The life and times of Isaac Basire.

Colin Brennen

Abstract of Ph.D. thesis, The Life and Times of Isaac Basire, by Colin Brennen.

The aim of this thesis is to reconstruct the life and times of Isaac Basire, mainly from his letters and papers preserved in the Library of Durham Cathedral, and to show the issues which dominated his life, the wider issues in which he was involved.

First, it examines Basire's contribution to the transformation of the Church of England between 1630 and 1660, in the development of an Anglican mythology which sought to establish the Ecclesia Anglicana as part of the historic Catholic Church. Second, it considers Basire's fascination, as an Anglican, with the Greek Orthodox Church, a fascination which has its place in the long tradition of the Anglican interest in Orthodoxy. And third, it follows the process of the restoration of the Church through Basire's activities in the North as Archdeacon of Northumberland, and to show the important part played by archdeacons in the restoration of the Church.

Isaac Basire was born in France in 1607, and studied at Leiden University where his teachers seem to have influenced him towards the Arminian wings of the Dutch and English Churches. He came to England and was ordained in 1629 by Thomas Morton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who, on his translation to Durham in 1632, took Basire with him as his domestic chaplain, and later appointed him to two livings in the diocese, and, finally, in 1644, to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland. In 1647, however, because of his devotion to King and Church, Parliament forced him into exile.

After journeying with his pupils through France, Italy, Sicily and Malta, Basire sailed for the Levant on a self-imposed mission to proclaim the excellence of the Church of England and its role as a bridge between the divided Church of the West and East. He met with many of the leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church, whom he left with copies of the Prayer Book Catechism, translated into their own languages, convinced that these of themselves would act as agents of evangelism.

In 1654, while acting as chaplain to the English Ambassador in Constantinople, he was invited by George Rakóczi II, the Prince of Transylvania, to become Professor of Theology in the University of Alba Julia. He was unable to do much there, partly because of strong opposition from the more radical Calvinist wing in the Church, which he opposed in Transylvania as he had opposed it in England, and partly because his stay was overshadowed by the threat of Turkish invasion. When the Turks invaded the country, Basire and his pupils were scattered, while the city and University of Alba Julia were destroyed.

After the Prince's defeat and death in the battle of Gyala, Basire returned to England in 1661, and took up his duties as Archdeacon of Northumberland and helped Cosin restore the Church in the North. From then until his death in 1676 his life was spent in a ceaseless round of activity as parish priest, Cathedral prebendary, Archdeacon and royal chaplain. He was laid to rest, at his own request, without pomp or ceremony, in the churchyard of the Cathedral he had loved and served so well.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ISAAC BASIRE

- by -

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Quotations have been reproduced in modern English except where doing so would alter the sense of the passage.

INTRODUCTION

Among the lesser figures of the Church of England in the seventeenth century, Isaac Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, must be regarded as one of the most interesting. Born and bred a Frenchman, baptised into the Huguenot Church, he was ordained into the Anglican ministry, and became a loyal and devoted adherent of the King and of the Church of England, for both of whom he suffered deprivation and exile. Restored at the Restoration to the preferments of which he had been deprived during the Civil War, he went on to play a considerable role in the restoration of the Church of England in the north of the country.

The most striking feature of his life was his staunch belief in the excellence of the Anglican Church; it was like the needle of a compass, always pointing towards unity and salvation. Because it claimed to be both Catholic and Reformed, steering a middle course of strength and not of weakness, it seemed to him that the Church of England had a unique role to play in any bringing together of a divided Christendom. He found the essence of its distinctive teaching in the Prayer Book Catechism, with its emphasis on what seventeenth century Anglicanism called 'practical divinity'. During his exile, when he travelled through the Near East, having discussions with local church leaders, both Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox, he always left behind with them a copy of the Catechism, translated into their own language, quite confident that the book would speak for itself, and act as a powerful advocate for the excellence of the Church of England. In an account he gave to Antony Leger, a former chaplain to the Dutch Embassy in Constantinople, of his activities in the East, he went on to say:

> All this is outwardly very little. But apart from the demonstration of the divine power, in uplifting means in themselves so frail and feeble, especially among a people like this, which still walk in darkness and dwell in the shadow of death, our English Martyrology makes me hope that something will come of it, since indeed, the English Reformation began with a simple Catechism. (1)

Basire made his contribution to the thinking and development of the Church of England in three areas. First, he played his part in the formulation of the classical definition of Anglicanism in the seventeenth century, a definition which was part of the conservative Protestant counter reformation against the Calvinist Reformed inheritance.(2) Basire encountered at Leiden the debate within Dutch Protestantism between Arminianism and Calvinism, as seen by his teachers Vossius and Polyander, and it was from them that he obtained a good grounding in the Arminian order of things, to be encapsulated in his share of the debate between Calvinist and Arminian in the Transylvanian Church.

In the years before the Civil War the opposition fastened its attention on the Arminians and their new-fangled innovations, which Pym and his friends believed to be an underhand re-introduction of Romanism. Their cry was to get back to the Church as it had been under the 'Great Queen', to them the hall-mark of the true Church of England. But there was a great difference between the Elizabethan and Restoration Churches. The former had a distinctly Puritan flavour, with an almost general acceptance of the doctrine of predestination. Even Whitgift, the 'hammer of the Puritans' in his effort to obtain conformity, was a Calvinist in his theology.

The turning point in the transformation of the Church of England came during the Civil War and in the years before the Restoration. With Rome and

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(1) W.N. Darnell, The Correspondence of Isaac Basire (London, 1831), p.124. An undated copy of a reply to a letter of Leger.

(2) For a full account of this assault on Calvinism, see O. Chadwick, The Reformation (London, 1964), pp.211-247.

Geneva on either side of them, those who had gone into exile sought to establish the true, independent identity of Anglicanism; it was neither simply a reformed section of the Roman Catholic Church, nor was it a conservative branch of the Reformed Churches, but it had its own identity, going back to the earliest days of Christianity in England. It saw itself as part of the true Catholic Church, based on the Scriptures, the Creeds, the three-fold ministry and the first four General Councils. It was the true strain of Catholicism before the corruptions of Rome had entered into the life of the Church. In the development of this Anglican mythology, Basire played his part.

In the fifteen years of his exile, he presented the rather bizarre picture of the former French Huguenot declaring the excellence of the Church of England, holding up Anglicanism against the mirror of other Churches, and finding contentment in what he saw. He was able to support the royal party in the episcopal Calvinist Church of Transylvania against its Calvinist neo-Puritan opponents, quietly pressing for the introduction of reforms to bring the Church in line with Anglicanism, for with the new-found enthusiasm of the proselyte, Basire could find no Church to excel 'our old Church of England'.

His second contribution was made in relations with the Greek Orthodox Church. Increasing trade relations between England and the Near East had made English churchmen aware of the ancient Church, which was hostile to Rome, and had preserved episcopacy and the doctrines and teaching of the early Church. Basire and his fellow-exiles added to this knowledge through their contacts with Orthodox Church leaders, and saw in the Orthodox an ally against Rome on the one hand, and Nonconformity on the other. They stressed and made known the orthodoxy of the Anglican Church, pointing out its affinity to the Orthodox Church, and Basire expressed the desire to receive from

Charles II some form of commission which would authorise him to discuss proposals of union between the two Churches.

Though John Evelyn hailed him as 'that great French Apostle', Basire's self-imposed mission had no immediate results. He found it impossible to persuade the Orthodox leaders to remove what he called 'the grosser errors' of their Church, and to approximate themselves to the declared excellence of the Church of England. Perhaps the only results of his missionary activity was to help strengthen the Anglican emphasis on episcopacy, and to anticipate later rapprochements between the two Churches.

The third contribution that Basire made to the Church of England was made in his role of Archdeacon.(1) Until comparatively recently, church historians have tended to overlook or underestimate the part played by the Archdeacons in the reconstruction of the Church after 1660, devoting their attention to the policy-makers in Whitehall and Lambeth. Since the Second World War local records have become more freely available for consultations by church historians, and one result has been the realisation of how effective and important had been the role of Archdeacons, and Basire's papers make this very clear. They were, to use a modern term, the 'middle-management' in implementing the policies of their superiors, both in Church and State. The true state of the Church at the Restoration was only revealed after the Archdeacon had made his Visitation, and it fell to him, through his Visitations and Archidiaconal Courts, to put things right, disciplining the clergy as best he could, seeing that the church buildings were repaired, ensuring that everything necessary for the ordered procession of church services was provided, and dealing with the many problems presented by Recusants and Nonconformists.

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(1) For a description of the role of Archdeacons in the English Church, see S.L. Ollard, G. Crosse and M.F. Bond (eds.), A Dictionary of English Church History (London, 1948, 3rd ed. rev.) pp.19-21, also N. Sykes, Sheldon to Secker (London, 1959), pp.197-8.

Basire and Cosin worked closely together, but it is from Basire's notebooks and correspondence that we can best monitor the progress of restoration. Basire, on occasions, felt the weight of Cosin's displeasure at the slowness in the way things were going, but he bore it with tolerance and understanding, because he realised with Cosin the urgency and importance of their task. Both were convinced that what they were doing was in the best interests of Church and State.

For many Anglicans the Restoration meant the exact reproduction of the pre-Civil War Church, and they were to prove ruthless in the achievement of their aims. Basire wanted the Restoration to be complete because he believed that the excellence of the Church of England was necessary for the well-being of the nation. But he did not think in terms of a simple restoration of the pre-war Church, but of an Anglican Church which had found its true identity in the years of his exile. On the other hand, though there is little concrete evidence in support of the suggestion, a reading of his papers would indicate a measure of flexibility in his approach. Thus, while his official duties made him a tireless opponent of Nonconformity as such, he saw no reason why this official hostility should be reflected in his personal relationships with the Nonconformist relatives of his wife, much to the disgust of Cosin. But this attitude could be expected from his Huguenot background, and from the obvious broadening of his views from his contacts with other Churches, Reformed and Orthodox, during his exile. Perhaps, too, the tolerance and pastoral concern of Bishop Thomas Morton, whose domestic chaplain he had been, had rubbed off on him.

It is not easy, however, to assess Basire's position in Anglican thought of the seventeenth century. He was a Laudian in his belief in the historic nature of Anglicanism, and in his love of a well-ordered liturgy, but he seems to lack the intolerant stiffness shown by many of his contemporaries. His

wide experience would militate against such a hard-line attitude. But, at the same time, there is no evidence that he favoured any form of 'comprehension', seeking to dilute the Anglican Church with an infusion of Nonconformist thinking. While he was in Constantinople he was happy to act as chaplain to the French Huguenots there, as long as he could use his own translation of the Prayer Book and had not to compromise his Anglican beliefs. He saw little future in the arrangement, however, since his flock were 'Geneva bred'.

Perhaps the best way to describe his position is to use a modern analogy. In the twenties and thirties of this century, there were two extreme wings in the Church of England; on the right, the Anglo-Catholics who looked to Rome for their inspiration, and on the left the Evangelicals, with their affinity to Nonconformity. In between there was a sizeable group which called themselves 'Prayer Book Catholics'. They saw the Church of England as Catholic and Reformed, midway between the two extremes, and they believed in its historic nature as the branch of the Catholic Church in England, whose doctrines and teaching were enshrined in the Book of Common Prayer and in the historic formularies of the Church. Basire would, undoubtedly, have felt at ease in their company.

The Basire papers are full of Basire, the churchman, of his activities in exile and on his return to England, but little of the man himself emerges. What there is gives a picture of a very human figure, devoted to his wife and family, finding time amidst his interviews with church dignitaries in Jerusalem, to send home little souvenirs for his family, human enough to find in later life the burden of work increasingly hard to bear, longing to find the time and peace to devote himself to writing and study, yet driven on by his conviction that his efforts were vital for the spiritual welfare of the country. The instructions he left in his will for his funeral indicate

his pride in being a member of the Anglican Church, and his own personal humility:

> And I do declare that as I have lived, so I do die, with comfort in the holy communion of the Church of England, both for doctrine and discipline. And I do further protest, that having taken serious survey of most Christian Churches, both Eastern and Western, I have not found a parallel of the Church of England, both for soundness of Apostolic Doctrine and Catholic Discipline.
> Item. I desire my Executor to dispose of my body for decent and frugal burial in the churchyard, not out of any singularity, which I always declined when I was living, but out of veneration of the House of God, though I am not ignorant of the contrary custom, but I do forbid a funeral sermon, although I know the antiquity and utility of such sermons in the Primitive Church to encourage the Christians of those times unto martydom. (1)

To read Basire's letters and notes is to meet a good man, incessantly busy with the affairs of his Lord; a man with a lively faith, who laboured with no thought of reward save the joy of doing his Master's will.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.12, no.155. 14 September 1676.

EARLY YEARS

Isaac Basire was born in the year 1607 or 1608 in or near Rouen,[1] where his father, Jean Basire, had a small estate,[2] and was baptised in 1608 in the Reformed Church in Rouen.[3] In the earlier letters his name sometimes appears as Isaac Basire de Preaumont, Preaumont presumably being the name of his father's estate, but later the addition disappears, though he occasionally used it as an alias when he first went into exile.[4]

Little is known about his parents, but his father was a Doctor of Law and an advocate in the Parlement of Rouen.[5] He had studied law in France

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(1) Antony Wood, Athenae Oxonienses and Fasti (London, 1721) vol.i., p.285, says that he was born in Jersey, but the evidence is against this. There are no records in the island's parochial registers to support this claim. The name Basire does occur in Jersey today, but the families have only been there for three or four generations, and came originally from Caen as seasonal labour. The D.N.B. follows Wood in giving his date of birth as 1607, and has influenced other writers. There is evidence to suggest that it could have been 1608. To a letter written by his father on 8 December 1623, Isaac added a note: 'being then but fifteen years and ten months', which would make his date of birth in February 1608 (see below, note 5). A manuscript note in Hunter MSS., fo.10A, no.8, says he was born in 1608. The inscription on his tomb records that he died on 12 October 1676, 'A^{o}Aetat. suae 69', which suggests 1608.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.35. A copy of an undated letter from the French king, ratifying Basire's succession to the estate: 'Lettres Royaux de plenier réhabilitation ou relèvement pour noble homme, Isaac Basire, natif de Rouen, a fin qu'il puisse succéder rétroactivement à feu de Jean Basire, escuyer, Sieur de Preaumont, son père, et à defuncte Judith le Macherier, sa mère, et a quiconque sey en France a qui il a droit naturel de succéder.'

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.10A, no.10.

(4) Ibid., fo.9, no.63, 5 March 1648. Letter to his wife asking her to address her letters to M. de Preaumont. He seems to have used various aliases on occasions. Thomas Hooke, writing on 9 May 1649, (Ibid., fo.9, no.65) refers to him as Mr Johnston.

(5) An Excellent Letter from John Basire, Doctor of Law, to his son Isaac Basire (London, Thos. Newcomb, 1670).

and Germany before being admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Law at the University of Oxford in 1603.(1) One of his notebooks is preserved among the Basire papers.(2) In 1670, towards the end of his life, Isaac translated into English, and had printed, a letter of fatherly advice written to him on 8 December 1623, from Rouen, when he was a student at the School of Erasmus in Rotterdam.(3) In a note at the beginning, he said that he had made the translation at the earnest desire of some godly, learned friends, 'the original whereof the son keeps as a jewel, preserved by providence above 45 years'. Isaac was fifteen years ten months at the time the letter was written, and had entered the school in October 1623, for his father said that his son's letter of the previous 28 October had afforded him no small joy and content, since by reading it

> I have been duly informed, as well concerning the prosperity of your first Voyage, as of your own good health, and of the notable proof you have already given of your advancement and progress in the knowledge of good Letters; seeing that, at your first arrival, and upon your first Trial, you have been judged worthy of the highest form. (4)

The young Isaac, however, was warned not to work too hard, and to take care of his health, allowing his studies to be regulated by it: 'rather learn in two years, what you might learn in one, if with the loss of your health'.(5)

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(1) Wood, Fasti, vol.i., p.165: 'Bachelor of Law, 1603, Mar.29. John Basire, a Frenchman, who had studied civil law 12 terms in this University, and 7 years in France and Germany, was then admitted.'

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.133.

(3) John Basire, An Excellent Letter.

(4) Ibid., p.1. Some idea of the way he had been prepared is given in a set of notes, Oratoriae Definitiones ex optimis quibus rhetoribus, maxime ex Aristotle, Cicerone, et Fabio in gratiam. The notes were begun on 1 November 1621 (An^{o} Aet.xiii) and finished in April 1622, 'laus deo'. (Hunter MSS., fo.71).

(5) Ibid., p.3. Isaac added a note to say that he was then fifteen years and ten months 'and but tender and sickly by Nature, though in process of time, by Labour and Custom, through God's blessing, hardened into a healthful Temper.' (p.4.)

He must beware of suffering extreme colds, which he must shake off 'sprightfully by exercise of Body; which will render you supple, cheerful, and active, and capable of greater Labour'.(1) Apparently, even at the age of sixteen, Isaac had resolved on ordination, and while his father accepted his decision, he gave a mild reproof, 'a vocation of which notwithstanding you ought not to have made a choice of yourself'.(2) When Isaac published the printed version of his father's letter, he added a marginal note to this comment:

> The Father being a Doctor of Law, did intend his Son for the same Faculty, in which study also, out of filial obedience, he spent some years, till he propounded to his Father his inclination for the holy Ministry, but still with submission to his consent, which he freely signified afterwards by his Letter to Dr.Morton, the late L.Bishop, then of Lichfield and after of Durham; by whom the son received Holy Orders.(3)

Basire senior advised his son on how to live. He must wholly dispose himself to live soberly, righteously and godly, endeavouring to lead his life answerable to his profession. To this end he must be courteous to all men, but familiar only to a few. The older Basire cited various texts from the Scriptures as a guide to right living: 'Evil Communications corrupt good Manners' and 'be sincere and upright, fearing God, and turn away from evil'.(4) Since the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, according to the Book of Proverbs, Isaac was to trust in the Lord and 'lean not to your own understanding'. His father then assured him of his prayers, that as God had given him to will, so He would also give him the power to do of His good pleasure to His glory, your own salvation, and comfort.(5)

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(1) John Basire, An Excellent Letter, p.4.

(2) Ibid., p.4.

(3) Ibid., p.5. This letter was probably destroyed with others of Morton's papers during the Civil War.

(4) Ibid., p.6.

(5) Ibid., p.7.

But the young man was to take time off from his scholarly labours to indulge himself in 'Seasonable divertissements from your studies to exercises commendable, virtuous, and in no way childish'.(1) He was urged to find time to study the language of the country in which he was living, advice which Isaac followed, to become fluent in many languages.(2) He was to interest himself in music, and to learn to write a good hand; he was also to cultivate the art of public speaking, 'to speak treatably and distinctly; even when you learn your Lessons; because Custom turns into an Habit'.(3) This, added his father, was a necessity for the work he hoped to perform in the ordained ministry of the Church. If he failed to do this, then that failure might render 'your Function unpleasing, void of Gracefulness, and without Edification'.(4) Jean Basire ended his advice to Isaac by suggesting ways in which he might comport himself among other men; not to be vindictive but to be meek, gentle, and gracious; never to do anything to anyone which he would dislike having done to himself; and to shun all hypocrisy. In the meanwhile, Isaac could be assured that he was remembered regularly in the prayers of his family, and that their support would be behind him all their lives.

