name of both Lords and Commons, the Sheriffs of all our Counties to raiſe the Power of all thoſe Counties, to ſuppreſs ſuch of our Subjects as, by any of our Commands, ſhall be drawn together, and put, as that Paper calls it, in a Poſture of War, charging our Officers and Subjects to aſſiſt them in the Performance thereof at their Perils: For though we cannot ſuſpect that this Paper (or any bare Votes not grounded upon Law or Reaſon, or Quotations of repealed Statutes) ſhould have any ill Influence upon our good People, who know their Duties too well not to know that to take up Arms againſt thoſe who upon a legal Command (that is ours) come together to a moſt legal End (that is our Security and Preſervation) were to levy War againſt us, and who appear in this County (and we are confident they are ſo throughout the Kingdom) no leſs ſatisfied with the Legality, Conveniency, and Neceſſity of theſe our Guards, and no leſs ſenſible of the Indignities and Dangers (which makes it neceſſary) than we ourſelf: Yet if that Paper be really the Act of both Houſes, we cannot but look upon it as the higheſt of Scorns and Indignities; firſt to iſſue Commands of Force againſt us, and, after thoſe have appeared uſeleſs, to offer, by Petition, to perſuade us to that which that Force ſhould have effected.

We conclude this Anſwer to your Petition with our Counſel to you, that you join with us in exacting Satisfaction for that unparalleled, and yet unpuniſhed, Action of Sir *John Hotham's*; and that you command our Fort and Goods to be returned to our own Hands; that you lay down all Pretences (under Pretence of Neceſſity or declaring what is Law) to make Laws without us, and, by Conſequence, put a Cypher upon us; that you declare effectually againſt Tumults, and call in ſuch Pamphlets

Pamphlets (punishing the Authors and Publishers of them) as seditiously endeavour to disable us from protecting our People by weakening (by false Aspersions and new false Doctrines) our Authority with them, and their Confidence in us; the Particulars of which Tumults and Pamphlets we would long since have taken Care that our learned Counsel should have been enabled to give in Evidence, if, upon our former Offer, we had received any Return of Encouragement from you in it; and if you do this, you then (and hardly till then) will persuade the World that you have discharged your Duty to God, the Trust reposed in you by the People, and the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, and employed your Care and utmost Power to secure the Parliament, (for we are still a Part of the Parliament, and shall be till this well-founded Monarchy be turned to a Democracy) and to preserve the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom; which together with the Defence of the Protestant Profession, the Laws of the Land, and our own just Prerogative (as a Part of, and a Defence to those Laws) have been the main End which in our Consultations and Actions we proposed to ourself.

This Message of the King's to the Parliament was followed by a Proclamation, forbidding all his Majesty's Subjects belonging to the Trained-Bands or Militia of this Kingdom, to rise, march, muster, or exercise, by Virtue of any Order or Ordinance of one or both Houses of Parliament, without Consent or Warrant from his Majesty, upon Pain of Punishment according to the Law. *Dated at the Court at* York *the 27th of* May, 1642.

In Answer to this came out an Order from the Parliament, directed to all High Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers within 150 Miles of the City of *York*, to take special Care to stop all Arms and Ammunition carrying towards *York*, and the apprehending of all Persons going with the same.

On the 27th of *May*, 1642, the King issued out a Proclamation, requiring all Ministers, Freeholders, Farmers, and substantial Copyholders, to assemble and meet together on *Heworth-Moor* near the City of *York*, on *Friday* the 3d of *June* following. Accordingly, on the Day appointed,

appointed, a vast Multitude of them appeared, to the Number of 70,000, some say 100,000, and waited his Majesty's Appearance. * About Eleven o'Clock the King came to the Moor, accompanied with a great Number of Lords and Knights of great Quality. His Majesty had appointed 800 Foot, compleatly armed, to guard his Person. The Prince also led a Troop of Horse, consisting of 150 Knights, with Esquires and Gentlemen, which, with Servants, all armed, made another Troop.

As soon as his Majesty came near the Moor the People saluted him with three loud Huzzas; and being come to them, and as much Silence made as possible, his Majesty made a Speech, which, being printed at large in Lord *Clarendon*, is here omitted. The Speech ended, the King rode round the Moor with a prodigious Croud following him, with loud Acclamations of *God bless the King* †. And having surveyed all the Field he returned to his Palace attended by great Part of the said Company, who, seeing him safe within his Court Gates, gave another loud Huzza and left him.

About this Time came down to *York* to the King, the humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament, with nineteen Propositions annexed; all which, with his Majesty's Answer, are inserted in Lord *Clarendon*'s History.

His Majesty thought fit to make a Declaration to all the Lords attending him at *York*, and to others of his Majesty's Privy Council there, in these Words: ‡

CHARLES R.

WE do declare that we will not require nor exact any Obedience from you, but shall be warranted by the known Law of the Land; as we do expect that you shall not yield to any Commands not legally grounded, or imposed by any other.

And we do further declare that we will defend every one of you, and all such as shall refuse any such Commands, whether they proceed from Votes and Orders of both Houses, or any other Way, from all Dangers and Hazards whatsoever.

And

* Out of a Pamphlet printed at *London*, 1642, by Authority of Parliament.

† *Ex MS.* ‡ From the Collection of Public Acts.

And we do further declare, that we will defend the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of *England*, and juſt Privileges of all the three Eſtates of Parliament; and ſhall require no further Obedience from you, than as accordingly we ſhall perform the ſame.

And we do declare, that we will not, as is falſly pretended, engage you, or any of you, in any War againſt the Parliament, except it be for our neceſſary Defence and Safety againſt ſuch as do inſolently invade or attempt againſt us, or ſuch as ſhall adhere to us.

York, 13 *Junii*, 1642.

Upon which the Lords entered into the following Engagement:

WE do engage ourſelves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatſoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land.

We do engage ourſelves to defend your Majeſty's Perſon, Crown and Dignity, together with your Majeſty's juſt and legal Prerogative, againſt all Perſons and Power whatſoever.

We will defend the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of *England*, and juſt Privileges of your Majeſty and both your Houſes of Parliament.

And laſtly, we engage ourſelves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatſoever concerning the *Militia*, that hath not the Royal Aſſent.

York, *June* 13, 1642.

This Engagement was ſubſcribed by the Lord *Keeper*, Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis of *Hereford*; Earls of *Lindſey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntingdon*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorſet*, *Saliſbury*, *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Cambridge*, *Briſtol*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Berkſhire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Newcaſtle*, *Dover*, *Carnarvon*, *Newport*; the Lords *Mowbray* and *Maltravers*, *Willoughby* of *Ereſby*, *Rich*, *Charles Howard* of *Charlton*, *Newark*, *Paget*, *Chandos*, *Faulconbridge*, *Paulet*, *Lovelace*, *Savile*, *Coventry*, *Mohun*, *Dunſmore*, *Seymour*, *Gray* of *Ruthin*, *Capell*, *Falkland*; Mr. *Comptroller*, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*. In all 40 Lords, beſides the Great Officers.

By this it appears that the Court at *York* was exceedingly ſplendid at this Time, nor were the King's Affairs ſo deſperate, though the Parliament had ſeized upon his Revenues and Magazine, but that, by the Help of theſe loyal Noblemen, he might make Head againſt them. Many of theſe Noble Lords loſt their Lives in his Service, and more their Eſtates, which the Pen of their Fellow-Sufferer in theſe Troubles has recorded, and painted their Characters in ſuch lively Colours, that lateſt Poſterity may have a ſtrong Idea of their unſhaken Loyalty and unblemiſhed Worth.

Two Days after the Date of the former Act his Majeſty thought proper to publiſh a ſolemn Proteſtation, wherein *he takes God to witneſs that he always did abhor the Thoughts of making War upon his Parliament, and requires the Nobility and Council upon the Place to declare whether they have not been Witneſſes of his frequent and earneſt Declarations and Profeſſions for Peace: Whether they ſee any Colour of Preparations or Councils that might reaſonably beget a Belief of any ſuch Deſign: And whether they be not fully perſuaded that he hath no ſuch Intention; but that all his Endeavours tend to the firm and conſtant Settlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace, and Proſperity of this Kingdom.*

To which Declarations the Noble Lords, *&c.* ſubjoined the following:

WE whoſe Names are underwritten, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Deſire, and out of the Duty we owe to his Majeſty's Honour, and to Truth, being here upon the Place, and Witneſſes of his Majeſty's frequent and earneſt Declarations and Profeſſions of his abhorring all Deſigns of making War upon his Parliament, and not ſeeing any Colour of Preparations or Councils that might reaſonably create the Belief of any ſuch Deſign, do profeſs before God, and teſtify to all the World, that we are fully perſuaded that his Majeſty hath no ſuch Intention; but that all his Endeavours tend to the firm and conſtant Settlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace, and Proſperity of this Kingdom. Subſcribed as before.

York, June 15, 1642.

Theſe

These Declarations and solemn Asseverations of the King, backed with the Testimonies of so many Noble Patriots who stood up in his Justification, at a Time when it was not possible that either Interest or Awe should sway them to it, will be a lasting Monument of his Majesty's peaceable Intentions; and the following Petition*, subscribed and consented to, as the Paper witnesses, by all the Nobility of *Yorkshire*, forty Baronets and Knights, many Esquires, and other Persons of Distinction, is an undeniable Proof that he was forced into a War with his Parliament, who committed the first Acts of Hostility.

To the Right Hon. the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition and Remonstrance of the Nobility and Gentry of the County of York,

Sheweth,

THat this County is extremely perplexed, by Reason of the publick Acts of Hostility committed by Sir *John Hotham* and the Garrison at *Hull*, to the great Disturbance of the Peace of this County, threatning no less than the Ruin and Destruction of it. That the first putting a Garrison into that Town, was pretended to be to defend it against the Papists at home, and the Invasion of foreign Enemies. Since that Time the Gates have been shut against our gracious Sovereign, and Entrance denied to his own Royal Person; several Persons have been thrown out of the Town, and expelled from their own Freeholds and Personal Estates; and some Part of the Country is drowned by Sir *John Hotham*, to the utter Ruin of many Families; Sallies have been made with armed Men, who have burned and plundered Houses, and murdered their Fellow-Subjects, (when we were confident of a Cessation) with all the Circumstances of Rage and Cruelty, which used to be contracted by a long and bloody War. After all this, his Majesty (who keeps his Residence here with all the Demonstrations of Care and Affection towards us) graciously forbears to lay any Siege to that Place, and hath de-

 clared

* Imprinted at *York* by the King's Printers, 1642.

clared to us, that, by no Act of his, this County shall be made a Seat of War; and yet by the new Supply of Soldiers taken into *Hull*, and the late Actions there, (which we conceive to be manifestly against the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, the Petition of Right, and the late Protestation) we have Cause to fear that some Violence is intended both against our Persons and our Fortunes.

The Premises considered, we cannot but be infinitely jealous, that Sir *John Hotham* cannot derive his Authority to commit such barbarous Acts of Hostility from the two Houses of Parliament, from whom we expect all the Effects of happy Peace, and Preservation of our Laws and Liberties.

We humbly desire therefore to know, whether these Outrages are done by your Authority, and whether this Country must be subject to that Garrison, that we may thereupon provide in such a Manner for our Safeties, that these Injuries, Violences, and Oppressions, be no longer imposed upon us by our Fellow-Subjects; that we may be all liable to the known Laws of the Land, to which we are born, and which is the only Security and Evidence we have for our Lives and Fortunes.

This Petition hath several particular Instances of Sir *John Hotham*'s Depredations annexed to it, which, for Brevity's Sake, we omit, and proceed to the rest of King *Charles*'s publick Acts whilst he kept his Court at *York*, which, though they deserve a more particular Mention, yet the Nature of our Subject will not admit us to do more than just transcribe their Dates and Titles. *

"His Majesty's Answer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, presented to his Majesty at *York*, *June* 17, 1642."

"By the King. A Proclamation forbidding all Levies of Forces without his Majesty's express Pleasure, signified under his Great Seal, and all Contributions or Assistance to any such Levy. Given at the Court at *York*, *June* 18, in the 18th Year of our Reign, 1642."

"By the King. A Proclamation to inform all our loving Subjects of the Lawfulness of our Commissions of Array, issued into the several Counties of the Realm of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and of the Use of them, and

* From the Collection of Publick Acts, &c.

and commanding them to obey our Commissioners therein named in the Execution of their said Commissions. Given at our Court at *York*, *June* 20, *An. Reg.* 18, 1642."

"A Copy of a Warrant from the King's Most Excellent Majesty, directed unto the High Sheriff of the County of *York*, for summoning of all Gentlemen and others, being Protestants, who are charged with Horses for his Majesty's Service, or have listed themselves, to attend personally for his Majesty's Security, to make their Appearance at *York* on *Thursday* the 7th of *July*, 1642. Dated at *York*, *June* 30, 1642."

"His Majesty's Answer to the Declaration of both Houses of Parliament concerning the Commission of Array. Dated *York*, *July* 1, 1642."

"The King's Majesty's Charge sent to all the Judges of *England*, to be published in their respective Circuits by his Majesty's special Command. Given at our Court at *York*, *July* 4, 1642."

"By the King. A Proclamation against the forcible seizing and removing any the Magazine or Ammunition of any County, and concerning the Execution of the Militia within this Kingdom. Dated *York*, *July* 4, 1642."

"By the King. A Proclamation forbidding all relieving or succouring the Town of *Kingston* upon *Hull* against his Majesty. Dated *York*, *Die predict.*

"His Majesty's Message to both Houses of Parliament, *July* 11, with the Proclamation ensuing."

"By the King. A Proclamation declaring our Purpose to go in our Royal Person to *Hull*, and the true Occasion and End thereof."

And now, the Winds blowing high, the Flame that had long laid smothered broke out; the Parliament had passed Votes for raising an Army, naming a General, *&c.* and the King, after making a short Expedition to *Nottingham* and *Leicester*, returned to *York*, where he had summoned the *Yorkshire* Gentry to attend him.

Accordingly, *August* 4, the Heads of the County attended his Majesty at *York*, where this unfortunate Prince took his last Leave of them in a pathetick and moving Speech; which, because it will be a lasting Testimony of the County's and City's Loyalty to their Sovereign,

we ſhall give *verbatim*; and the rather, becauſe it is wholly omitted by Lord *Clarendon*, *Echard*, and every other Hiſtorian of thoſe Times that we have ſeen, except the Compiler of the Collections before quoted.

