

FROM HENRY VIII TO JAMES II

A Guide to the Exhibition

**“What is Kingship?
Some Answers from Sixteenth and Seventeenth
Century Treasures in Chester Cathedral Library”**

to Mark the Coronation of Charles III

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**in collaboration with
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PREFACE

This is the eleventh in a series of exhibitions at Chester Cathedral Library in which we have exploited significant anniversaries and other events to stimulate reflection on issues of importance to the Church and nation:

2011: for the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible, the theme was Bible translation.

2012: for the 350th anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer, the theme was liturgy.

2013: for the 450th anniversary of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the theme was doctrine.

2014: for the 300th anniversary of the death of Matthew Henry, the great Chester preacher, the theme was Bible commentary.

2015: for the 800th anniversary of Magna Carta, the theme was the Church and the State.

2016: for the centenary of the Battles of Jutland and the Somme, the theme was the Church and war.

2017: for the 70th anniversary of the first discoveries of Dead Sea Scrolls, the theme was the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible.

2018: for the 150th anniversary of the first year of John Saul Howson, DD, as Dean of Chester (1867–1885), the theme was Dean Howson with particular celebration of his establishment of the Nave Choir and the commissioning and installation of mosaics in the Cathedral.

2019: for the 200th anniversary of the birth of Charles Kingsley and the 150th anniversary of his appointment as a Residentiary Canon at Chester Cathedral the theme was Kingsley as Christian Socialist and natural historian.

2020–2022: for the 100th anniversary of the installation of Frank S. M. Bennett as Dean of Chester (1920–1937), the theme was Dean Bennett as Cathedral reformer, with particular attention to the cloister windows and pilgrimage (for National Pilgrimage Year).

2023: for the Coronation of Charles III the exhibition considers the question “What is Kingship?” We attempt to provide some answers from some of the sixteenth and seventeenth century possessions in Chester Cathedral Library. Monarchs and monarchy from Henry VIII to James II are on display.

The Cathedral Library possesses a copy of Henry VIII’s *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (published just over 500 years ago in 1521) for which the king was awarded the title ‘Defender of the Faith’ by Pope Leo X. With much interest in how Charles III understands the title, it seems fitting to begin the exhibition with some attention to Henry VIII.

Henry VIII sits proudly in the stained-glass of Chester Cathedral Chapter House's East Window. He was responsible for establishing the See of Chester in 1541 with the former Benedictine Abbey transformed into the Cathedral of the new diocese. The last Abbot of the Abbey, Thomas Clarke, became the first Dean of the Cathedral. Though by 1541 Henry had broken with Rome, in 1521 he had written his pamphlet against Martin Luther in defence of the seven sacraments, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, which he proudly sent to Pope Leo X and for which Leo awarded him the title of *Fidei Defensor*. The Cathedral Library is proud to possess a 1521 edition of Henry's pamphlet and that has formed the starting point for this celebration of the Coronation of Charles III.

We would like to thank the Chester Guild of Cordwainers for the loan of two items and Michael Trevor-Barnston for his contributions concerning the Civil War. We also thank the Vice Dean, Canon Missioner and Canon Librarian, Jane Brooke, for her continuing support for our efforts to integrate the Library into the mission of the Cathedral. We are grateful to the Library's supporters and volunteer helpers.

The exhibition supports and supplements the Cathedral's Wednesday Bible Talk Lecture Series, which in Spring 2023 has been on Sovereignty. The talks are all available on the Chester Cathedral YouTube site:

1 March 2023 Professor George Brooke, 'Sovereignty from the Bible to Charles III'

8 March 2023 Professor Philip Alexander, 'Does the Bible Support Constitutional Monarchy?'

15 March 2023 Professor Loveday Alexander, 'The Powers that Be: Romans 13 and the Prayers for the Sovereign'

22 March 2023 Ven. Dr Michael Gilbertson, 'Aethelflaed of Mercia: Founder of the Burh of Chester'

29 March 2023 Professor William Horbury, 'The Royal Law (James 2:8): Scripture and Crowning'

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FROM HENRY VIII TO JAMES II

The theme of the Exhibition to mark the Coronation of Charles III is based on some features of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially the monarchs of those centuries and their links to Chester and its Cathedral and Bishops. There are two large cases in the exhibition. The first (Case 1) gives some attention to the role of the Bible in the developments of the sixteenth century. The publication of the Authorised or King James Version in 1611 brought a century (or more) of debate about the most suitable way to render the Bible into English to a pause.

In the seventeenth century (Case 3) the agenda shifted to how public prayer might be practised and the Bible best understood and appropriated, not least in relation to the institution of the monarchy. The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 brought the period of civil war and the Commonwealth to a close. On the bottom shelf of the case are two publications signalling the state of play. At one end is the report of the coronation celebrations for Charles II—perhaps those can be compared with what has taken place for Charles III—and at the other end is one of the Cathedral's copies of the Book of Common Prayer (1662). The promulgation of the Book of Common Prayer within the Act of Uniformity brought the period of civil unrest to a close, though there was still much opportunity for dissent, both from those who wanted stricter forms of Protestantism and from those sympathetic to or still practising as Roman Catholics.

Case 2 marks the accession of James I by having on display the licence granted by James to the Chester company of Cordwainers (Curriers and Shoemakers). The licence grants exclusive rights for the production and sale of shoes in Chester and the surrounding area. The licence is noteworthy for its fine state of preservation, and also for the two-sided great seal of state, attached with the original ribbon.

The Exhibition also displays four prints of Chester buildings from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by way of anchoring the texts in the local environment. The pictures were created by local artist Jill Pears (jillpears56@gmail.com) who has been active in Chester since 1998 and who regularly sells prints of her drawings at The Groves. The information about her career and work is in Case 2.

On display too are images of four of the lights of the Cloister windows taken by Barry Ingram. The full information about what is depicted in those windows is available on Dropbox via the Cathedral Website at <https://chestercathedral.com/gallery-of-saints/>

What is Sovereignty?

The Exhibition is intended to raise some issues about the nature of sovereignty. Henry VIII, through the subsequent promulgation of Parliament, has enabled all subsequent kings and queens to use the designation *Fidei Defensor*, 'Defender of the Faith'. But what does that mean? Much discussion has focussed on this with Charles III. The presence of representatives of several faiths at the Coronation, both in active participation during the service, but also in attendance with a greeting at his departure from Westminster Abbey, has been taken by some to indicate that Charles III views himself as 'Defender of Faith'. *Is sovereignty based in part on defending the non-malicious beliefs of others?*

The reign of Edward VI was most notable religiously for the general shift towards Protestantism though the lasting piece of literature from the reign was the revised form of the Prayer Book that continued to influence Common Prayer in England and Wales for decades and was still taken note of in the liturgical reforms of the twentieth century. The reign is illustrated by another matter altogether. This is the last sermon preached before the young king by Hugh Latimer, one-time Bishop of Worcester (1535-1539), chaplain to the Royal Household. The subject is wealth and Latimer proclaimed that wealth should be used wisely and freely. The wealth of the Royal Family and of the King in particular is a constant issue. *Sovereign wealth always raises the question of 'Whose wealth?' Should monarchs be rich?*

The Elizabethan settlement was a considerable achievement even though not without its difficulties, brutality and violence. The reign is illustrated with several items that might indicate the nature of sovereignty as being about resting upon the broad centre ground, the *via media*: the Bishops' Bible presented a compromise in English translations; the works of Richard Hooker helped create Church of England, even Anglican identity as the mutual engagement of scripture, tradition and reason. *To what extent is sovereignty a matter of compromise and breadth of appeal?*

The great seal of James I on display portrays him on the obverse as enthroned with the authority vested in the symbols of office, notably his status as enactor of law and overseer of justice and mercy. On the reverse the king is depicted riding a warhorse, in peacetime as a hunter but in war as military leader. *Are these the two principal functions of sovereignty: the exercise and oversight of justice and the protection of the people?*