We know only of Basire's mother that she was Judith le Macherier before her marriage, and died in 1626, after what appears to have been a long and trying illness. Jean Basire expressed to Isaac at his mother's death, 'avec quelle constance et sainte résolution elle a rendu son âme à Dieu son Créatur'.(5) To which, long after, Isaac added the marginal comment: 'D.Gr" (Deo Gratias).

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(1) Jean Basire, An Excellent Letter, p.8.

(2) Ibid., p.8. Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.2. Letter from Archdeacon Baddeley to Basire, 29 March 1631, referring to him as 'an emperor over many lands of speech'.

(3) Jean Basire, An Excellent Letter, p.9.

(4) Ibid., p.10.

(5) Hunter MSS., fo.133, p.113. This is an entry in Jean Basire's notebook, and is probably a copy of the letter he sent to Isaac. The date is difficult to decipher, but is either 1625 or 1626.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN

There is little information about Basire's early years. While he attended the School of Erasmus in Rotterdam, his father sent him regular sums of money for his maintenance, and the last bill of exchange sent to him was recorded in his father's notebook in 1625. Many years later, when reading through the notebook, Isaac commented in the margin:

> xviii livres (about £6) la dernière somme reçue de mon cher père; an°aet.17. Depuis, loué soit Dieu, j'ai subsisté 46 ans, 1671 sans mon père. (1)

From Rotterdam Isaac proceeded to the University of Leiden, where he matriculated on 12 November 1625.(2) This information is also to be found in the Admission Register of St. John's College, Cambridge, with the addition that Basire had graduated M.A. before leaving Leiden.(3)

Leiden was a Protestant University, whose main aim was the training of future ministers of religion, though it did contain faculties other than theology.(4) After its first difficult years the University became a safe refuge which offered opportunities for study and training to Huguenot students, unable to obtain them in their own country because of the civil wars. When the founding Curators (Trustees) were drawing up regulations for the new university in 1575, they recognised that they must accommodate two contrasting elements in the Reformed Church, the Precisians and the moderates. The Precisians wanted a firmly organised church, which would be as independent of secular control as possible, and which would supervise all aspects of society. In their zeal for the Reformed Church, they wanted the state to prohibit Roman

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.133, p.114.

(2) Album Studiosorum of the University of Leiden, p.182.

(3) Letter from Librarian of St. John's College, Cambridge.

(4) For a full account of Leiden University in the seventeenth century, see Th.H.Scheurleer and G.H.M.Meyjes (eds.), Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century (Leiden, 1975).

Catholicism entirely. The moderates took a more relaxed view. They wanted a comprehensive church which would include all the different elements in Protestant thinking, and they were prepared to grant a measure of toleration even to Roman Catholics.

The differences were heightened when Arminius was appointed professor of theology in 1603. Arminius himself never completely rejected the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, and never completely proclaimed a doctrine of free-will, though his name is always associated with hostility to Calvinism. The ultra-Calvinist Synod of Dort in 1619 did not condemn the works of Arminius himself, but reserved its condemnation for the Remonstrants, called after the 'Remonstrance', published by Arminius' supporters in 1610. The 'Remonstrance' defined Arminianism theologically, and set out the five main points of its teaching: that God had decreed the salvation of all who believe in Christ; that Christ died 'for all', but that only believers enjoy forgiveness of sins; that man must be regenerated by the Holy Spirit; that grace is not irresistible; and that perseverance is granted through the assistance of the grace of the Holy Spirit. The 'Remonstrance' aroused a fierce controversy, for at each of these points the emphasis was on the possibility that any man might actively respond to the love of God, declared in the death of Christ, his will being assisted by the Holy Spirit, if he was willing to accept such assistance. The statement lacked the Calvinist conviction that some were eternally elect, while others were eternally damned, whatever their own merits. The Synod, in its condemnation of Arminianism, restated the fundamentals of Calvinism in the famous TULIP; the Total depravity of man, Unconditional election, Limited atonement (Christ died for the elect only), Irresistible grace, and the Perseverance of the elect until they safely reached heaven.

The Curators of the University, however, refused to take so hard a line. They thought that both Calvinists and Arminians should be represented on the staff of the University, and appointed Johannes Polyander to the chair of New Testament studies. They regarded him as dogmatically orthodox, though he was prepared to view the Remonstrants with tolerance. One professor to be purged after the Synod of Dort was Gerard Vossius, at the time of his dismissal, Regent of the Leiden States College, an institution which accommodated students who were allowed to study at the expense of the state. The Curators, while reluctant to dismiss Vossius, had to bow to the hard-line opposition to him, but they assured him that they would name him to a post in which he could stay aloof from theological controversy. Accordingly, in 1622, he became 'Professor Eloquentiae et Litterarum Graecarum'.

The University became renowned in the first half of the seventeenth century as a centre of New Testament studies, mainly through the work of literary scholars, orientalists, classicists and historians. In 1616 it published an Arabic edition of the New Testament; in 1631-4 and 1636 a philological edition was published, comparing the existing text with other manuscripts; in 1638, at the instigation of Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, the University printed a translation of the New Testament into modern Greek.

It was, however, the aim of the University to allow its divines to pursue Scriptural theology, and in their exegesis of the Scriptures, they concentrated on dogma, Polyander being a noted plunderer of the New Testament to prove dogma. In his lectures on the interpretation of the New Testament, he was not concerned with criticism or philology, but with dogma, edification, ethics and practical theology, using the New Testament as a quarry to support the doctrinal teaching of the Church, an approach which influenced Basire's

attitude to the Scriptures and his treatment of them. Polyander also had the duty of presiding over the disputations which were required from his students as part of their degree course, and the titles of some of these disputations reflect his teaching: 'De Jesu divinitate', 'De bonorum operum fine et necessitate', 'De spiritus sancti donis et effectis', 'De justificatione', etc. In 1625 Basire sent to his father two treatises which he had written in Latin, 'De Incarnatione Filii Dei et Hypostatica Unione' and 'De Evangelio',(1) titles reminiscent of those of Polyander. One short treatise he wrote in Latin has survived, De Purgatorio et Indulgentiis.(2) It was dedicated to the doctors and clergy of the church in Rouen, and was apparently declaimed in the presence of Dr Andrew Rivet, one of his professors in theology, on 11 December 1627, 'at the accustomed hour'. The treatise was printed at Leiden in the same year. It clearly shows the influence of Polyander's teaching; Basire amasses quotations from the Scriptures to prove that neither purgatory nor indulgences had any biblical support and that the Councils and many of the early Fathers made no mention of them.

Basire was also affected by a regulation which was passed in 1624, that students of theology, before being admitted to their examinations, should not only produce testimonials from the Church, the University Senate, and from their professor, but also from the professors of Greek and Hebrew. It would seem therefore that Basire owed his fluency in Greek and his ability to read and write Hebrew, to his days at Leiden.

The deepest mystery about Basire's life is how it came about that a Frenchman, born in France, and baptised into the Huguenot Church, should become a priest of the Church of England, and so convinced of the rightness

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.133, p.113. There are no copies of these treatises either at Leiden or Durham.

(2) Durham Cathedral Chapter Library, MS. O XA 58.

of its teaching, and of its unique place in Christendom, that he was prepared to suffer hardship and exile for his faith in it. All that he says is that he came to England to further his studies, as did other students, so providing one avenue by which Arminianism reached England. The history of Leiden University in the seventeenth century provides some pointers to a possible explanation. Basire maintained contact with both Polyander and Vossius after leaving Leiden, and it can be assumed that they watched with interest his progress towards the Church of England. Vossius, indeed, had a very high opinion of Basire:

> As I am not apt to form attachments excepting to those whom I highly esteem; so, when they are once formed, my regard is far from being of a transitory nature. Of that character, is my regard for you, founded no less upon your talents than your learning, from the union of which I have been in the habit of expecting no common results. You have, moreover, shown yourself highly worthy of my good opinion in your public disputations, and other academical exercises; and as I well know that men of genius are not always careful to confine themselves to the pursuit of virtuous objects, so I have always put the highest value on you, because I feel convinced of the purity of your moral sentiments. (1)

Both Polyander and Vossius were sympathetic to Arminianism, Vossius the more so, since he had been expelled from his post at the University because of his views. Basire must have been influenced by them to the Arminian side. Perhaps still more significant was the fact that Vossius was a known admirer of the Church of England and its liturgy. In 1629 Laud preferred him to a canonry in Canterbury Cathedral, while after going to Amsterdam as professor of history, Vossius acted as Laud's agent against the emigrant Puritans. It is tempting, though direct evidence is lacking, to attribute partly to Vossius' influence some of the things which stand out in Basire's life, his intense love of the Church of England, both for its doctrine and liturgy, his devotion to the ordered dignity of Anglican worship, and his great reverence for the Fathers of the Church. Basire was a significant figure in whom a Dutch Arminian

(1) Vossius to Basire, 26 February 1632, Vossius Epist. para.i.234, quoted in W.N.Darnell, Correspondence of Isaac Basire (London, 1831), p.9. (Original letter in Latin: Darnell's translation.)

comprehensive theology provided an intellectual foundation for an apologetic for the peculiar excellence of the Church of England.

When Basire reached England, it was to find a country in which Arminianism[1] had taken root. Charles I shared his father's attachment to the Church of England, but he did not favour orthodox Calvinists. It seemed to him that Arminianism was a suitable religion for a country still at peace, whereas the Netherlands needed the stern creed of Calvinism in its struggle against Spain. But his thinking was also influenced by the use made by Laud and others of Arminianism as a cement for the union of kings and priests against Puritan troublemakers. Basire's artistic nature, too, led him to accept English Arminianism with its emphasis on the ordered dignity of worship, 'the beauty of holiness', as Laud often described it. The trouble was that Arminianism seemed to the uninitiated to be simply another form of Romanism which would ultimately engulf the country. Lancelot Andrewes had been passed over in the appointment to Canterbury in favour of the Calvinist, George Abbott, because James I and many of the laity were uneasy about his high-church practices, like his use of incense and candles in his private chapel.[2] Laud aroused the opposition of politicians and landowners alike by his efforts to restore

(1) Arminianism, a rejection of the harshest aspects of Calvinist thought, particularly on the question of predestination, involved greater stress upon the Sacraments and upon the history of the visible church in the form it took in England. There was more emphasis upon the Apostolic Succession of bishops (A. Foster, 'The function of a bishop: the career of Richard Neile, 1562-1640' in R.O'Day and F.Heal (eds.) Continuity and Change (Leicester, 1976), p.38). Under Bishop Neil, Durham House, the London seat of the Bishops of Durham, became the headquarters of the Arminian party. Four of his chaplains became bishops, either before or after the Restoration. Through his friendships with established Arminians, like Andrewes, Buckeridge, Overall and Howson, Neile enabled his protégés to meet people of influence. (Ibid., p.45.)

(2) H.R. McAdoo, in his The Spirit of Anglicanism (London, 1965), p.322, says that when Hugo Grotius, the Dutch Arminian, was on a visit to England, he met Andrewes, and in a letter to Abbott, the Archbishop of Canterbury, affirmed that Andrewes held the same views as himself. Andrewes, however, denied this.

the Church and the clergy to their pre-Reformation place in the life of the country, but the greatest criticism of him was that he seemed to be leading the Church back to Rome. The prevailing tone in Anglicanism was a mild Puritanism in an episcopal setting, and the laity resented what Pym called Arminian 'innovations in religion'. There were many factors leading to the outbreak of the Civil War, but certainly one of them was this desire to repress 'innovations' and those who were trying to introduce them. Laud's Catholicism was, however, purely English, a reaction against the growing disorder in the Church, and a desire to re-establish uniformity in worship and ritual. In 1633 he was given to understand that he would be created a Cardinal if he became a Roman Catholic, but replied:

> some what dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is.

Shortly before his execution in 1645 he affirmed his faith in the Church of England:

> I was born and baptised in the bosom of the Church of England established by law. In that profession I have lived, and in that I come now to die.

It is worth quoting in comparison the preamble that Basire wrote to his will:

> And I do declare that as I have lived, so I do die, with comfort in the Holy Communion of the Church of England, both for doctrine and discipline.

It is clear, however, that Basire was influenced in his thinking by Thomas Morton, whom he served as bishop's chaplain in Lichfield and Durham. Morton was a Calvinist, but his Calvinism was tempered by a mildness and gentleness of nature, and the moderation seems to have rubbed off on to Basire, who did not show the intolerance and bitterness often displayed by his fellow Arminians. The only people he was roundly to condemn were the Presbyterians for upsetting the traditional relationship between church and state, and the Scots for selling their king for money.

ENGLAND AND ORDINATION

Basire's movements in the later 1620's are rather confusing. He was staying in The Hague in 1627, for he wrote from there to Polyander,(1) expressing the desire to visit him in Leiden, but that he had been prevented by illness from doing so. He asked, however, for a reply 'through my relation Dr. Barnard'. Sometime between 1627 and 1629 he travelled to England, breaking his journey in the Channel Islands, and spending some time there, for the register of Elizabeth College, Guernsey, lists him as a master of the College early in the century, though no precise dates are given.(2)

The next landmark in his career is firmly fixed by the entry in his father's notebook: 'Isaac was admitted to Holy Orders by Mr Morton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield'.(3) Basire was ordained deacon and priest on the last day of May 1629, in the parish and prebendal church of Eccleshall. He is described as 'Gallum Artium Magistrum'.(4) He signed twice in the Subscription Book.(5) The first subscription is in English, and is to the three articles of Canon 36, which was made before admission to deacon's orders on 31 May 1629. He is described as Master of Arts of Leiden University, and he signed himself 'I.Basire'. A marginal note says that he was ordained priest on the day following his ordination as deacon, but the entry in the bishop's register does not bear this out. The second subscription is in Latin, and is to the Thirty Nine Articles of the Book of Common Prayer, and is also before his ordination as deacon. The date is the same, and he signed 'Isaacus Basirius Gallus'.

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(1) Bodleian Library MS. Rawl.Letters 76(b), f.81. 28 December 1627.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.10A, no.8, contains a ms. note: '1629 at Sir Roger Maners in Whitwell'. (Whitehall?).

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.133, p.113.

(4) Lichfield Joint Record Office, Bishop Morton's Register, ref.B/A/1/1b, pages 8 and 9 of loose leaves at end of book. Episcopal records of ordinations were destroyed when the Chapter Library of Lichfield Cathedral was sacked by the Puritans.

(5) Lichfield Joint Record Office, Subscription Book, B/A/4/18 (1618-42).

Basire was appointed Chaplain to Bishop Morton on 29 March 1631,[1] and there are letters addressed to him in that capacity at Eccleshall Castle.[2] He always had a great affection for Morton, and over forty years later, when he was preaching at the funeral of Bishop Cosin in 1672, he spoke warmly of him:

> His immediate predecessor was that great luminary of our Church, blessed Thomas Morton, famous for his holy life, solid learning and bountiful acts of charity and hospitality, and for his manifold learned works against the adversaries of the Church of England on the right hand and on the left...and I do bless God's providence that I had above an apprenticeship and the happiness to be brought up as domestic chaplain at the feet of such a Gamaliel.(3)

Being a bishop's chaplain had its drawbacks, however, and he commented to his friend Vossius that while his position gave him every satisfaction, yet his official duties left him little time for the delights of literature, and he feared that his Latin style was suffering through lack of practice and 'the constant use of a foreign tongue.'[4] At about this time Basire was naturalised, according to the Certificate of Naturalisation issued to him in 1632.[5]

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10A, no.8. (Longhand note.)

(2) Eccleshall Castle was at this time an official residence of the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield. There were other palaces, but Eccleshall seems to have been Morton's usual residence.

(3) I. Basire, Dead Man's Real Speech (London, 1673).

(4) Basire wrote to Vossius from London in September 1629 (Bodl.Libr. MS., Rawl.Letters 84(e) f.64 and 84(e) f.144). In the second letter he remarked on his happy life 'in the sight of the noble bishop', and in the society of theologians, and in his engagement in religious duties. Richard Baxter recalled that as a boy he had run out of school to kneel on a path and receive Confirmation, in the casual manner of the time, from Bishop Morton. He regarded Morton as one of 'the learnedest and best bishops that I ever knew'. (Quoted in P.Collinson, Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583 (London, 1979), p.293.) Clarendon classed Morton as one of 'the less formal and more popular prelates.' (D.N.B.Art.Morton.)

(5) Denizations and Naturalisations of Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700. Publications of the Huguenot Society of London (Lymington 1911), vol.xviii, p.47: '1632. July 28. Isaac Basire, clerk, born in foreign parts, with the proviso that he shall pay customs and subsidy as strangers do.' (But note a letter from Charles I authorising Basire's naturalisation, dated 28 July 1633. Hunter MSS., fo.132*, no.75.)

In 1632 Thomas Morton was translated to the see of Durham, and Basire accompanied him as his domestic chaplain. In 1633 Charles I paid a visit to Durham on his way to Scotland to be crowned, and stayed with Morton in Durham Castle, one of the residences of the bishops of Durham.(1) The royal party, which included Laud, Bishop of London, and White, Bishop of Ely, stayed over the week-end, before leaving for Newcastle on Monday, 1 June.(2) During their visit to Durham Cathedral, John Cosin, one of the prebendaries, acted as master of ceremonies for the occasion, no doubt showing them the cope which had been made specially in honour of the King's visit, and which is still preserved in the Cathedral Treasury.(3) Mervyn James, in his Family, Lineage and Civil Society, notes that Charles visited the tombs of St. Cuthbert and the Venerable Bede, thus giving their relics recognition for the first time since the Reformation.(4) Soon after the royal departure, however, the Cathedral Chapter received a letter from the King, ordering them to pull down the unsightly buildings which had been erected near the Cathedral, and to arrange places for the Mayor and Corporation, and for the wives of the clergy, elsewhere than in the choir stalls.(5) Unfortunately there is no record of Basire's impression of the King, but there can be no doubt that this personal contact with the monarch played no small part in the growth of his unswerving loyalty to Church and King. Charles, for his part, must have taken a favourable view of the bishop's chaplain, for in 1641 he was to appoint him one of his own chaplains.

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(1) W.Hutchinson, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (1823), vol.ii, p.369.

(2) Ambrose Barnes, Memoirs of the Life of Mr Ambrose Barnes, ed. by W.H.D. Longstaffe (Surtees Society, vol.50), Durham, 1867, p.317.

(3) John Cosin, The Correspondence of John Cosin, Lord Bishop of Durham, ed. by G.Ornsby, 2v. (Surtees Society, vols. 52 & 55), Durham, 1869-72, vol.i, p.214.

(4) Mervyn James, Family, Lineage and Civil Society (Oxford, 1974), p.113.

(5) Hunter MSS, fo.132*, no.12. 2 June 1633.

Of Basire's life at Auckland Castle there are few details. Writing to Vossius, 'late at night and in haste', he described his time as being spent almost entirely with clerical companions, and that he had little time for anything other than his duties. But he did at times turn for inspiration to the Greek Fathers, whose writings he held as inferior only to the Holy Scriptures, and he asked Vossius for advice and guidance in his reading of them. Like many of the Caroline divines, Basire laid great emphasis on patristic authority.

In 1635 Basire appears to have entered St. John's College, Cambridge, as a 'fellow-commoner'. The College Admission Register contains the following entry:

> ISAACUS BASIR, Rothomagensis Normano-Gallus in academia Lugduno-Batava olim studiosus, Cantabrigiam gradus baccalaureatus in theologia candidatus venit vicesimo nono die Mensis Maij anno Domini 1635; quo quidem die admissus est a magistro et senioribus in communas sociorum sub ipso magistro collegij fideiussore eius.