Gentlemen,

WHEN I directed that Summons ſhould be ſent out for your meeting here this Day, my principal End was, that I might give you Thanks for the great Forwardneſs and Expreſſions you have made of your Affections to me ſince I came into this County; and to aſſure you, that as the whole Kingdom hath great Reaſon to value you exceedingly for it, ſo I ſhall be very unſatisfied, till I have found ſome Way to fix a Mark of Favour and Eſtimation upon this County and this People, which may tell Poſterity how good Subjects you have been, and how much Gentlemen; and I am confident the Memory of it will grow up with my Sons too in a juſt Acknowledgment. This was the moſt I intended to ſay to you; but there is an unquiet Spirit abroad, which every Day throws in new Accidents to diſturb and confound the Publick Peace. How I was driven from *London*, when I choſe *this Place* for my Safety, is ſo notorious that all Men know it, who know any Thing. With what ſtrange Violences and Indignities I have been purſued ſince I came hither, needs no other Evidence than Sir *John Hotham*'s Behaviour at *Hull*, who is now arrived to that Inſolence, that he will not ſuffer his Treaſon to be confined longer within the Walls, but makes Sallies out of the Town upon his Fellow-Subjects, drowns their Lands, burns and plunders their Houſes, murders, and, with unheard-of Cruelties, torments their Perſons; and this with ſo much Delight, that he would not have the Patience to wait what Anſwer ſhould be ſent to my juſt Demands, though in that Reſpect I engaged myſelf to forbear to uſe any Violence, and kept my Word; but choſe the Night before that came (as if he well knew what Anſwer I was to receive) to act thoſe Outrages.

You ſee the ſad Effects of Fears and Jealouſies, the Miſeries they have produced; no Man can tell you the leaſt Good they have brought forth, or the leaſt Evil they have prevented. What Inconvenience my Preſence hath been here, what Diſturbance it hath brought upon the

the Publick, or Grievance upon any private Person, yourselves are best Judges. And whatever Scandal some Men have been pleased to cast upon the *Cavaliers*, (which they intend shall reach all my Retinue, and by Degrees shall involve all Gentlemen) I am confident there hath not been any eminent Disorder or Damage befallen any Man, by any Person of my Train, or under my Protection.

I am sure my Directions have been very strict in that Point, and if they had not been observed, I think I should have heard of it by nearer Complaints than from *London*. I pray God the same Care may be taken there: I am sure it hath not been.

Now, to give you the fullest Testimony of my Affection to you and the Peace of this County, and to shew you that no Provocation shall provoke me to make this Place to be a Seat of War, I have for your Sakes passed over the Considerations of Honour; and, notwithstanding the Reproaches every Day laid on me, laid no Siege to that Place, that they may not have the least Pretence of doing you Mischief; but resolve, by God's Help, to recover *Hull* some other Way; for that I will ever sit down under so bold and inexcusable a Treason, no honest Man can imagine. But it seems other Men are not of my Mind, but resolve to make a War at your own Doors, whatsoever you do or I suffer. To what Purpose else is their new General armed with an Authority to kill and destroy all my good Subjects; their Levies of Horse and Foot, some whereof are on their March towards you with Cannon mounted; and the sending so many new Soldiers into *Hull*, when there is no Approach made towards it, but to sally out and commit Rapine, and, by Degrees, to pour out an Army upon you. In this I must ask your Advice what you would do for yourselves, and what you would have me do for you? You see how I am stript of my Navy at Sea, which is employed against me; of my Forts and Towns at Land, which are filled with armed Men to destroy me; my Money and Provisions of my House taken from me, and all my good Subjects forbid and threatned if they come near me, that I may, by Famine or Solitariness, be compelled to yield to the most dishonourable Propositions, and to put myself and Children into the Hands of a few malig-

malignant Persons, who have entered into a Combination to destroy us; and all this done under Pretence of a Trust reposed by the People. How far you are from committing any such Trust, most of the Persons trusted by you, and your own Expressions of Duty to me, hath manifested to all the World; and how far the whole Kingdom is from avowing such a Trust, hath already in a great Measure, and I doubt not will more every Day appear, by the Professions of every County; for I am wholly cast upon the Affections of my People, and have no Hope but in the Blessing and Assistance of God, the Justness of my Cause, and the Love of my Subjects to recover what is taken from me and them; for I may justly say they are equal Losers with me.

Gentlemen, I desire you to consider what Course is to be taken for your own Security from the Excursions from *Hull*, and the Violence which threatens you from thence; I will assist you any Way you propose. Next I desire you out of the publick Provision, or your private Store, to furnish me with such a Number of Arms, Musquets, and Corslets, as you may conveniently spare, which I do promise to see fully repaid to you. These Arms I desire may be speedily delivered to the Custody of my Lord Mayor of *York* for my Use, principally from those Parts, which, by Reason of their Distance from *Hull*, are least subject to the Fear of Violence from thence.

And whosoever shall so furnish me shall be excused from their Attendance and Service at Musters, till their Arms shall be restored; which may well be sooner than I can promise or you expect. I desire nothing of you but what is necessary to be done for the Preservation of God's true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the very Being of this Kingdom of *England*; for it is too evident all these are at Stake.

For the compleating my Son's Regiment for the Guard of my Person, under the Command of my Lord of *Cumberland*, I refer it wholly to yourselves, who have already expressed such Forwardness in it.

A few more Acts of State occurred before his Majesty left *York*, which we shall cursorily mention in Order as they happened, till we come to the last; which being

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a very memorable Proclamation, and the first of that Kind wherein his Majesty shewed himself resolved to fight, and bearing Date from hence, must find a Place in our Annals.

"By the King. A Proclamation for the suppressing of the present Rebellion, under the Command of *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and the gracious Offer of his Majesty's free Pardon to him, and all such of his Adherents, as shall within six Days after the Date hereof lay down their Arms. *Given at our Court at* York, August 9, 1642."

"By the King. A Proclamation declaring his Majesty's express Command, that no Popish Recusant, nor any other, who shall refuse to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, shall serve him in his Army; and that the Soldiery commit no Rapines upon the People, but be fitly provided of Necessaries for their Money.—At the Court of *York*, *August* 10, 1642."

"His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects concerning the Proceedings of this present Parliament. *York*, *August* 12."

"His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons from the Court at *York*, *August* 12, 1642."

By the KING.

WHereas divers Persons, bearing an inward Hatred and Malice against our Person and Government, and ambitious of Rule and Places of Preferment and Command, have raised an Army, and are now traiterously and rebelliously (though under the specious Pretence of our Royal Name and Authority, and of the Defence of our Person and Parliament) marching in Battle Array against us their liege Lord and Sovereign, contrary to their Duty and Allegiance; whereby the common Peace is likely to be wholly destroyed, and this flourishing Kingdom in Danger to perish under the Miseries of a Civil War, if the Malice and Rage of these Persons be not instantly resisted. And as we do and must rely on Almighty God (the Protector and Defender of his Anointed) to defend us and our good People against the Malice and pernicious Designs of these Men, tending to the utter Ruin of our Person, the true Protestant Religion, the Laws established, the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and the very Being of Par-

Parliaments; so we doubt not but our good People will in this Necessity contribute unto us, with all Alacrity and Cheerfulness, their Assistance in their Persons, Servants, and Money, for the suppressing of the same Rebellion: And herein we cannot but with much Contentment of Heart acknowledge the Love and Affection of our Subjects of our County of *York*, and divers other Counties, in their free and ready Assistance of us, which we shall never forget, and our Posterity will, as we hope, ever remember for their Good.

Nevertheless, in this our extreme Necessity, though we have been most unwilling, we are inforced for our most just and necessary Defence, again to call and invite them and all other of our Subjects of the true Protestant Religion, residing on the North Side of *Trent*, or within twenty Miles Southward thereof, whose Hearts God Almighty shall touch with a true Sense and Apprehension of our Sufferings, and the ill Use which the Contrivers and Fomenters of this Rebellion have made of our Clemency and Desire of Peace, that according to their Allegiance, and as they tender the Safety of our Person, the Property of their Estates, their just Liberties, the true Protestant Religion, and Privileges of Parliament, and indeed the very Being of Parliaments, they attend our Person upon *Monday* the 22d of this instant *August*, at our Town of *Nottingham*, where and when we intend to erect our Standard-Royal in our just and necessary Defence, and whence we resolve to advance forward for the Suppression of the said Rebellion, and the Protection of our good Subjects amongst them, from the Burden of the Slavery and Insolence under which they cannot but groan till they be relieved by us.

And we likewise call and invite all our Subjects of the true Protestant Religion, in the remoter Parts of this our Kingdom, to whom Notice of this our Proclamation cannot so soon arrive, that with all Speed possible, as they tender the forenamed Considerations, they attend our Person in such Place as we shall then happen to encamp. And such of our said Subjects as shall come unto us (either to our said Town of *Nottingham*, or to any other Place where we shall encamp) armed and arrayed with Horse, Pistols, Muskets, Pikes, Corslets, Horses for Dragoons, or other fitting Arms and Furniture, we shall

ſhall take them into our Pay, ſuch of them excepted who ſhall be willing as Volunteers to ſerve us in this our Neceſſity without Pay. And whoſoever ſhall, in this our Danger and Neceſſity, ſupply us either by Gift, or Loan of Money, or Plate, for this our neceſſary Defence, (wherein they are alſo ſo nearly concerned) we ſhall, as ſoon as God ſhall enable us, repay whatſoever is lent, and upon all Occaſions remember and reward thoſe our good Subjects according to the Meaſure of their Love and Affections to us and their Country.

Given at our Court at York, *the* 12*th Day of* Auguſt, *in the* 18*th Year of our Reign*, 1642.

God ſave the KING.

After a Stay of five Months King *Charles* left *York*, in order to erect the Standard-Royal at *Nottingham*. Mr. *Echard* ſays it would have been much more for the King's Service, if the Standard had been firſt erected at *York*, as having moſt of the Northern Counties at his Devotion. And it had been ſo, but that the Northern Gentry perſuaded the King that the People's Fears were very great, leſt their Country ſhould be made a Seat of War, judging wrongly that the War would be no where but with the King's Army. But, after ſome Recollection, when the Time of the King's Departure drew near, they conſidered that the Garriſon of *Hull* would be a Thorn in their Sides; that there were ſeveral Perſons of Quality and Intereſt in the Country diſaffected to his Majeſty's Service; that a Member of the Houſe of Commons * had declared in a Speech concerning *York*, *that there was a Mark ſet upon that Place*; therefore they deſired his Majeſty to conſtitute the Earl of *Cumberland* ſupreme Commander of the Country in all military Affairs, and appoint Sir *Thomas Glemham* to ſtay with them, and command thoſe Forces the Earl ſhould think neceſſary to raiſe for their Defence. In both which his Majeſty readily gratified them.

Two of the principal Inſtruments the Parliament made Uſe of to carry on the War in theſe Parts, lived in this County, and one in our Neighbourhood, which were *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, of *Denton*, and his Son Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, of *Nunappleton*. The Father has already

* Mr. *Hellis*.

ready been mentioned as a warm Man against the Court, by bringing the Parliament's Message to the King about *Hull*; and the Son very early began to shew his Hatred to the Royal Cause, if we may believe his own Words in the short Memorial of his Life.

These two Gentlemen were almost the only Persons of any considerable Quality in the County, who were not well disposed to his Majesty, and who were, says *Echard*, influenced by two or three others of inferior Rank. The King had once resolved to have taken them all Prisoners before he left *York*, which had probably prevented the Mischiefs that ensued, but was persuaded from it by the Gentlemen of the Country.

Upon the King's Departure, *Sept.* 2, the Lord Mayor summoned all the Citizens, *&c.* to the Guildhall, where the Commission of *Henry* Earl of *Cumberland* was read; and, according to the Tenor of it, the City was immediately ordered to be put in a Posture of Defence, and Ordnance mounted on the Gates.

And now a cruel and bloody War began, which we shall pursue no farther than the Boundaries of the City will allow us, and in that District shall be very careful to let no memorable Event on either Side escape particular Notice, few Historians having thought fit to transmit our Affairs to Posterity.

At the first setting out, the Gentlemen of both Parties were so cautious of involving this County in a War, that a Treaty was set on Foot, and fourteen Articles agreed on betwixt them, by and with the Consent of *Henry* Earl of *Cumberland*, Lord Lieutenant-General of all his Majesty's Forces in the County of *York*, and *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*. These Articles comprehended a Suspension of all military Actions and Preparations in this County on both Sides, which are too long to insert; but they were agreed to at *Rodwell*, *Sept.* 29, 1642, and signed by *Henry Bellasyse*, *William Savile*, *Edward Osborne*, *John Ramsden*, *Ingram Hopton*, and *Francis Nevile*, on the King's Party; and *Thomas Fairfax*, *Thomas Maleverer*, *William Lister*, *William White*, *John Farrar*, and *John Stockdale*, of the other Party. But this amicable Treaty and Agreement was but of short Duration.

The War was entered into briskly on both Sides, but the Rebels had much the better of the Earl. Sir *Thomas*

mas Fairfax and Capt. *Hotham*, Son to the Governor of *Hull*, had advanced so far against *York*, as to fortify *Tadcaster* and *Wetherby*; and had twice repulsed Sir *Thomas Glemham* in two furious Assaults he had made upon their Forces in the last-mentioned Town.

This made the *Yorkshire* Gentry send to desire the Earl of *Newcastle* to come to their Aid, who had levied considerable Forces in the North, and he accordingly made a speedy March to the City.

November 30, 1642, the Earl came to *York* with an Army of 6000 Horse and Foot, and ten Pieces of Ordnance. They were received with great Joy by the Citizens, but especially, says a Manuscript of that Time, by Sir *Edward Osborne* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, the Agents for the rest of the Gentlemen on that Side of the Question in these Parts.

At the Earl of *Newcastle*'s Arrival, the Earl of *Cumberland*, being of too peaceable a Disposition for the Spirits of the *Yorkshire* Gentry, says Sir *Thomas Fairfax* *, resigned his Commission to him, who staid no longer in *York* than three Days to refresh his Men, and then marched out from thence with 4000 Horse and Foot and seven Pieces of Ordnance, in order to attack the Enemy's Intrenchments at *Tadcaster*. At the same Time the Lord General sent his Lieutenant-General, the Earl of *Newport*, to *Wetherby* with 2000 Men, and Commission, as soon as that Place was taken, to come and assist him by falling upon their Backs at *Tadcaster*.

The Lord General made his Attack upon the Enemy's Works about Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon; the Enemy had in their Trenches 2000 Men, as our Manuscript speaks, though Sir *Thomas* says only 700, which is scarce possible; they reserved their Shot till the Royalists came very near them, and then disposed of it to so good Purpose, that they were forced to retire and shelter themselves behind the Hedges. The Fight continued from the Time aforesaid till Four or Five in the Afternoon, with Cannon and Musket, without Intermission. Lord *Ferdinando*, in his Letter to the Parliament about this Action, writes, that, besides Cannon, at least 40,000 Musket-Shot were discharged on both Sides in this Conflict †. Capt. *Hotham*, at the Beginning of the

 Fight,

* *Fairfax*'s Memoirs. † Collection of Publick Acts.

Fight, wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Newport*, signed *Will. Newcastle*, and sent it by a Running Foot-Boy, to tell him that though his Commission was to come and assist him, yet he might now spare his Pains, and stay till he sent him Orders the next Morning *. This sham Letter had the desired Effect; for though *Wetherby* was relinquished to the Parliament's Forces before Noon, yet the Earl stopped his Proceedings, and waited for further Orders. *Newport*'s not coming up was a great Discouragement to the Lord General and his Forces, who nevertheless continued the Attack with great Bravery till Five in the Afternoon; when their Powder and Match being spent, they were obliged to desist till he had sent for a Supply from *York*, intending to renew the Assault next Morning; but in the Night Lord *Fairfax* drew off his Men to *Selby* and *Cawood*, and left the Earl free Possession of the Place. There were slain on both Sides about 300; but none of Note except one Capt. *Lister*, who was shot in the Head by a Musket-Bullet †.