The presence of Charles I in Chester in September 1645 brings into focus his conviction in the divine right of kings, not least because he is supposed to have held a Compendium (on loan from the Chester

Company of Cordwainers) of Almanacs, the Prayer Book, Metrical Psalms and other canticles, while he watched the defeat of his troops at Rowton Heath/Moor. Not only did he believe that he had God on his side, but that God had endorsed his authority, rights, and privileges, so that he need not depend on any other authority. *Through the coronation service, especially the anointing, is the sovereign on the throne by divine right? If so, what does that mean? Does he have divine authority in his pronouncements? Does divine right enable the monarch to heal?*

A few items in the Exhibition are associated with Charles II. They include a description of his coronation procession, which was in large part organised with much music by John Ogilby, and a sermon by Bishop George Hall for the fast initiated by the king because of the ongoing plague in 1665. *Does sovereignty involve engaging in and being the focus for opportunities for rejoicing and mourning?*

James II visited Chester in August 1687. By this time he was promoting his desire to abolish penal laws against dissenters and Catholics and he made this purpose clear in a speech in Chester for which he heard a positive response. Many would commend his move towards greater tolerance, not least William Penn who often preceded him on his royal progresses with a similar message. But James went one step too far and too quickly by having his infant son baptised as a Roman Catholic. *Does sovereignty rest in upholding the rights of others but denying them for oneself?*

We hope that consideration of the various items in the Exhibition, which will take you from Henry VIII to James II, will raise various intriguing questions about the nature of kings and queens and the exercise of sovereignty. Many of these questions have their basis in the Bible where kings and queens play significant parts in both Old and New Testaments for good and ill, and where the whole sovereignty of God is expressed in the teaching of Jesus in terms of the kingship or kingdom of God (Matthew: heaven). In this year of the coronation of King Charles III, there needs to be both celebration and also reflection on why that celebration might matter.

Case 1

Upper Shelf

1.1 Jill Pears, *The Blue Bell*, Northgate Street, Chester (Print)

The Blue Bell at 63-65 Northgate Street is a mid- to late-fifteenth century building that was originally two separate houses. No 65 was first licensed as an inn in 1494 when Henry (1491-1547) was just three years old. When his older brother, Arthur, died in 1502, Henry became the heir to the throne. He was made Earl of Chester in 1504 and became king in 1509. The Pied Bull is said to be the oldest surviving medieval house in Chester and is Grade I listed.

1.2 Mother of Pearl Baptismal Shell

The baptismal shell on display neatly asserts the primacy of the two so-called dominical sacraments, baptism and the eucharist. These shells were especially popular in the first half of the nineteenth century amongst wealthy pilgrims to the Holy Land. The Franciscans who had been granted *Custodia Terrae Sanctae* in 1342 by Clement VI trained Arab craftsmen to do the work. The dominical status of the two sacraments is endorsed by the inclusion of a carving of the nativity scene on the shell. Many such shells, sourced from the Red Sea, were produced in Bethlehem and the nativity scene might indicate such provenance in this case too.

1.3 Martin Luther (Playmobil™ 2017)

The Playmobil™ figure of Martin Luther was produced for sale in Germany in 2017 to mark the 500th anniversary of the promulgation of the 95 Theses against indulgences. Luther also wrote on the sacraments, especially in *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), arguing that there is one principal sacrament which he called ‘The Bread’ and one other that is necessary, but not absolutely so, namely baptism, within which penitence can be deemed a part. It was this 1520 work which prompted Henry to complete his *Assertio* and send it to Pope Leo X.

1.4 Henry VIII, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martin Lutheru* (1521)

This book was written by Henry VIII (r. 1509-1547), possibly or probably with some assistance from someone such as Sir Thomas More. The book was completed as an answer to Luther’s *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520). The book went through many editions in the sixteenth century. The title page of the most common edition was copied from a design by Holbein featuring the Roman hero Mucius

Scaevola. During the siege of Rome by the Etruscans, Mucius Scaevola mistakenly stabbed a scribe instead of the Etruscan king Porsenna. He burned his right hand to show his indifference to threats of torture. Both the title page imagery and the book's text portrayed Henry as the defender of the Roman faith against Luther's reforming ideas. In the Chester Cathedral Library edition the frontispiece differs: it depicts a bearded portrait which might ambiguously represent both Henry himself and Mucius Scaevola. The portrait is supported by two columns resting on female winged sphinxes.

In gratitude for Henry's work Pope Leo X declared him by papal bull 'Fidei Defensor' (Defender of the Faith). The title has featured much in discussion of its understanding by Charles III who in his coronation service included representatives of the major faiths, giving rise to the view that Charles was promoting himself as 'Defender of Faith'. Nevertheless, Charles promised to 'maintain in the United Kingdom the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law' and to 'maintain inviolably the settlement of the Church of England'.

In this copy of the *Assertio*, which has been trimmed when it was rebound, the verso of the title page carries in handwriting the legend: 'To those reading this book of Henry VIII, most powerful King of England and France, against Martin Luther, is granted by apostolic authority an indulgence of ten years'.

Henry wrote as follows:

We have in this little book, gentle reader, clearly demonstrated, I hope, how absurdly and impiously Luther has handled the holy sacraments. For though we have not touched all things contained in his book, yet so far as was necessary to defend the sacraments (which was our only design), I suppose I have treated, though not so sufficiently as might have been done, yet more than is necessary ...

But that others may understand how false and wicked his doctrine is, lest they might be so far deceived as to have a good opinion of him, I doubt not but in all parts there are very learned men ... who have much more clearly discovered the same, than can be shown by me. And if there be any who desire to know this strange work of his, I think I have sufficiently made it apparent to them. For seeing by what has been said, it is evident to all men what sacrilegious opinions he has of the sacrament of our Lord's Body, from which the sanctity of all the other sacraments flow: who would have doubted, if I had said nothing else, how unworthily, without scruple, he treats all the rest of the sacraments? Which, as you have seen, he has handled in such sort that he abolishes and destroys them all, except Baptism alone ...

What everybody believes, he alone by his vain reason laughs at, denouncing himself to admit nothing but clear and evident Scriptures. And these, too, if alleged by any against him, he either evades or by some private exposition of his own, or else denies them to belong to their own authors. None of the Doctors are so ancient, none so holy, none of so great authority in treating of Holy Writ, but this new doctor, this little saint, this man of learning, rejects with great authority.

Seeing, therefore, he despiseth all men and believes none, he ought not to take it ill if everybody discredit him again. I am so far from holding any further dispute with him that I almost repent myself of what I have already argued against him. For what avails it to dispute against one who disagrees with everyone, even himself? Who affirms in one place what he denies in another, denying what he presently affirms? Who, if you object faith, combats by reason; if you touch him with reason, pretends faith? If you allege philosophers, he flies to Scripture; if you propound Scripture, he trifles with sophistry. Who is ashamed of nothing, fears none, and thinks himself under no law. Who contemns the ancient Doctors of the church, and derides the new ones in the highest degree; loads with reproaches the Chief Bishop of the church. Finally, he so undervalues customs, doctrines, manners, laws, decrees and faith of the church (yea, the whole church itself) that he almost denies there is any such thing as a church, except perhaps such a one as himself makes up of two or three heretics, of whom himself is chief ...

1.5 Henry VIII, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martin Lutheru* (1521)

This beautifully illuminated first page with Henry doing obeisance to the Pope was the opening page of the edition sent to Leo X.

1.6 Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543), *Henry VIII* (Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano, Switzerland) 28x20 cms, painted on oak.

This famous portrait was probably produced as a preparatory study by Holbein for the much larger full-length portrait of Henry which was destroyed by fire in 1698. The large portrait is well known through many copies of it by other artists. This small preparatory portrait was owned by the Spencer family for many years and housed at Althorp but was sold by the 7th Earl Spencer (1892-1975) to Heinrich Thyssen.