The only explanation proferred in the Basire papers of how he came to Cambridge is in a statement prepared on his behalf when he was trying to obtain possession of his father's estate near Rouen:

> Pendant que pour soulager feu son père et pour poursuivre ses études, le dit Isaac Basire faisait séjour en Angleterre.(1)

He was probably influenced by Bishop Morton, who had himself been a student at St. John's, and who, in the sixteen thirties was establishing scholarships for boys from Shrewsbury School to study there.(2)

Cambridge had undoubtedly benefited from the reforms legalised by the Act of Parliament of 1571, and provided a broader education than was available elsewhere, but there is evidence to suggest that the role of both Oxford and

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(1) Hunter MSS, fo.10A, no.8.

(2) R.O'Day and F.Heal, p.63.

Cambridge as seminaries for the Church of England, was being emphasised as never before.(1) Basire described himself as a 'guest' of the college in a letter which he wrote many years later, commending two young men to the college authorities:

> Whereas, about forty years ago, I had the honour to be a guest in St. John's College, Cambridge (for which I thank God). (2)

This probably means that he was a Fellow-Commoner of St. John's. Fellow-Commoners were members of the college in 'Fellows' commons'; in other words, they dined with the Fellows and not with the undergraduates. This class goes back to the beginning of the college and still exists, if only in theory. The practice seems to have appeared for the first time at the foundation of Magdalen College, Oxford, by Bishop Waynflete. In his statutes, promulgated in 1458, it was provided that twenty sons of 'noble and powerful personages, being friends of the said college...be taken in and admitted at the discretion of the President to lodgings and commons, without charge or loss to the college itself, but at their own expense or that of their friends'.(3) Many scholars sought the amenities and protection of the colleges and desired to become paying guests. Winstanley(4) suggests that at Cambridge, St. John's and Trinity attracted more undergraduates than the other colleges because they had the resources to award financial assistance in the form of scholarships and emoluments. Fellow-Commoners were usually exempted from attendance at lectures, and from performing most of the college exercises imposed on undergraduates.(5) Although the University Statutes had laid down conditions

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(1) R.O'Day and F.Heal, p.62.

(2) Letter to the College, 29 March 1672, printed in The Eagle, the College Magazine, vol.36 (1915), p.34.

(3) M.R.Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959), p.38.

(4) D.A.Winstanley, Unreformed Cambridge (Cambridge, 1935), p.194.

(5) Ibid., p.198.

of residence before a degree could be awarded, they were largely disregarded in the sixteenth century, and non-residence had been sanctioned for higher degrees. Any Master of Arts who, in his earlier university career, had shown himself to be a competent disputant, and who had reason to be absent from Cambridge, might be excused from the exercises and lectures for any degrees he might wish to take.(1) The only condition laid down for admission to the degree of B.D. was that set out in a grace passed by the University Senate at the prompting of James I, that the candidate should first subscribe to the Three Articles in the 36th Canon of the Canons and Constitutions of 1604, i.e., only men who had taken the Oath of Supremacy, and sworn that the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal contained nothing contrary to the Scriptures, and had also sworn that the Thirty Nine Articles were in accord with the Word of God, could be admitted to the degree of B.D.

Basire was not long in residence at Cambridge, being admitted as a Fellow-Commoner of St. John's at Easter, 1635,(2) and obtaining his B.D. degree on 1 July 1635.(3) Clearly his Leiden M.A. and his record of scholarship had been accepted by the authorities, and as he had already sworn the necessary oaths at his ordination, he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

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(1) For a full discussion see Curtis, p.163.

(2) J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses (1922) pt.i, vol.i, p.102.

(3) J. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714 (Oxford, 1891), vol.i, early series.

MARRIAGE AND PREFERMENT

While he was acting as domestic chaplain to Bishop Morton at Eccleshall, Basire made the acquaintance of Frances Corbett, a young lady of good Shropshire family.(1) She first appears in his letters in 1635. He had been on a visit to France, possibly to secure his inheritance on his father's death, and told her on his return how warmly he had been received by the Bishop, and warning her about the way in which she should address her letters to him:

> Cause your letters to be superscribed by our Common Friend, not so much for concealment, as for safety, lest the signs of a woman's hand should tempt some curious knave to deflower them ere they come to my hands. (2)

It would appear that he had called to see Frances on his way back to Durham from France, for

> at my arrival, my Lord, in jest, bade me welcome out of France; I perceived by his often asking again and again how your father did, he hath an inkling of my errand into your parts. (3)

Clearly he was hoping to marry Frances, and was anxious to know whether she thought her father would approve:

> Write to me plainly of all occurrences touching the hope of your Father's inclination or so, (4)

for he was all too conscious of the fact that as a mere bishop's chaplain, he had not a great deal to offer in worldly goods:

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(1) The Corbett family lived at Adderley in Shropshire, where they still hold the patronage of the living. Frances was a favourite Corbett name, and there were at least three Frances' living at this time. The most likely person seems to have been Frances, daughter of Peter Corbett of Edgmond and Elizabeth (née Pigott), who was baptised at Edgmond on 5 April 1612. (Shropshire County Record Office, Hardwicke, Phillips and George Norris Collection of Genealogies.)

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.21. 5 August 1635.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

> Touching competency of fortune, the less our expectation is, the greater our joy will be if it succeed. I will be careful to serve God, and to use the means that may worke my preferment. (1)

He wrote to her as 'my loving friend', and his letters show the human side behind the clerical front, although they are interspersed with theological and spiritual advice. He even prescribed a course of reading for his beloved, so that her spiritual life might be deepened, recommending in particular 'An Introduction to the Devout Life' and 'The Marrow of the Oracles of God', both of which he said 'his soul hath been much taken with'.(2) He was very anxious that she should not be weaned away from her faith in the Church of England, and had marked some passages in the margin, where he thought that correction was needed. One book, he said, had been written by a French bishop, but magnanimously declared it to be free from popery, 'for I have read it aforehand for your soul's sake'. He urged her to read the books three or four times a year in order that she might practisetheir precepts in her daily life.(3)

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.21. 5 August 1635.

(2) Ibid., no.24. Letter to Frances 10 August 1636. The books were probably by St. François de Sales, Bishop of Geneva (published in English in Rouen in 1613), and Nicholas Byfield (9th ed., 1633) respectively. Basire told Frances that the book by de Sales was bound 'by those devout Virgins I once told you of; who knows but the prayers they might bestow at the binding, may do you good at the Reading of them.' A.L.Maycock in his Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding (London, 1938), p.283, suggests that the two virgins were Mary and Ann Collet, nieces of Ferrar. It is not certain whether they had given the book to Basire or whether he had obtained it from some third party. Maycock thinks that Basire was a friend of the Ferrars, so that the book may well have been a personal gift. Certainly, while he was in exile, Basire had letters from one of the Ferrar brothers.

(3) Bishop Cooper in his Admonition to the People of England (1589), p.108, hinted that marriage of the clergy was made as difficult as possible under Queen Elizabeth. The lady of the minister's choice had to be approved by his bishop and two J.P's before he could marry her. (Quoted by Christopher Hill, Economic Problems of the Church (Oxford, 1956), p.201.)

It is not possible to state definitely when Basire married Frances since the registers of Adderley Church only began in 1692, but it is likely that the wedding took place either late in 1635 or in early 1636. Basire's worries about his financial position were allayed in 1636 when he was appointed Rector of Eaglescliffe by Bishop Morton. He was instituted in October for there is a note in his papers that he read the Thirty Nine Articles on Sunday, 2 October 1636:

> all these articles I have read according to the Statute on Sunday the second of October in the year of Our Lord 1636 in the time of Public Service Forenoon in the Parish Church of Egglescliffe and then and there solemnly declared my unfeigned assent to all and everyone of them. (1)

News of his appointment must have travelled quickly for in November he received congratulations from one of his friends, James Lecke, a member of Peterhouse:

> a report, my dearest brother, peculiarly gratifying to me, has just reached my ears, namely, that you have been appointed to a capital living worth £240 a year. (2)

After his appointment to Eaglescliffe, Basire and his wife settled there in comparative peace and comfort, and between then and his leaving the country in 1647 she bore him seven children, five sons and two daughters. The Eaglescliffe Parish Registers record that two of them died there, and were buried in the churchyard - Thomas, who was born in 1639 and died a few months later, and Elizabeth, born in 1640, and died in 1645.

Basire quickly became known for his devotion to the King and to the Church, both by his actions and his preaching, and Charles, no doubt remembering their meetings at Durham in 1633, appointed him as one of the royal chaplains in 1641:

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.66. Also register of Eaglescliffe Church.

(2) Ibid., fo.9, no.29 (translated) 7 November 1636. But note Hunter MSS., fo.22, no.35, where Eaglescliffe is valued at £150 per annum in 1650.

> This is to certify that by virtue of the warrant directed to me from the rt.hon. the Earl of Essex, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's most honourable household, I have sworn the bearer hereof, Dr. Isaac Basire, a chaplain of his Majesty's Extraordinary, by virtue of which place he is to enjoy such privileges as do any of his Majesty's servants in the like he doth belong. In testimony whereof I have hereunto signed my name.
> Whitehall. 20 Dec. 1641. Peter Ellis. (1)

Basire's movements at this time are very uncertain. We do know, however, that on Whitsunday, 1643 he administered Holy Communion in Eaglescliffe Church, and urged his parishioners to have nothing to do with the rebellion.(2) His loyalty to the crown did not go unrewarded, for in the same year he was made a Prebendary of Durham Cathedral, and was appointed to the Seventh Stall, in succession to Matthew Lovett who had held it from 1634 until his death in 1643.(3) Basire was collated to his stall on 12 December 1643. The income would have helped him to ease his financial problems, though it is doubtful whether, in fact, he received any money in the troubled state of the Cathedral's affairs.

An opportunity to display his loyalty to the crown came in February 1644. The bridge across the Tees at Eaglescliffe was vital to communications, and

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.35, no.25. It appears that Basire was in Westminster sometime in 1640 and 1641. (Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.122.)

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.261. Letter to H. Doughty, 31 July 1669.

(3) P. Mussett, Lists of Deans and Major Canons of Durham, 1541-1900 (Durham, 1974), p.59.

Colonel John Hylton's regiment was responsible for guarding it. For reasons unknown, however, Hylton withdrew his force to Hartlepool, and asked Basire to be responsible each evening for the drawing up of the bridge on the east side of the river.(1) Parliamentary troops under Fairfax had tried to cross the river, for the Eaglescliffe Parish Register records the burial of a soldier on 1 February 1644 with a marginal note, 'slain in the Yarm skirmish.'(2)

Later that year he was appointed Archdeacon of Northumberland, and granted the Rectory of Howick, which was annexed to the archdeaconry. He was installed on 23 August 1644.(3) Two days earlier, however, on 21 August, a writ had been issued by the Parliamentary Commissioners in Durham, sequestering him from the living at Eaglescliffe.(4) Mrs Basire was left at Eaglescliffe to maintain her family on the small sums allocated to her, if, indeed, they were paid to her.

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(1) The northern two spans of the bridge were very weak and were the subject of much acrimony between the people of the North Riding and those of the Palatinate of Durham. One arch had fallen into the river, and the gap had been temporarily filled by a structure which passed muster as a drawbridge. (T.Sowler, History of Stockton-on-Tees (Stockton, 1972) p.78.). Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.48. Letter from Hylton, 14 February 1644.

(2) Geoffrey Trease, Portrait of a Cavalier, William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle (London, 1979), p.103, writes that a royalist convoy of munitions, escorted by the newly-created Lord Eythin, was intercepted by a parliamentary force as it crossed the Tees. Eythin routed the attackers at Yarm, capturing most of their infantry.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.49. Howick became an independent parish in 1842.

(4) Richard Welford (ed.) Proceedings of Parliamentary Commissioners in Durham (Surtees Society, vol.111), p.3.
Stockton. Aug.21. 1644.
No.26. Warrant to John Husband of Sunderland, gent., to demise, let collect, gather and receive all the glebe tithes, rents for tithes and arrearages of rents within the parish of Eaglescliffe, late belonging to Dr. Basire, late parson thereof.
Durham. Sept.10. 1644.
Notification that the parsonage of...Eaglescliffe (Dr Basire)... are sequestered for their delinquencies, by virtue of the ordinance of Parly. in that behalf.
Sedgefield. Sept.5. 1644.
Eaglescliffe, the several particulars belonging to the Rectory thereof are letten to divers persons, mentioned in an inventory for £64.1.6. whereof £12.16. is by us allowed for maintenance of the wife and children of Dr Basire, late Rector there. Inventory of his goods and chattels amounteth to £40.10. whereof we allow 46s. to his said wife and children, the rest she is to pay for us, or to whom we shall appoint for the benefit of the commonwealth, being the residue of the said goods, which she hath bought of us.

Between then and July 1645 Basire spent some time in Carlisle, during the eleven month siege of the city by Parliamentary forces. The city was closely invested and the citizens were finally forced to eat horses, dogs, cats and hempseed, before they surrendered.(1) In 1645 the living of Stanhope fell vacant,(2) but Bishop Morton was reluctant to make any appointment, 'being oppressed and overawed by the terrors of the rebels.' The King, however, instructed him to appoint Dr. Basire his chaplain then in attendance during the siege of Oxford... 'our good opinion of him for his abilities to the Church as well as exemplary loyalty and suffering in this time of general defection.'(3) Morton told Basire that in accordance with the royal command, he had appointed him Rector of Stanhope, and wished him 'a prosperous success therein, so far that in teaching you may save yourself and them that hear you.'(4)

In the spring of 1646, according to Antony Wood,(5) Basire and other royal chaplains had repaired to Oxford, and had there preached before the King and

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.35, no.27. 'besieged 11 months in Carlisle, 1644-5.' fo.80, no.3 contains a list of clergy who had been 'plundered' and includes Basire, 'twice plundered, besieged in Stockton Castle, Oxford and Carlisle, where for sundry months was reduced to feed on horses and dogs. And, at last, for refusing the Covenant, forced to fly into far remote parts for the space of fifteen years, divorced from his wife and children, all turned out of doors.'

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.22, p.195. An abstract of parishes with the names of the incumbents, and the value of the livings in 1650, gives a guide to their comparative values. The most valuable was Sedgefield, with its eight chapels, with £474; Houghton-le-Spring was £300, Stanhope £220; Eaglescliffe £150, while Merrington was only £50, and Whitworth £24.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.132*, no.89. 3 February 1646.

(4) Ibid., fo.132, no.91. (no month.)

(5) Wood, Fasti, II.57.
1646. At the same time Isaac Basire, and Richard Dukeson of Camb. Thos. Bunbury of Bal.Coll., Rob. Sibthorpe of Linc.Coll., Will Haywood of St. John's Coll., etc., who had fled to Oxon, as an asylum (to avoid the unheard of barbarities and cruelties of the Presbyterians) and there had several times preached before His Majesty and the members of parliament, had each a licence given to them under the public seal of the university, to preach the Word of God throughout England.
Basire preached in Christ Church in Lent, 1646, on the subject of 'Sacrilege arraigned by St.Paul'. The sermon was printed on 20 May by special command of the King. Later Basire expanded it, and a second and enlarged edition was published in London in 1660. (see below, p.219)

the members of Parliament who had assembled there. Several of the chaplains, including Basire, were given licences under the public seal of the University 'to preach the Word of God throughout England', but, as Darnell remarks, it was

> too late to recall the people to the throne and the altar by the services of a corps of King's chaplains circulating through the country. Their occupation was gone. They, and the whole body to which they belonged, became now the objects of bitter persecution, to which rapine as well as theological hatred supplied a contraining motive. (1)

After the collapse of this venture, Basire must have returned to his wife and family at Eaglescliffe. The Northumberland County Committee declared to George and Robert Fenwick that various 'delinquent ministers' had returned to the country, 'who resume places they formerly deserted' and naming 'Doctor Basier' as one of them.(2) The House of Commons had been informed of their return and had resolved that they should be 'sent for in safe custody, and be examined by the Committee for Plundered Ministers.'(3) We know, however, that on 7 July Basire was in Stanhope and 'did in the time of divine service celebrated on Tuesday....publicly, audibly and distinctly read all the Articles contained in the Book of Articles, and then freely and voluntarily declared his full assent thereunto in the presence of us, whose names are here underwritten.'(4)

By this time the royal cause was virtually at an end. Marston Moor in 1644 had lost the King the North, while Naseby in 1645 had lost him the Midlands. Only Wales and the Western counties remained, and they were too small, and too exhausted by frequent levies of men and money to provide much

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(1) Darnell, p.46.

(2) Bodl.Lib., Tanner MSS., 59/2, fo.528.

(3) House of Commons Journal, 4.668. 15 September 1646.

(4) Hunter MSS., fo.10A, no.5. Also fo.132*, p.90.

more support. Henceforward Charles was a fugitive, a broken man, who might prolong the struggle for a few months, but could only win by a miracle. He hoped for help from Ireland, France and Germany, but it was in vain. One hope remained, and that was the Scots. He pursued negotiations with them after he escaped from Oxford, and finally surrendered to them on 5 May at Southwell, but as he refused to sign the Covenant and to establish a Presbyterian form of church government in England, even for a limited period, the negotiations came to nothing. Parliament and the Scots finally came to an understanding. The latter would receive £400,000, half to be paid the day before they left England, and the remainder later. On 30 January 1647 the first £100,000 was paid to the Scots, and they surrendered Newcastle. On 3 February a second £100,000 was paid, and the Scots withdrew across the Border, at the same time delivering Charles to commissioners appointed by Parliament, who then took him to Holdenby House in Northamptonshire.

This must have been the last straw for Basire, for the surrender of the King to the Parliamentary forces by the Scots rankled deeply, and he was often to refer to it during his exile. Since he had consistently refused to sign the Covenant,[1] he was a marked man, and he began to complete his preparations to go into exile.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.80, no.3.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE CONTINENT

Basire's life in exile is an episode in the history of the relations between the Church of England and the Churches on the continent.

When the tide of the Reformation was stemmed by the rising power of the Counter Reformation, the competition of a reformed Church of Rome was not lost on the Protestants, and they began to think of a General Council of anti-Roman churches. Cranmer desired it, Matthew Parker, the first Archbishop of Canterbury under Elizabeth, was of the opinion that it was a vital necessity, while John Cosin talked of it. The Church of England, standing midway between Rome and Geneva, seemed to its adherents particularly fitted to act as a mediator and president of such a council.

It was left to the seventeenth century to make such a venture. James I, too, thought of a united council and of a united Protestant front, and as an earnest of that desire had appointed as Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbott, a convinced Calvinist.(1) But the unity of Protestantism was shaken by Dutch Arminianism, which divided the Church of England. Moreover, to the continentals the Anglican conception of the Church of England presiding over a pan-Protestant union had an air of unreality about it, for the Anglican Church presented a rather bizarre appearance to the rest of Protestant Europe. It was unique in stressing the value of an episcopate claiming descent from the Apostles, its structure of church government differed little from that of the pre-Reformation Roman Church, while its liturgy owed a great deal to the Roman Mass, in parts being simply a direct translation. Until the reign of James I the Church of England did not even have its own agreed translation of the Scriptures. Many continentals considered that it presented too little contrast to the Church of

(1) In 1614 a Scottish minister was arrested in France while carrying to a Huguenot synod a proposal from James I for the union of all Protestant churches under the leadership of the King of England. (J.W.Stoye, English Travellers Abroad, 1604-7 (Oxford, 1952), p.97.)