After this, *Sheffield*, *Wakefield*, *Leeds*, *Halifax*, *Bradford*, and several other Towns and Garrisons, against the King, were in six Weeks Space, by the Valour and Conduct of the Lord General, reduced to his Majesty's Subjection: But by the various Chance of War lost and won again, sometimes by one Party, and sometimes by another; and *Yorkshire*, in Spite of all Precaution, was for some Years a Scene of Blood and Misery.

Our City was the chief Quarters for the Lord General, and often for his whole Army; and was usually so full of Soldiers, that 500 were sometimes billeted on free Quarters in one Parish, and scarce a Night happened without Quarrels, Blood and Murder among the Men, which the Vigilancy of the Governor, Sir *Thomas Glem-*

* *Ex MS.*

† In *Thoresby*'s *Ducatus Leod.* there is a remarkable Instance of filial Affection relating to this Genleman, as follows: "*William* "*Lister*, Esq; slain at *Tadcaster* in the Civil Wars. His Son passing "through that Place many Years after, had the Curiosity to in-"quire where his Father was buried; and finding the Sexton dig-"ging in the Choir, he shewed him a Skull just dug up, which he "averred to be his Father's. The Skull, upon handling, was found "to have a Bullet in it; which Testimony of the Truth of the "Sexton's Words so struck the Son, that he sickened at the Sight "of it, and died soon after."

Glemham, could by no Means prevent; and he himself was several Times in Danger to be slain, in endeavouring to appease these contentious Mutinies. At this Time also all the Gaols in the City were full of Prisoners, and some other Places made Use of for that Occasion; at one Time there were 380 Prisoners in the Castle; in *Davy-Hall* 100; in *Merchants'-Hall* 108; who by close Confinement, Want of Victuals, *&c.* were put into raging Fevers; in which unhappy Condition several of them became their own Executioners.

About this Time a Pamphlet was published at *York* by the Lord General, intitled, *A Declaration of his Excellency the Earl of* Newcastle, *in Answer to the Aspersions cast upon him by the Lord* Fairfax, *in his Warrant bearing Date*, Feb. 2, 1642, *printed at* York *by* Stephen Bulkly, *by special Command.*

In this Pamphlet the Earl, in a very handsome Manner, and nervous Style, answers all the Objections and Aspersions which the Lord *Fairfax* had thrown on him; as having raised an Army of Papists, and with those invaded, robbed, and plundered this County, killing and destroying religious Protestant Subjects, imprisoning and banishing God's holy Ministers; all which the Earl endeavours to wipe off. This Declaration, with the Answer to it again by the Lord *Fairfax*, are extant in *Rushworth*, and, were they not too prolix, should find a Place in these Annals; for, in our Opinion, nothing could give a juster Notion of each Party's Pretensions to Honour, Honesty, and the Justice of their Cause, than may be found in them: And we believe the Reader will say, when he has read them, that their Pens and Swords carried equal Sharpness; the former having as little Remorse in destroying each other's Characters, as the latter their Persons.

Feb. 22, 1642. News came to *York* of the Queen's safe Landing at *Bridlington-Key*, under Convoy of seven *Dutch* Men of War, from *Helvoet-Sluice*; and on the 7th of *March* following she lay at *Malton*, and the next Day entered *York* with three Coaches, escorted by the Lord General, with eight Troops of Horse and fifteen Companies of Foot. She was met on *Heworth-Moor* by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, *&c.* and great Multitudes of Citizens, with all possible Demonstrations of Joy.

March 9, 1642, the Ammunition brought by the Queen, consisting of thirty-six Pieces of Brass and two of Iron Ordnance, with Small Arms for 10,000 Men, arrived at *York* in 500 Carts, which Stores, with three Mortar-Pieces, were laid up in the Common-Hall. At this Time the City was every where strongly fortified, and above twenty Cannon, great and small, were planted about it. Two Cannon were upon *Old Bayle*; one at the *Fryers*; two Sling-Pieces, and one small Drake, in three or four Barks which crossed the River in a Breast near the *Crane-House*; two at *Micklegate-Bar*, two at *Monk-Bar*, and two at *Walmgate-Bar*, out of which last a strong Bulwark was erected. At several Lane-Ends within the City, Ditches and Banks were made and cast up, with Hogsheads filled with Earth for Barricadoes. By the General's Orders the Magistrates were to find 800 Men to work daily at the Repairs of the Walls, and securing the Ditches of the City; and they had likewise 800 more out of the County to help them. This must be a vast Expence, and fall heavy upon every particular Inhabitant; when besides, adds the Writer of a Manuscript, each Citizen paid two Pounds a Month, that maintained a Man in Arms, towards Provision for the Army; and if their own Servants bore not their Arms, it cost 5*s*. a Week for one to bear them; add to this 6*s*. a Month for Firing at the several Guards in the City, with two, three, or four Soldiers billeted upon free Billet in a House, which made their Case very deplorable.

The Earl of *Montross*, who will be ever famous in History, having deserted the Covenanters Cause, came with the Lord *Ogilvy* and 120 Horse, and presented himself to the Queen at *York*. He informed her Majesty with the Covenanters Preparations to invade *England*, and that they would in a very little Time bring a great Army into it. The Marquis of *Hamilton* came also hither to salute the Queen, and, by his Arts, refuted *Montross's* Assertions, and prayed her Majesty to give no Credit to one so vain and young, which she unhappily inclined to. Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Governor of *Scarbrough* Castle, with 300 Men, came to the Queen at *York*, returning to his Obedience to his Sovereign. The two *Hothams* seemed also to attempt it, but unfortunately.

So

So dangerous Rebellion is, ſays our Authority, that it often ruins thoſe that would return again to their Duty.

The Queen ſtaid eight Weeks in *York*, as ſome write; but by a printed Paper *, it appears ſhe reſided near three Months in *York*. The Paper bears this Title:

To the Queen's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

The Humble Petition of the Nobility and Gentry of the County of York, and is thus worded:

Moſt gracious Queen,

WE the Nobility and Gentry of the County of *York*, having always found your Majeſty's moſt gracious and conſtant Affection and Aſſiſtance to reſtore the Peace of the Kingdom in general, and of this County in particular, (for which we ſhall never be wanting in our loyal Endeavours and Service to your ſacred Majeſty) do in all Humility, and in the Behalf of all his Majeſty's well-affected Subjects in this County, crave of your Majeſty, that now, in our greateſt and moſt preſſing Neceſſities, your Majeſty will graciouſly continue to contribute your Care and Protection to us and theſe Northern Parts. And we, ſeriouſly conſidering the great Benefit to his Majeſty's Affairs, that all Helps be applied to the ſettling theſe Northern Counties in Peace, and that the Rebels in this and other neighbouring Counties are of more Conſideration and Danger than formerly; and that if a diſaffected Party in the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould invade theſe Parts (which we know is now earneſtly endeavoured by ſome ill Inſtruments, and fearing the leſſening of our Forces here will be a great Advantage to them therein) before the Rebels of this County be reduced, the Work will be of as great Danger to us and the whole Kingdom as can be imagined: We do therefore moſt humbly crave that we may receive Comfort and Encouragement by Aſſurance from your Majeſty, that you will not in your ſacred Perſon depart, or carry any Forces from us, until it pleaſe God the Peace of this County be in a more recovering and ſettled Condition; which will be a gracious Expreſſion of your Majeſty's Wiſdom and tender Care of theſe Northern Parts, and have a greater Im-

* Printed at *York* for *Stephen Bulkly*, 1643.

preſſion on the Hearts of ſuch Forces as, being to wait on your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, may leave their natural Countries, Kindred, and Friends in a more hopeful and happy Way of Security. And we do moſt heartily make our Proteſtations to your Majeſty, that in this our Deſire of your Majeſty's Stay with us, we are exceedingly moved by the Apprehenſion we have of great Hazard to your Majeſty's Perſon in your Journey to the King, it being certain the Rebels Southward have diſpoſed their Forces dangerouſly, and we doubt, purpoſely, to hinder your Majeſty's Paſſage.

And our Royal Sovereign's and your Majeſty's Safety and Honour is the greateſt earthly Bleſſing we can enjoy, for which we ſhall willingly engage our deareſt Lives and Fortunes.

And ever pray, &c.

Dated *June* 1, 1643.

Notwithſtanding this, and the juſt Apprehenſion the Queen might have of being impeded in her Paſſage, ſhe reſolutely ſet forward from *York*, *June* 6, 1643, to meet the King, guarded by a ſtrong Body of Horſe and Foot, under the Conduct of the valiant Earl of *Newcaſtle*. The General ſafely conveyed her Majeſty to the King, for which Piece of excellent Conduct, as well as other his moſt eminent Services, his Majeſty created him a Marquis.

We muſt not omit that, whilſt the Queen ſtaid in *York*, there was a remarkable Inſtance of her Majeſty's Generoſity and good Nature extended to the Priſoners of War in this City: For being told of their miſerable Condition, and that their Wounds would not heal unleſs freſh Victuals were allowed them, ſhe out of her private Purſe ſent them 20*l*. beſides ordering them a great Quantity of Proviſions, and getting an Order alſo from the General that each Priſoner ſhould have Threepence a Day allowed for his Maintenance. This Note is taken from a Manuſcript of thoſe Times, and may be credited, becauſe the anonymous Writer of it ſhews m ſelf, in many Places, apparently againſt the King and Royal Cauſe.

Anno 1644 proved a buſy Year both in this City and Neighbourhood. Sir *Thomas Glemham* was ſtill Governor of *York*, and Col. *Thwaites* Deputy-Governor, both under

under the Command of the brave Marquis of *Newcastle*, the Lord General. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, having gained a considerable Victory at *Selby* against the King's Forces, thought of nothing now but bringing the City to accept such Terms as he should be pleased to give it. Accordingly, *April* 19, he sent to *Lesley* the *Scotch* General, who had just then entered *England* with a great Army, to meet, and, with their united Forces, undertake the Siege of *York*. These Forces, however, were not thought sufficient to invest the City; for being spacious, the North Side continued open, and the Marquis having 4 or 5000 Horse in it, by the Help of a Bridge over the River, could transport them to either Side, and fall upon any Quarter he saw divided from the rest: It was therefore thought fit that the Earl of *Manchester* with his Army, out of the associated Counties, should advance to the others Assistance. Accordingly the Earl came up, and he in Person, with about 600 Foot and 100 Horse, and 12 Field-Pieces, were placed and quartered near *Bootham-Bar*, and on the North Side of it towards *Clifton*. *

The City was now closely beleaguered by an Army, consisting in all of 40,000 Men, under the Command of the three afore-mentioned Generals. What had been done before *Manchester* came up, was only a Kind of Blockade, and some slight Skirmishes; but now, being begirt much closer than before, several Batteries were erected against the City, particularly one on a Hill near *Walmgate-Bar*, where four Pieces of Cannon played almost incessantly on the Tower, Castle, and Town: Nor were they idle from within, but in one Day bestowed above 100 great Shot from their several Platforms on the Besiegers' Works †.

The Besieged having fired the Suburbs in most Parts about the City, and drawn their People into the Town, the Besiegers endeavoured to quench it, and preserve the Houses for their Shelter. Hereupon several hot Skirmishes ensued. *Manchester*'s Forces fell on near *Walmgate-Bar*, and took St. *Nicholas*'s Church, but were soon obliged to retire; the *Scots* also about *Micklegate-Bar* took and carried off a Booty of Cattle which were conveying to the City. The Besieged made several gallant Sallies, but were still beat back with like Courage. Every

* *Rushworth.* † *Ex MS.*

Every Day, says *Rushworth*, produced some notable Action; and he seems to lament they were not journalized by any Hand that ever he saw, which makes him less particular in the Description of this than many less remarkable Sieges in the War.

All the Hopes the loyal Party in the City had to be rescued from their Enemies was in Prince *Rupert*; who, after he had raised the Siege of *Newark* with great Loss to the Parliament, made what Haste he could to do the like for *York*. In the mean Time the Lord General thought fit to amuse the Commanders of the Rebels, with specious Shews of treating about the Rendition of the City, and sent a Letter, dated *June* 8, to the Earl of *Leven*, in these Words *:

My Lord,

I Cannot but admire that your Lordship has so near beleagured this City on all Sides, made Batteries against it, and so near approached to it, without signifying what your Intentions are, and what you desire or expect, which is contrary to the Rules of all Military Discipline and Customs of War; therefore I have thought fit to remonstrate thus much to your Lordship, to the End that your Lordship may signify your Intentions and Resolutions therein, and receive ours. And so I remain, my Lord,

York, June 8, 1644. } Your Lordship's humble Servant,

WILL. NEWCASTLE.

To which *Lesley* returned this Answer from *Fulford* the same Day †:

My Lord,

AT this Distance I shall not dispute with your Lordship Points of Military Discipline, nor the Practice of Captains in such Cases; yet to give your Lordship Satisfaction in that your Letter desires from me, your Lordship may take Notice that I have drawn my Forces before this City, with Intention to reduce it to the Obedience of King and Parliamene; whereunto if your Lordship shall speedily conform, it may save the Effusion of much innocent Blood, whereof I wish your Lordship to be no less sparing than I am, who rest

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

LEVEN.

* *Rushworth.* † *Idem.*

The Lord *Fairfax*, and afterwards the Earl of *Manchester*, received Letters from the Marquis to the same Effect, and finding that he was willing to treat about the Rendition, the three Generals met on the 9th of *June* in the Night, and expressed their Readiness to enter into it. Gen. *Lesley* named for Commissioners the Earl of *Lindsay* and the Lord *Humbee*; the Lord *Fairfax* named Sir *William Fairfax* and Col. *White*; and the Earl of *Manchester* named Col. *Russel* and Col. *Hammond*; but withal signified to the Marquis, that they were unwilling to yield to a Cessation from Hostilities in any Part but the Place appointed for Treaty. The Marquis, after two Days Delay, sent the Generals this Answer *:

My Lords,

I Have received your Lordships Letter, with the Names of the Commissioners appointed by your Lordships; but since your Lordships have declared in your Letter to allow a Cessation of Arms only on that Side of the Town during the Time of the Treaty, I find it not fit for me to incline to it on those Conditions; and had returned your Lordships this Answer long before this Time, if some weighty Matters had not retarded my Affairs in that Particular. I am, my Lords,

Your Lordships

York, June 11, 1644. } Most humble Servant,

WILL. NEWCASTLE.