1.7 East Window, Chester Cathedral Chapter House

The East Window of the Chapter House was designed in memory of Dean Frederick Anson (Dean of Chester 1839-1867) and made by Heaton, Butler and Bain. It commemorates the history of the building from the Anglo-Saxon Minster through its time as a Benedictine

Monastery and its establishment as a Cathedral by Henry VIII until the plans for restoration by Dean Anson himself. Henry VIII is depicted as the centrepiece of the window establishing the see of Chester.

1.8 *Church Times* article on the sources of the Anointing Oil for the Coronation of Charles III

The sourcing of the oil for the anointing of Charles III was a moment when his grandmother's links with the Holy Land and the Greek Orthodox Church could be commemorated, as also the use of parts of Psalm 72 in Greek in the Coronation service, sung by the Byzantine Chant Ensemble. The anointing is a distinctive part of the service with direct echoes of scriptural anointings which show the divine choice of the king, his elect status.

1.9 *Daily Prayers for the Coronation of King Charles III* (London: Church House Publishing, 2023)

This booklet was widely circulated to mark the period from Easter 2023 leading up to the coronation of King Charles III and providing prayers for the King for use in the Church of England. Its design was based in part on the engravings of acanthus on the spoon used for the anointing of the King. Unction is one of the seven sacraments defended by Henry VIII; at the coronation anointing is widely recognized as a significant sacramental moment in the ritual, perhaps the chief moment for those who might speak of a doctrine of the divine right of kings.

1.10 Replica Anointing Spoon.

The anointing spoon is first recorded at Westminster Abbey in 1349 as part of St Edward's coronation regalia, but is known to have been used at coronations only since James I. The anointing spoon is the only item that survived Cromwell's destruction of the Coronation regalia as no longer needed. It was used again in 1660 at the coronation of Charles II. This half-size replica was produced as part of the memorabilia for the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in June 1953.

Anointing spoons are often produced for local parish use, especially in the administration of chrism at baptisms. For a thorough discussion of the scriptural roots of anointing of all sorts, listen on the Chester Cathedral YouTube site to Professor William Horbury FBA ([https://www.youtube.com > watch?v=GPtEvVLL2iw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GPtEvVLL2iw)) talking on 'Biblical and Early Christian Anointing' as part of a series of studies on Sacraments.

1.11 Hugh Latimer, *The Sermons of Hugh Latimer* (London, 1562)

Having been removed from being Bishop of Worcester in 1539 for disputing the Six Articles, under Edward VI (r. 1547-1553; regency

council) Hugh Latimer became Chaplain to the Royal Household. The sermons were published individually during his lifetime, but only collected together and published by permission of Queen Elizabeth after she had perused them; the sermons speak to ‘careless kings, prodigal princes, corrupt lords, unjust judges, time-serving magistrates, and back-sliding Christians’. The collection of Latimer’s sermons is open at the last he gave before King Edward VI. It is ‘On riches and against covetousness’. It is noticeable that the sermons were not published until after the death of Mary (r. 1553-1558), under whom Latimer was burnt at the stake in Oxford on 16 October 1555.

The concluding climax of the sermon is: ‘A certain man asked me this question, “Did you ever see a man live long that had great riches?” Therefore says the wise man “If God send thee riches, use them. If God send thee abundance, use it according to the rule of God’s word, and study to be rich in our Saviour Jesus Christ”. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, and praise, for ever and ever. Amen’.

1.12 Richard Hooker, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1820)

This early nineteenth century printed edition of Richard Hooker’s landmark work is open at that part of Book VIII in which Hooker (1554-1600) considers the ascription to the monarch of the title Head of the Church. Hooker elaborated at length on how the title does not contravene any scriptural text that might be interpreted as indicating that Christ is the sole head of the church. In what has become the classic operation of Church of England theology, Hooker appeals to the use of ‘redeemed reason’ in theological argument. He is attributed with establishing the three pillars of Scripture, Tradition, and Reason as the basis of theological argumentation in the Church of England. That enables him to move against some extreme Puritans beyond the discussion of the plain meaning of Scripture alone and to avoid literalist interpretations.

Hooker published the first four books of the work in 1594, the fifth book in 1597, and the last three posthumously: books six (possibly of mixed authorship) and eight appeared definitively in 1648 and book seven likewise in 1662. The defence of episcopacy made the whole work representative of the Elizabethan Settlement and attractive to Charles II in the restoration of bishops.

1.13 Richard Hooker (Window, Chester Cathedral south cloister)

This stained-glass window from Chester Cathedral south cloister range was designed by Archibald Keightley Nicholson. Hooker is commemorated with a lesser festival in the Common Worship calendar of

1997, which was significantly anticipated in the 1920s by Dean Bennett in his choice of subjects for the cloister windows. The design of the window depicts Hooker in a Geneva gown with the Temple Church where he was master (1585-1591) in the background.

1.14 Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Eight Books* (Printed at London by Iohn Windet, dwelling at the signe of the Crosse-keyes neare Paules wharffe, and there to be sold. 1604)

Open at the title page, this 1604 edition of the books of Richard Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* was produced and published to continue and to bolster the religious settlement under James I (r. 1603-1625).

The principal image on the title page is of the risen Jesus Christ. The texts surrounding the palm-bearing Christ are 'contereet caput tuum' ('she shall crush thy head' Genesis 3:15); 'ero morsus inferni tuus' ('O grave, I will be your destruction' Hosea 13:14); 'confidite ego vici mundum' ('Take courage, I have conquered the world' John 16:33); 'ubi est mors victoria tua' ('O death, where is your victory?' 1 Corinthians 15:13).

1.15 William Rastell, *A Collection of Statutes 1215-1583* (Printed in English by Christopher Barker, Printer to Queen Elizabeth I, 1583) (rebound in the nineteenth century)

William Rastell (1508-1565) was the nephew of Sir Thomas More and had strong Catholic convictions spending time in Leuven during the reign of Edward VI and he returned there in 1562 when his licence as a judge was not renewed. He was a politician, printer and judge. The volume is open at the section summarizing various laws concerning monasteries and abbeys. Rastell's compilation was continued for this edition up until the laws of 1583. In section 9 Rastell sets out the law that dates from year 27 of Henry VIII's reign.

'His majesty shall have and enjoy to him and to his heirs for ever, all and singular such monasteries, priories, and other religious houses of monks, cannons, and nunnes of what kinds of or diversities of habits, rules, or order soever they be called or named which have not in lands, tenements, rents, tithes, portions, and other, heredytaments, above the clear yearly value of two hundred pounds'. One of the issues that emerged in the reign of Mary was whether church lands would be restored; then again in the time of James II there was an issue whether his arguments for toleration of both non-conformists and Roman Catholics might lead to the repossession of properties, such as Norton Priory, for the Catholic church.

Lower Shelf

1.16 Peter Boughton and Ian Dunn, *George Cuitt (1779-1854)—‘England’s Piranesi’: His Life and Work and a Catalogue Raisonné of His Etchings* (Chester: University of Chester Press, 2022).

No artistic depictions of Chester Cathedral survive from the sixteenth century and few from the seventeenth. On display here is the recently published comprehensive catalogue of the Chester-based engraver George Cuitt (1779-1854). His many engravings of Chester Cathedral provide some evidence for what was the state of the building at the end of the eighteenth century.

The catalogue is open at the engraving of the West Entrance of Chester Cathedral, an etching of 1811. The West Front is remarkable evidence of the building’s move from Abbey to Cathedral. It was built just as the style was moving from English Gothic to Tudor and its niches for statues were never filled. Instead with the Henrician establishment of the see of Chester in 1541 the spaces above the West Door were decorated with the Henrician coat of arms.