Rome, and had too little in common with the reformed churches of the continent.

The English Church was brought into contact with the continental churches by individual scholars. Lancelot Andrewes conducted a courteous correspondence with the Huguenot, Pierre du Moulin, in which he supported with much learning Hooker's position towards non-episcopal churches, namely, that he recognised them as churches which possessed valid if irregular ministries and sacraments, while urging them to restore episcopacy as the traditional policy of the Church since apostolic times. During the first years of the seventeenth century this charitable attitude towards continental churches was given substance by the frequent practice of allowing individual ministers of those churches to be admitted to English benefices and preferments, without first having to undergo episcopal ordination. Isaac Casaubon was appointed canon in the 8th prebend of Canterbury Cathedral from 1611-14; Meric Casaubon was appointed canon in the 9th prebend from 1628-71;(1) John Gerard Vossius, the friend of Basire, was to be canon in the 11th prebend from 1629-44. Peter de Laune, ordained presbyter at Leiden on 26 June 1599, was instituted to the benefice of Redenhall in 1629, and remained there during Laud's Metropolitical Visitation in 1635.(2) Later, the same de Laune asked Bishop John Overall to institute him to a living, admitting that he only had Orders from the presbytery at Leiden. Overall offered him conditional ordination, but only to avoid legal difficulties over institution, and commented that he himself would accept de Laune's Leiden

(1) Nathaniel Ward, Vicar of Staindrop, wrote to Basire on 7 September 1637: 'I received yesterday letters stating that our friend Meyrick Casaubon is now living or lodging at Lambeth.' (Hunter MSS., fo.35.) These prebends were probably sinecures, and until 1662 there was nothing illegal in making such appointments. (K.E. Kirk (ed.) The Apostolic Ministry (London, 1946), pp.406-416.)

(2) Ruth Rouse and S.C. Neill, History of the Ecumenical Movement (London, 1951), p.130.

ordination as sufficient.[1] Bishop Morton of Durham was reputed to regard ordination by presbytery as valid in case of necessity. On one occasion, however, he made the comment:

> I cannot flatter those in this Church who have received Ordination only from mere Presbyters, so far as to think them lawfully ordained. (2)

It appears, however, that after the arrival of the Stuarts, relations between the foreign reformed churches and the Church of England had cooled, and while English ambassadors to France had been in the habit of worshipping at the Huguenot church at Ablon, this custom was discontinued after the accession of James I.[3] But while it is possible that English officials ceased to attend Huguenot services, ordinary members of the Church of England continued to do so. Writing to his son, about to go abroad in 1643, Sir Edward Nicholas, the Secretary of State advised him to

> read diligently every day certain chapters of the Bible, either in French or in some other tongue. Be diligent in going duly to the Protestant Church in France upon all the days and times of their assembly and preaching, as well on week-days as on Sundays. (4)

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(1) G. Ornsby (ed.) Cosin's Correspondence, vol.ii, p.xliv. Some difficulty arose over the patron's right of presentation, and de Laune was not instituted, but later he was admitted to another benefice without any new ordination.

(2) John Barwick, The Fight, Victory and Triumph of St. Paul accommodated to the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas late L.Bishop of Durham (London, 1660 and Newcastle upon Tyne 1837), pp.47-50.

(3) J. Pannier, L'Eglise Reformée de Paris sous Henry IV (Paris, 1911), p.471, quoted by R.S. Bosher, The Making of the Restoration Settlement (London, 1951), p.82, notes a change on the part of the English in Paris after the accession of James I. This change of attitude probably stems from James himself. While internationally he posed as a champion of Protestantism, he had had enough of Presbyterian domination while in Scotland, and basked in the sunshine of episcopal support and approval.

(4) Sir R.C. Holt, The Modern History of Wiltshire, vol.v, p.92, quoted in David Mathew, The Age of Charles I (London, 1951), p.186.

A totally unforeseen series of contacts with continental churches came as a result of the exodus of clergymen from England after the defeat of the King. The English clergy who sought sanctuary abroad upheld the traditions of the Anglican Church. William Stamp went to The Hague, and extolled the virtues of the English liturgy; George Morley at Antwerp read divine service twice daily, celebrated the Eucharist monthly, catechised weekly, and performed the Occasional Offices when desired, Sancroft, a future Primate of England, went further afield, to Geneva, Venice, Padua and Rome, while Basire was to get as far as Constantinople.(1) But all of them were firmly resolved 'that they would do as they had done in England, and they would have the face of the English Church'. John Cosin is reported to have shocked French Protestants by his parade of vestments and ritual, but he was determined to show what the Church of England did. Denis Granville reported that 'Cosin supported the honour of the Church to open admiration in open chapel at Paris with the solemnity of a cathedral service'.(2) But the position of the exiled clergy was never an easy one. Those who had accompanied the future Charles II to France found themselves subject to every kind of pressure to make them apostasise to Rome. John Ward, Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon, recorded in his diary,

> that when Doctor Cosin was in France, he had all his meat out of the old Queen's kitchen, and his victuals in her court in the chamber there, too. That he and his man lived for sixpence a day; and that he heard say he was better than now...That when he was in France divers gentlemen that travelled thither used to come to see him and drop some pence into his hand. That when he was low he was often tempted to turn Papist, with large promises that if he would do so, he and his children would be provided for, and they should never trouble him more; but I have heard that he is a man much against it. (3)

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(1) C.R. Dodwell, ed., The English Church and the Continent (London, 1959), p.79.

(2) The Remains of Denis Granville, D.D., ed. G.Ornsby (Surtees Society, Durham, 1865), Vol.47, p.viii.

(3) Diary of the Rev. John Ward, A.M., Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon, 1648-79, ed. by Charles Severen, M.D. (London, 1839), pp.158-160, quoted in Cosin, Correspondence, vol.ii, p.vi.

Another refugee, Richard Watson, wrote:

> I do not remember in history to have read of any number of orthodox Christians chased out of their own country, at a loss for a safe communion in some one or other else where; that was our especial difficulty and misfortune. (1)

But perhaps more important was the fact that in the eye of the world the exiles were members of a discredited church. To Basire and his friends, the Church of England seemed a 'virtuous mediocrity', a midway position between Rome and Geneva, offering a haven of peace to refugees from the extremities of either side, but to foreign Protestants it seemed an illogical compromise, maintained hitherto by the vagaries of the English state and now abandoned by it.(2) Yet in spite of the fact that they seemed to stand alone against tremendous odds, the exiles offended the Huguenots by their unwillingness to make common cause with them. It seemed to the Laudians that their main duty was to continue the visible existence of the Church of England in exile. Whatever may have been their defects, it cannot be denied that they had bred a generation of clergy which believed firmly in the rightness of the Anglican Church, as the authentic embodiment of the primitive tradition, based on the Scriptures and the Fathers.

The Laudians have been criticised for their supposed attitude to the continental churches, treating them as not true churches, but it might be nearer the mark to say that they were non-committal. Bramhall wrote:

> I cannot assent that either all or any considerable part of the Episcopal divines do unchurch either all or the most part of the Protestant Churches, No man is hurt by himself. They unchurch none at all, but leave them to stand or fall to their own Master. (3).

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(1) Dodwell, p.78.

(2) Bosher, p.52.

(3) J.Bramhall, Works, vol.iii, p.517, quoted in Bosher, p.83.

Hyde echoed Bramhall:

> The Church of England judged none but her own children, nor did determine that other Protestant Churches were without ordination. It is a thing without her cognisance. (1)

No-one could doubt John Cosin's strong views about the Church of England, yet he seems to have been on more friendly terms with the French Protestants at Charenton than might have been expected, drawing on himself the disapproval of his congregation in Paris. (2) He was clearly influenced by the views of John Overall, to whom he had been secretary while the former was Bishop of Norwich. Cosin often quoted Overall's view on what should be their attitude to the continental Protestant churches:

> Though we are not to lessen the ius divinum of episcopacy, where it is established, and may be had, yet we must take heed that we do not, for want of episcopacy, where it cannot be had, cry down and destroy all the Reformed Churches abroad, both in Germany, France and other places, but all is void and null that they do. (3)

There is more justification, however, for the Puritan charges over intercommunion. Inevitably the desire to establish the visible Church of England in exile widened the breach between Laudians and Puritans. Things which had previously been a matter of compromise were now clearly defined, and this, in turn, rendered accommodation difficult, when the time came for the Church to be restored. Cosin, again, was a notable instance of one who was perfectly willing to communicate at the Huguenot church at Charenton, but was bitterly assailed for this by some sections of the exiled clergy. There was, therefore, no uniformity of practice among the Anglican exiles: some were willing to

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(1) quoted Bosher, p.83.

(2) R.W. Harris, Clarendon and the English Revolution (Stanford, 1983), suggests that while abroad, Cosin showed sympathy for the Huguenots in order to stress the Protestant element in Anglicanism. H.R. Trevor-Roper in his Archbishop Laud (London, 1940), p.216, makes the interesting comment that Laud had no animosity to Calvinists outside England. In fact, he encouraged collections to help Calvinist ministers who had been exiled from the Palatinate.

(3) Cosin, Correspondence, vol.i, p.xxxvii.

communicate with the Huguenots and foreign Protestants, and some were not, like Bishop Sydserf of Galloway, Bramhall, Morley and Hyde himself, who refused to communicate with the Charenton Huguenots. Archbishop Usher on the other hand, declared:

> with like affection I should receive the Blessed Sacrament at the hands of Dutch ministers if I were in Holland, as I should at the hands of the French ministers if I were at Charenton. (1)

There was a tradition that foreign Protestants visiting England could receive Holy Communion from the established church. Peter Gunning, a friend of Basire, and later Bishop of Ely, was bitterly attacked for his practice of intercommunion.(2) Basire himself was not unsympathetic to the other reformed churches, reserving his undying hatred for the English Presbyterians who had overthrown both monarchy and Church. Much of his exile was spent in consultations with foreign churchmen, seeing whether any measure of unity or communion was possible. He summed up his activities to Sir Richard Browne, the King's agent in Paris:

> Meanwhile, as I have not been unmindful of our Church, with the true Patriarch here,(3) whose usurper now for a while doth interpose, so I will not be wanting to embrace all opportunities of propagating the doctrine and repute thereof, stylo veteri; especially if I should about it receive any commands or instructions from the King, only in ordine ad Ecclesiastica do I speak this; as for instance, proposal of communion with the Greek Church (salve conscientia et honore) a church very considerable in all these parts. And to such a communion together with a convenient reformation of some grosser errors, it hath been my constant design to dispose and incline them. (4)

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(1) A.J. Mason, The Church of England and Episcopacy (London, 1914), p.122.

(2) W. Saywell, Evangelical and Catholic Unity: A Vindication of Peter, Lord Bishop of Ely (London, 1682), p.302.

(3) Between 1595 and 1695 there were sixty one changes on the Patriarchal throne, though, as many Patriarchs were reinstated after deposition, there were only thirty one individual Patriarchs. Cyril I Lucaris, the most celebrated of all the seventeenth century Patriarchs, enjoyed seven different spells on the throne. One of his rivals, Cyril II, reigned once for one week only. (For the reasons for these frequent changes in Patriarchs, see S. Runciman, The Great Church in Captivity (Cambridge, 1968) pp.197-203.)

(4) Darnell, pp.118-119.

The refusal on the part of some Anglican divines, however, to communicate with them, caused the Huguenots, particularly Drélincourt, the minister at Charenton, to feel bitterness toward them.

To one section of the Anglican community this breach of friendship with the Huguenots caused a good deal of embarrassment. This was the group of Jersey divines with whom Basire had close connections, though not himself a native of the islands. Until the Reformation the Channel Islands had been in the diocese of Coutances, the bishop acting through the Dean of each island, but in 1565 they had secured the right from Elizabeth to worship as Calvinists.(1) They were divided for this purpose into two classes: the first embraced Jersey, the second Guernsey, Alderney and Sark. Under James I Jersey was incorporated into the diocese of Winchester, having its own Dean and using the Prayer Book in a French translation. But Calvinism continued to flourish, because the islands' preachers were drawn mainly from the universities of Geneva and Saumur.(2) In order to correct this, Laud determined that in future they should come from Oxford, of whose orthodoxy there could be no doubt as long as he was the Chancellor. In 1637 he founded three fellowships, at Jesus, Pembroke and Exeter colleges for boys from the Channel Islands. The influx of refugees, however, ensured that not all the efforts of the Stuarts were successful in imposing the traditional pattern of Anglican life. When Jersey surrendered to Parliament in 1651 a number of clergy fled to France. Among them were Jean Durel and Daniel Brevint, both of whom were

(1) Trevor-Roper, Laud, p.349. For information about the Channel Islands during the Tudor and Stuart periods, see A.J. Eagleston, The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485-1642 (Oxford, 1949), passim.

(2) The Academy at Saumur differed from Geneva in that it was the centre of Protestant enlightenment in France, and had Arminian tendencies. As a result, it was suspect among the Huguenots, and other Protestant academies took good care to avoid such suspicion. (H.R. Trevor-Roper, Religion, the Reformation and Social Change (London, 1972), p.209.

ordained by Bishop Sydserf in Paris in 1651, and were later to be colleagues of Basire in the Chapter of Durham Cathedral. These Jersey divines saw no real distinction between the English and French churches, and readily accepted posts in Huguenot congregations. Basire was to do the same while he was in Constantinople, though he stressed the fact that he would in no way stray from the path of Anglican teaching. The importance of this group lay in their design to bring about a complete break between the Huguenots and the English Puritans, and to induce the former to recognise the Church of England as the true Protestant church in England. However much they may have differed from the Laudians in other respects, they shared with them a deep hatred of the Presbyterians who had rebelled against the King and overthrown the Church. But from 1646 to 1651, like the Laudians, they were worried by the possibility that the King might ally himself with the Presbyterians in order to obtain Scottish help. This worry, accentuated when Charles took the Covenant in 1650, was removed when he was defeated at Worcester. There was still, however, anxiety over the Presbyterian claim that the Church of England had not been abolished, but merely subjected to a final reformation on the continental pattern.

An early move in their campaign was made by Basire in a book written in the first years of his exile. It was entitled Défense de la Religion Reformée et de la Monarchie et Eglise Anglicane contre l'Impiété et Tyrannie de la Ligue Rebelle d'Angleterre, à Messieurs de l'Eglise Reformée de Paris, and published in 1650. An enlarged edition was issued in 1660 with the descriptive title Histoire des Nouveaux Presbitériens Anglais et Ecossais où est montré la Différence de leur Doctrine et Discipline en Religion d'avec

celle de France et autres Protestants.[1]

Basire's main contention was that the real affinity of the Reformed Churches on the continent lay not with the factious and disruptive Covenanters, but with the Church of England. More than half the book is devoted to a condemnation of the Covenanters' views on the monarchy, and on the source of political authority. He denied them any rights in their war against the King, and collected a formidable selection of biblical texts in which obedience to the King is ordered, and which forbids resistance to him. He refused categorically to accept the view that the sovereign power was inherent in the people, and that they had the right to delegate that authority to an elected king, reserving the right to withdraw it, should the need arise. He argued that sovereign power lay in the King, together with the Lords and Commons, and that none of them can act independently of the others. This will be discussed more fully when an assessment is made of Basire's views on the monarchy, and on political power generally in the country. For the Reformed Church of France to ally itself with the Covenanters would be to undermine its own authority.

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(1) There has been some doubt about the authorship of the book. The Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature (London, 1928), suggests that the author was Pierre du Moulin II, though it also names Basire. The fact that du Moulin is mentioned more than once in the book would seem to deny his authorship. Wood, Fasti i, p.256, the Catalogue Generale de la Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris, 1901), viii, 487, the Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection (New York, 1928), iii, 340, all ascribe the work to Basire. Confirmation as to the date of its first publication is found in the work itself (pp.203 and 204), where it is stated 'note that this book in the French was published in the year 1650'. Writing to his wife in March 1648, Basire stated 'I have lately written two Treatises, the one in Latin, the other in French in the behalf of the King and the Church of England.' (Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.61). An English translation was issued in 1660 with the title History of the English and Scottish Presbyteries with the added note 'wherein is discovered their designs and practices for the subversion of government in Church and State'. Bound up with the book is .. To the Ministers of the Reformed Church at Paris.

The Westminster Assembly had written in Latin to the Reformed Churches in France, Switzerland and the Low Countries, inviting them to follow its example in its programme of reform. They included in their letters copies of the Covenant, together with a prayer to God 'that it would please Him to stir up by their example other churches who live under the tyranny of anti-Christ, to swear this Covenant or one like it'. Basire demolished the letter, 'paragraph by paragraph', even taking exception to the indifferent Latin in which it was written, 'wherein there wants nothing in the Outward but Language and Common-sense, a most worthy cover for the Inward'.(1)

There was, then, no such conformity among Protestants as would provide an adequate basis for union. In fact, the Covenanters were getting rid of the very things which the Reformed Churches were cherishing, infant baptism, suppression of heresy and set prayers for the Sacraments.(2) Basire recognised that while the Huguenots might not have bishops, as long as their fundamental faith was sound, then it was permissible to differ in other matters, such as episcopacy. He quoted a letter from Beza to Archbishop Whitgift in 1591,(3) in which he said that it had never been his intention to try to persuade the Church of England to adopt the Presbyterian pattern of discipline, but hoped 'that the sacred and holy society of your bishops will continue'. Basire was at pains to point out that while several Reformed Churches did not have bishops, they had officials who performed similar tasks: in Hesse and Anhalt they were called 'Superintendents', while in Bohemia, Poland and Transylvania they were known as 'Seniors'.(4) As for France, he argued that because the Reformation there had begun with the people, and some of the inferior clergy,

(1) I. Basire, History of the English and Scottish Presbyteries, p.82.

(2) Ibid., p.145.

(3) Ibid., p.148.

(4) Ibid., p.146.

so there were no bishops. Had the Reformation begun with the bishops, then he thought it was likely that bishops would still be in authority in the French Calvinist Church. The lack of bishops was perhaps an accident of history, but he considered that 'the discipline of the French churches is most commodious in their present state; and hardly could there be found a more proper for a church that lives under magistrates of a contrary religion.'[1] He concluded that the French Reformed Church waited with patience for the re-appearance of bishops.

This agreed with the attitude of Lancelot Andrewes, who told du Moulin, the French Protestant divine, that he forgave the Huguenots their lack of bishops owing to the political circumstances of their reformation.[2] As has already been noted, this was a favourite line taken by the Caroline divines, that it was unchristian to unchurch Huguenots, because it was felt that they were not to blame for their lack of bishops, though Jeremy Taylor queried this assumption that the lack of episcopacy was enforced.[3]

Naturally this rift at Charenton was painful to the Jersey divines, who acknowledged with regret to the ministers there that 'the vile understanding between you and some of ours...(who) have declared themselves contrary to the doctrines of the reformed church...and despised your assemblies and maintained that there could be no church when there was no bishop'.[4] They accepted the fact that circumstances prevented Huguenots from adopting episcopacy, and then went on to say:

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(1) I. Basire, History of English and Scottish Presbyteries, p.152.

(2) N. Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter (Oxford, 1956), p.74.