The next Day the three Generals sent the following Summons, directed to the Marquis †:

WE the Generals of the Army raised for the King and Parliament, and now employed in this Expedition against York, *that no further Effusion of Blood be occasioned, and that the City of* York *and Inhabitants may be preserved from Ruin, do hereby require your Lordship to surrender the said City to us, in the Name and for the Use of the King and Parliament, within the Space of Twenty-four Hours after the Receipt hereof; which if you refuse to do, the Inconveniences ensuing upon your Refusal, must be required at your Lordship's Hands; seeing our Intentions are not for Blood, or Destruction of Towns, Cities, or Countries,*

* *Rushworth.* † *Idem.*

Countries, unless, all other Means being used, we be necessitated thereunto, which shall be contrary to the Minds and Hearts of, my Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble Servants,

LEVEN,
MANCHESTER,
FAIRFAX.

June 12, 1644.

The Marquis's Answer the following Day, directed to all the three Generals, ran thus *:

My Lords,

I Have received a Letter from your Lordships, dated Yesterday, about Four o'Clock this Afternoon, wherein I am required to surrender the City to your Lordships in Twenty-four Hours after the Receipt; but I know your Lordships are too full of Honour to expect the surrendering the City upon a Command, and upon so short an Advertisement to me, who have the King's Commission to keep it, and where there are so many generous Persons, and Men of Honour, Quality, and Fortune concerned in it. But, truly, I conceive this said Demand high enough to have been exacted from the meanest Governor of any of his Majesty's Garrisons; and your Lordships may be pleased to know, that I expect Propositions to proceed from your Lordships, as becomes Persons of Honour to give and receive from one another. If your Lordships therefore think fit to propound honourable and reasonable Terms, and agree upon a general Cessation from all Acts of Hostility during the Time of the Treaty, then your Lordships may receive such Satisfaction therein as may be expected from Persons of Honour, and such as desire to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, or Destruction of Cities, Towns, and Countries, as any whatever; yet will not spare their own Lives, rather than to live in the least Stain of Dishonour. And so desiring your Lordships Resolutions, I remain

Your Lordships

York, June 13, 1644.

Most humble Servant,

WILL. NEWCASTLE.

June

* *Rushworth.*

June 14 the Generals yielded to a complete Ceſſation during the Treaty; and thereupon the Commiſſioners meeting, thoſe for the City offered the following Propoſitions *:

I. That the City ſhould be rendered in twenty Days if no Relief come.

II. That the Marquis, with all his Officers and Soldiers, ſhall depart with Colours flying, Drums beating, Match lighted, with their Arms. *&c.* to be conveyed where they pleaſe, and not to be forced to march above eight Miles a Day; and that they have Liberty to ſtay forty Days for ſettling or conveying to other Places ſuch Goods as they ſhall not be able to carry with them.

III. That no Oath, *&c.* be adminiſtered to any of them, farther than is warranted by the known Laws; and that the Gentry have Liberty to go to their own Houſes, and be protected from Violence, and not queſtioned for what they have done; and that the Townſmen may enjoy all Privileges as before, and not queſtioned for what they have done; and that the Garriſon placed here be only *Yorkſhire* Men.

IV. That all the Churches be kept from Profanation: That Divine Service be performed therein as formerly: That the Revenues belong to the Officers as they have done: That the Prebendaries continue in their Prebends according to the Laws; and that all other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons have Liberty to depart and ſerve God, and enjoy their Eſtates without Diſturbance.

V. *Laſtly*, That Hoſtages be given, and that *Clifford*'s Tower (the chief Fort in the City) be kept by the King's Party till the Articles are performed.

Ruſhworth ſays, That the Beſiegers' Commiſſioners expreſſed great Diſlike at the Haughtineſs of theſe Propoſitions, and, after long Debate upon them, three of the chief were ſent by the reſt to lay them before the Generals. In about two Hours they returned, and brought a Paper with them, in which were theſe, *viz.* That *York*, with all the Arms, *&c.* in and about the ſame, be delivered up for the Uſe of the King and Parliament on the Conditions following:

I. That the Soldiers go to their own Homes, and carry with them their Clothes and Money (not exceeding

* *Ex MS.*

ing fourteen Days Pay) and have safe Conduct, promising hereafter not to take Arms against the Parliament or Protestant Religion.

II. That the ordinary Inhabitants be protected from Violence, and have the same free Trade as others under Protection of King and Parliament; and that none be quartered here except those appointed for the Garrison.

III. That the Officers have Liberty to go to their own Homes with Swords and Horses, and to carry their Apparel and Money, not exceeding one Month's Pay; and any Officer recommended by the Marquis shall have a Pass to go beyond Sea, promising not to serve against the Parliament and Protestant Religion.

IV. That the Gentry and other Inhabitants of the County, now residing at *York*, may go to their own Homes, and be protected from Violence. A positive Answer to be returned to these Propositions by Three of the Clock To-morrow Afternoon.

These Conditions, so widely different from the other, were resented by the Commissioners for the City; *who*, says *Rushworth*, *were so far from accepting of them, that they refused to carry a Copy of them to the Marquis*; but next Morning *Lesley* sent one by a Drum, to which the Marquis returned the following Answer:

My Lord,

I Have perused the Conditions and Demands your Lordship sent; but when I considered the many Professions and Demands made to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, I did admire to see such Propositions from your Lordships, conceiving this not the Way to it; for I cannot suppose that your Lordships do imagine that Persons of Honour can condescend to any of these Propositions, and so remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

York, June 15, 1644.

Most humble Servant,

WILL. NEWCASTLE.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter the Cessation expired, and the three Generals renewed their Assaults upon the City on all Sides with double Vigour. *Manchester*'s Forces

Forces had undermined St. *Mary*'s Tower at the North-East Corner of the *Manor*, and Col. *Crayford*, a *Scotchman*, who commanded that Quarter, sprung the Mine, which took Effect, quite demolished the Tower, and buried a great many Men and Women in the Ruins: After this he attempted to storm the City with his Forces, having made another Breach in the Wall by Cannon lower down in *Marygate*; which entering, they scaled two or three other Walls, and took Possession of the *Manor*. This happened to be *Trinity-Sunday*, when most of the Commanders for the City were at the Cathedral; the violent Explosion, occasioned by springing the Mine, sufficiently alarmed them, and each Man ran to his Post to watch the Consequence. In the mean Time a Party of the Garrison went out by a private Sally-Port in the City Walls, entered the *Manor*, and cut off the only Way the Enemy had to retreat: Upon which a smart Rencounter ensued; the Rebels stood the Conflict some Time in the Bowling-Green; but 50 of them being kill'd, the rest, being about 250, threw down their Arms and submitted. On the Garrison's Side were slain Sir *Philip Byron* and Col. *Huddleston*, with Mr. *Samuel Brearey*, an Alderman's Son of this City, the Captain of a Company of 250 Volunteer Citizens.

From this Time to *June* 24, no extraordinary Accident happened, but small Skirmishes and Cannon constantly playing to and from the City both Night and Day. On the 24th of *June* aforesaid, about Four in the Morning, a commanded Party of about 600 sallied out from *Monk-Bar*, and furiously assaulted the Earl of *Manchester*'s Quarters; but, after a sharp Conflict, were driven back with Loss *.

The Siege continued with all possible Vigour, and several bold Attempts were made by the Besiegers, whose Attacks were as bravely repulsed by the Besieged. The very Women in the City underwent great Danger and Fatigue in doing all that laid in their Power, and, as far as Modesty would permit, put on manly Courage for the Defence of it †. The Line of Circumvallation now cut off all Dealings with the Country, which made fresh Provisions sell at a high Rate: Mutton sold at 16*s.* *per* Quarter;

* *Ex MS.*

† Lawyer *Hildyard*'s Preface to his Antiquities of *York*.

Quarter; Beef at 4*s.* a Stone; a Pig at 7*s.* a Hen at 4*s.* Eggs at 3*d.* a Piece; fresh Butter was 2s. 8*d.* a Pound; and Oatmeal at 2s. 8*d.* a Peck; yet being so long apprized of the Siege, such a Quantity of salt Provisions and Grain was laid in by the Lord General, that there was no Scarcity of either, and all Sorts of Liquors were plentiful enough.

June 30, towards Evening, the Generals of the Parliament's Forces had Notice that Prince *Rupert*, with an Army of 20,000 Men, was advancing, and would quarter that Night at *Knaresbrough* and *Boroughbridge*, within eighteen Miles of *York:* Whereupon, not thinking themselves able to fight him and continue the Siege, they resolved to rise. Accordingly, *July* 1, they drew off from their Trenches without Loss, and marched to a great Moor, five or six Miles distant, called *Marston-Moor*, and there drew up, expecting the Prince would make that his Way to *York:* But his Highness caused only a Party of Horse to face the Enemy at *Skipbridge*, where they might secure their Retreat over the *Ouse* at *Nunmonkton*; and keeping the rest of his Army on that Side, left them that Night in the Forest of *Galtres*, whilst he with about 200 Horse rode on to the City.

At *York* the Prince must needs be a most welcome Guest, and, had he not hurried his Affairs too precipitately, might not only have relieved the City, but established the Royal Cause on a Basis too strong for Rebellion to shake. Upon calling a Council of War the Marquis delivered his Opinion to the Prince, that he should not yet attempt any Thing upon the Enemy, for he had certain Intelligence of some Discontent among the Generals, and that they were resolved to divide. Besides, he expected in two Days Col. *Clavering* with above 3000 Men from the North, and 2000 drawn out of several Garrisons *.

Notwithstanding this the Prince had not the good Fortune to listen to the Marquis's Advice; but alledging that he had a Letter from his Majesty, then at *Oxford*, with a positive and absolute Command to fight the Enemy, he thought it his Duty to obey it. To which the Marquis replied, *That he was ready and willing to obey the Prince in all Things, no otherways than if his*

* *Newcastle's* Life by the Duchess.

his Majesty was there in Person himself. And though several of his Friends advised the Marquis not to engage in Battle, because the Command, as they said, was taken from him; yet that Noble Lord answered, *That happen what would he would not shun the Fight, having no other Ambition than to live and die a faithful Subject to his Majesty* *.

Whether the Prince had such a Command from the King, or his own Rashness urged him to fight, is uncertain. However, *July* 2, he marched out of *York* with his whole Army, and his Van, consisting of 5000 Horse, came up with the Rebels before they had drawn their Forces out of the Moor. Upon this their whole Army made a Stand, and drew back both Foot and Carriages with all Speed, finding that the Prince was resolved to fight them. Both Parties were now busy in drawing up their Men, and the Parliamentarians, finding the Prince had possessed himself of great Part of the Moor, were obliged to range theirs in a large Field of Rye at *Marston* Town End, where their Pioneers made Way to extend their Wings. This being a rising Ground the Prince sent a Party to dislodge them, but they were driven back, and that Corn-Field continued in the Possession of the Enemy. Their Right Wing was placed just by *Marston* Town Side, the Town on their Right Hand fronting the East; and as their Foot and Horse came up, they formed their Battalia and Left Wing, endeavouring to gain as much to the Left as they could; so that at last their Army fronted to the Moor from *Marston* to *Tockwith*, being a Mile and a Half in Length. The Number of the Parliament's Forces were somewhat more than the King's, according to Sir *Thomas* †. Their Right Wing of Horse was commanded by him, consisting of eighty Troops, being his own and Part of the *Scotch* Horse; the main Battalia by his Father Lord *Ferdinando*, who also commanded the Foot towards the Right Wing, consisting of all his own Infantry, and two Brigades of *Scots* for a Reserve. Towards the Left General *Lesley* commanded with the rest of the *Scottish* Forces; two Brigades of the Earl of *Manchester*'s, with six Regiments of *Scots* and one of *Manchester*'s Brigades, for a Reserve. The Left Wing was led on by the Earl of *Manchester* and his

 Lieu-

* Marquis's Life. † *Fairfax*'s Memoirs.

Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, consisting of the Earl's whole Cavalry, and three Regiments of the *Scottish* Horse, under Major-General *Lesley*, making in all about seventy Troops.

This Disposition took up a great Part of the Day, but Prince *Rupert* was as late as they before he had fully drawn up his Forces: Part of his Foot and Horse lay on the North Side of the River *Ouse*, and had to come over *Poppleton* Ferry; which, however, happened to be fordable at that Time *. It was betwixt Two and Three o'Clock in the Afternoon before both Armies were formed for the Battle. The Prince had, with the Forces drawn out of the City, in all, in the Field, about 14,000 Foot and 9000 Horse, and 25 Pieces of Ordnance. His Highness himself led on the Right Wing of Horse, which had in it twelve Divisions, consisting of 100 Troops, which might be 5000 Men. The Left Wing of Horse was commanded by Sir *Charles Lucas* and Col. *Hurry*; but who commanded the main Body, whether General *Goring*, Major-General *Porter*, or General *Tilyard*, is uncertain; nor do we find what particular Charge the Marquis had this Day, though it is certain he was engaged very valiantly in the Battle. The Prince's Army extended in Front somewhat longer than the Enemy's; and therefore on their Left Hand, to secure the Flank, they placed the *Scottish* Dragoons, under the Command of Col. *Frizle*. The Field-Word given by the Prince was *God and the King*; the others, *God with us*.

About Three o'Clock the great Ordnance began to play on both Sides, but without doing any considerable Damage or Execution. About Five there was a general Silence, both Sides expecting who should begin the Charge first, for there was a small Ditch and a Bank betwixt the two Armies, which, though they had drawn up within Musquet-Shot of one another, must incommode the Party that passed it, and lay them more open to their Enemy. In this Posture and dreadful Dilemma they continued some Time, insomuch that every one concluded there would be no Action that Night; but about Seven in the Evening (*Whitlock* says Seven next Morning) the Parliament's Generals were resolved to fall

* *Ex MS.*

fall on, and the Signal being given, the Earl of *Manchester*'s Foot and the *Scots* of the main Body advancing in a running March, ſoon made their Way over the Ditch and gave a ſmart Charge.

The Front Diviſions of Horſe mutually charged, the reſpective oppoſite Right and Left Wings meeting. The firſt Diviſion of Prince *Rupert*'s advanced, and with them his Highneſs in Perſon charged *Cromwell*'s Diviſion of 300 Horſe, in which he was alſo in Perſon, and very hard put to it, being charged by the Prince's braveſt Men both in Front and Flank, and diſputed it at Sword's Point a conſiderable while. But at laſt *Cromwell* broke through, and at the ſame Time the reſt of his Horſe of that Wing, and Major-General *Leſley*'s Regiments, had wholly broken all that Right Wing of the Prince's, and were in Chace of them beyond their Left Wing; the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Foot on the Right Hand of them went on by their Side almoſt as faſt as they, diſperſing and cutting down the Prince's Foot. It was at this Time that the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s own Regiment, called *White-Coats* from their Cloathing, conſiſting of a 1000 ſtout *Northumbrians*, being deſerted by the Horſe, yet ſcorning either to fly or aſk Quarter, were cut in Pieces by the Enemy, all bravely falling in Rank and File as they had ſtood. The reſt of this Wing which eſcaped killing, or being taken Priſoners, fled in Confuſion towards *York*.