1.17 Bishops’ Bible (1568)

The Bishops’ Bible was published in 1568 to update the Great Bible of 1539, by translating the Old Testament and Apocrypha from Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek rather than from the Latin Vulgate, and to replace the unauthorised use in churches of the Geneva Bible which was too Calvinist in terms of church governance. It was not dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I but her portrait was included on the title page. The chief instigator of the translation was Matthew Parker (1504-1575), Archbishop of Canterbury (1559-1575). One purpose of the Bible was the reduction of the number of marginal notes and the avoidance of contentious ones. The Bible was revised in 1572 and the 1602 edition was a main point of reference for the translators of the King James 1611 Authorised Version.

The Bible is open at Romans 13. Romans 13:5 reads ‘Wherefore ye must needs be subjecte, not only for feare of punishment: but also because of conscience’. The marginal note comments ‘We are bounde in conscience by the woorde of God, to obey the higher powers, and in disobeying, we shoulde hurt the consciences of others through our evyl example Mat. 17.’ Obedience to the monarch is seen not just as a matter of individual conscience but also as having social implications.

1.18 William Barlow, DD, Dean of Chester, *The Summe and Substance of the Conference, which it pleased his Excellent Maiestie to have with the Lords, Bishops, and other of his Clergie, (at which the*

most of the Lordes of the Councell were present) in his Maiesties Priuy-Chamber, at Hampton Court. Ianuary 14, 1603 [sic.] (London: Iohn Windet, for Mathew Law, and to be sold at his shop in Powles Churchyeard, neare S. Austens Gate. 1604)

Open at pages 46-47 where the king agrees on the second day of the conference that there should be a new translation of the Bible, but with no marginal notes, since those in the Geneva Bible seem seditious.

‘Whereupon his Highness wished, that some especial pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation (professing that he could never, yet, see a Bible well translated in English, but the worst of all his Majestie thought the *Geneva* to be) and this to be done by the best learned in both the Universities, after them to be reviewed by the Bishops, and the chief learned of the Church; from them to be presented to the *Privy Councell*; and lastly to be ratified by his *Royal authority*; and so this whole Church to be bound unto it, and none other: Marry, withal, he gave this caveat (upon a word cast out by my Lord of London) that no marginal notes should be added, having found in them which are annexed to the *Geneva* translation (which he saw in a Bible given to him by an English Lady) some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits: As for example, Exod. I.19 where the marginal note alloweth disobedience to Kings.’

1.19 Holy Bible (London: R. Barker, 1611) First Edition

The publication of the King James Bible in 1611 brought the ambition of the Hampton Court Conference of 1604 to its conclusion. The Bible is open at the page bearing the royal coat of arms of James I and the inscription *Cum Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis*. Although this Authorised Version was promoted thoroughly for use in churches throughout the kingdom, other translations into English continued to circulate and be used. If Hooker had convinced the monarch and Church authorities to continue the episcopate, so the King James Bible created an impression of scriptural uniformity and positioned the King’s authority firmly in the centre ground over against the Geneva-supporting clamour of certain Puritans.

Information about the King James Bible can be found in the Exhibition Catalogue by Professor Philip Alexander FBA, Library Consultant, *The Greatest English Bible: A Celebration of the King James Version* (Chester: Chester Cathedral Library, 2011). The edition on display is a so-called ‘he-Bible’ because Ruth 3:15 reads ‘he went into the city’ referring to Boaz; another edition in 1611 read ‘she went into the city’. The manuscripts vary at this point: the majority read ‘he’; the minority, followed by the Vulgate and Syriac, read ‘she’.

Case 2

2.1 Jill Pears (b. 1956), Chester Artist

Jill Pears trained under professional artists and calligrapher Daffyd Humphreys in North Wales. She specializes in creating black and white, split colour and sepia images of the architectural highlights of Chester. She can be contacted about her work at jillpears56@gmail.com.

2.2 Jill Pears, *The Tudor House*, Lower Bridge Street, Chester

The Tudor House, though inscribed on the front wall with the date of 1503, was probably built in 1603 for a wealthy merchant. Dendrochronology has confirmed the later date. It is thus a piece of Chester history that belongs mostly to the time of the transition from Elizabeth I to James I. The first floor was originally part of the Lower Bridge Street row, but was rebuilt in 1728 into its present form. It is contemporary with the licence issued by James I to the Chester Curriers and Shoemakers and is indicative of the place of Chester as a commercial centre and port.

2.3 *Licence issued by James I to the Curriers and Shoemakers of Chester (2 May 1606)* (Ink on vellum with royal seal attached) (Until 30 September 2023)

On loan from the Chester Company of Cordwainers is the Company's licence as issued by James I (and VI), granting them exclusive rights to manufacture and sell all kinds of footwear in Chester and its surrounding area. The issuing and re-issuing of licenses was one way in which the Crown was able to raise money. The Chester Curriers and Shoemakers had received a licence from Henry IV which was renewed by Edward VI which in turn was renewed by James I. The text of the Licence is presented in full alongside the Licence itself (and is also presented below).

The royal seal of James I has on the obverse the king seated on a throne with the quartered royal coat of arms displayed on each side of him; on his right is a lion and on his left a unicorn. The wording around the seal reads: IACOBVS DEI GRACIA ANGLIÆ SCOTIÆ FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX FIDEI DEFENSOR (James, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith). James retains the title Fidei Defensor about which much has been written in relation to Charles III's coronation in which representatives of many faiths took part. The reverse of the seal has the king riding on a warhorse accompanied by a greyhound; there are separate motifs for England, Ireland and France.

2.4 Contemporary Translation of the Licence issued by James I to the Curriers and Shoemakers of Chester, 2 May 1606

‘James by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King, Defender of the faith, and to all unto whom these present letters shall come, Greeting. We have beheld the Letters Patents of the late Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth our Dearly Beloved predecessor made in these words viz= Edward the Sixth by the grace of God of England France and Ireland king, Defender of the faith, in Earth the supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland To all unto whom our Letters shall come, Greeting. We have beheld certain Letters Patents of the late sovereign Lord King Henry the Fourth our progenitor made in these words. Henry by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of Chester that now are or which for the time hereafter shall be, Greeting. Whereas by a custom in the City of Chester anciently used and according to the liberties Granted by our progenitors to the Curriers and Shoemakers of the said City and tried by verdict, none of the trade of them the said Curriers and Shoemakers within the said City should in any wise intermeddle nor Exercise That Trade amongst them in the said City Suburbs or Liberty of the same in any Sort unless he shall be first thereunto Licensed by the said Curriers and Shoemakers and received into the Company and Brotherhood of them with their free ... for the claiming of which free Liberty in the City is prepaid, they the Said Curriers and Shoemakers do yield to a certain yearly rent of forty and three shillings and eight pennies by the Inspection of the Records and ... within our Castle of Chester more plainly appearable to us. And Now by reason of the great complaints of the Society of Curriers and Shoemakers aforesaid we have received that certain both foreigners and citizens presuming to waken the Liberty and Custom aforesaid the said trades in the said City without the license and good will of the said Curriers and Shoemakers do still presume to make and exercise and the same Trade to use and exercise very unjustly to the great prejudice damage and grievance of the said Curriers and Shoemakers and manifest loss of our said rents and also against the Liberty and Custom aforesaid. Whereupon they the said Curriers and Shoemakers have petitioned us for a Remedy to be provided for them in this behalf. We willing to Regard our own indompny in this Behalf and also considering the Liberties of our progenitors late Earls of Chester to them the said Curriers and Shoemakers for the rent aforesaid long Before granted and hitherto used We command you the Mayor and Sherriffs aforesaid being firmly enjoined that if it may appear unto you or any of you any of the said foreigners or citizens to Exercise or use the said art of Currier or