(3) R. Buick Knox, James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh (Cardiff, 1967), p.169.

(4) To the Ministers of the Reformed Church at Paris, included in Basire's History of the English and Scottish Presbyteries (no pagination).

> You, then, gentlemen, joining your Christian charity with the French courtesy, pardon our English scholars, who peradventure have brought with them from the university a humour a little affirmative and, from the fresh remembrance of their glorious church retain yet admiration of home things; which is an honour neighbour nations observe in the English and which those that heretofore have known England will easily pardon. (1)

Basire was, in fact, extremely tolerant of the Huguenot view - 'Myself being a member of the reformed church of France'[2] - and did not accept the view that without a bishop there can be no church:

> As for this position that there cannot be a church without a bishop we account it full of rashness and void of charity; it is indeed a cruel sentence to deprive of the benefit of the Gospel, and of their union with Christ, all these churches which live under the cross and cannot enjoy episcopal order. That famous Doctor Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, was not of this opinion, for in one of his epistles touching episcopacy, 'he (saith he) should be harder than iron, who would not acknowledge that there are holy churches that subsist and flourish without bishops' ... It is easy to see that the episcopal order is wholly incompatible with the present conditions of the Reformed Church of France, for if there were twenty or thirty bishops amongst you, that should govern all the other churches, it would be easy for those of the contrary religion under whom you live, to fill up those places with some persons who should be at their devotions; whence would follow a seduction or an oppression of pastors. (3)

In the other paper which he had written while he was in France and Italy, Basire had set out some of his views about the Church of England. It was entitled An Introduction to the Orthodox Principles of the Church of England, tending to a Vindication of that Church from the pretended Imputation of Schism, and was endorsed 'I.B., D.D., then in France/Italy, an.1647/8'.[4] A lengthy sub-title indicates the scope of the work:

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(1) To the Ministers of the Reformed Church at Paris.

(2) Basire, History of the English and Scottish Presbyteries, p.95.

(3) To the Ministers of the Reformed Church at Paris.

(4) Hunter MSS., fo.84.

> A Delineation of the Principles of the Church of England, for Doctrine, Discipline, Ceremonies and Government, extracted for substance out of Holy Scriptures and out of the Book of Common Prayer, and explained out of the General Councils and out of the particular constitutions and histories of the British Church and Nation for the right grounding of young English Catholics in Christ's true religion as it is by law established and likewise professed and practised by their Mother Church.

The treatise takes the form of a catechism with questions and answers between 'a governor and his charges'. It begins by stating quite clearly that the author regarded the Church of England as a principal part of the whole Catholic Church, both as regards bishops 'and of charity with Christ's holy Catholic Church in all ages, in all places.' And this for two main reasons: first, that it accepts the canon of Holy Scripture, and second, 'that it abides by universal tradition which no sober or real man can oppose'.(1) Basire refutes the claims of the Papacy by arguing from the decrees of the General Councils that Rome had no pre-eminence in the early Church. The honour given to the Bishop of Rome was given simply because he was bishop of the most important city in the world. His successors had usurped power over the other bishops.(2)

Basire asserted that historic Christianity had flourished in England before the coming of Augustine, and that he converted only a small part of the country, East Kent.(3) Augustine himself had recognised the existence of other Christians, though they differed from Rome in the form of baptism used, and in the fixing of the date of Easter. Basire maintained that in these Bede said they were following not the Bishop of Rome, but the Patriarch of Constantinople.(4) Bede had also declared that they refused to submit to Rome because this would have been against their 'antiquum morem'. The Church

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.84, p.4.

(2) Ibid., p.7ff.

(3) Ibid., p.15.

(4) Ibid., p.16.

of England in those days, as in the seventeenth century, maintained the universal tradition of the Church:

> they told Augustine, 'Archiepiscopum habemus'; we have a patriarch of our own by whose authority they had 'ordinationes intra se,' (1)

and, according to Basire, Gregory himself acknowledged that they had episcopal ordination. He argued, too, that Colman, bishop in Northumbria, together with his clergy, would have renounced absolutely 'he his bishopric and they their preferments' rather than that they should submit to Gregory in the person of his legate Augustine.(2) As for the position of the King in relation to the Church, it was quite clear that the King had no power directly or indirectly to administer the spiritual side of the Church's life. Questions about public prayer or preaching, or about the administration of the Sacraments, are to be decided by the clergy, 'lawfully thereunto called and ordained'. The King, however, has a role:

> But the King is rightly styled Head of the Church in a legal and oeconomical way: (1) in respect of excellency and order as being the chief and first member of the Church; (2) in respect of the chief government and jurisdiction the King hath in the orderly execution of all the special offices: for though the priest's power be immediately from God, yet for the administration of it he may not lawfully exercise that power where and how and when he pleases, but according to wholesome laws and orders prescribed by a Christian king. The King also is supreme in ordering all outward matters of policy, ceremonies and disciplines of the Church; (3) the King is the supreme head in the convocation and dissolution of all patriarchal or provincial councils within his own empire, by virtue of that divine commission to Monarchs which puts into his hands both trumpets so that whatever calls the clergy, or what clergy soever meets without the King's commission is either way guilty of high sacrilege in daring to snatch the trumpet out of that hand into which God Almighty has entrusted it, beside the temporal penalty of a praemunire. (3)

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.84, p.17.

(2) Ibid., p.17.

(3) Ibid.,pp.24.-25.

He then set out details of what he called 'the jurisdiction of Kings in ecclesiastical matters':

1. absolute power over investiture of bishops.
2. exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.
3. supreme command over bishops.
4. presentation to benefices as supreme Ordinary.
5. retention of appeals.
6. the right to expound the canons. (1)

He argued forcibly against any idea of papal authority over the King or Church, and summed up by saying that what the King had assumed at the time of the Reformation was supremacy in acclesiastical matters in his own kingdom.(2) As the King's anointing allows him lawfully to come to the throne, it also allows him to assume this power in the Church, as being appointed by God.(3)

Basire's treatise sums up the attitudes of the anti-Puritan clergy of the Church of England. They refused to regard their Church as a political compromise, a half-way stage between Rome and Geneva; they sought a broader and more convincing foundation. They laid great stress on the character of the early Church, before Rome had established its authority over her. They studied the early documents of the Church, the Creeds, the decisions of the early Councils, and above all, the writings of the Fathers. They concluded that the Church of England, as it had been reformed in the sixteenth century, was a true descendant of the early Church, and had a life of its own. They did not regard the Church of Rome with the hatred and hostility of the Puritans: they regarded it as part of the visible Church, but a part which had become distorted through the passage of time. In spite, however, of its imperfections, it had acted as a channel by which the primitive truths and ceremonial traditions of the early Church had been passed down through the centuries, though it had been guilty of twisting them in the process. The

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.84, p.31. John Jewel, in his Defense of the Apology, published in 1567 (Works, vol.4, p.608) argues that the royal function in the Church of England is one of organisation.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.84, p.18.

(3) Ibid., p.29.

Puritans, on the other hand, were unwilling to see anything beyond the Scriptures, and could see little good in the traditions of the Church, regarding the mediaeval Church as evil.(1) As can be seen from Basire's paper, the anti-Puritans, unlike the Puritans, were unwilling to accept the New Testament picture of the Church as frozen for all time. They stressed the 'antiquum morem', the tradition of the Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and saw the Reformation not as the establishing of a new church, but a return to the purity and simplicity of the early Church.

This appeal to antiquity was one of the features of seventeenth century Anglicanism. It did not originate then for both Cranmer and Jewel looked to the Scriptures, the 'Church from the beginning' and the Fathers, but it was Andrewes who made this the norm of Anglican apologetis: 'one canon, two testaments, three Creeds, four general Councils, five centuries, and the series of Fathers in that period'.(2) The Puritans sought to erect their church solely on the Scriptures: Anglicanism also began with the Scriptures, but argued that they were best understood in the first five centuries, and that it was the pattern there revealed that should be followed. This stressed

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(1) G.H. Tavard, in The Quest for Catholicity (London, 1963), p.62 quotes Bramhall: 'The Church of England before the Reformation, and the Church of England after the Reformation are as much the same church as a garden, before and after it is weeded, is the same garden'. (Bramhall, Just Vindication of the Church of England from the Unjust Aspersion of Criminal Schism (1654), in Works (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, vol.1, p.113.) Bosher, p.64 quotes the four grounds on which Bramhall supported his thesis: "1. The rejection of the Roman jurisdiction was endorsed by the Roman Catholics themselves... 2. The separation was justified by the ancient laws and statutes of the realm. 3. The English Church was under no foreign jurisdiction for the first six hundred years, and ought to continue in the same condition. 4. Rulers have power to alter whatsoever is of human institution in the external discipline of the Church." Bramhall concluded that the Church of Rome had been the real cause of division within the Church, and that 'we are ready...to believe and practise whatever the Catholic Church (even of this present age) doth universally and unanimously believe and hold'.

(2) Quoted in P.A. Welsby, Lancelot Andrewes (London, 1958), p.156.

the point that while the place of Scripture was central, it did not exist in a vacuum, but within the life of the Church in which it had been formed in the first place. Hooker himself had justified the existing order and rites of the Church of England by the threefold test of 'intrinsic' reasonableness, 'the judgment of antiquity', and by the long-continued practice of the whole Church.

It was, however, the Great Tew Circle which disputed this appeal to antiquity on the grounds that it was virtually impossible to obtain anything like unanimity from the writings of the first five centuries. Chillingworth went so far as to claim that the only certainty was to be found in Scripture. They had been influenced by the writings of the French theologian, Daillé, who argued that not only did the Fathers contradict one another on occasions, but also very often lacked consistency in their own writings.(1) But H.R. McAdoo, in his The Spirit of Anglicanism, suggests that perhaps another reason given by the Great Tew Circle was that freedom of reason and the superiority of modern learning were inconsistent with resignation to the authority of antiquity.(2)

It does not appear that Basire had any contact with the Great Tew Circle, since at the time they were meeting he was occupied as bishop's chaplain in Lichfield and Durham, and his views on the Fathers were not influenced by them. He certainly laid great stress on the Fathers, and like Cranmer, Jewel, Hooker and Laud, he believed that the boundaries of the Faith had been established in the first five centuries of Christian history. But he accepted the idea of continuity, and stressed that the Church of England followed in direct

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(1) Jean Daillé, Traicte de l'employ des saincts pères, pour le jugement des différents qui sont aujourd'hui en la religion (1631). See also B.H.G. Wormald, Clarendon (Cambridge, 1951), p.251.

(2) H.R. McAdoo, The Spirit of Anglicanism, p.352. Also Wormald, Clarendon, pp. 255, 266.

line from the early Church, having driven out the errors of Rome at the Reformation.(1) To him one of the main supports of the Anglican faith was the Prayer Book, and he laid stress on the right performance of the liturgy of the Church. He would have wholeheartedly endorsed the statement of Henry Hammand that 'this indeed is the prerogative of the Liturgy which hath always been used as a hedge to keep out errors'.(2)

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(1) Anglicans were very sensitive about the charge of schism, and took great pains to refute it. At about this time Hugh Cressey, an Anglican turned Roman Catholic, published a book in which he accused the Church of England of schism. Basire had correspondence with Sir George Radcliffe about it, for they were apparently both reading the book at the same time. Radcliffe showed some sympathy with the Roman Church, but saw the great obstacle to any agreement between the churches as lying in the doctrine of papal infallability. (Darnell, p.69). Cressey had been a member of Great Tew Circle. [G.Soden, Geoffrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester (London, 1953), p.234.]

(2) Quoted in McAdoo, The Spirit of Anglicanism, p.362.

FIRST YEARS IN EXILE

Some time in February or March 1647 Basire left England, and made his way to Rouen,[1] where he hoped to stay and live off the small patrimony which had been left to him by his father, worth about £8 per annum. Unfortunately, as he told Frances, his right to the estate was disputed, and he had not, as yet, received one farthing from it, and so was unable to send her any money to help her. All he could do was to pray that the 'fifths' would be speedily paid to her. On paper, Parliament's provision for the families of sequestered ministers might appear satisfactory, but in practice the 'fifths' were not always paid, and if they were, there was often a good deal of delay. Contemporary writers alleged that these 'fifths' were an imaginary apportionment, and Walker paints a vivid picture of the uncertain incomes of clergy families:

> so that as one truly and sadly said, the Fifths were even paid at sixes and sevens...which, however, is true only in the proverbial sense (as bad as that would have been) for I shall by and by show that in these few instances that I find them paid, it was, for the most part, after the rate of tenths and twelfths. (2)

Antony Wood goes even further in his condemnation of the authorities, for he claimed that no Presbyterian or Independent was ever known to allow the families of the ejected clergy even the minimum granted by Parliament. Rather, he said, 'they rejected and avoided them, vilified, scorned and exposed them to the plebeians as empty, formal and starched nothings'.[3] The amount due to Cosin's daughter from the income ot Brancepeth Rectory was only paid by the intruder Lever after an Order in Council had been issued in 1657:

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.50. Letter to Frances from Rouen, 8 April 1647.

(2) Quoted in Darnell, p.47.

(3) Wood, Fasti, vol.i, p.578.

Letter of Privy Seal, granted by Oliver, Lord Protector: Mary, daughter of Doctor Cosin, a pension of xx^{s} per week from 24 October 1657 for the support of her sister etc., (1)

Bishop Morton, Basire's old patron, submitted a humble petition for the £800 a year due to him, but he never received a penny.(2)

He also prayed that his wife might get something speedily from 'Fenkels'. This clearly refers to the land at Finchale, near Durham, which was attached to the Seventh Stall in the Cathedral.(3) After writing to Frances he had again enlisted the aid of Sir Richard Browne, the King's agent in Paris, in his fight to obtain his inheritance:

Sir,

Your so extraordinary Charity to procure Justice unto a stranger at home, obliges me as to give you humble thanks, so to engage my poor prayers for you. But since you have so far been pleased to trouble yourself with this Uncouth Case, may I crave Leave to represent unto you that my Counsel here fears the King's Letter will prove in-effectual thro' the omission in it of those two principal words which were expressed in the written Memoir heretofore sent you: which two only words added to the Letter may decide my Case. T'is the mention of my Letters of Privilege in England which are therefore inserted in the Copy of the King's Letter here enclosed. Sir, I do almost blush at this distance (unknown to you as I am) to make this troublesome Motion unto you, but that I am assured by my Counsel of the important both Necessity and Efficacy thereof towards the good speed of this Case. But however this reiterated suit may succeed, yet your former great favour, and my duty to you, shall never the less, for which I can in person offer myself unto you, I shall presume on the Title of Sir,

Your most humble servant,
ISAAC BASIRE.

Rouen, April 27, 47. (4)

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(1) Cosin, Correspondence, vol.ii, p.i.

(2) C.E. Whiting, Studies in English Puritanism, 1660-1688 (London, 1931), p.5. Florence Higham, in Catholic and Reformed (London, 1962), p.244, says that Parliament granted Morton £1000 upon the loss of his estates, and that with the help of the Earl of Rutland, he bought himself a small annuity.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.22, no.37, gives the annual value as £9.19.0.

(4) Ibid., fo.9, no.51. 27 April 1647. Frances Doddington informed Basire on 30 July 1647, that it was the opinion of the Lord Chief Justice Heath that a man who resided abroad in time of peace, retained his rights in his native land. (University of Durham Library, Cosin Letter Books 1A and 1B, no.44.)

It was only after his return from exile that these protracted negotiations over his inheritance were brought to a successful conclusion.(1)

Meanwhile Mrs Basire existed on the small sums Basire was able to send her from time to time, and on the kindness of Dr. Busby, the Headmaster of Westminster School. Busby seems to have been a very forceful character, and it is said that when schoolmasters and scholars who had failed to take the Covenant were hardly dealt with by the authorities, the latter quailed before the redoubtable Busby, who bluntly refused to obey the instructions of Parliament.(2) Busby and Basire were good friends, and whenever Basire had to go up to London, he invariably stayed with him. Busby had a good opinion of Basire, and often expressed his obligation to him for spiritual counsel and advice, showing his appreciation by sending sums of money to Mrs Basire from time to time, and by taking charge of her eldest boy, Isaac, at an unusually early age. But the Basires had to borrow considerable sums of money from their friends and relatives, and they were to be involved in a good deal of litigation after his return from exile, before his financial affairs were finally straightened out.

On leaving England, Basire arranged for a small group of pupils to accompany him.(3) They did not travel together, but joined up in Rouen later. The pupils left Rye for Dieppe on 21 June 1647, staying there two nights before meeting Basire in Rouen on the 25th. This small group of pupils entrusted to Basire's care, obviously came from families which had suffered because of their devotion to the royal cause. Thomas Lambton was the second son of Sir William Lambton of Chester-le-Street, in the county of

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(1) For details, see below, p. 204.

(2) C.V. Wedgwood, The King's War, 1641-47 (London, 1958), p.511.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.134 is a journal of Basire's travels with his pupils. The handwriting suggests that it was kept by the pupils in turn, and corrected by Basire himself.

Durham, who had commanded a troop of horse and a regiment of foot for the King, and had been killed at Marston Moor in 1644. The second pupil's father was the John Ashburnham who had been a gentleman-in-waiting to Charles I. When the King slipped secretly out of Oxford during the siege, he had been accompanied by Ashburnham and by Hudson, one of the royal chaplains, and had been disguised as their attendant. It is likely that it was the same Ashburnham who persuaded Charles to escape from Hampton Court, where he had been confined, and seek refuge in Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight, where they anticipated a friendly reception from the governor, Colonel Hammand, a relative of Henry Hammond, the Laudian divine. Unfortunately, Hammand proved to be a staunch supporter of Parliament, and when Charles realised their miscalculation, he is reported to have reproached Ashburnham with the words;'O Jack, thou hast undone me'. The young Ashburnham proved to be a very unsatisfactory pupil. Thomas Hook, Archdeacon of Lewes, who had acted as tutor to the young man, does not seem to have been very impressed by his qualities. He told Basire in 1647 that his former pupil

> doth promise fair, but more in appearance than deed... some smattering he had in Latin and has as much (I think) 2 years since as now; he hath translated Molineux's 'Logic' out of French into Latin, though I think to little purpose; for you will find him hardest to remember and the easiest to forget...In a word, what he hath or shall acquire...hath and must be gotten more by his Tutor's diligence than his own. (1)

After his return to England, Basire informed his friend, Peter Moll, that 'our too quarrelsome friend, Ashburnham, lost his life, I grieve to say, in a duel. You will recollect that I have often predicted this.'(2) The third pupil was named Andrews, but we know nothing about him except from a letter from his father to Basire, enquiring where he should send the money for his son's maintenance.(3)

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.59. January 1647.

(2) Darnell, pp.246-7. November 1665.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.55. 26 August 1647.