But the Prince's Left Wing, led by Col. *Hurry*, had better Succeſs, and did as much to the Parliament's Right. For though Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and Col. *Lambert* with five or ſix Troops charged through them, and went to their own Left Wing, the reſt of his Troops were defeated, and the Lord *Fairfax*'s Brigade being furiouſly aſſaulted, and at the ſame Time diſordered by ſome of Sir *Thomas*'s new-raiſed Regiments, who wheeled about, and being cloſely purſued, fled back upon them and the Reſerve of *Scottiſh* Foot, and broke them wholly, treading many underfoot; ſo that their Right Wing and great Part of their main Body were routed, and fled out of the Field ſeveral Miles towards *Tadcaſter* and *Cawood*, giving out that all was loſt. The three Generals, *Mancheſter*, *Leven*, and *Fairfax*, thought ſo too, and were

haſtening out of the Field, when the Victory they deſpaired of unexpectedly fell into their Hands.

For whilſt the Royaliſts were too eagerly purſuing the Chace, and juſt ſeizing on their Enemy's Carriages, *&c.* *Cromwell* with his Regiment, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* having rallied ſome of his Horſe and *Mancheſter*'s Foot, came back from the Chace of the Prince's Right Wing, and perceiving their Friends in the mean Time thus worſted, advanced in good Order to a ſecond Charge with all the Prince's Horſe and Foot that had thus diſordered their main Body and Right Wing, who, ſeeing their Approach, gave over the Purſuit and prepared to receive them, both Sides being not a little ſurprized to ſee they muſt fight over again for that Victory which they thought they had already gained. However the Royaliſts marched with great Reſolution down the Corn-Field, the Face of the Battle being exactly counterchanged; for now the King's Forces ſtood on the ſame Ground and with the ſame Front that the Parliament's Right Wing before ſtood to receive their Charge, and the Parliament's Forces in the ſame Ground and with the ſame Front which the King's did when the Fight began.

The Battle thus renewed grew deſperate and bloody; but, in fine, after the utmoſt Efforts of Strength and Courage on either Side for three Hours, Victory wholly inclined to the Parliament's Forces; who before Ten o'Clock had cleared the Field, and not only recovered their own Ordnance, but took all the Prince's Train of Artillery, and followed the Chace with great Slaughter within a Mile of *York*.

The Number of the Slain on both Sides is ſaid to be 8000; though Authors vary much in this as well as other Particulars. The Countrymen, who were commanded to bury the Dead, gave out, that they interred 4150*. It is generally believed that the Prince loſt at leaſt 3000 Men; the Parliamentarians would not own to above 300 being ſlain on their Side, which is incredible from the Circumſtances of the Fight.

Cromwell, though the Author of *Hollis*'s Memoirs taxes him with Cowardice, and ſays he withdrew very ſoon from the Fight for a ſlight Wound in the Neck, is by moſt Writers allowed to be the main Inſtrument in gaining

* The Graves are yet to be ſeen on the Moor near *Wilſtrop* Wood.

gaining this Victory. His known Courage, joined with Coolness, restored the Day, which was infallibly lost by Prince *Rupert*'s wanting that last necessary Qualification. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* also carried himself with great Bravery, he tells us that he must ever remember the Goodness of God to him that Day; for having charged through the Enemy, and his Men going after the Pursuit, he stopped to return to his other Troops, when unexpectedly he fell into the Midst of the Enemy's Horse alone; but taking the Signal out of his Hat, he past through them again as one of their own Commanders. He adds, that he escaped the Dangers of that Field with only a Cut in his Cheek given him at the first Charge, and his Horse shot under him in the second. The other Generals are said to have all fled the Field; and *Leven*, after a Flight of ten Miles, was taken by a Constable.

The principal Persons slain on the Prince's Side were Sir *William Wentworth*, Sir *William Lambton*, Sir *William Langdale*, Sir *Thomas Metham*, Col. *Eury*, and Col. *Slingsby*. Prisoners of Note were Sir *Charles Lucas*, Lieutenant-General to the Marquis of *Newcastle*'s Horse, Major-General *Porter*, Major-General *Tilyard*, and the Lord *Goring*'s Son, with near 100 other Officers, 1500 common Soldiers, (*Whitlock* says 3000 Prisoners in all) 25 Pieces of Ordnance, 130 Barrels of Powder, and several thousand Arms. The Number of Colours was computed at near 100, but could not be ascertained; because, notwithstanding there was a Proclamation made to bring them to the Generals, the Soldiers had already torn most of them to Pieces, delighting to wear the Shreds in their Hats *.

Of

* Some of the Colours sent up to the Parliament by Capt. *Stewart* were these: Prince *Rupert*'s Standard, with the Arms of the *Palatine*, near five Yards long and broad, with a red Cross in the Midst. A black Cornet, with a black and yellow Fringe, and a Sword brandished from the Clouds with this Motto, *Terribilis ut acies ordinata*. A Willow-green, with the Portraiture of a Man holding in one Hand a Knot, in the other a Sword with this, *Who shall untie it?* Another coloured with a Face, and this Motto, *Aut mors aut vita decora*. A yellow Cornet in its Middle, a Lion couchant, and behind him a Mastiff seeming to snatch at him, and a Label from his Mouth written *Kimbolton*; at his Feet little Beagles, and before their Mouths written, *Pym, Pym, Pym*; and out of the Lion's Mouth these Words proceeding, *Quousque tandem abutere patientia nostra*. Rushworth.

Of the Parliamentarians none of Note were slain except Capt. *Mickleth-wait* and Major *Fairfax*, who died of his Wounds at *York*, as did also *Charles Fairfax*, Son to the General, and was buried at *Marston*. Some Historians mention a *Scotch* Lord called *Didáup* to be slain here; which being told the King, his Majesty said, *He did not remember such a Lord in* Scotland; to which was replied, *It might very well be, since that Lord had forgot there was such a King in* England.

On the King's Party every Gentleman, Volunteer, *&c.* served in this Battle with uncommon Bravery, and charged with all the Resolution that could be expected from Men; insomuch that Prince *Rupert* said, at his Return to *York*, *I am sure my Men fought well, and know no Reason for our Root but this, because the Devil did help his Servants*. The Prince himself narrowly escaped to the City by the Goodness of his Horse.

To add to the Misfortunes of this Day, the very next proved a worse Stroke to the King's Affairs; for the brave Marquis of *Newcastle* and his Friends, being discontented at the Prince's Conduct, tired and discouraged to the last Degree, resolved to leave the Land. This Resolution was in some Measure copied by the Prince, for almost at the same Instant they sent Messages to one another that they intended to leave this City and Country; the Prince said he would march away that very Morning with his Horse, and as many Foot as he had left, towards the South; and the Marquis, that he would that Instant repair to the Sea-Coast and transport himself beyond Seas; both which, to the Surprize of Friends and Enemies, they immediately performed. The Prince drew out what Forces he could rally twelve Miles North of *York*, waiting the coming up of Col. *Clavering*, and then marched into *Lancashire*. The Marquis, conducted by one Troop of Horse, went to *Scarbrough*, where two Ships being ready to sail for *Hamburgh*, he embarked himself and Company therein, which were his two Sons, *Charles* Viscount *Mansfield* and Lord *Henry Cavendish*, his Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish*, Dr. *Bramhall*, Bishop of *Londonderry*, the Lord *Falconberg*, the Lord *Widdrington*, the Earl of *Ethyne*, the Lord *Carnwath*, Col. *Carnaby*, Col. *Basset*, Col. *Mazin*, Sir *William Vavasour*, Sir *Francis Mackworth*, and about eighty more, who in four

four Days arrived ſafe at *Hamburgh*. The Marquis came no more into *England* till the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. ſixteen Years after.

This ſtrange Deſertion of the City of *York* and the Northern Parts proved of the utmoſt Diſſervice to the King's Affairs; for had they ſtaid in the City, they might in Time have wearied out and waſted thoſe Enemies they now left it to the Mercy of. Diſſenſions amongſt the Northern Generals of the Parliament's Side were very conſiderable both before and after the Battle. The *Scots*, according to their Cuſtom, wanted to be marching home with their Booty; and they had another Reaſon, for the Marquis of *Montroſs* had already lighted a Flame in their Country, which the Parliament at *Edinburgh* could not extinguiſh. Then ſuch Quantities of Proviſions had been thrown into the Town, that they had little Stomach to the renewing of the Siege, till the certain Intelligence of the King's two Generals abrupt and final Departure ſo far reconciled them, that, after two Days, they returned to their Poſts before the City, which was now left to the ſole Diſcretion of the Governor, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, and beleaguered ſtraiter than ever.

They ſummoned the City to ſurrender on Mercy, to which Sir *Thomas Glemham* and the Lord Mayor anſwered, *That they could not yield on any ſuch Terms*; ſo the Beſiegers went on vigorouſly with their Attacks againſt it; and, *July* 11, having made their Approaches almoſt up to the very Walls, and prepared Scaling Ladders, *&c.* for a general Aſſault, the Beſieged beat a Parley and deſired a Treaty; whereupon Sir *William Conſtable* and Col. *Lambert* were ſent into the City to conclude it.

And, *July* 15, 1644, that gallant Gentleman the Governor having done as much as Man could do in Defence of the City, after a Siege of eighteen Weeks, in which he had valiantly withſtood twenty-two Storms, four Countermines, and ſlain 4 or 5000 of the Enemy before it; having but a ſmall Garriſon, moſt of their Artillery drawn out and loſt at *Marſton-Moor*, little or no warlike Ammunition left, and laſtly deſerted by their beſt and braveſt Men, thought fit to ſurrender up the City on the following Terms *:

I. That

* *Ex MS.*

I. That Sir *Thomas Glemham*, as Governor of the City of *York*, ſhall ſurrender and deliver up the ſame, with the Forts, Tower, Cannon, Ammunition, and Furniture of War belonging thereunto, on the 16th of *July* inſtant, at Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon, to the three Generals, or to whom they ſhall appoint, for the Uſe of the King and Parliament, in the Manner and upon the Conditions following:

II. That all the Officers ſhall march forth the City with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted, Bullet in Mouth, Bag and Baggage.

III. That they ſhall have a Convoy, that no Injury be done them in their March to *Skipton*.

IV. That ſick and maimed Soldiers ſhall not be hindered from going after their Recoveries.

V. That all Soldiers' Wives and Children may have Liberty to go to their Huſbands and Fathers, to their own Homes and Eſtates, and to enjoy them peaceably under Contribution.

VI. That no Soldier ſhall be enticed away.

VII. That the Citizens and Inhabitants may enjoy all their Privileges which formerly they did at the Beginning of theſe Troubles, and may have Freedom of Trade both by Sea and Land, paying ſuch Duties and Cuſtoms as all other Cities under Obedience of Parliament.

VIII. That if any Garriſon be placed in the City, two Parts in three ſhall be *Yorkſhire* Men; no free Quarter ſhall be put upon any without his own Conſent, and the Armies ſhall not enter the City before the Governor and Lord Mayor be acquainted.

IX. That in all Charges the Citizens, Reſiants, and Inhabitants ſhall bear only ſuch Part with the County at large as was formerly in all other Aſſeſſments.

X. That all Citizens, Gentlemen, Reſiants, Sojourners, and every other Perſon within the City, ſhall, if they pleaſe, have free Liberty to remove themſelves, Family, and Goods, and to diſpoſe thereof and their Eſtates at their Pleaſures, according to the Law of the Land, either to live at their own Homes or elſewhere; and to enjoy their Goods and Eſtates without Moleſtation, and to have Protection and Safeguard for that Purpoſe, ſo that they may reſt quietly at their Abodes, and travel

travel ſafely and freely about their Occaſions; and, for their better Removal, may have Letters of Safe-Conduct, and be furniſhed with Horſes and Carriages at reaſonable Rates.

XI. That all Gentlemen and others that have Goods within the City, and are abſent themſelves, may have free Liberty to take, carry away, and diſpoſe of them as in the foregoing Articles.

XII. That neither Churches nor other Buildings ſhall be defaced, nor any Plunderings, nor taking of any Man's Perſon, nor any Part of his Eſtate, ſuffered; and that Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered within the City by the Magiſtrates according to Law, who ſhall be aſſiſted therein, if Need require, by the Garriſon.

XIII. That all Perſons, whoſe Dwellings are in the City, though now abſent, may enjoy the Benefit of theſe Articles as if they were preſent.

Signed

FERD. FAIRFAX,
MANCHESTER,
ADAM HEPBORNE, THO. GLEMHAM. *
Lord HUMBEE,
WILL. CONSTABLE.

Theſe extraordinary Conceſſions, granted to People driven to the utmoſt Deſpair, may ſhew Poſterity how eager they were to be poſſeſſed of the City, their own Diviſions making it impracticable for them to lie long before it. On theſe Terms the City, together with its Forts, Towers, 35 Pieces of Ordnance, 3000 Arms, 5 Barrels of Powder and other Ammunition, were yielded up to the Enemy by Sir *Thomas Glemham*, with the Conſent of the Lord Mayor and Magiſtrates of the Place.

And,

* Sir *Thomas Glemham* afterwards held *Carliſle* nine Weeks for the King, againſt Peſtilence, Famine, and the Power of *Scotland*, and delivered it up on good Terms; he was alſo Governor of *Oxford*, which he ſurrendered by the King's Orders to Gen. *Fairfax*: But being arreſted in *London*, contrary to the *Oxford* Articles, he was ſome Time kept Priſoner in the Fleet, whence he found Means to paſs into *Holland*, where ſoon after this worthy Gentleman died. His Brother, Dr. *Glemham*, was, after the Reſtoration, made Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, *Lloyd*'s Memoirs of Loyaliſts.

And, *July* 16, the Forces marched out, being about 1000, besides Sick and Wounded, the Besiegers being drawn up on both Sides the Way out of *Micklegate-Bar* for near a Mile, that the Besieged might march through them. Then the three Generals went into the City in Procession directly to the Minster, says *Rushorth*, where a Psalm was sung and Thanks returned to God by Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Chaplain to the Earl of *Leven*; and *Thursday* after was appointed a Day of Thanksgiving to be solemnly kept by the whole Army.

Some Writers have taxed the Generals with a Breach of their Articles, by suffering their Soldiers to plunder, *&c.* But if we may believe *Rushworth*, it was only this, that some Troopers of *Manchester*'s Army took away from the King's Forces, as they were marching, Clothes, Plate, and Money, contrary to Articles; upon which the Generals expressed themselves much offended; and, adds he, *Manchester* published a Declaration, that if any Trooper concerned in the Plunder would in two Days bring to his Captain what he had taken, he should be forgiven; if not, they should suffer Death according to the Articles of War published by the Earl of *Essex*.