Shoemaker in the City or suburbs or liberties of the same City without the Licence and good Liking of the Curriers and Shoemakers aforesaid that then such sort of transgressors rashly impuning the liberties aforesaid and every of whom in such sort you shall cause to be Chastised that the art aforesaid against the good liking and licence of the Curriers and Shoemakers aforesaid within the City aforesaid nor the liberties or suburbs thereof in any sort may make or presume to exercise until by the said Curriers and Shoemakers they shall have Especial licence in that Behalf and this ye may not omit upon pain of ten pounds to be paid to us at our exchequer for behaving your selves in such sort on the principos lost that for your default the old complaint thereof be made against you Upon pain above written. With seal at Chester the fourteenth day of May in the eleventh year of our reign. And this to all who have intrust we do notify by these presents In Witness whereof we have caused these letters to be made patents witness myself at Westminster the twenty fourth day of October in the third year of our reign. We also in letters aforesaid one all and singular contained and verified in the same have ratified and freely for us our heirs and successors so much as in us is, do accept and approve of and new to our beloved Curriers and Shoemakers of the said City and their successors do ratify and confirm even as the Letters Aforesaid do in themselves reasonably testify and even as they the said Curriers and Shoemakers or their antecessors have reasonably used or enjoyed the Liberties Aforesaid. In Witness whereof we have also caused those our letters to be made patents. Witness myself at Westminster the second day of May in the third year of our reign, of England France and Ireland, and of Scotland the eight and thirtieth.'

2.5 Line drawing of the Great Seal of James I

This line drawing shows more clearly just how the seal was composed with the obverse showing James enthroned as lawmaker and dispenser of justice and mercy; the reverse shows him on a warhorse indicating his sovereignty as commander-in-chief, exercising military power to protect his subjects. The designs on the seal emphasize the legal and military positions of the sovereign.

Case 3

Upper Shelf

3.1 Henry Hammond, *On Resisting the Lawful Magistrates* (Oxford: Printed for H.H. and W.W., 1644)

This work argues against anyone taking up arms for the sake of their interpretation of religion over against that established by law in the kingdom. It offers a close reading of Romans 13, commenting on the strength of the Greek vocabulary used by Paul. It also argues that Jesus was correct in rebuking Peter when he took a sword and struck off the ear from the high priest's slave, Malchus.

Henry Hammond (1605-1660) was the youngest son of John Hammond, physician to James I. He was a loyal Royalist and one of the chaplains to the King after his arrest; he died on the very day in 1660 that parliament voted for the restoration of the monarchy. By contrast, his brother Thomas (1600-1658) was an officer in the New Model Army and a judge who signed up to the execution of Charles I. The Civil War (1642-1645) split families.

3.2 James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, *The Power committed by God to the Prince and the Obedience required of the Subject* (London: Printed for Anne Seile over against St Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, 1661)

This is an argument by James Ussher (1581-1656) in support of the monarch originally written in defence of Charles I and with his approval, but never published during his lifetime or in the years that immediately followed. Ussher had been an Archbishop with strong Calvinist leanings but in 1642 he chose allegiance to the king over against his Calvinist allies in parliament and he moved to Royalist Oxford. Subsequently he ended up under the protection of the Countess of Peterborough in London and is said to have fainted as he was watching the execution of Charles I from the roof of her house. At the time of the restoration of the monarch the Bishop of Lincoln produced a copy of this work that had been entrusted to him and he had it printed. It supports the authority and establishment of the monarchy based on biblical texts, the testimony of the early church, the dictates of right reason, and the opinion of the wisest among the heathen writers.

The Bishop of Lincoln begins his Preface as follows: 'To the Kings most Excellent Majesty Charles II by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. My most dread Sovereign, The Law of Nature obliging all men to advance the honour and reputation of their Ancestors, I could not render a more signal

Obedience thereto, than by Dedicating this Treatise (composed purposely for the Rights both of Princes and Subjects) to Your Sacred Majesty, to Whom it doth most properly appertain: Seeing it was at first compiled for the Service and Satisfaction of Your Royal Father, of blessed memory’.

Ussher’s text contains the following statement written concerning Charles I developing an argument based upon the reading of Deuteronomy 17 by the great Jewish commentator Nachmanides (1194-1270): ‘No creature may judge the King but the holy and blessed God alone’.

3.3 Jill Pears, The King’s Head, Lower Bridge Street, Chester

The inn as now seen has been restored several times. It was first rebuilt extensively in 1622 when part of the rows was enclosed on the first floor. It is not clear when it was named The King’s Head, but the name reflects the Royalist nature of Chester, which the king visited in September 1645, staying at Gamul House which is a few doors further down Lower Bridge Street. Charles I is also celebrated in a nineteenth-century wood statue on the front of Art Gallery House in Bridge Street.

3.4 Charles I (Window, Chester Cathedral south cloister)

This stained-glass window from Chester Cathedral south cloister range was designed by Archibald Keightley Nicholson. The king is depicted with the mantle and badge of the Order of the Garter; in the background is Windsor Castle.

3.5 St Chad’s Farndon Civil War Window

The Civil War Window at St Chad’s Church was put in place by William Barnston as part of the restoration of the church after Charles II was restored to the throne. The original window is considerably discoloured and missing one light. This small reproduction of the Civil War window is based on a coloured drawing completed when Hugh Cholmondeley (1773-1815) was Dean of Chester (1806-1815); in this engraving the blank panel at the top is occupied by a title which acknowledges his patronage. The picture was used in Ormerod’s *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester* (London, 1819; vol. 2, between pp. 408 and 409) and is also reproduced at the base of the Phoenix Tower (King Charles Tower) on the north-east corner of the city walls of Chester.

The window is famous for its depictions of Civil War dress and through the later coloured engraving of illustrating the colour of Royalist uniforms in particular.

The central pictures of the window depict Sir Francis Gammul (1606-1654) who raised troops in Chester to support Charles I in 1642.

He played a leading role in the defence of Chester during the siege in 1645-1646. He hosted the king at Gammul House on Lower Bridge Street when the king stayed in Chester during the Battle of Rowton Moor on 24th September 1645. He was executed in 1654 for being part of a rising against the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

The upper register of the window has a missing panel, and then depicts in order Sir Richard Grosvenor (1604-1665), Sir William Mainwaring, and William Barnston (1592-1665). Richard Grosvenor was High Sheriff of Cheshire in 1643 and raised troops in support of the king. William Mainwaring (1616-1645) had been with Francis Gammul in 1642 and took part in the Battle of Edgehill, being knighted by the king in January 1643 for his services; he was killed in October 1645 fighting on the walls of Chester. William Mainwaring's brother Philip was in the Parliamentarian army, illustrating that many families were split by their divided loyalties. William Barnston was amongst the Royalist defenders of Chester, was imprisoned after the Civil War and obliged to pay a fine to secure his release so that he could return to his estates. He was married to Dorothy Brooke of the Brooke family of Norton Priory who were the first family in north Cheshire to declare allegiance to the Parliamentary side, so there might have been some tension in the Barnston household just as in the Mainwarings.

3.6 Lead shot

This lead shot comes from Civil War skirmishes near Farndon. There were extensive skirmishes during the late summer of 1645. The Parliamentarians used Farndon Church as a billet and stable.

3.7 The Cordwainers' *Compendium*

On loan from the Chester Company of Cordwainers is the Company's *Compendium*. This compendium contains the Almanac, the Prayer book and Psalms (Coverdale's version), the New Testament of 1615 'with notes and expositions of the darke places and epistles', and many liturgical texts including the Psalms set metrically (*The Whole Book of Psalms collected into English Metre*, 1562).

The Book was supposedly held by Charles I as he stood on the Phoenix Tower in Chester on 24 September 1645 watching the battle unfold and the Parliamentarian victory. That he should have such a book available to him at such a key moment is indicative of the role of religion in his self-understanding. Charles believed that he ruled by divine right.