It was, of course, Basire's intention that some of the money paid to him for his pupils' fees and maintenance, should be paid direct to his wife to maintain her and the children, while he had hoped that when he had established himself in Rouen, he might augment his income by adding to his small group of pupils from the families of English people living in the neighbourhood. But his hope was vain:

> scholars have I none at all, nor am likely, the English are so brought low for means. (1)

Apparently the English exiles were not very welcome to the French, for he informed his wife:

> I suffer almost as much persecution here amongst my own and by my own, as I might have suffered in England. (2)

In the same letter he explained that his landlord had gone to live with his son in Holland, and that as a result he had been forced to find fresh lodgings just outside Rouen, 'as near as Yarm is to Eaglescliffe.' He was very pleased with his new abode, and painted a pleasant picture:

> I have a whole little summerhouse to myself alone; only once or twice a day a little boy waits on me for necessaries; my little house is within a garden, the most pleasant place that ever I lived in, if I had but your own sweet self in it with me. (3)

In the same letter he told her of his plans for the future, and that he hoped to spend the winter in his little house near Rouen, and in Paris. When the winter was over he intended travelling to Italy. Later, on 20 November 1647, he wrote to her again:

> The further we remove into France the seldomer you are like to hear from me and therefore be not troubled, but rather pray and hope the better. Direct your letters hereafter thus: A Monsieur Basire, par l'Addresse de Monsieur Mey à Rouen. I live now at Paris this winter, and then in the spring better go towards Italy than towards Newgate.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.50. 8 April 1647.

(2) Ibid., fo.9, no.52. 4 June 1647.

(3) Ibid.

> I have more than once appointed you to receive ten pounds from my Lady Lambton, which I have laid out of my purse for her son, who hath written to her about it. My Lady Radcliffe joyed me by telling me you looked very well on it. Do so still till I see it myself.
> The affairs of England are still too much troubled for me or honest men to fish in it and catch. I shall shortly thank the brethren Davisons and the two ladies at Hutton Pannell on your behalf, God bless my children and all my friends. I (need?) you to make good my vow at our marriage to cherish you in sickness as in health but it must be when it pleases God. Meanwhile we must cheerfully live and die asunder, if God so ordain it, rather than the leastways murmur. But I hope we shall meet not to part any more till Death, which God prepare us all for. So prays your faithful husband, I.B. Mr Lambton thanks you for the care you have of him; I am sure I have laid out above twenty pounds to furnish him with Clothes and other Necessaries. Honest Mr Anderson who is now here with us commends him kindly to you and to Nan and John. (1)

The pupils' journal shows that they began their journey to Paris on 27 August, travelling first along the banks of the Seine to Gaillon and Vernon, where they stayed the night. On the following day they continued by Mantes (where William the Conqueror had died), until they finally reached St. Germains, where Queen Henrietta Maria and the future Charles II were staying. To them they paid their respects, and when they visited the Prince they were quick to note that on the table at his bedside there were copies of the Bible and of the Book of Common Prayer. Perhaps the Prince had an eye to the future, and was anxious to impress his visitors with his devotion to the Church of England.

During their stay in Paris Basire was a frequent and welcome visitor to the private chapel of the King's agent, Sir Thomas Browne, and he preached there on Christmas Day, 1647,(2) as well as on several other occasions. There is among his papers a record of the amounts he received at Christmas, and of the expenses he incurred:

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.57.

(2) Ibid.,fo.134, p.9.

Sir R. Browne's Chapel at St. Germains. 1647.

Received on Christmas Day	18.3.	
The Sunday after Christmas	36.3.	
	54.3.	(sic)

Out of which disbursed

To Mr Crowder for a Tippet	10. 0.0.	
To his man, as chapel clerk at times	6. 4.0.	
To the lackey	1. 2.0.	
To the poor at thrice	3. 0.0.	
To Sir Rich. Browne for one steward	3. 0.0.	
For making 2 surplices	7. 0.0.	
To one Browne, a poor man	1. 0.0.	
For fringe and buttons	22. 3.0.	
For Sarcinet for another Tippet	8. 0.0.	
Summe	61. 9.0.	
Remains due to D.B.	7. 9.0.	(sic) (1)

Basire and Browne seem to have taken to each other, and Basire frequently wrote to him, telling him of his movements, and of his activities in making known the excellence of the Church of England. Browne's house acted as a meeting-place for the exiles, though there was at least one occasion when he was in danger of losing it because of unpaid rent. John Evelyn, who was Browne's son-in-law, recalled that he first met Basire there.

Another notable with whom Basire came into contact was Sir George Radcliffe, a Yorkshireman born towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, noted for his wisdom and common-sense, a staunch Anglican and a friend of Laud and Strafford. It was he who had hidden Frenchman in hodgsheads and smuggled them over from La Rochelle to work in the alum mines near Gainsborough (2) in Lincolnshire, to his own profit and that of the Crown. He prided himself on the fact that no fewer than seven of his relatives had lost their lives in the Civil War, fighting for the King. Basire seems to have acted as some kind of agent to him for a time, buying books and paying chemists'

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10A, no.6.

(2) John Osmond, John Cosin (London, 1913), p.131. Darnell writes Gainsborough, but it may have been Guisborough in Yorkshire.

bills for him. Radcliffe, in turn, gave Basire useful advice about preparing for his journey to Italy and foreign parts - 'abundans cautela non nocet'.(1) He must have been impressed by Basire's preaching, for he encouraged him to take services in Browne's chapel, and to let 'the Rom. Catholics see that the Church of England desires to serve God decently'.(2) Browne's chapel in Paris became almost the visible sign of the Church of England, established in the heart of a Roman Catholic country, and many of the exiled clergy preached there. A volume of John Cosin's sermons was published after the Restoration, and contained many which had been preached in Paris.

Details of the activities of Basire and his little group of pupils at this time are scant, but they seem to have taken the opportunity of seeing many of the historic buildings in and around Paris, and making copious notes about them. On 29 December they went to St.Denis, 'where the Kings of France are buried', and examined the many relics displayed there, but, says the diarist, 'to name them all would be tedious, and almost take up a whole book'.(3) The party were always fascinated by such collections, and on this occasion, the writer listed a few they had seen: part of the true Cross, some of Our Lord's Blood, one of the nails used at the Crucifixion, some of the swaddling clothes in which He was wrapped at birth, part of the crown of thorns, some of the blood and water which spilled from His side when it was pierced by the soldier's spear, part of the stone pot in which the water was turned into wine, Judas' lantern, and, finally, the sword of Joan of Arc.

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(1) Darnell, p.70. Letter to Basire 14 February 1648.

(2) Ibid., p.66. Letter to Basire 27 November 1647.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.134, pp.10ff.

In February Basire and his pupils made a circular tour from Paris, visiting Fontainebleau - 'It takes its name from the waterworks' - Melun and Corbeil, before returning to Paris.

JOURNEY TO ITALY

By March 1648 Basire had virtually completed his arrangements for his journey to Italy, and writing on 5 March, 'on Thursday at *midnight*',[1] he told his wife that he had sent various presents for her and the children, and other members of the family:

> we have jointly sent you some tokens from Paris which will come by Ribston way, either by my cosin Swinburne or some other way; but Mr Anderson is to keep them till he gets a safe hand. The two dresses for the head to go bare you may divide betwixt my young cosin, Mary Blaxton, and our own little Moll. The black gloves are for your own sweet hands, whom I kindly kiss. The blue heart is for Moll; besides (if you please) the silver-hook and clasp is for Peter's hat. The four rings of gold are for you and my other 3 sons.

He then detailed the financial arrangements he had made; Lady Lambton was to pay her £20 in two instalments, while his former school-fellow at Rouen, Jacob Roussel, 'who dwells in la Rue Bennetière, vis-à-vis de l'archevęché à Rouen', had agreed to clear of all encumbrances Basire's small estate near Rouen, and to send her each year the rent of £8. In addition, Roussel had promised to receive and look after Peter Basire, the youngest son. He added that when he had taken leave of Prince Charles, the prince had promised to do what he could for her.[2] He instructed her to address her letters to M.de Preaumont, and to subscribe them 'your loving friend Franke or F'. The letters were to be sent to Mr Andrews in Crutched Friars, London, and he would forward them as and when he was able. He felt the responsibility of having to provide and care for five people. That would be burden enough, but in addition he was teaching them Italian and some science, 'yet God makes me with health and content better than ever'.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.61.

(2) Cosin's Letter Books, 1a, no. 53. Richard Steward (Dean-designate of St. Paul's) urged Basire to preach to the prince before going to Italy, as this would remind him of his promise.

Following the advice given to him by Sir George Radcliffe, Basire took the precaution of procuring letters of commendation for his journey to Italy. One was from Queen Henrietta Maria to a cardinal in Rome, 'for safety from the Inquisition'.(1) The Queen also gave him a letter written to Sir Kenelm Digby, then ambassador in Rome. There is an undated letter, which was probably written at this time, from John Wintour(2) in Paris to Robert Pendric in Rome, commending Ashburnham's son, and containing a flattering reference to Basire himself:

> Monsieur de Preaumont, his Governor, is one of His Mat's Chaplains, and though a Frenchman born, hath exceedingly endeared himself to the whole body of the English clergy by the commendation of his learning and excellent parts, and his choice of suffring with them in their common affliction.

On Friday, 6 March 1648, Basire and his party left Paris on the first stage of their journey to Italy. They went in company with the messenger of Lyons, 'to whom they paid 55 pounds (?) for safe-conduct and 5s a pound for baggage'.(3) Their departure was not without incident, for 'just at Paris town's end one of our company, by God's blessing, escaped the breaking of his neck, by a dangerous fall from his horse galloping'.(4) The following day they arrived at Montargis, and the journal noted that the town was famous for holding out against the English in a lengthy siege, most probably during the Hundred Years War. It was finally relieved when certain flood-gates were opened, and the

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.61.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.63. Probably Henrietta's Secretary. (cf. John Miller, Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1688 (Oxford, 1973), p.96.)

(3) Details of their journeys are recorded in a voluminous journal, kept by the pupils in turn, and corrected by Basire. It is more like a guide-book than a diary, for while there are occasional personal entries, in the main it is made up of detailed descriptions of the places and things they had seen. The Hôtel de Sens became the Paris terminal of the Lyons stage-coach, a journey famous for its danger. (Antony Glyn, Companion Guide to Paris (London, 1985), p.167.)

(4) Hunter MSS., fo.134, p.13.

besiegers drowned in the marshes. There was a monument on the site of the flooding, and it was called 'La Croix des Anglais'.(1) From Montargis they reached the river Loire and followed its course through Briare, Nevers and Moulins, eventually reaching Lyons, where they had to pay customs duty on their baggage.(2) The travellers stayed long enough in the city to make an exhaustive tour of all the churches and prominent sights, and the journal sets the pattern for future entries, a long and detailed account of the history and of the organisations of the city, a description of the churches, and notes on anything which had aroused their interest. From Lyons they passed down the west bank of the Rhône, through Vienne, Tain and Tournon, before crossing to the east bank at Pont St. Esprit.

From there they continued to Orange, noting the triumphal arch at the entrance to the town, and visiting the famous Roman amphitheatre. Passing through Carpentras, once the capital of the area, they reached Avignon on 21 March.(3) They seem to have spent only a short time in the city, but they did visit the Palace of the Popes before continuing their journey. From Avignon they travelled to Nîmes, where they spent a morning, and arrived at Aigues Mortes, the port created by Louis IX in 1240 as an embarkation point for his crusading forces. There the party took a boat on the lake, but found it very rough, 'by reason of a great wind', no doubt the famous Mistral which blows in the spring. On the 28th they dined at Salon-de-Provence, noted as the birthplace of Nostradamus (1503-66), famous in his time as a physician, but later as an astrologer, and examined the monument erected in the town to his memory. That night they lodged at Aix-en-Provence, and were well treated by a Mr Martin, possibly a refugee from England. They noted that

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.134, p.13.

(2) Ibid., p.18.

(3) Ibid., p.29.

Aix was 'the seat of an archbishop (who is now the young Cardinal Mazarin)' and that he had twelve bishops under him. The highlight of their visit, however, seems to have been the house of a M.Bouville, in which they saw a large collection of curios, ranging from natural history exhibits, such as the tooth of an elephant and the backbone of a dolphin, to an Egyptian mummy and the body of a female child, baptised at St. Saviour's Church, Aix, which lived for four years with four hands and four feet, and whose mother was still living in the town. There were also various artifacts: a multiplying looking-glass, the chair of Nostradamus, and various medals and coins. The journal notes, 'to add something to the curious old gentleman's store M. de Preaumont bestowed a silver coin stamped at the siege of Scarborough'.(1) Obviously the travellers were fascinated with such collections, for a few days later, on the 31st, in the town of St. Zachary, they came across an even more bizarre collection of relics. This included some of the wood of the Cross, the thumb of St. Zachary, some of the blood of John the Baptist, part of the cross of St. Andrew, the bones of St. Bartholomew, St. Peter's chair, and, oddest of all, the crown of the head of one of the Holy Innocents.

Travelling from St. Zachary to St. Maximin, through the forest of St. Baume,

> one of our company riding up a craggy, stony way, fell back with his horse on top of him without any harm... we gently told him that St. Mary Magdalen had been a good friend to him. (2)

It was in St. Maximin that an old tradition alleged that St. Mary Magdalen had been buried, though the journal noted that a M. la Noye had just published a book in which he argued that she was not buried in St. Maximin, but in either Ephesus or Jerusalem. However, they saw a phial,

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.134, p.63.

(2) Ibid., p.76.

> in which there is (some) of the holy earth which Mary Magdalen gathered up under the Cross on which our Saviour was crucified, in which earth there is some of our Saviour's blood which every Good Friday boils up so that the blood is (able) to be separated from the earth. (1)

From St. Maximin they travelled along the coast, visiting Toulon, Fréjus, with its Roman remains, Cannes and Nice, finally reaching the Italian border. Maundy Thursday saw them in Tagus, where they attended the Exposition of the Sacrament, and heard a monsignor preach a 'passion sermon'.(2) They then pressed on to Genoa, where they boarded a brigantine which took them along the coast to the port of Livorno, in which they noticed 'many great ovens for the baking of biscuits all under the direction of four officers'.(3)

Their next objective was Florence, and on the way there they passed through Pisa. They paused for the usual sightseeing and visited the Duomo and the Baptistry, and observed that near the Duomo, there was a stately tower of marble where the bells were housed, but 'built so strangely that a man would think it falling'.(4) Florence itself provided a further collection of relics which the journal assiduously lists; part of the crown of thorns, part of the Saviour's purple robe, the reed on which was placed the sponge full of vinegar at the Crucifixion, the ashes of John the Baptist, and some stones from the Holy Sepulchre.(5) They also, of course, examined with interest the works of Michael Angelo on display in the city, and made the usual detailed inspections of the various churches. On 12 May they left Florence by coach for Siena, where they saw the great ceremony held on the day of Corpus Christi, all the people going in solemn procession in honour of the Sacrament, which was carried in state by the Archbishop himself, the

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.134, p.78.

(2) Ibid., p.93.

(3) Ibid., p.114.

(4) Ibid., p.120.

(5) Ibid., p.136.

priests, senators and nobility following. When the procession reached the market-place in the centre of the city, guns thundered in honour of the festival. They noted that in Siena the 'air is good and wholesome, yet sometimes overcrowded with thick mists'.(1)

Somewhere about this time Basire must have fallen ill, for in November 1648, Lady Lambton told Mrs Basire that she had received a note from her son in Turin, saying that 'the Doctor is well recovered, but hath been sick of the fever'. Tom Lambton himself had been seriously ill, but he, too, was now well on the way to recovery, and the party hoped to begin the next stage of their journey.(2)

Eventually they reached Rome, and stayed there for some weeks, recovering from the exertions of their long journey from Paris. In October they set out on a circular tour from Rome, through the kingdom of Naples to Malta, where they stayed for a month, and then back to Rome after visiting the historic sites of Sicily. This journey lasted from October 1648 until February 1649, and there is an almost day to day account of it in Basire's handwriting.(3) Basire and his party devoted their almost inexhaustible energies to seeing all that they could. Three weeks were enough to dispose of the Kingdom of Naples:

> having thoroughly viewed all the principal places for antiquity or rarity in that kingdom, on 1 November we embarked for Messina. (4)

Basire commended Virgil for being 'no liar in his description of the dangerous contrast between Scylla and Charybid,(sic) such was our very harsh welcome to

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.134, p.175.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.56.

(3) A Brief Relation of a Voyage from Rome, through the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily to the Isle of Malta (Hunter MSS., fo.94.)

(4) Ibid. While he was in Messina, Basire was presented with a copy of a compilation of various liturgies.

it with a redoubtable storm to boot'.[1] At Messina they were received by the Viceroy, Don Juan of Austria, the natural son of the King of Spain, and after visiting Rhegium, 'famous for St. Paul's mention of it in his travels (Acts xxviii),'[2] they returned to Messina to stay for a fortnight with Mr John Hill, an English merchant living there. After their stay with Hill, they sailed in a felucca for Syracuse, calling at Taormina, where 'we got the first taste of sugar in the cane, which we ourselves plucked from the ground'.[3] The following day they reached Catania, and were anxious to climb Mount Etna, as they had previously climbed Vesuvius. Unfortunately they were warned against the attempt because the path was blocked with snow, and because the mountain slopes were infested with bandits, probably soldiers who had fled there after the recent rebellion in Naples. So Basire and his party contented themselves with the 'safe and yet at a distance, the plain sight of the fire, flame and smoke of that stupendous, burning mountain'.[4]

In early November they reached Malta, where they were hospitably received by the Grand Master of the Order of St. John, so hospitably in fact, that Basire dryly commented that 'we were never in more danger of a religious knighthood'.[5] On the instructions of the Grand Master, they were shown all over the island, and they visited the fortresses and armouries of the 'very bulwark' of Christendom. They also had the opportunity of visiting the site of St. Paul's shipwreck, and were very impressed with the accuracy of St. Luke's account in the Acts of the Apostles. They observed, too, the familiar way in which the Maltese handled snakes, recalling that Paul himself

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(1) A Brief Relation of a Voyage from Rome, through the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily to the Isle of Malta (Hunter MSS., fo.94.)

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

was bitten by a snake during his enforced stay on the island.[1] The visitors tried their hand at snake-handling, but 'not too rashly', and noted the 'serpentine innocence'.

After a pleasant stay of a month on the island, seeing the sights and regaling themselves with the choice dainties that Malta provided, Basire and his party hired a brigantine and sailed for Sicily, reaching there on 14 December. They sailed round the island, examining places of historic interest until they reached Gela, where the pilot they had hired decamped hurriedly. Basire, however, was equal to the occasion and visited the local magistrate, taking with him the agreement between them and the pilot, which he had had the foresight to have drawn up before they left Malta. The magistrate seems to have been impressed, and issued them with an order providing for another pilot.

While their journey appeared to be a leisurely progress from one place of interest to another, it was not without danger. The Turks were in the habit of attacking local shipping, and taking prisoner the sailors and passengers. Basire must have been aware of this, for the new pilot received strict instructions neither to sail by night, nor to lose sight of the land. Basire also mentioned that while they were visiting the ruins at Agrigentum, they were treated with some deference by the local authorities. Eventually, after calling at Xacca, they reached Marsal where they were warmly received by the governor, who placed his carriage and horses at their disposal. Young Ashburnham acted as coachman, but drew the barbed comment from Basire 'that he had not, for all his backing of the asses in Malta, forgotten the art of the great horse in Paris.'[2]

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(1) Acts xxviii.4.

(2) Basire, Voyage from Rome to Malta.