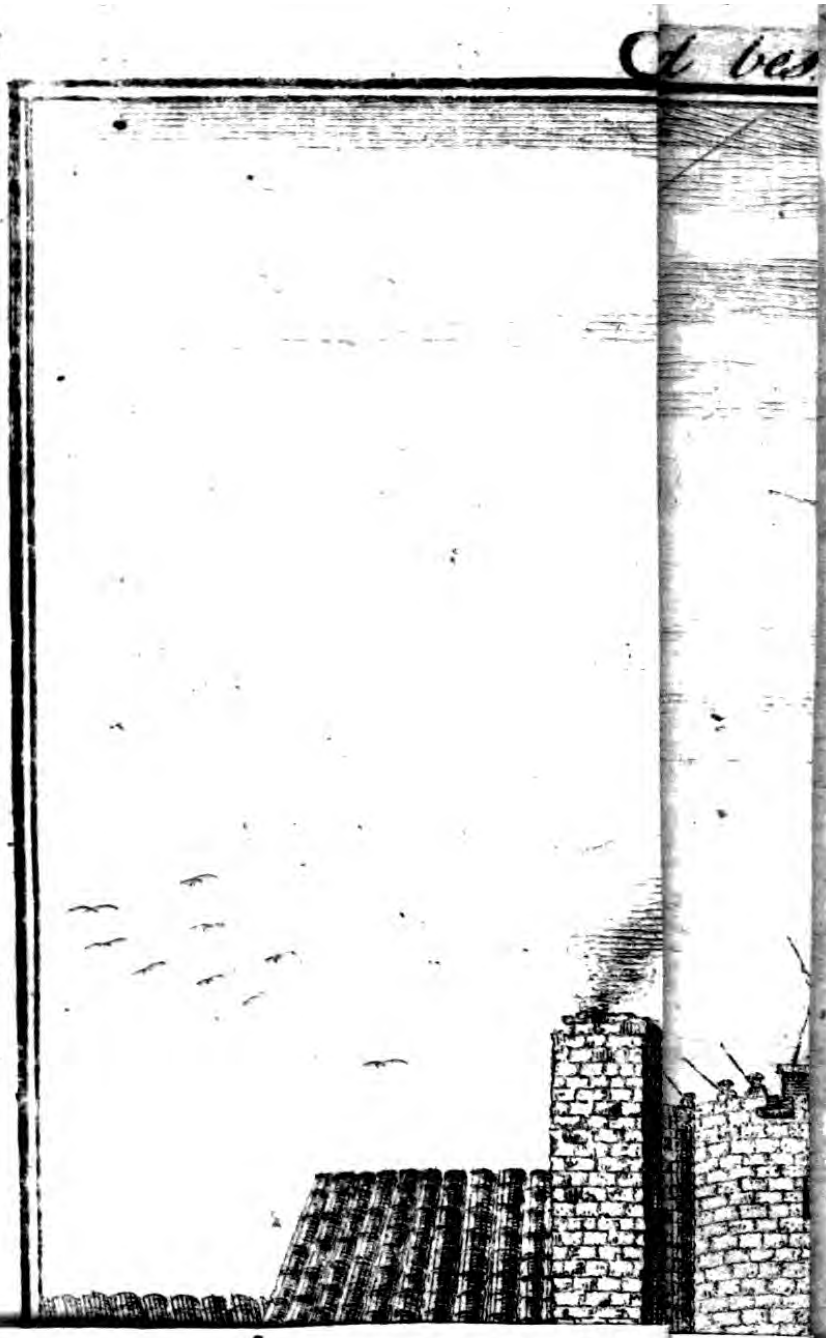
Immediately after the Rendition of the City, the three Armies thought fit to separate, being heartily tired of one another's Company. The *Scots* marched Northward, the Earl of *Manchester* into *Lincolnshire*, and the Lord *Fairfax* remained at *York*, being constituted Governor of it by the Parliament. Here he and his Son were to take in all the Garrisons that still held out for the King in this County, which in a small Time after were wholly brought under Subjection.

In one of their Excursions, in order to reduce the Castle of *Helmsley*, Sir *Thomae Fairfax* received a dangerous Shot in his Shoulder; and being brought to *York*, he laid there some Time so ill of his Wound that his Life was despaired of. Upon his Recovery he was voted by the Parliament Commander in Chief of all their Forces, and did that signal Service for them to reduce the King's Affairs to the lowest Ebb of Fortune, of which none could more heartily repent, if we may believe his own Memoirs, than the Hero himself.

Upon the taking of the City, the new-made Governor displaced Sir *Edmund Cooper* from the Office of Lord Mayor,

[illegible] time had ever wrote ‡. At this Assize wa[illegible]
Gaol-Delivery, sixteen Men and seven Wom[illegible]

* Lawyer *Hildyard*'s Antiquities of *York*. † *Ex MS.*
‡ This Speech was printed at *York*.



none could more heartily believe the
own Memoirs, than th
Upon the taking of nade Gover-
nor displaced Sir *Edm* ffice of Lord
Mayor,

Mayor, which he had held four Years (when few durst undertake it) with all the Testimony of Loyalty and Courage a good Subject could pay to his Sovereign. *Thomas Hoyle*, Alderman, one of the City's Representatives in Parliament, was, for a contrary Reason, put into the Place *. The Governor also procured *John Geldart*, *Stephen Watson*, *Thomas Dickenson*, *Robert Horner*, *Leonard Thompson*, and *Simon Coulton*, to be chosen Aldermen for their eminent Disaffection to the King, in the Places of Sir *Robert Belt*, Sir *Roger Jaques*, *Robert Hemsworth*, *William Scott*, and *John Myers*, displaced, and even disfranchised, for their Loyalty to their Prince.

The City Walls, much shattered in the Time of the Siege, were, by Order of the Governor and Lord Mayor, put into Repair. And the same Year, *Jan.* 1, 164$\frac{5}{6}$, came the great Convoy to *York*, commanded by Major-General *Skippon*, with 200,000*l.* which Money was paid to the *Scots* at the Common-Hall of this City for their Service. At the General's coming in all the Artillery about the City was discharged *.

In 1647 the Inhabitants of the County and City of *York*, and of the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, presented a Petition to the Parliament, to lay a Foundation for an University at *York*. The whole Kingdom being now almost under Subjection to the Parliament, and having no more Enemies to fear, this City was dismantled of its Garrison, *Clifford*'s Tower only excepted, of which the Lord Mayor was constituted Governor, and so continued several Years.

January 30, 164$\frac{8}{9}$, King *Charles* was beheaded, and the same Year Judge *Thorp* came to *York* to hold the *Lent* Assize; where, in an elaborate Charge to the Grand Jury, he endeavoured to justify the Murder of the King, and to vindicate the Parliament in all their Proceedings. In order to make the Change from the King's Name in Forms of Law, which it had ever run in to the Commons of *England*, acceptable to the People, he raked up all the invidious and scandalous Invectives against Kings and Monarchy, which the most celebrated Republicans to his Time had ever wrote ‡. At this Assize was a great Gaol-Delivery, sixteen Men and seven Women were con-

* Lawyer *Hildyard*'s Antiquities of *York*. † *Ex MS.*
‡ This Speech was printed at *York*.

condemned, and all executed ſave two. One of the Women was condemned for crucifying her Mother, and offering a Calf and a Cock for a burnt Sacrifice, and her Huſband was hanged for having a Hand in the Fact.

On the 23d of *Auguſt* following, Col. *John Morrice* and Lieut. *Blackburn* were executed at *Tyburn* near *York*; the former was Governor of *Pontefract* Caſtle, which he had with extreme Pains taken, and with extreme Hardſhips kept; the latter was one of that gallant Party which was ſent out of the Caſtle in that memorable Expedition to *Doncaſter*, and the very Man that killed *Rainſborough*. After the Rendition of the Caſtle they were both taken as they were endeavouring to get abroad, and brought Priſoners to *York*. They had once an Opportunity to make their Eſcapes; and one of them had ſlid down the Caſtle Walls by a Rope, which his Partner endeavouring to do after him, by Haſte or Inadvertency, fell and broke his Leg. This Misfortune coſt them both their Lives; for the Colonel would not leave his unhappy Companion, but, out of a noble Spirit of Generoſity, ſtaid by him till they were retaken. After twenty-two Weeks Impriſonment they were ſentenced to die by the Judges *Thorp* and *Puleſton*, who were purpoſely ſent down to try them; and both teſtified at their Deaths that ſteady Loyalty which had made their Lives ſo remarkable.

Cromwell, the renowned Protector of theſe Realms, has little Share in theſe Annals, though a very conſiderable one in the Annals of *England*. We cannot learn he was ever at *York*, except after the Battle of *Marſton-Moor* with the Generals; and another Time we find this Memorial of him.

July 4, 1650, Gen. *Cromwell* came to *York*, on an Expedition into *Scotland*, at which Time all the Artillery of the Tower were diſcharged; the next Day he dined with the Lord Mayor, and the following ſet forward for *Scotland*. To compliment his Excellency, and to ſhew their Zeal for the Cauſe, our Magiſtrates then thought fit to take down the King's Arms at *Micklegate* and *Bootham* Bars, through both which he muſt needs paſs in his Journey, and put up the State's Arms in their Stead.

This

This is all we can meet with during the Commonwealth and *Cromwell*'s Usurpation, after whose Death Affairs began to wheel about. Divisions and Distractions daily increased amongst the Rulers, and every honest Man saw plainly there was no other Way to settle the Kingdom on its sure and antient Basis, but calling in their lawful King.

It must be allowed that the first Person of Quality that stirred in these Parts, and seemed to point at a Restoration, was the Lord *Fairfax:* He had kept a secret Correspondence with Gen. *Monk* for some Time, and had promised to raise Forces, in Concert with Sir *George Booth*, and fall upon *Lambert*'s Rear, who was stationed at *Newcastle*, in order to put a Stop, one Way or other, to *Monk*'s Proceedings: By which Action, says an Author *, his Lordship was likely to recover the Honour in pursuing that Army, which, when he was formerly their General, he had lost by leading it. Lord *Fairfax*'s Preparations were, it seems, discovered too soon; and the General having a tender Concern for him and his Party, who had so gallantly declared for *Monk*, and knowing how unequal they were to deal with *Lambert*'s Army, he resolved to hasten to their Relief; and to that End marched his Forces immediately over the *Tweed*.

Lambert's Army deserting him on *Monk*'s Approach, the General came to *Newcastle*, where he halted three Days; and having received Intelligence that Lord *Fairfax* had summoned *York*, and was actually in Possession of it, he arrived there by easy Marches, *Jan.* 11, 16$\frac{59}{60}$, and staid five Days, during which Time he was fully employed: By his own Authority he fell to modelling his Army, and disposed of such Forces as had belonged to *Lambert*. *Lambert*'s own Regiment he gave to Col. *Bethell*, as a Reward for his Service in joining with Lord *Fairfax*; Major *Smithson* had *Lilburn*'s Regiment given him, that Officer having brought it off from *Lambert* to the Lord *Fairfax* and his Party. This Lord visited the General frequently, and had much secret Discourse with him. One Day they dined together privately in the

* The Life of Gen. *Monk*, published from the original MS. of Dr. *Skinner*, by *W. Webster*, 8vo. *London* 1725.

General's own Chamber, whilst the principal Officers and others were treated and entertained at a public Table by his Chaplain deputed for that Purpose. The Chaplain here mentioned was Dr. *Price*, who afterwards wrote and published *the Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restoration, being privy to all the secret Passages and Particularities*, as the Title of the Book expresses it, *of that glorious Revolution* *. It is from this Author the following remarkable Story is extracted. It seems that the Night of that Day on which the Lord *Fairfax* and the General dined privately together, Mr. *Bowles* was sent by his Lordship to confer with the General, and they were in close Conference till after Midnight: For about that Time Dr. *Price* entering the Chamber to go to Prayers, as usual, he found him and *Bowles* in very private Discourse; the General ordering him to go out for a while, but not to Bed. After *Bowles* was gone, he called the Doctor to him, commanding his Servants to stay without. He took him close to him and said, *What do you think? Mr.* Bowles *has pressed me very hard to stay here, and declare for the King, assuring me that I shall have great Assistance.* The Doctor started at the Boldness of the Proposition, and asked the General whether he had made *Bowles* any such Promise. *No truly*, cried he, *I have not*, or, *I have not yet.* The Doctor found he was much perplexed in his Thoughts, as he himself was, till after a little Pause the Doctor recovered himself, and spoke to this Effect: *That after the famous* Gustavus, *King of* Sweden, *was killed in* Germany, *his Effigies in Wax, with his Queen's and Children's, were carried up and down to be shewn for a Sight, and the Spectators were entertained with the Story of his Life*, in which the Doctor remembered this Passage, that when this King entered *Germany*, he said, *That if his Shirt knew what he intended to do, he would pull it off and burn it.* The Doctor's Application of it to the General was designed to entreat him to sleep between *York* and the Walls of *London*, and when he came within them, then to open his Eyes and consider what he had to do. This Advice the Doctor backed with such other Reasons as he thought most prevalent.

Nor

* *London* printed for *John Vade*, 1680.

Nor was it the General only that was ſtrongly ſolicited to declare for the King at *York*, ſome of his Officers were alſo ſet upon, and promiſed great Rewards for ſo doing; one of whom was ſo modeſt as only to demand to be made Lord High Chancellor of *England* for that Service. This Circumſtance Sir *Edward Hide* told the General after the King came in.

By this it appears that it was a moot Point whether the General had not actually proclaimed *Charles* II. King of *England*, *&c.* at *York*. But at laſt determining to carry on his Diſſimulation with the Parliament a little further, and receiving Orders from them to march up to *London*, in Requital of their Kindneſs, he publickly caned one of his Officers for ſaying *this* Monk *will at laſt bring in* Charles Stewart, commanding his other Officers to do the like to thoſe under their Command that ſhould ſo offend.

On one of theſe Days the General paid a Viſit to the Lord *Fairfax* at his Country-Seat at *Nunappleton*, where he and his Officers were magnificently entertained at Dinner, and the ſame Night he returned again to *York*. The General having, of his own ſole Authority and Diſcretion, marched with his Army from *Coldſtream*, in *Scotland*, to this City, he here received Orders from the Parliament to keep on his Way to *London*. It ſeems that the Lord *Fairfax*'s Riſing in *Yorkſhire*, though he had prefaced his Actions with the Authority of Parliament, was not at all agreeable to them, being very well aſſured that he had other Deſigns in it beyond their Safety; nor could they be pleaſed with Gen. *Monk*'s Stay in that County, where he might probably receive other Impreſſions than thoſe, they hoped, he had brought out of *Scotland* with him. Beſides the Union of two ſuch Perſons againſt them, eſteemed the beſt Generals in the Nation, might have given them another Kind of Diſturbance than what they had received from *Fleetwood* or *Lambert*. They had ſuffered him to advance ſo far, that now they could not decently command him back to *Scotland*, without ſome Diſobligation to the General and Diſguſt to his Army, nor were they ſure of their own Forces in *London*; and therefore, though much againſt their Inclinations, they were conſtrained to authorize Gen. *Monk*'s Advance thither, rather than leave him any longer in *Yorkſhire*.