3.8 A Modern Compendium

The tradition of producing liturgical compendia is longstanding and continues today. This compendium contains the Book of Common Prayer together with the standard edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

3.9 Anthony Ascham, *Of the Confusions and Revolutions of Governments* (London: Printed by W. Wilson, dwelling in Welyard neere Smithfield, 1649)

Anthony Ascham (1614-1650) was a political theorist and Parliamentarian. He was tutor to James, Duke of York (the future James II) in 1646. His support for the Commonwealth led to diplomatic appointments on behalf of the Parliamentarians, first to the Hanseatic League and then to Spain. He was murdered in Spain by Royalist emigrés in May 1650.

This treatise was first published in 1648 and reprinted in 1649. It argues that people should acknowledge their political obligation to whoever might be in power, provided that power is able to protect them. The title page of the work is almost a table of contents: ‘A discourse wherein is examined what is particularly lawful during the confusions and revolutions of government or how far a man may lawfully conform to the powers and commands of those who with various successes hold kingdoms divided by civil or foreign wars, whether it be in paying taxes, in personal service, in taking oaths, in a mans giving himself up to a final allegiance in case the war end in the advantage of the unjust power or party, likewise, whether the nature of war be inconsistent with the nature of the Christian religion.’

3.10 Henry Ferne DD, *Certain Considerations of Present concernment touching this reformed Church of England* (Printed by J.G. for R. Royston, at the Angle in Ivie-lane, 1653)

Henry Ferne (1602-1662) was Chaplain extraordinary to Charles I. In February 1662 he was consecrated **Bishop of Chester** to succeed Brian Walton but died five weeks later in March. This book is a forceful argument for the reformed church as established in the Elizabethan settlement. The argument is particularly aimed at ‘Romanists’ but in its consideration, for example, of bishops also argues for the maintenance of the episcopacy, a daring thing to do during the period of the abolition of the episcopate.

3.11 John Milton, *Defensio Secunda Pro Populo Anglicano: Contra infamem Libellum anonymum cujus Titulus, Regii sanguinis clamor adversus parricidas Anglicanos. Accessit Alexandri Mori, Ecclesistae, Sacrarumque litterarum Professoris Fides Publica Contra calumnias*

Ioannis Miltoni Scurrae (Hagae-Comitum, ex typographia Adriani Vlacq, 1654)

John Milton (1608-1674) served as a civil servant for the Commonwealth. In 1654 Milton wrote this second defence of the English people in response to a Royalist pamphlet *The Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven Against the English Parricides*, which had included several seemingly libellous attacks on Milton. In the Second Defence Milton speaks effusively of Oliver Cromwell, by then Lord Protector and argues that the Commonwealth as a whole needs to remain loyal to the basic principles of the revolution.

Milton married for the third time in 1663: his third wife was Elizabeth Minshull, aged 24 and over thirty years his junior, who was a native of Wistaston in Cheshire.

3.12 Peter Boughton, *Picturesque Chester: The City in Art* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1997)

South Prospect of the Cathedral 1656 by Daniel King (1600-1665). The earliest known engraving of Chester Cathedral dates from the period of the Commonwealth (1649-1660). It was commissioned from Daniel King by Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the son of John Bridgeman (1577-1652), **Bishop of Chester 1619-1646**, in memory of his father and the diocese of Chester. John Bridgeman was deprived of his bishopric in 1646 and died in 1652. Orlando Bridgeman was a judge.

The church is entitled on the engraving: The South Prospect of the Sometime Conventual Church of St Werburgh of Chester. The print reflects the state of play during the Commonwealth: there had been no bishops or cathedrals since 1646, but some people, not least in Chester, recalled them affectionately.

Lower shelf

3.13 William Sancroft, *A Sermon Preached in St Peter's Westminster on the first Sunday in Advent* (London: Printed by T. Roycroft for Robert Beaumont, at the Star in Little Britain, 1660).

This sermon was preached by William Sancroft at the consecration of 7 bishops including Brian, Lord Bishop of Chester. Brian Walton was **Bishop of Chester 1660-1661**, almost exactly one year from his consecration on Advent Sunday 1660 until his death on 29 November 1661. Deprived of his livings in 1642, supposedly because of his popery, he found refuge in Oxford during the Commonwealth. There he completed the London Polyglot (1654-1657), widely heralded as the finest of the great polyglot Bibles. At the restoration he was rewarded by Charles II with the see of Chester which he visited but once before his death.

William Sancroft (1617-1693) was ejected from Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1649 for refusing to accept the Engagement with the Parliamentarians. He went abroad until 1660 when he became one of the University of Cambridge select preachers. He was elected master of Emmanuel in 1662. After briefly occupying the deaneries of York and St Paul's, he was persuaded by Charles II to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury which he held from 1677-1690. He was one of the seven bishops imprisoned in 1688 for seditious libel against King James II because he opposed the king's Declaration of Indulgence, which the King had promoted most strongly in a speech in Chester in August 1687. He was subsequently deprived of his office in 1690 as a non-juror for refusing to swear allegiance to William and Mary.

3.14 William Sancroft (Window, Chester Cathedral south cloister)

Designed by Archibald Keightley Nicholson this window commemorates William Sancroft, a man of principle who refused to go back on any oath taken. On the right side at Sancroft's left shoulder is a boat with eight bishops aboard, those who were accused of sedition against James II in 1688 but were acquitted, the first time a court ruled against a king. Sancroft was also a non-juror, refusing to swear allegiance to William and Mary while James II was still alive. Another non-juror was Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester (1686-1689).

3.15 George Hall, *A Fast-Sermon Preached to the Lords in the High-Court of Parliament Assembled on the Day of Solemn Humiliation for the continuing Pestilence, Octob. 3. 1666* (London, Printed for Timothy Garthwait, 1666, by order of the Lords)

George Hall was **Bishop of Chester 1662-1668**. He was deprived of clerical office under the Commonwealth, but in 1660 was appointed to the seventh stall at St George's Chapel, Windsor, as canon and archdeacon of Canterbury, a post he maintained when appointed to Chester. He became Bishop of Chester in 1662 and was at the same time rector of Wigan (as well as continuing as archdeacon of Canterbury). London was hit by bubonic plague in the spring of 1665; Charles II issued a royal proclamation that a day of fasting be observed on 12 July 1665 and on the first Wednesday of each month thereafter. The sermon bears the monogram of Charles II.

George Hall's memorial is on the South Wall of the Nave West Steps near the West Door.

3.16 Jill Pears, *Bear and Billet*, Lower Bridge Street, Chester

The Bear and Billet was built in 1664, just a short while before the Great Fire of London which led to the abandonment of timber-framed houses. The house was the town house of the Earls of Shrewsbury who controlled the nearby Bridgegate. The name taken by the inn derives from the Shrewsbury coat of arms, a bear tied to a stake (billet). The 12th Earl of Shrewsbury was a prominent politician and one of the Immortal Seven who in 1688 invited William and Mary to invade and depose his father-in-law, James II. He later served under William and Mary as Secretary of State for the Southern Department. In 1694 he was created Duke of Shrewsbury but died childless in 1718 so the dukedom ceased with him. As a leading proponent for the removal of James II, the proximity of his property in Chester to the Bishop's House no doubt was felt as a threat by Bishop Thomas Cartwright, an enthusiastic supporter of James II. James's presence in Chester in August 1687 was all the bolder, both for what he said about toleration, and also for what was preached to him.

3.17 William Lloyd, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Right Reverend Father in God John, Late Lord Bishop of Chester at the Guildhall Chapel London, on Thursday 12 of December, 1672* (London: Printed by A.C. for Henry Brome, at the Gun at West-end of S Pauls, 1672)

John Wilkins was **Bishop of Chester 1668-1672**. He chaired the founding meeting of the Royal Society and was its first secretary. Having been Warden of Wadham College, Oxford from 1648, a political appointment against Oxford Royalists, he soon showed his worth and turned Wadham into a major scientific centre. He had been made Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, at the demand of the Fellows but in 1660 he was deprived—he had married Oliver Cromwell's sister Robina which

did not endear him to Charles II, though he made peace with the king in 1668.