They journeyed on to Palermo, where they were entertained by the local nobles. The latter were anxious to have a first-hand account of the rebellion in England, and after hearing the full details, expressed their astonishment that other Christian monarchs had not rushed to the aid of the King of England. Embarking once more, this time in an armed frigate, they left Palermo for Rome on 31 January. Changing into a felucca on the Isle of Ischia, they put in at Naples for a short time, and then began the final stage of their journey. This was not, however, to be without some excitement. They had hardly left Naples before a heavy sea sprang up, and their boat was driven off course. Seas as high as mountains threatened to overwhelm their craft, and the passengers gave themselves up for lost. Fortunately for them, the seas and the wind went down fairly quickly, and they were able to enter the mouth of the Tiber in safety. The travellers were so relieved at their narrow escape, and at arriving safely, that they agreed to keep that day as a private anniversary of 'joyful devotion, to corroborate our faith in God's power and protection over us for the future.'(1) The party finally disembarked in Rome on 10 February 1649, having sailed around 1,800 miles in four months.

Clearly Basire's extended journey, with its tensions and feastings, had been a strain on his digestive system, for on 20th, he consulted a Roman doctor, Jacobus Albanus Gibbesius, who instructed him 'abstinere se a cibis, tempore quadragesimæ usitatis et vesci carnibus'.(2)

Settled again in Rome, Basire took up the thread of his correspondence, and outlined to his wife his plans for the future. There was little likelihood of an end to the troubles in England, and he resigned himself to many years of exile. To him the English nation had offended God by its rejection

(1) Basire, Voyage from Rome to Malta.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.17. 20 February 1649.

of the King and the Church, and 'he hears a decree'. He exhorted his wife, however, to prepare 'to meet our God and never trust in the arm of flesh, for all men are Scots.'(1) That the Scots had handed over Charles to Parliament clearly rankled in Basire's mind. He lamented the fact that he was unable to send much money for the upkeep of his family, for Andrews had left him and he had not received one penny from the Lambton family. Nor was he at all hopeful of getting any more pupils, but he wanted to stay in Italy for a further two years, and then travel to Spain. In the meanwhile, he and his party were going to leave Rome after Easter, and after a short visit to Venice, they proposed spending the summer at Padua University. He asked his wife to recite the Seven Psalms of Thanksgiving for his safe deliverance in the storm at the mouth of the Tiber on their return from Malta, and he commended to her the reading of the Book of Lamentations, 'to confirm your faith, increase your humility, enlarge your repentance, and to move your compassion towards your desolate Church and bleeding company.'(2)

While he was still in Rome, he seems to have considered the possibility of his eldest son, Isaac, coming out to stay with him. Frances approved of the idea, and thought that the boy would be a great comfort to his father:

> I rit to my frend Busby acording to your desire about Isacke but never had answer from him. I very much desire if it ples God to settel you at Rome, that he may com to you. I do thinke he will be a gret comfort to you, and loves rising earlly to go to cool. When I tel him I have had a letter from you, he axes if you have sent for him. They are all very well, praise be to God, and present thire duty to you, and John is lerning fast to red a chapter in the Bible agens Easter, that he may have breeches, and then he would faine see his father, as I should if it ples God to send us a good oppertunity. I shall rit to Monsieur Roussel, I have not hard of Peter a long time. (3)

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.66. 14 March 1649.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., fo.9, no.69. 19 February 1651.

In a later letter there is further news of John for his father:

> John very much desirs to see his Father, for he says he is gon so far as he thinks he knas not the way bak, or els he wants a hors. (1)

Details as to how Basire spent the year after his return from Malta are scant, but after Easter he visited Padua University,(2) from where, on 19 June he wrote to Frances, grumbling that Lady Lambton was very slow in sending money for the maintenance of her son, and that the news from England was very disappointing. A Scottish intruder had been appointed to his living at Howick, and there seemed little hope of a negotiated peace, for, 'I am verily persuaded, no king, no peace and no bishop, no king'.(3) While he was at Padua University, he undertook a course in medicine because, as he put it, 'of the iniquities of the times'. His medical knowledge was to come in very useful later, when he was travelling in Syria and Turkey.

From Padua he went to Venice, and spent some time there. The young Ashburnham had left him in May 1650, and he feared that he might be compelled to return to Paris because of shortage of money.(4) He suggested that she

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.70. 8 February 1653.

(2) Padua University was one of the oldest and best in Europe. It was a great centre of liberal thought, and much of its teaching was characterised by a distinct divergence from the doctrine of Rome. The displeasure of the Holy See made little impression on the Venetian authorities, and the university attracted students from all over Europe, including an increasing number from Britain. Among the professors were Galileo, who occupied the chair of mathematics, and Fabricius, the famous anatomist. Erasmus, Cyril Lucaris and William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, all studied at Padua at some time or another. (G. Hadjiantoniou, The Protestant Patriarch (London, 1961), pp.23-24.) See Hunter MSS., fo.141, no. 8. Medical memoranda at Padua, 24/25 June 1649.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.67. 19 June 1649. This epigram is usually attributed to James I, but Bishop Goodman in The Court of King James p.421, records another version of it, 'no bishop, no king, no nobility'.

(4) Ibid., fo.9, no.68. Letter to Frances, 17 June 1650.

directed her letters to him at the house of Sir Richard Browne, the King's Agent in Paris. Basire was not alone in his financial difficulties; he told Frances that Mr Killigrey, the King's Agent in Venice, might also be compelled to leave through lack of money. He noted with interest that a new consul, sent by Parliament to serve in Aleppo, Syria, and with whom he was to have contact in later years, had passed through Venice on his way to take up his post.(1)

(1) This was probably Henry Riley, who was appointed in 1649, and served until 1659. (A.G. Wood, The History of the Levant Company Oxford, 1935), p.253.)

THE NEAR EAST

Basire's pupils seem to have left him one by one, either because their education was complete or because their parents were anxious for them to return home.(1) Basire was unable to replace them, and so found himself free to embark on the project which must have been in his mind for some time, to travel round the Near East, learning about the other churches, and disseminating information about the Church of England, in order to make known its reasonableness and its faithfulness to the doctrines of the early Church. It would appear at first sight a quixotic undertaking for one man to attempt, to impress his faith on the Orthodox Church, yet he had the simple but profound conviction that the true nature of the Anglican Church only needed to be known for it to be accepted by intelligent and earnest people.

The religious revolution in the West took place at a time when the Church in the East was struggling to survive. The Turks had conquered Constantinople in 1453, in the sixteenth century the Russians were fiercely engaged in resisting the advance of the Tartars on their eastern and northern borders, while the Greeks were too harassed by political troubles, too isolated psychologically and politically from the West to take any part in the debates between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. But the Reformation spread to some countries with large Orthodox populations and the Orthodox were thereby compelled to face the implications of the new religious situation in the West, Poland being especially important in this respect. The Orthodox, and particularly the Greeks, hoped that some help might come from the Western powers to support them in their struggle for liberation from the Turks. But the West was now divided, and the Greeks had to decide which of the two power blocs would help them most in their struggle for freedom.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.68. Ashburnham, apparently the last to leave, left in May 1650.

Both parties in the West, however, were anxious to win the support of the East for their claims to represent authentic Christianity. These efforts came to a head when Cyril Lucaris became Patriarch of Constantinople. Lucaris entered into secret negotiations with the Protestants, which were made public when Antony Leger, a former chaplain to the Dutch embassy in Constantinople, published a document entitled The Confessions of the Lord Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople. It caused a great stir because it seemed to show the Orthodox Patriarch to be a Calvinist. Attempts were made to show that the document was a forgery, but as a result of its publication, opposition to Lucaris again flared up at the instigation of the Jesuits, and he was murdered in 1638.

It was against this background that England was making increasing contact with the East. When the Venetian monopoly of trade with the East was broken, and the Flanders galleys no longer made their annual trip up the English Channel, the English sought to fill the gap, and the Levant Company was established in 1582. It had a dual role; it was both a diplomatic mission and a trading agency, presided over by the ambassador at Constantinople. He had been given wide powers by the Queen, and it was he who decided where trading stations should be established, and who appointed consuls to oversee them.

Basire left Italy in 1650 and from then until 1654 he travelled through much of the Near East. Unfortunately the only details of his journeyings are to be found in a letter which he wrote from Pera, Constantinople, in July 1653, to Sir Richard Browne, the King's agent in Paris.[1]

1) A Letter written by the Reverend Dr. Basire to the Honourable Sir Richard Browne when resident at Paris for His Majesty of Great Britain, relating his travels and endeavours to Propagate the Knowledge of the Doctrine and Discipline established in the Britannick Church, among the Greeks, Arabians, etc. (Bound up with The Ancient Liberty of the Britannick Church, (London, 1661).) Basire told Browne that he had written to him from time to time about his travels, but, unfortunately, only this one letter has survived.

In the last months of 1650 he left Venice and travelled to the island of Zante, off the Greek mainland, and stayed there for some months. Zante was one of the earliest, and one of the most important factories to be established by the Levant Company, since it was the chief centre of the Company's trade with Venice. The main export was currants, which were bartered by the English for cloth, lead and tin, but the island also produced honey and oil. In February 1653 Mrs Basire acknowledged the safe arrival of barrels of oil and parcels of currants, which Basire had sent her from Zante, but she remarked that the last parcels of currants were not of the best.(1) The English merchants in Zante were not apparently noted for their religious devotion. Writing in 1675, on a journey through the Levant, Sir George Wheler, later to be a Prebendary of Durham Cathedral, commented that it seemed to the people of the island that the English merchants 'live without religion and die without hope', which was a great scandal to their neighbours and exposed their Church to much contempt. Wheler compared the Anglicans very unfavourably with the Roman Catholics: 'you shall nowhere see a single Factory of the Roman religion, but they will have one or more priests!(2) The Anglicans, by contrast, 'have neither Church, Chapel nor Priest'. Unfortunately there is no record of Basire's reaction to the situation.

It was on his visit to Zante, however, that he first put into practice his theories about the self-evident reasonableness of the Church of England. His method was one which he was to use on many occasions later, to translate the Catechism from the Book of Common Prayer into the local language, and

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.70. 8 February 1653.

(2) Sir George Wheler, A Journey into Greece in the company of Dr. Spons of Lyons (London, 1682), p.41.

leave it behind to speak for itself.(1) He had a great devotion to the Catechism, and he was convinced that it contained the essence of the teaching of the Church of England. Among his papers is an analysis which he made of it, shown below.

During his stay in Zante he duly translated the Catechism into Greek and discussed the faith of the Church of England with the Metropolitan and the local clergy. He commented that he was so successful that he had to endure persecution from the Roman Catholics, who compelled him to leave the island and return to the mainland. Here he received a very warm welcome and was asked by the Metropolitan of Achaia to preach twice in Greek at meetings of bishops and clergy, 'being well taken', as he modestly puts it. On his departure, he left the Metropolitan a copy of his Greek catechism, 'ut supra'.

How Basire maintained himself during his stay in Zante is described in a letter written by the Levant Company to William Garway, presumably the Company's agent there:

> We notice the testimony given by you of Dr. Basire, and have consented that half a livre per mille be levied during the Company's pleasure, upon the currants exported from both these islands, towards his maintenance. This will be an indifferent compensation, and bear proportion with, if not exceed, our allowance to ministers in Turkey of which you are to acquaint him.(2)

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.77. Letter to Antony Leger (undated). 'J'ai posé la traduction en Grec vulgaire du Catechisme public de l'église d'Angleterre (selon laquelle il y a plus de vingt cinq ans que j'ai l'honneur d'avoir exercé mon ministère) et celui, tant pour la brièveté succincte, que pour la comprehension des points fondamentals, tant en la croyance qu'en la morale; comme aussi pour ce qu'il est positif sans y mesler controverse, il a gagné l'approbation de quasi toutes les sortes de Chrétians.' A large number of books on the Catechism appeared in the seventeenth century. Among them were Henry Hammond's Practical Catechism (1644), Richard Sherlock's The Catechism of the Church of England Explained (1656), and Thomas Ken's Exposition of the Church Catechism (1685). This emphasis on the Catechism indicates the Anglican stress on what they called 'practical divinity'. Anglicans were reluctant to allow a disproportionate place to speculation; theology must be realistic, and take into account reason and experience.

(2) C.S.P.D., 1651. July 21. p.293.

Fundamental Articles contained in the Church Catechism

1. One God in three persons.
2. The Creation.
3. The Fall of Man.
4. Jesus Christ, His
   - 2 Natures
   - 3 Offices
   - 2 Estates
5. Man's duty to (1.God, (2.Man
6. Prayer.
7. Sacraments. (1.Baptism, (2.Lord's Supper
8. Preparation by
   1. Repentance. (1.Godly sorrow. (2.Constant purpose of a new life.
   2. Faith. (1.Assent. (2.Affiance.
      - a lively faith.
   3. Obedience or Amendment of Life.
   4. Charity in (giving. (forgiving.
9. Church.
10. Remission of Sins.
11. Resurrection and Judgment.
12. Heaven or everlasting life.

1. The Creed.
2. The Ten Commandments.
3. The Lord's Prayer.
4. The Sacraments.

The Terrible Sentence.
Job xxxvi.12. They shall die without knowledge.

The Catechism teaches the Art how to live.
to die.

TO

1. Believe well	which is taught in the	1. Creed.
2. Live well		2. Ten Commandments.
3. Pray well		3. Lord's Prayer.
4. Receive well		4. Two Sacraments. (1)

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.86. Possibly written in 1667.

It says a great deal for the independence of the Levant Company that it felt free to employ and pay a minister who had been sequestrated for his loyalty to Church and King.

From Greece Basire returned to Italy, passing through Apulia and Naples on his way to Sicily where, at Messina, he acted for a time as ship's chaplain in the absence of Mr Duncom,(1) presumably the regular chaplain. Eventually he took ship for the Levant and landed at Smyrna,(2) then travelling on to Aleppo, where he stayed for several months. During his stay there he attended, and probably conducted services in the consular chapel, since the Turks would not allow the building of churches outside Constantinople and Smyrna. There are among the Basire papers notes of a sermon he preached in Aleppo on Easter Day, 1652, on the Resurrection.(3) It has a refreshing simplicity when compared with many of those turgid sermons of the seventeenth century which exhibit a vast erudition. He bases his argument on the fact that it was virtually impossible for twelve simple fishermen to have persuaded 'the most judicious nations of the world, and in them the most learned scholars, philosophers (such as St Paul and most of the ancient Fathers were) to believe a report so improbable in the course of nature, unless they had proved it to them visibly by their own and others' experience, especially at that time, when to believe, much more to broach such a report, cost the reporter so many dangers, inconveniences and miseries.' That the disciples spoke the truth was proved by

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(1) Eleazar Duncom, who had been Prebendary of both York and Durham, was chaplain to the Levant Company in Leghorn in 1650, and had held a temporary appointment at Messina until 1652. (Walker Revised, p.141.) Cf. Hunter MSS., fo.141, no.8. Medical notes while at Messina on 27 November 1651.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.79. Recommendation of Edward Hopgood, consul at Messina, of Dr. Basire to Spencer Britton, consul at Smyrna, 30 January 1652.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.140, no.10. For a summary of the sermon see Appendix A below, p.262.

their readiness to die in support of their testimony. He disposed of the suggestion that the disciples lied, and suggested five possible motives for the disciples lying; self-preservation, the desire to live in ease, profit, preferment, fame and reputation. None of these, he argued, could be applied to the apostles, and so their testimony must be true. Jesus had promised that He would rise in the third day, and if this promise had not been kept, the disciples, as simple as they were, 'would never have been so mad as to have held out under so many persecutions and torments, if they had found Christ's Resurrection to be a false report.' And, finally, he asked, 'how could the disciples have stolen the body guarded by a strong force of soldiers? And if the soldiers were asleep, how did they know that the body had been stolen?.' While Basire may not have been a member of the Great Tew circle, he had accepted one of their lessons, that religion must be tied to reason and common-sense.

This sermon of Basire's is important in any assessment of his preaching. Horton Davies, in his Worship and Theology in England from Andrewes to Baxter[1] sketches the progress of Anglican preaching in the seventeenth century. The reigns of James I and Charles I were the golden age of seventeenth century preaching, typified in the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes, full of etymological analysis, far-fetched analogies and patristic learning, or the brocaded style of Jeremy Taylor, raiding the classics, the Fathers and Scripture, but adding his own touch of ethical concern. Horton Davies makes the point that the content of Anglican sermons was changed when preachers ceased to write out their sermons in full, and simply went into the pulpit with notes. This tended to make the sermon less of an oratorical exercise and of more conversational quality, with a greater naturalness and clarity. The preacher

(1) Horton Davies, Worship and Theology in England, vol.2 (Princeton, 1975), pp.133-4.

concentrated on themes that could be retained in the memories of both preacher and congregation.[1] There were, of course, exceptions, and he quotes Barrow and Tillotson as examples.

After the Restoration the sermon became a rational address, devoted to a calm and well-reasoned elaboration of a single theme. He suggests that the elegant, urbane, rational addresses of Stillingfleet and Tillotson mirrored the new scientific spirit, exhibiting the clear-thinking and clear expression which became the pattern.

Few of Basire's sermons have survived, but it is possible to see the same progression suggested by Horton Davies. His earliest sermons reflected the teaching he received at Leiden from Polyander, the quarrying of Scripture to support his theme. His book Sacrilege Arraigned,[2] which was published in 1668, was an expansion of a sermon he preached before Charles I at Oxford on Ascension Day, 1646, and we can assume that it reflects the way in which he dealt with his subject in the original sermon, full of Scriptural and classical references, with frequent allusions to the Fathers. This sermon which he preached at Aleppo was very much simpler and more direct, though, of course, that may have been due to the fact that he would have few books of reference with him. Nevertheless, it would be fair to say that the sermon does illustrate Horton Davies' point that Anglican sermons tended to be simpler in the second half of the seventeenth century.

One other of Basire's sermons which has survived, was also published as a book, Dead Man's Real Speech, published in 1673.[3] This was the sermon

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(1) Horton Davies, op.cit., p.142.

(2) See below, p. 219.

(3) See below, p. 238.

he preached at the funeral of John Cosin, a much more formal occasion. There is some doubt as to whether the sermon was preached in its entirety, owing to the lateness of the hour, and it is likely that Basire confined himself to the first half, the development of his theme from Hebrews, that dead men do speak to the generations which come after them. The second part of the sermon, the Brief on Cosin's life, was probably reserved for the printed edition of the sermon. Nevertheless, this first half mirrors the change in the style of Anglican preaching, in that it deals simply and in a straightforward manner with the themes of death and the life after death, making much of the point that a man can influence those who come after him by the example of his life. Horton Davies sums it up neatly when he says that supernatural mystery was dissolved into natural explanation.

During his stay in Aleppo, Basire had had conversations with the Patriarch of Antioch, who had one of his residences there, about the doctrines of their respective churches, to see whether any form of inter-communion was possible. He took the opportunity of presenting the Patriarch with a copy of the Catechism, this time translated into Arabic. It seems rather odd that it was not the Greek translation which he had given to the Metropolitan of Achaia, and suggests that the Patriarch was at least Arabic speaking, if not an Arab.

In the summer of 1652, he set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and visited most of the historic sites:

> Thither I went as to view the whole land of Canaan, the better to understand the Scriptures; so, without superstition, to worship my Saviour in the very place where he did live and die for us miserable sinners; and I pray God that I might retain these impressions of devotion occasioned by the sight of those places, wherein you may be sure, that as well : yourself as yours, together with our chief friends, were fervently remembered. (1)

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(1) Darnell, p.114. Letter to his wife, 20 February 1653.