Upon receiving his Orders by Auditor *Thompson*, to remove all Umbrage and Apprehension from his worthy Masters above, he resolved to reduce his Army, and from *York* sent back Major *Morgan* into *Scotland* with two Regiments of Horse and Foot. The General had used the best Means in his Power to secure that Nation before he left it; yet, not well assured of the busy Humour of the *Scots*, he thought it his best Way to send *Morgan* back, in order to keep together a considerable Reserve, in Case the General should have Need, or have lost a Battle in *England*. He left another Regiment at *York*, under the Command of Col. *Fairfax*, who being a Native of this County, and very well allied and esteemed amongst them, was the most proper Person to be intrusted with the Care of the City, and the Safety of the County: And now having reduced his Army to just 4000 Foot and 1800 Horse, a Number seemingly insignificant to attempt a Revolution with, he marched out of *York*, *Jan.* 16, and went in two Days to *Mansfield* in *Nottinghamshire*, where we shall leave him.

Success attended all the General's Motions, and Providence singled him out to be the happy Instrument to restore the King and Royal Family to the Throne of their Ancestors, the Church of *England* to its Revenues and Discipline, and the Laws of the Land to their antient Course and Channel, from which they had been so long and so shamefully perverted.

York may be supposed to taste a little of those Joys, which Bishop *Burnet* says the whole Nation was drunk and mad with on this memorable Occasion for three Years together*. The loyal Citizens in it had suffered extremely from the rigid Government of their Magistrates after the Rendition. Sir *Edmond Cooper* and the rest of the Aldermen displaced had sunk under their Misfortunes, and were all dead, save one, before the happy Restoration: But when it was publickly known that this Change was agreed upon, and a Proclamation sent down for that Purpose, *Charles* II. was proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*, *&c.* at *York*, in the following Manner:

May 11, 1660, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Twenty-four, on Horseback, in their proper Habits, preceded

* *Burnet*'s History of his own Times.

ceded the Cavalcade; next followed the Chamberlains and Common Councilmen on Foot, in their Gowns; these were attended by more than 1000 Citizens under Arms; and lastly came a Troop of Country Gentlemen, near 300, with Lord *Fairfax* at their Head, who all rode with their Swords drawn and Hats upon the Points of them. When the Proclamation was read at the usual Places, the Bells rung, the Cannon played from the Tower, and the Soldiers fired several Vollies; and at Night were Bonfires, Illuminations, *&c.* with the greatest Expressions of Joy that could possibly be testified on that happy Deliverance.

And on the 29th of *May*, the King's Birth-Day, and the Day of his publick Entrance into the City of *London*, the Loyalty of our Citizens was in a more especial Manner expressed: For, says our Author *, an Eye-Witness, the Effigies of the late Tyrant and Usurper *Oliver Cromwell*, clothed in a Pink Sattin Suit, with that, adds he, of that base Miscreant and unjust Judge *John Bradshaw*, habited in a Judge's Robe; as likewise the *Scotch* Covenant, and the late State's Arms, which were erected in the Common-Hall, were all on the same Day hung upon a Gallows, set up in the *Pavement* for that Purpose, and at last put into three Tar-Barrels and burnt, together with the Gallows, in the Presence of 1000 Citizens in Arms, and a Multitude of other Spectators.

In 1663 there was an Insurrection in *Yorkshire*, the Leaders of which were all Conventicle Preachers, and the old Parliament's Soldiers. Their Pretences for this Rebellion were, to redeem themselves from the Excise and all Subsidies; to re-establish a Gospel Magistracy and Ministry; to restore the Long Parliament; and to reform all Orders and Degrees of Men, especially the Lawyers and Clergy. In order to this they printed a Declaration, or, according to *Echard*, a Call to Rebellion, beginning with these Words: *If there be any City, Town, or County in the three Nations that will begin this righteous and glorious Work*, &c. Accordingly a great Number of them appeared in Arms at *Farnley-Wood*, near *Otley*, in this County.

But the Time and Place of Rendezvous being known, a Body of Regular Troops with some of the County Militia

* *Hildyard*'s Antiquites of *York*, 1664.

Militia was sent against them, who seized upon several, and prevented the Execution of their Design. A Commission was sent down to *York* in the Depth of Winter to try the principal Leaders of them, and twenty-one were condemned and executed, eighteen at *York*, and three at *Leeds*; two of them were quartered, and their Quarters set up upon the several Gates of the City. Four of their Heads were set upon *Micklegate-Bar*, three at *Bootham-Bar*, one at *Walmgate-Bar*, and three over the Castle Gates.

August 5, 1666, *James* Duke of *York* and his Duchess came to this City, and were met on *Tadcaster* Bridge by the Sheriffs, and at *Micklegate-Bar* by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, *&c.* in their Formalities, on Horseback, the Chamberlains and Common-Council on Foot. *Richard Etherington*, Esq; Deputy-Recorder, made a Speech to his Highness, which being ended, they were entertained at Alderman *Bawtry*'s House, and afterwards conducted to the Lord *Irwin*'s in the *Minster-Yard*. This Progress was made by the Duke and Duchess when the Plague raged greatly in *London* and some more Southern Parts. His Royal Highness staid at *York* till the 23d of *September*, when he took a Post-Chaise to go to the King and Parliament then assembled at *Oxford*. On *Tuesday* following the Duchess set forward; both of them expressing their Sense of the great Civilities, Honours, and Respect, which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the whole City shewed to them during their Residence in this Place.

When the Popish Plots, Bills of Exclusion, *&c.* ran high against the Duke, he chose to retire from Court; and the 6th of *November*, 1679, he came to *York*, in his Journey to *Edinburgh*, with his Duchess. At this Time his Highness was not received with all the Formalities above; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen thought fit only to attend him in his Presence-Chamber at Mr. *George Aislaby*'s House in the *Minster-Yard*, where Mr. *Pricket*, Deputy-Recorder, made this short, but pithy Harangue to him *.

YOUR Royal Highness is very welcome to this antient and loyal City, which glories more in her known Loyalty, and in your Highness's Title of being Duke-

* *Ex MS.*

Duke of *York*, than in the Birth and Residence of Emperors, wherewith she has formerly been honoured. Our Lives and Estates are all devoted to his Majesty's Service, under whose religious and peaceable Government we account ourselves happy; and we heartily wish Prosperity to his Majesty, your Royal Highness, and the whole Royal Family.

Notwithstanding the warm Expressions of Loyalty which this Speech testifies, the not receiving the Duke with that Ceremony which was requisite by the Magistrates, (though the Sheriffs of the City had done their Duty, in riding to *Tadcaster* to meet his Highness as usual) was resented at Court, and occasioned the following Reprimand in a Letter from the Secretary of State to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, which, as our Records give it, is as follows:

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,

THE King being given to understand that you did not receive his Royal Highness, upon his late coming to the City, with that Respect which was due to him, and in the Manner heretofore accustomed, his Majesty commands me to signify to you, that as he was much surprised by this your Proceeding, so he cannot but express to you his Dissatisfaction at it: And therefore his Majesty bids me let you know, that it is his express Pleasure, that whensoever his Royal Highness shall come again to *York*, you do not fail to attend and receive him in the like Manner as he was received there some Years ago, and as his Majesty has Reason to expect his Brother should be by all good Subjects in your Station.

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,

Whitehall, Nov. 11, 1679. } *Your most humble Servant,*

SUNDERLAND.

The Slight put upon the King's Brother, and immediate Heir to the Crown, gained the City no good Will at Court; and the Magistracy at that Time being noted for Disaffection, they fell so far under the King's Displeasure, that a *Quo Warranto* was granted against them by

by King *Charles* II. in 1684, the last Year of his Reign, to shew Cause how they came to usurp to themselves such and such Liberties, *&c.* Their Charter being also called for to be perused, was detained by the Ministry, nor was it renewed to them in this King's Reign, being prevented by his Majesty's Death, which happened the 6th of *February*, 168⅘.

In 1685 King *James* II. having called a Parliament, the Candidates for the City were Sir *John Reresby* and Sir *Metcalf Robinson*, Barts. and *Toby Jenkins* and *James Moyser*, Esqrs. The Struggle was great; and it appears by an Entry in the City's Books that the two former being chosen, the other in Resentment caused five Alderman, who were much in the elected Members' Interest, to be represented at Court as disaffected to the Government. Their Names were *Ramsden*, *Elcock*, *Herbert*, *Edward Thompson*, and *Walle*. All the said Aldermen, except *Herbert*, with some of the Common-Council, represented as disloyal in like Manner, were seized on by an Order of King and Council, *June* 29, and sent Prisoners to *Hull*, where they remained till the 25th of *July* following, when the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion being quashed, they were released; and, notwithstanding the new Charter was not yet come down, they took their Places in their own Court as usual.

At the Summer Assizes, the Year before, the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferys* came down to *York*, as one of the Judges of Assize for this Circuit, and the Mayor and Aldermen being advised to wait upon him to know his Majesty's Pleasure concerning the City in the State it was, accordingly did; and, as the Entry in the City's Books declares, after a Speech made to him by Mr. *Pricket*, the City's Counsel, his Lordship expressed himself to this Effect: *That the King expected nothing but the Government of the City to be at his Dispose; and if the Mayor would call a Court and Common-Council, and make a Petition to his Majesty under the Common Seal to the Effect proposed, he would take Care to get it presented, and doubted not of a gracious Answer in a Week's Time. In the mean while all Things should stand in* Statu quo. A Petition was accordingly drawn up, and presented to the Lord Chief Justice, who approved of it, and sent it up

to

to the King. And, in the ſecond Week of the Aſſizes, being invited to Dinner at the City's Charge, he was treated at the Lord Mayor's Houſe, and then and there the Lord Chief Juſtice declared he had received an Account, *That his Majeſty was well pleaſed with the City's Petition, and aſſured them that they ſhould have a new Charter, with that Proviſo or Reſervation only, of having the Nomination and Approbation of the Magiſtrates and Perſons in Office therein.*

James II. was the King who granted our City the laſt Charter it has had, an Abſtract of which may be met with in the ſecond Volume. Great was the Joy the Citizens teſtified on that Occaſion; an Account of which was ſent up to *London*, and printed in the *Gazette*, Number 2060, 1685, as follows:

"*York*, *Auguſt* 8. This Evening was brought hither his Majeſty's moſt Royal Charter to this City by Sir *Henry Thompſon*, of *Caſtlegate*, and Mr. *Scot*, being met at ſome Diſtance from hence by a great many Horſe and Foot, to the Number of near 5000, and received at the Gate of the City by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council in their Formalities, who paſſed from thence, amidſt the continued Acclamations of the People, with Drums beating and Trumpets ſounding, to the Lord Mayor's Houſe, where the whole Company drank their Majeſties Healths. The Streets were filled with Bonfires, the Muſick played, the Bells rung, and nothing was omitted that might on this Occaſion expreſs the Duty and Loyalty of the Inhabitants of this City."

Our City continued to ſhew their Loyalty and Gratitude to this unfortunate King; and on every publick Occaſion took Care to addreſs his Majeſty with the warmeſt Expreſſions of Love and Duty to his Perſon and Government; particularly, it is entered in the City's Books of 1688, that, *June* 18, upon the News brought to the City that the Queen was delivered of a young Prince, the Lord Mayor, (*Thomas Raynes*) Aldermen, Sheriffs, Four-and-Twenty, and Common-Council, did, with a full Conſent, agree that the Lord Mayor ſhould go to *London*, to addreſs the King upon the joyful News of the Prince's Birth, and that Sir *Henry Thompſon* and Sir *Stephen Thompſon*, Knts. and Alderman *Shackleton*, with

with Mr. Sheriff *Bell* and Mr. *Thomas Thompson*, ſhould accompany the Lord Mayor to Court on this Occaſion. Ordered alſo, at the ſame Time, that the ſaid Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Twenty-Four ſhould have two Gallons of Wine to drink the King, Queen, and young Prince's Healths, and the Commons four Gallons for the like Purpoſe, all at the public Expence. The Addreſs itſelf is, either through Careleſſneſs or Wilfulneſs, loſt from the City's Books, but is inſerted in theſe Words in the *London Gazette*, *July* 30th, 1688.

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of your Majeſty's antient and loyal City of *York* were tranſported with Joy at the Birth of the young Prince; and after they had made what Demonſtrations they could at home of their Rejoicing, thought it their Duty to ſend, and have ſent, ſome of the principal Members of their Body to congratulate your Majeſty for ſo great and extraordinary a Bleſſing both to your Majeſty and your Subjects. The great God, who hath at ſundry Times miraculouſly preſerved your Majeſty, both at Sea and Land, hath at this Time enlarged his Bleſſings to your Majeſty and your People by giving us a Royal Prince; who, we pray, may long live to inherit the Virtues and Crown of his Anceſtors, and that there may never want one of your Royal Family to ſway the Scepter of theſe Kingdoms; for the Support and Maintenance whereof we are, and ſhall always be, ready to ſacrifice our Lives and Fortunes: And that the God of Heaven would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſhower down his Bleſſings upon your Majeſty, your Royal Conſort, the young Prince, and the whole Royal Family, is the hearty Prayer of us,

Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful, obedient, and loyal Subjects, &c.

Which Addreſs his Majeſty received very graciouſly.

It was not long after this when the Tide beginning to turn againſt King *James*, the Affections and Declarations of his Citizens of *York* took alſo the ſame Bent.

An

An Instance of which is the following Address of a very different Nature from the former, though not much different in Date, and from the same People.

To the High and Mighty Prince WILLIAM HENRY, *Prince of* Orange,

The Humble Address of the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of the City of York.

WE the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *York*, being deeply sensible of God Almighty's great Blessing upon this Nation, in inclining your princely Heart to hazard yourself and Fortune for the rescuing the Protestant Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom out of the Hands of those who have sacrificed them all to their boundless Malice, do render our due and humble Thanks to your Highness for so transcendent a Benefit to the Nation, whereof your Highness (next under God) hath apparently been the sole Instrument: And as we have been the earliest of those (who were not under the immediate Protection of your Highness's Army) that have shewed ourselves and joined with the Earl of *Danby*, and others of your Highness's Friends, in so glorious a Design, so we (as early as our Distance from your Highness can admit) do most humbly and heartily congratulate your happy Success, and promise still to stand by your Highness in Defence of the Protestant Religion and the Laws of the Kingdom, to the utmost Peril of our Lives and Fortunes; wishing to your Highness Length of Days and an happy Issue, and Increase of Honour proportionable to your great Worth, and that all your Enterprizes may be crowned with Success.

In Testimony whereof we have hereunto put our Common Seal the 14th Day of *December*, 1688.

From this Period till the Rebellion in 1745, nothing of public Transactions happened here worthy of Notice, except the several Proclamations for Peace, and Declarations of War; the Accession of the several Monarchs, and the Addresses of the City on these and similar Occasions, which are not thought sufficiently interesting to be here inserted; neither was this City, during that

long Interval, honoured with the Visits of any of the Royal Family.