William Lloyd was Dean of Bangor in 1672; in 1680 he became Bishop of St Asaph and was one of the seven bishops imprisoned and tried for seditious rebellion against James II in 1688 for failing to promote the Declaration of Indulgence. Like Wilkins he was a long-standing and staunch opponent of Roman Catholic tendencies.

The text for the sermon at the funeral of John Wilkins was Hebrews 13:7: 'Remember your leaders, those who spoke to you the word of God. Consider the outcome of their way of life, and imitate their faith'. The sermon concludes by insisting on Wilkins's reputation against those who were spreading 'groundless calumnies' about him: 'he died in the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Communion of the Church of England, as it is by Law established. He died only too soon for the Church, and for his Friends. But for Himself he had lived long enough. He has liv'd long enough that he dies well. For whatsoever he wants of that which we call time, it is added, though it adds nothing to Eternity'.

3.18 John Ogilby, *The Relation of His Majestie's Entertainment Passing through the City of London* (London: Printed by Tho. Roycroft, for Rich. Marriott, in St Dunstan's Church-Yard in Fleet-street, 1661)

John Ogilby was a multi-talented man: a dancer, theatre impresario, musician, tutor, translator, author, and publisher. He is best known for publishing the first British road atlas (1675), with the scale of one inch to the mile. He spent much of the Civil War in Ireland, but returned to England in 1650, refined his skills in Latin and Greek and translated Virgil into English verse which earned him much money. At the Restoration of Charles II Ogilby was commissioned to assist in the arrangements for the coronation with the composing of speeches and songs for use on 23 April 1661. The tradition of celebrating coronations with music-making and concerts has been maintained by Charles III.

3.19 John Pearson, *A Sermon Preached November V, MDCLXXIII at the Abbey-Church in Westminster* (London: Printed by Andrew Clark for John Williams, junior, at the Crown in Cross-keys Court in Little Britain, 1673)

John Pearson (1613-1686) was **Bishop of Chester 1672-1686**. In 1659 he had published his *Exposition of the Creed*. He was a man of the middle ground arguing in print against both Puritans and Roman Catholics, but supporting the Royalist cause in the Civil War as chaplain to George Goring's forces. At the Restoration he received preferment at Cambridge and was at the Savoy conference to review the liturgy in 1661. He became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1667.

Pearson takes as his text for November 5th Psalm 111:4: ‘He hath made his wonderful works to be remembered: the Lord is gracious and full of compassion’. The sermon ends with the following paragraph: ‘But these things are in the hand of God; that God saved our late Sovereign alive upon this day, and suffered him to be cruelly murdered upon another. When I consider the present condition of our Church and Nation, and fear that our sins begin to be full; I cannot but think the enemies of our Religion, the Papal Emissaries, have now much an easier way to destroy it. They shall not need to seek so far into the deep, or to lay so vast a work in the dark: but then I cannot choose but remember those words which I read so frequently in the Scriptures, *God save the King: God save the King* (2 Samuel 16:16). God save him from the open rebellion of the Schismatical party, the ruin of his Father. God save him from the secret machinations of the Papal Faction, the danger of his Grandfather. *God save the King*; and let all the people say, Amen.’

3.20 John Pearson (Window, Chester Cathedral south cloister)

This stained-glass window from Chester Cathedral south cloister range was designed by Archibald Keightley Nicholson. The bishop is pictured in the East Walk of the cloister beside the entrance to the Chapter House. He is wearing a mitre which is probably anachronistic, mitres only being reintroduced for Anglican bishops in the nineteenth century. Bishop Pearson is buried in the North Transept in a fine tomb sponsored by the Diocese of Maryland in the nineteenth century. The book he is holding is probably intended to be understood as his famous *Exposition of the Creed*.

3.21 Thomas Cartwright, A Sermon Preached before the King at Whitehall, January the 9th 1675/6 (In the Savoy: Printed by Tho Newcomb, 1675/6)

Thomas Cartwright (1634-1689) was **Bishop of Chester 1686-1689**. It is said that Thomas was James II’s favourite Church of England clergyman and his appointment to Chester was certainly royal favouritism as some questioned Cartwright’s moral character. The King stayed with him when he visited Chester in August 1687 and it is likely that the sermon by the Jesuit Lewis Sabran was preached in the Bishop’s Chapel, now St Anselm’s Chapel, which had been refurbished as part of the Bishop’s Palace by John Bridgeman. The seven bishops who resisted James II’s Declaration of Tolerance in May 1688, left Thomas Cartwright out of their deliberations since they suspected he was informing the king of their discussions; the bishops labelled Cartwright ‘a scabby sheep’. After the so-called Glorious Revolution as a non-juror he followed James II into exile and ended up in Dublin where he died of dysentery in 1689.

Thomas Cartwright preached the sermon on display when he was a prebend of Durham and shortly after preaching it, he was made Dean of the Collegiate Church of Ripon where his first cousin Peter Haddon later became his curate. The text of the sermon is Jude 22-23: ‘And of some have compassion, making a difference: And others, save with fear, pulling them out of the fire; hating even the garment spotted by the flesh’. The sermon begins: ‘The man whose soul is once effectually wrought upon by the Spirit of Grace, bestows his first and chief care in pursuit of Salvation; for he then sees how deep, how spreading, and how mortal an infection sin is, and is thoroughly convinced of the manifold danger of every particular iniquity; inasmuch, as it puts a man into a state of enmity against God, and his Laws, and so ‘worketh death and that eternal’ (Romans 7:13): and therefore he cannot rest, until he be resolved of that important quare, which was started by the pagan jaylor to Paul and Silas, ‘Sirs, What must I do to be saved?’.

3.22 Reverend Father Lewis Sabran, Society of Jesus, *A Sermon Preached before the King at Chester, on August xxviii. 1687. Being the Feast of S. Augustin, Doctor of the Holy Catholic Church* (Published by His Majesties Command; London: Henry Hills, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1687)

Lewis Sabran (1652-1732) was son of the French Ambassador to London during the Commonwealth period. He was ordained as a Catholic priest in 1679; he was made Chaplain to King James II in 1687 and to the infant Prince of Wales in 1688.

The text for sermon which discussed the invocation of the saints was 2 Timothy 4:7. ‘*I have fought a good Fight, consummated my Race, Kept my faith.*’

‘This Character, Most Sacred Majesty, of an undaunted and unwearied Courage, meeting Victory at last through all the opposition’s weak Nature can dread, and faint under; of a stedly and unalterable fixture in the Resolution once taken of serving God; of an even and punctual Fidelity to his holy Grace; as it is the noblest ...

... Oh Christian Brother, what a Treasure hath laid so long hidden in thy heart! And how useless yet! That Grace is the whole fruit of the Cross of Jesus, thy plentiful effectual Redemption; to neglect it as deep an Offence as to tread under foot the precious Blood of our redeemer. Ah! Dig up that Treasure then, stir it up, use that you are lent, or it will be taken away. How long God will permit it to lie dormant in your hands I know not. He gives it not lavishly, but according to the measure of Christ’s Gifts (Ephesians 4). How soon yours will be filled I know not. If now you hear yourself called, answer; if moved, follow; if commanded, obey. Some one Grace, I know, is the critical one to each mans Salvation;

such were those Samuel offered to Saul, Nathan to David; the former past by his, and was set aside for ever, an abandoned Reprobate; the latter obeyed his, and became according to God's heart. Whether this day by my voice God hath not presented to some one here the critical grace (Hebrews 4.16), the last loud call, I know not; but this I know, that whoever obeys not his, whoever resolves it not from this moment, ventures his Salvation upon a perhaps, than which there cannot be a more certain Folly, scarce a more crying Sin. Use then all that measure which God hath offered you, and your Fidelity will be blest by such an increase of it, as will possess you with a Heavenly Bliss, which God in his Mercy grant us all without end.

Ad majorem Dei Gloriam'

3.23 Liverpool Record Office, 920 MD 173, Diary of Sir Willoughby Aston, 1684-90, unfoliated

Sir Willoughby Aston (2nd Baronet) had been Sheriff of Cheshire in 1680-1681. The Sherriff at the time of the visit of James II to Chester was Robert Cholmondeley. Nevertheless, Sir Willoughby was part of the King's Progress from Whitchurch to Chester. His diary records his journey with Sir Richard Brooke and Henry Brooke his brother. Sir Richard Brooke was the second baronet of Norton Priory and related to Dorothy the wife of William Barnston.

This diary was brought to light by Scott Sowerby in research for his book *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Harvard Historical Studies 181; Harvard University Press, 2013). It is a remarkable description of the king's visit to Chester on 27th August where he stayed with Thomas Cartwright, the Bishop. Not only does it describe what happened but it recalls the King's speech on that day.

'[Aug.] 27 this morning soon after 5 o'clock we set out and went to No mans Heath, stayd at a little Hous there, where lay Ld Clifford ye late Treasurers son, Ld Brandon came to us, at last ye sheriff, we all went to ye brook wch parts Cheshire and Shropshire near Whitchurch whither ye King came not till 11 o'clock staying at Whitchurch to touch for ye Evill. ye Lds received him with ye sheriff on a little space between ye brooke and a large close on ye left hand where all ye Gentry stood by ye road, ye Lds were Ld Brandon, Cholmondeley Delamere, so we went to Chester, I with Sr Ric: Brooke and H: Brooke and Bro: Offley in his Coach the King to ye Bps Palace I to Mr Hunts where Sr Jno Crew and I lay, before we were dressed the King came by on foot to view ye Castle, after we went to the Miter, where Ld Brandon, Ld Delamere Sr Tho: Mainwaring, Sr Tho: Delves, Sr Robert Duconfield Bro: Offley etc. we went to Court where Ld President Sunderland presented us to ye King Ld

Brandon telling our names. The K sayd he had not seen such an appearance of Gentry a great while, Ld Del: told him we did not only appear there in Person but with or [sic] hearts and affections, or to yt Effect. ye K: sayd he hoped so and or [sic] Countenances expressed no less, he told us he hoped we would join with him in endeavouring to set aside all animosities, and distinctions of parties and names, [c.o. “which”] which would be done by removing ye occasions, which were the Penall Laws and tests, and when he should think fit to call a Parliament, he hoped we would send him such men as would join with him in taking them away, yt we might all agree and be easie. Williams [sic, is this William Williams the Solicitor General and former recorder of Chester and M.P. for Chester?] made some reply yt unity was better than Uniformity, and he hoped all would unite in being good subjects to his Majestie. the King sayd he had as soon as he could graunted [sic] a toleration, and hoped we would join with him in making a magna Charta for Conscience as well as properties and other liberties, he was sure no man should be debarrd of either while he lived, [asterix here, with a similar asterix in the margin and the note “I may use yt scripture expression whose Ox or whose Ass have I taken, and I hope you will Join in securing this liberty for the future”] suppose said he there should be a law made that all black men should be imprisoned, twould be unreasonable and we had as little reason to quarell [sic] with other men for being of different opinions [next page, “1687 Aug” in margin] as for being of different Complexions, desired we should shew or selfs Englishmen, and he was sure no Englishman could desire to see others persecuted for differences of opinion, and therefore again told us, ye way to reconcile all differences was to take of [sic] those Lawes wch made men uneasie under them and deprived them of theyr Rights. to this Williams replied as near as I can remember in these very words. Sr ye indulgence is a probationary Law at present, and when ye [sic, this marking is indistinguishable from the “ye” with the superscript for ye immediately above it (ye indulgence), but clearly what is meant here is “yr” superscript for your, and it seems possible that Aston did not vary his superscript marking when he was writing “yr”] Majestie shall think fit to call a Parliament I doubt not but they will consider very well of it --- I went then with Sr Tho: Main: and Sr Jno Corbet to Mr Kenricks Hous where they lay and thence home.’

3.24 The London Gazette Published by Authority from Thursday September 1. to Monday September 5. 1687

The London Gazette was the Government’s official instrument for making known what was going on. Some have argued that the many loyal addresses to King James II concerning his desire to abolish Penal Laws

and the Test Act were propaganda composed by James's officials, but many now consider the addresses to be genuine.

Two addresses are on display here. The first is from the Dissenters of Chester. The second is from the Presbyterians and Congregational Nonconformists of Macclesfield. Henry Newcome (1627-1695) records in his *Autobiography* for 27 August 1687 that he was waiting for six hours with others at Rowton Heath for the King. Newcome, as the senior nonconformist present was expected to address the King, but he seems to have persuaded Thomas Jollie to do this. As it so happened, 'his majesty came by us, and stayed not; but put off his hat, and passed on. And so there was nothing said, and all was well' (*The Autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A.* [edited by R. Parkinson; Manchester: Charles Simms & Co, for the Chetham Society, 1852], Vol. II, p. 265). Perhaps it was that address that found its way into the London Gazette.

The first address from the Dissenters of Chester reads as follows: 'To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble and thankful address of divers of Your Majesties Subjects, commonly called Dissenters, in and about the City of Chester. Most Gracious Sovereign, We Your Majesties Peaceable and Loyal Subjects, enjoying our comfortable Share, with others, in the present days Quiet and Liberty granted by Your late Royal Declaration (which assures us of your Majesties Gracious and Generous inclinations and Resolutions, Not to impose upon the Consciences of any matters of Religion,) do for our selves, and on the behalf of many others of our own Persuasion, Present unto Your Majesty our most humble and hearty Thanks, which we desire to do in such a manner as may best express our grateful Resentments of such a Great and Princely Favor. And being not only obliged by the Banns of our Natural Allegiance to live peaceably under Your Government, but likewise from a Principle of Love and Gratitude to serve Your Majesty to the utmost of our Capacities in all Instances of Duty and Loyalty, We do faithfully propose that (by God's Assistance) we shall always, in all things, demean our selves with all due Loyalty and Subjection, and, as occasion shall be offered us, confirm the Sincerity of our Promises, by the Readiness and Agreeableness of our Actions and Practices.'

3.25 The Book of Common Prayer (folio edition, London: His Majesty's Printers, 1662)

The 1662 Prayer Book begins with 'An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church and Administration of the Sacraments, Primo Eliz.'

The 1662 Prayer Book ends with three set services (included until 1859) which have a prologue in which the King commands the services to 'be used yearly on the said days, in all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches

and Chappels, in all Chappels of Colleges and Halls within both our Universities, and our Colledges of Eaton and Winchester, and in all Parish-Churches and Chappels within Our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed'. The first is for use on 5 November each year 'for the happy deliverance of the King, and the Three Estates of the Realm from the most Traitorous and Bloody intended Massacre by Gun-Powder'. The second is for use on 30 January each year being the day of the martyrdom of King Charles the First. The third for use on the 29 May being 'the day of his majesty's birth and happy return to his kingdom'. Charles II was born on 29 May 1630 and restored as King on 29 May 1660. The Commemoration of Charles, King and Martyr, was restored in the Common Worship calendar of 1997 as a Lesser Festival.

The Collect for morning prayer for 29th May begins as follows: 'O Lord God of our salvation, who hast been exceedingly gracious unto this land, and by thy miraculous providence hast delivered us out of our late miserable confusions, by restoring to us our dread Sovereign Lord, thy servant, King Charles; we are now here before thee with all due thankfulness to acknowledge thine unspeakable goodness this day...'