His Grace *Thomas Herring*, then Archbishop of *York*, was amongst the first to alarm the Nation and arm it against the Rebels, by projecting an Association of the Nobility, Gentry, *&c.* of the County, which was entered into at the Castle of *York*, the 24th of *September*, 1745. On this Occasion his Lordship made the following Speech:

My Lords, Gentlemen, and Reverend Brethren of the Clergy,

I Am desired by the Lords Lieutenants of the Ridings to open to you the Reasons of our present assembling; and as the Advertisement which has called us together is in every Body's Hands, and the Fact now speaks itself too plainly, a few Words will be sufficient on the Occasion. It was some Time before it was believed, I would to God it had gained Credit sooner; but now every Child in the Kingdom knows it, that the Son of the Pretender is in *Scotland*; has set up his Standard there; has gathered and disciplined an Army of great Force; receives daily Increase of Numbers; is in Possession of the Capital City there; has defeated a small Part of the King's Forces; and is advancing with hasty Steps towards *England*. What will be the Issue of this rapid Progress, must be left to the Providence of God: However, what is incumbent upon us to do, is to make the best Provision we can against it; and every Gentleman, I dare say every Man in *England*, will think it his Wisdom and his Interest to guard against the mischievous Attempts of these wild and desperate Ruffians. But the great Mischief to be feared, which ought to alarm us exceedingly, and put us immediately on our Defence, is, the certain Evidence, which every Day opens more and more, that these Commotions in the North are but Part of a great Plan concerted for our Ruin: They have begun under the Countenance, and will be supported by the Forces of *France* and *Spain*, our old and inveterate, and late Experience calls upon me to add, our savage and blood-thirsty Enemies: A Circumstance that should fire the Indignation of every honest *Englishman*. If these Designs should succeed, and

Popery

Popery and Arbitrary Power come in upon us, under the Influence and Direction of these two tyrannical and corrupted Courts, I leave you to reflect what would become of every Thing that is valuable to us!

We are now blessed under the mild Administration of a Just and Protestant King, who is of so strict an Adherence to the Laws of our Country, that not an Instance can be pointed out during his whole Reign, wherein he made the least Attempt upon the Liberty or Property, or Religion of a single Person: But if the Ambition and Pride of *France* and *Spain* is to dictate to us, we must submit to a Man to govern us under their hated and accursed Influence, who brings his Religion from *Rome*, and the Rules and Maxims of his Government from *Paris* and *Madrid*.

For God's Sake, Gentlemen, let us consider this Matter as becomes us, and let no Time be lost to guard against this prodigious Ruin. To your immortal Honour be it spoken, you have considered it, and are now met together to call in the unanimous Consent and Assistance of this great County. This County, as it exceeds every other for its Extent and Riches, so it very naturally takes the Lead of the inferior ones, and will be extremely to our Credit, give Courage to the Friends of the best Constitution in the World, damp the Spirit of its Enemies at home, (if any such can be conceived in *Britain* at this dangerous Crisis) and be an Instruction to those abroad, that there is still Spirit and Honesty enough among us to stand up in Defence of our common Country. This will be the Use of an unanimous and hearty Declaration of Fidelity to our Country, and Loyalty to our King.

But the Times, Gentlemen, call for something more than this; something must be done as well as said; and the Fund for our Defence already begun, and now to be proposed to this great Assembly, will, it is hoped, from Reasons of public Example and public Safety, meet with the hearty Concurrence of every Individual that composes it; and at the same Time that your Hearts go along with the Association, your Hands will be open to support the necessary Measures of Self-defence.

As to you, my Reverend Brethren, I have not long had the Honour to preside among you; but from the

Experience I have had, and what I have always heard of your honeſt Love to your Country, if you permit me to ſay ſo, I will be your Security to the Public, that ye will decline no Pains to inſtruct and animate your People, nor Expence, according to your Circumſtances, to ſtand up againſt Popery and arbitrary Power under a *French* or *Spaniſh* Government. We ſcorn the Policies of the Court of *Rome*; have no Intereſts ſeparate from the People, but on every Occaſion, where our Country is concerned, look upon ourſelves as incorporated with the warmeſt Defenders of it; or if we do deſire to be diſtinguiſhed, it will be by our Ardour and Zeal to preſerve our happy Conſtitution.

Let us unite then, Gentlemen, as one Man, to ſtop this dangerous Miſchief, from which Union no Man ſurely can withdraw or with-hold his Aſſiſtance, who is not liſted into the wicked Service of a *French* or *Spaniſh* Invaſion, or wholly unconcerned for the Fate of his bleeding Country.

May the great God of Battles ſtretch out his all-powerful Hand to defend us, inſpire an Union of Hearts and Hands among all Ranks of People, a clear Wiſdom into the Counſels of his Majeſty, and a ſteady Courage and Reſolution into the Hearts of his Generals.

This Aſſociation was ſubſcribed by above 800 of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, when, together with the County at large, the Sum of 31,420 *l.* was raiſed by voluntary Subſcription for the Defence of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government in general, and of this County in particular.

On this Occaſion *John Raper*, Eſq; then Lord Mayor, called the Inhabitants of this City together for the ſame Purpoſe, when the Subſcriptions in the City of *York* amounted to 2435 *l.* and in the Ainſty to 220 *l.* with which four Companies of Men were raiſed (conſiſting of 70 Men each, known by the Name of the *York Blues*, excluſive of Serjeants, Corporals, and Drummers) and uniformly cloathed. The Serjeants had 14 *s.* the Corporals and Drummers 10 *s.* *per* Week, and each private Man 1 *s.* *per* Day, and were embodied about four Months.

The

The following Gentlemen served as Officers without Pay, *viz.*

1st Comp. Capt. *William Haughton*, Lieut. *Belasise*, Ensign *Burdet*.

2d Comp. Capt. *Waite*, Lieut. *Hotham*, Ensign *Knipe*.

3d Comp. Capt. *John Hotham*, Lieut. *Hutchinson*, Ensign *Theakston*.

4th Comp. Capt. *Thompson*, Lieut. *Dawson*, Ensign *Dawson*.

Besides these the principal Gentlemen and Tradesmen in the different Wards of the City formed themselves into an Association, called *Independents*, for the further Security of the City, being all uniformly clothed and accoutred at their own Expence, and continued under Arms about ten Months, and were disposed in the following Order:

Bootham-Ward. Col. *Pierson*, Lieut. *Bains*, Ensign *Bower*; 45 Private, 1 Serjeant, and 1 Drum.

Micklegate-Ward. Capt. *Adams*, Lieut. *Stanforth*, Ensign *Brook*; 48 Private, 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal, and 1 Drum.

Monk-Ward. Capt. *Patrick Agnew*, Lieut. *John Wilmer*, Ensign *John Hildyard*; 46 Private, 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal, and 1 Drum.

Walmgate-Ward. Capt. *Walkinshaw*, Lieut. *Bewlay*, Ensign *Hornsey*; 46 Private, 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal, and 1 Drum.

These Gentlemen allowed their Serjeants 7*s.* *per* Week, Corporals 5*s.* and the Drummers 3*s.* 6*d.* with Uniforms.

Notwithstanding this, and though not one of the Inhabitants of *York* was proved to be concerned in the Rebellion, yet the City in general laid under the Imputation of Disloyalty, being a Place at that Time, and for many Years before, greatly resorted to, if not constantly inhabited, by many of the best Roman Catholick Families in the Kingdom.

May 28, 1746, after the decisive Battle of *Culloden*, the Prince of *Hesse* arrived here in his Way from *Scotland*: He was complimented by the Lord Mayor and

Aldermen at his Quarters, whom he received very politely, and the next Day continued his Journey towards *London*.

On the 23d of *July* following, his Royal Highness *William* Duke of *Cumberland*, in Compliance with the Request of the Lord Mayor and Commonalty, sent by Express to him the 9th of *May* preceding, made this City his Road to *London*, and arrived here about Nine in the Evening, attended by Lord *Cathcart*, Lord *Ancram*, Col. *Yorke*, Col. *Fitzwilliam*, Capt. *Hudson*, Col. *Boscawen*, and Col. *Conway*. He alighted at the Precentor's House * in the *Minster-Yard*, (his Royal Highness having desired to be at a private House, and that being the most commodious for the Purpose) where he was received by his Grace the Lord Archbishop in the Hall, who congratulated his Royal Highness's Arrival here in a very polite Speech. Sir *Thomas Parker* and Sir *Thomas Burnet*, the two Judges of Assize, with the Gentlemen of the Bar; Lord *Irwin*, *Henry Ibbetson*, Esq; the High Sheriff; Capt. *Thornton* †, and several other Gentlemen; the Rev. the Dean and Residentiaries, *&c.* were admitted. His Royal Highness took Part of a Collation provided at the City's Expence, and sat at Table with his Grace the Archbishop of *York*; and his Attendants supped in another Room. After Supper, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs waited upon his Royal Highness with the Freedom of this City in a Gold Box, when *Thomas Place*, Esq; the Recorder, addressed him in the following Speech:

May it please your Royal Highness,

THE City of *York* begs Leave to congratulate your Highness on your safe Arrival here, secure from those Dangers to which, for the Sake of your Country only, you exposed yourself; and to express their Sense of the Honour done them by being admitted into the Pre-

* Dr. *Sterne*.

† *William Thornton*, Esq; of *Thornville*, near *York*, who, at his own Expence, raised, clothed, and paid a Company of 75 Men, with whom he marched into *Scotland*, and was with them at the Battle of *Falkirk*. The Serjeants and Drums had 1*s.* 2*d.* the Corporals 1*s.* 1*d.* and the private Men 1*s.* a Day.——Mr. *Thornton* was afterwards one of the Representatives of this City in Parliament.

Presence of their immediate Deliverer from all those Evils which Popery and Slavery threatened; the Preserver of all those Blessings to us, which, under his Majesty's most auspicious Government, we have in every Circumstance of Life the full Enjoyment of.

This City, had they had a more timely Notice of the Honour your Royal Highness now does them, would have attempted to have received your Highness in a Manner more agreeable to what they intended. But at present can only, as a small Testimony of their Duty to his Majesty and his Family, and as a small Acknowledgment of what they owe personally to your Royal Highness, beg your Acceptance of this Box, and to permit them to enroll your Name as a Member of this City: An Honour our Ancestors have in no Times ever equalled, and which our Posterity must ever with Gratitude and Duty remember so long as his Majesty's Family shall continue upon the Throne of these Kingdoms, and your Royal Higness's glorious and heroic Acts shall be remembered, which we most sincerly wish may be as long as Time itself shall endure.

His Royal Highness received them very graciously, and they all had the Honour of kissing his Hand; and he was pleased to say, *That he took the City's Compliment very kindly, and should always have a particular Regard for the Welfare of his Fellow-Citizens.*

About Twelve the same Night his Royal Highness and Attendants set out for *London.*

His Grace the Lord Archbishop having informed his Royal Highness, that the Independent Gentlemen of this City designed to have received his Royal Highness with Military Honours, the said Gentlemen were, the next Day, drawn out in the *Manor-Yard*, where Col. *Peirson* acquainted them, "That he had his Royal Highness's Orders to thank them for the Zeal and Loyalty they had lately shewn for his Majesty's Person and Government; that he was sorry the Emergency of Affairs was such, that he could not have Time to receive the Compliment they designed; but that he took it in as good Part as if they had done it."

Of

Of the great Number of Rebels tried and convicted at *York*, no more than 22 were executed. The Heads of two of them, *viz. William Conolly* and *James Mayne*, were fixed up on Poles at *Micklegate-Bar*, from whence they were stolen in the Night of the 28th of *January*, 1754, by one *William Arundell*, a Taylor of *York*, assisted by his *Irish* Journeyman; but the Taylor paid dear for his Frolick: For in *March* following the Rewards offered by the Government, the Corporation of *York*, and the Members of the *Rockingham-Club*, amounting in the whole to 112 *l.* 10 *s.* tempted the *Irishman* to turn Informer against his Master, who was thereupon committed to *Ousebridge* Gaol, was indicted at the Summer-Assizes following, and tried and convicted at the Lent-Assizes in 1755, when he received Sentence to pay a Fine of 5 *l.* to be imprisoned two Years, and till he found Sureties, in 200 *l.* Penalty, for his good Behaviour two Years more.

On *Saturday* the 18th of *July*, 1761, about Nine in the Morning, his Royal Highness *Edward* Duke of *York*, accompanied by Sir *William Boothby*, Bart. Col. *Morrison*, and Major *St. John*, passed through this City on his Way to *Scarbrough*, whither he was going for the Benefit of the Spaw; and on the *Monday* following *Thomas Bowes*, Esq; Lord Mayor, *Peter Johnson*, Esq; Recorder, and two senior Aldermen, set out for *Scarbrough* to wait on his Royal Highness, and were introduced to him the next Day by Major *St. John*; when the Recorder, in a short Speech, made the Compliments of the Corporation to his Royal Higness, and signified it as their humble Request that his Royal Highness would do them the Honour to make some Stay in this City, on his Return from *Scarbrough*, and to accept of the Mansion-House of the Lord Mayor for his Accommodation: To which his Royal Highness was pleased to return a most gracious Answer, expressing his Satisfaction at this Instance of Respect from the City, and his Inclination to comply with their Request; but that at this Juncture his Royal Highness feared he should not have Time to make any long Stay on his Return. They had all the Honour to kiss his Royal Highness's Hand.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, on the 19th of *August*, his Royal Highness arrived in this City in his Return from *Scarbrough*, alighted from his Chaise at the Minster, and spent some Time in viewing that magnificent Structure. From thence he came down *Stonegate* (which was lined with Col. *Thornton*'s Regiment of Militia, under Arms) to the Mansion-House, where he was received by the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Sheriffs in their Formalities. The Recorder made the Compliments of the whole Corporation to his Royal Highness, with an humble Offer of the Freedom of the City; to which his Royal Highness returned a very gracious Answer; and the Freedom of the City was accordingly presented to him in a Gold Box of an hundred Guineas Value, and the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Town-Clerk had all the Honour to kiss his Royal Highness's Hand. Afterwards his Royal Highness dined at the Mansion-House, where a very elegant Entertainment was provided; and the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, the Earl of *Gainsbrough*, the Gentlemen of his Royal Highness's Houshold, with the other Gentlemen who attended him hither, and the principal Officers of Col. *Thornton*'s Regiment of Militia, had the Honour to dine at the same Table. In the Evening the Corporation gave a Ball at the Assembly-Rooms, which was very full and brilliant, and was opened by his Royal Highness with Miss *Kaye*, Sister to Sir *John Lister Kaye*, Bart. High Sheriff for this County. His Royal Highness staid till about One o'Clock, and then retired to the Mansion-House, where he lodged. Next Morning about Seven he reviewed Col. *Thornton*'s Regiment of Militia on *Knavesmire*, with whose Appearance, and Dexterity in their several Evolutions, he expressed great Satisfaction, saying, *He never saw any Veterans that exceeded them*; after which he breakfasted at the Grand Stand with the Colonel and several Ladies and Gentlemen, and then took his Chaise and set off for *London*. His Royal Higness, on leaving this City, was pleased to express himself very graciously to the Lord Mayor, and gave him Hopes that this County and City might be honoured by his Royal Highness's Presence on some future Occasion.

On

lation the next Evening. His *Danish* Majesty received them all very graciously, but excused himself from accepting of their Invitation, as he proposed to leave *York* next Morning; which he accordingly did, after having viewed the Minster and the Assembly-Rooms, and returned to *London* by the Route of *Leeds* and *Manchester*.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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