He also visited the De ad Sea, 'that terrible monument of the divine vengeance upon Sodom (now called Mare Mortuum)'.(1) In Jerusalem he was received with great honour by both Greeks and Latins. The Greek Patriarch gave him a 'bull or patriarchal seal in a blank (which is their way of credence) besides many other respects',(2) The Patriarch expressed his desire for inter-communion with the Church of England, but it is difficult to know whether this was a genuine statement of belief, or simply a move to win Basire's support against the Latins. But to Basire's surprise, and the surprise of the French ambassador, he was received courteously by the Latins, and was even invited into their convent, a rare honour for a heretic - 'though I did openly profess myself a priest of the Church of England'.(3) He took the opportunity of discussing with them the doctrinal differences between their churches, and particularly about the validity of Anglican Orders.(4) They must have been impressed by him, for he told with pride that he had been admitted to the Holy Sepulchre 'at the rate of a priest, that is half the rate for a layman.' On his departure from Jerusalem, the Pope's Vicar - 'Commisarius Apostolicus Generalis' - gave him a diploma on parchment under his hand and seal, which styled Basire 'Sacerdotem Ecclesiae Anglicanae' and 'S.S.Theologiae Doctorem', at which titles, he said, 'Many marvelled, especially the French ambassador here.'(5)

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(1) University of Durham Library, Cosin's Letter Books, 1a & 1b, fo.187. Letter to D.Witty, April 1671.

(2) I. Basire, Letter to Sir Richard Browne, 20 July 1653.(Darnell, p.116.)

(3) Ibid, pp 116-117.

(4) Ibid. (Darnell, p.117.)

(5) Note Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.81. Letter to Basire in Constantinople, 16 September 1654 from Fr. Mariano di Maleo Guardino Terra Santa, certifying that Basire had visited all the sacred sites in the Holy Land.

Leaving Jerusalem in the autumn of 1652, Basire returned to Aleppo, and then journeyed across the Euphrates to 'Abraham's country', Mesopotamia. This appears to have been only a short visit, for he spent the winter of 1652-3 in Aleppo. He followed his usual practice, however, of leaving a translation of the Catechism, and arranged for the English ambassador in Constantinople to have it translated into Turkish, so that he could send copies to the Armenian bishops he had met in Mesopotamia. But he hoped to pay them another visit as soon as he was able. Writing from Aleppo, he told his wife(1) that he proposed to start on a two day journey to Antioch, 'where the disciples were first called Christians', and in a month's time to set out for Constantinople, to which he had been invited. Going home must have been very much in his mind at this time, for he wrote that 'I may better expect a good opportunity to pass through Germany and so approach near you.' These journeys by road were very expensive and toilsome, but 'contrary fleets being abroad' made journeys by sea very hazardous. The letter also gives a glimpse of the straits he was often in to raise money. He told Frances that he had bought six or seven pounds of silk for his friend Roussel to sell for him, but, unfortunately, the ships were detained in Italian ports because of the threat of the Dutch fleet.

The nextepisode in Basire's career gives some indication of his courage and determination during his fourteen years of exile. In the spring of 1653 he set out on his journey of over 600 miles from Aleppo to Constantinople, 'without either servant or Christian, or any man with us that could so much as speak the French language', but only with the company of twenty Turkish merchants with whom he conversed in the Arabic he had picked up during his stay in Aleppo. He was treated courteously by the merchants, and attributed

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(1) Darnell, p.114. 20 February 1653.

this to the fact that he was able to 'act as physician to them and their friends' with the help of the medical knowledge he had acquired during his stay at Padua University, 'because of the iniquities of the times'. It was a remarkable journey and it is unfortunate that he dismisses it in a few lines.

Reaching Constantinople, he stayed with the ambassador, Sir Thomas Bendish, and acted as chaplain to the embassy, and to the English merchants living there. Chaplains to the Levant Company had been introduced at an early date. They were normally elected by the General Court of the Company after they had preached a trial sermon. Constantinople, however, was the exception because the chaplain there also acted as chaplain to the embassy, and so the ambassador made the appointment. The influence of the chaplains largely depended on their own enthusiasm and activity, but their appointment did mean that a constant current of information and interest in the Orthodox Church was kept alive in England, and also that the Orthodox Church itself had regular contact with the Church of England. Basire began his duties as chaplain with his usual energy and enthusiasm. He took services for the English residents and, on occasions when requested, for the Greeks also.(1) He soon found himself the additional and congenial task of acting as chaplain to the French community in the city. They were at that time without a minister of their own, and with the approval of the French ambassador, they had asked Basire to act as their minister, knowing, of course, that while he was an ordained priest of the Church of England, he was also a Frenchman by birth, and a former member of their church.(2) True to his principles, Basire undertook to care for their spiritual need, but on condition that he officiated according to the rites of the Church of England. He remarked that as there was no French edition of the Prayer Book available, he was

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.77. Undated letter to Antony Leger.

(2) Ibid., fo.10, no.20. 1653.

compelled to undertake the onerous task of making his own translation.(1) In return for his services, the French undertook to provide him with a competent stipend. Even to such an ecumenical enthusiast as Basire, it must have appeared an unusual situation, especially as he was living with the English ambassador. He saw, however, no great future in the arrangement, for he commented that his flock had mostly been bred under Genevan discipline, and was hardly likely to persevere or 'to go our way'. He, for his part, was quite resolved that he would not compromise, but would stand fast by what he believed to be the principles and teaching of the Church of England, even if it meant losing his stipend.

Basire also had talks with the "true" Patriarch of Constantinople, to whom he had given a copy of his Catechism:

> Meanwhile I have not been unmindful of our Church, with the true Patriarch here, whose usurper now for a while doth interpose, so will I not be wanting to embrace all opportunities of propagating the doctrine and repute thereof, stylo veteri; especially if I should about it receive any commands or instructions from the King, only in ordine ad Ecclesiastica do I speak this; as for instance, proposal of communion with the Greek Church (salva conscientia et honore) a church very considerable in all these parts. And to such a communion, together with a convenient reformation of some grosser errors, it hath been my constant design to dispose and incline them. (2)

He did not have a very high opinion of Greek Orthodox spirituality:

> Et quoique leur ignorance et superstition déplorable, jointe à un orgeuil originel de la plupart, me pouvoit décourager, meanmoins par la clef de la Prédication, et les Eglises et les oreilles m'ont été ouvertes, (Je remets au bon Dieu son oeuvre propre de leur ouvrir les coeurs). (3)

What, then, were these grosser errors he was so anxious to correct? Unfortunately, many of his papers have not survived, and after his return

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(1) Darnell, p.118.

(2) I. Basire, Letter to Sir Richard Browne. (Darnell, p.118.) Vide supra, p. 39.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.77. Undated letter to Antony Leger.

to England he was always reluctant to spare the time to write about his travels, so there can only be speculation about the topics that he discussed with the various Patriarchs, and those things that might seem 'grosser errors' to the Anglican eye. Something of these discussions can be guessed from the replies of a former Greek Patriarch, Jeremias II, to the Lutherans, when they sent a copy of the Augsburg Confession for his consideration. Clearly Basire and the Greeks must have differed over the Filioque clause in the Creed, for in their reply to the Lutherans, the Greeks said that while they agreed with the remainder of the Creed, they would expect that the clause about the Dual Procession of the Holy Ghost would be omitted. Basire and the Patriarchs would have also differed about the number of Sacraments, for while the Greeks insisted upon seven, the Anglican Catechism affirms that only two are of dominical origin. Basire had already had trouble over the number of the Sacraments, for when he had tried to get his Greek translation of the Catechism printed in Venice, the Inquisition had stepped in to prevent it, on the grounds that it taught that there were but two Sacraments.

He would also have been disturbed by the lavish respect which was paid to ikons in the Greek Church, respect verging almost on worship. Lucaris had denied that any worship was intended, but it might have been difficult for a foreigner to make the distinction. When the Greeks were negotiating to erect a church in London in 1677, Bishop Compton objected to what he called the papistical usages of the Greek Church, singling out the presence of ikons, and the devotion paid to them.

The Lutherans had criticised the importance paid to monasticism in the Eastern Church, but it had been strongly defended by Jeremias. While admitting that many people were unfitted to bind themselves to a life of asceticism, he had agreed that if men led good lives, then they, too, could

win salvation. But he did stress the Orthodox conviction that it was a much better thing to devote one's life to the service of God, and to forswear the world. It could be that Basire had some sympathy for this view, for after his return to England in 1661, he expressed approval of a suggested scheme for the establishment of a Protestant nunnery.

Undoubtedly one matter on which they would have differed would have been the question of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, which at the time was occupying the minds of western theologians.(1) Unfortunately for Basire, the Greek Church had always been vague about the subject. Jeremias, in his reply to the Lutherans, claimed that a change in the elements was created by the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, but he shied at using the word 'transubstantiation'. Lucaris, in his 'Confession', had flatly rejected it, though in their reaction to the shock of the 'Confession', the Greek Church had seemed to acknowledge transubstantiation as part of its eucharistic doctrine. But there was no general agreement on the subject, and Basire would have found his Patriarchs unwilling to commit themselves. Sir George Wheler, in his travels in Levant, believed that the average Greek did not agree with the doctrine.(2) What Basire wanted, of course, was for the Greek Church to accept the Anglican doctrine, that while the Body and Blood of Our Lord are really present in the Eucharist, there is no material change in the elements.

In spite, however, of what he called the 'grosser errors' of the Greek Church, Basire would have found an encouraging measure of agreement between the two churches. First, both rejected the supremacy of Rome, while retaining

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.35. In 1668 Basire received a letter from Joannes Claudius, Paster of the Reformed Church in Paris, asking for some information about the Greek Orthodox eucharistic doctrine. He particularly wanted to know whether they had a doctrine of transubstantiation.

(2) Wheler, op.cit., p.196.

themselves a hierarchy with apostolic succession, and both believed in a charismatic equality of bishops. This was important to Basire, for his missionary activities to the East were taking place at a time when episcopacy and the Prayer Book had been proscribed in England, and it was this common acceptance of episcopacy which led many Anglicans to turn to the Orthodox Church as an ally against the attacks of Rome and the non-episcopal churches. Second, the Church of England followed a ritual that embodied much that was traditional and known in the East, Third, they both had a more liberal attitude to the laity of their churches. The laymen received Communion in both kinds, and were allowed a share in the councils of the Church, while neither church was unwilling to accept the monarch as the head of the Christian community. Fourth, both churches were shy of making definitive pronouncements on articles of faith, though for different reasons. And fifth, both laid stress on the Scriptures and Tradition, though Basire did not lay the same emphasis on Tradition as did the Greeks.

In spite of this measure of agreement, however, Basire was unable to bring about any real suggestion of union.

During his stay in Constantinople, Basire had some correspondence with Antony Leger, who, for a time, had acted as chaplain to the Dutch embassy. Leger wanted to know about the state of the reformed churches in the Levant, and encouraged Basire in his work;

> Your holy zeal to advance the Kingdom of God in those quarters, both amongst our own and the Greek nation, there happily employing the gift of divers tongues, wherewithal God hath in a large measure endowed you, declaring the wonderful works of God to everyone in his own tongue, as did the Apostles. (1)

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(1) Cosin Letter Books, fo.59. Leger to Basire 3 October 1654.

In what appears to be a copy of his reply, Basire gave some account of his activities:

> As for sermons, I sometimes give them in French, sometimes in Italian, that they might be understood by a congregation of Frenchmen, of English who are listening, of various others, of as many Greeks as Italians (even some of the Roman Church). The only reward I seek from it is by this means to hold fast from seduction and in the Faith at least our members in a country dangerous for them all. I have foreseen both the divisions of these within and the constant opposition of those without, but they assure me that my work will not be in vain in the sight of the Lord and I have had the courage to extend my aim to the Greeks. (1)

His reply ended with yet another outburst of praise for the Catechism, and he said that it had won much approval from many Christians, 'as much for its understanding of the fundamental points, as much in faith as in morality'. Indeed, three out of the four Patriarchs to whom he had given copies praised it highly.

There is an undated letter, clearly written at this time, in which the inhabitants of Balata(2) asked him to take a weekly service for them in the embassy chapel, as they also professed the reformed religion. There is, however, no trace of any response from Basire.

Basire described his activities as being along two main lines: first, he collated in their own tongue the confessions of faith of the various churches, as he had done in the case of the Greek, Armenian and Jacobite churches; second, he published the Catechism, 'quantum fert status'. Everywhere he went he proclaimed his self-imposed mission, expounding the principles

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.77. undated. (Translated from the French.)

(2) A suburb of Constantinople. 'Balata est un faubourg de Constantinople qu'il ne faut confondre avec Galata.' (Wheler, p.205.) The Levant Company had its factory at Galata and it was there that the ambassador's house was situated. Later he moved up the hill to Pera, 'to a fair house within a large field and pleasant gardens compassed within a wall.' All the European factors moved there, their warehouses remaining at Galata. (Wood, op.cit., p.238.)

of the Church of England, and showing how it strove both for orthodoxy and breadth of view. He was helped in his task by his natural aptitude for languages. In an age when educated men normally could speak more than one language, Basire stood out as an exceptional linguist. He had certainly taken to heart his father's advice about learning languages.

It is doubtful whether his efforts had any success: he established friendly relations with the local patriarchs and bishops, and presented them with the Catechism in their own languages. They tolerated his enthusiasm, but there is no evidence that they modified their views because of him. Perhaps on occasions the Orthodox leaders found in Basire and his Anglicanism simply an encouragement in their continual struggle with the Latins.

Indeed the attempts of Basire and others to bring about a union of East and West were premature. The principal thing that the East and the Anglicans had in common was their fear and dislike of Rome, and there were factors which tended to inhibit any approaches to unity. Basire's complaint about the superstition of the Greek Church has already been noted, and the Anglicans, and, indeed, Protestants generally, were afraid of superstition. Having freed themselves from what they were pleased to call the superstitions of Rome, they were reluctant to ally themselves with a church which seemed to them to be equally riddled with superstition. Robert Burton, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, published in 1621, accused the Greeks of having added so many superstitions to the true Faith that 'they be rather semi-Christians than otherwise.'(1)

Perhaps there was a more fundamental reason for the reluctance to come together in any way. The western approach to religion tended to be intellectual, and this was seen clearly in Calvinism. Western Protestants sought clear-cut

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(1) Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy (Everyman ed., 1896), i, p.70.

answers to their questions which the Orthodox were unable to give. The background to Orthodox thought was the consciousness that God is unknowable, and so they fought shy of new dogmatic definition. In any case, through their doctrine of Economy, they believed that the Holy Spirit would overlook any minor errors in the interest of the smooth running of the Church. Lucaris was the possible exception to the Orthodox leaders. The intellectual Calvinism appealed to him, and he regarded the Protestant approach to his Church as a challenge to it, and an incentive to reform itself and reshape its whole approach to religion. But Lucaris, for all his personal qualities, failed, and the Orthodox Church was left to turn in on itself once more. In addition, with the coming of the eighteenth century, the West seemed to lose interest in the Orthodox Church, and the temper of Augustan Anglicanism was hardly likely to produce either concern or sympathy with them. But at least, Basire and the others had made the Greeks aware of Anglicanism, and their fellow Anglicans aware of the Orthodox, and so at least anticipated the contacts which would take place in the nineteenth century.

At the end of his life, in the preamble to his will, Basire summed up his own philosophy, which had been the mainspring of his activity:

> And I do declare that as I have lived, so I do die, with comfort in the Holy Communion of the Church of England, both for doctrine and discipline. And I do further protest, that having taken a serious survey of most Christian churches, both Eastern and Western, I have not found a parallel of the Church of England both for soundness of Apostolical Doctrine and Catholic Discipline. (1)

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.12, no.155.

TRANSYLVANIA

In 1654 Basire was planning a journey to Egypt, where he hoped to make a study of the Coptic Church, and to confer with the Patriarch of Alexandria. His plans, however, were completely changed when he met Akos Barcsai, the Transylvanian envoy, who was in Constantinople to pay his country's annual tribute to the Sultan. He was impressed by Basire, 'by his great learning and sound morals', and suggested to George Rákóczi II, the Prince of Transylvania, that Basire should be appointed to the staff of the College of Gyulaférvár (Alba Julia). In the meantime, he promised to have Basire's Greek Catechism printed in his country, as it had been confiscated, and its printing forbidden, by the Inquisition in Venice. Rákóczi's invitation was dated 27 August 1654:

> We, therefore, moved by the desire of promoting the cause of the orthodox religion, have called upon you, and by these our princely letters do hereby call upon you, to undertake and exercise the duties of public professor in our university of Weissenborg, and appoint you by these presents to be our ordinary professor of Divinity in the said university. Moreover, out of our liberality, and to support the dignity of the station, we assign you an annual salary, together with a good and convenient mansion, and we also confer upon you all and singular immunities and privileges annexed to your professorship. Furthermore, we allow you free permission either to return to his Most Serene Majesty the King of Great Britain, or to remain with us in the execution of your acamedical duties. (1)

He was to be the colleague of Johannes Bisterfeld, the German Professor of Theology at the College. When, however, his contract was signed on 1 March 1655,(2) Bisterfeld had died and Basire took his place. By the contract, he was to occupy Bisterfeld's house, and to receive a salary of 1800 florins (or 1000 imperials), half provided from the college endowments, administered by the bishop, and half from the royal treasury. His appointment was to take effect from 1 March 1655.

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(1) Darnell, p.128. (Original in Latin: Darnell's translation.) Weissenberg, Gyulafehérvár and Alba Julia were all names of the same place, and are believed to derive from the white limestone of which the town was originally built.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.132*, no.95. (The signed contract, fo.10, no.22.)

Basire must have accepted the appointment almost immediately, because before the end of 1654 he had obtained a safe-conduct for his journey: 'Licence de M. de la Haye, ambassadeur en Levant du Roi très Chrétien pour Dr. Basire en allant au Transyl., 1654.'(1) Charles II warmly commended Basire to Rakoczi in November 1655;

> Whereas our trusty and well-beloved Isaac Basire, D.D., by his most acceptable cause of services, performed, as well to the Sovereign Lord the King our Father of blessed memory, to whom he was Chaplain, as also to ourself, and likewise for his universal knowledge, excellent learning, sincere preaching of God's word, for his indefatigable travels, to propagate the Christian faith, and through his unblameable integrity of conversation, hath excellently well deserved from the Church of England, and from us. It was most welcome news to us which we lately received, that after no small loss of his goods in England, and the great troubles he hath suffered for his constant loyalty to us, he hath been so graciously entertained by your Highness that he hath found with you a singular comfort in his affliction.(2)

Basire was obviously delighted with his appointment; it would ease his precarious financial position, and provide further opportunities of making known the virtues of the Church of England. But he could have had little conception of the unsettled state of the country to which he was going.

Transylvania had been separated from Hungary in 1540, and had become an independent principality under its own princes, owing a fairly nominal allegiance to the Emperor on the one hand, and to the Turkish Sultan on the other. In Translyvania, as in Hungary, the ruler was elected by the Estates-General,(3) but since the country was a Turkish vassal-state, the election

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.21. 12 November 1654.

(2) Ibid., fo.10, no.24. 26 November 1655. (Basire's translation of the original Latin letter, no.23.)

(3) Though the Estates-General in theory occupied a prominent place in the country, it gradually lost its importance. After 1622 it met only once a year, and the nobility became simply courtiers. The princes did not pressurise the Estates-General, but made themselves independent of it, having sufficient money of their own to maintain mercenary armies. Eventually, the Estates-General ceased to be a forum of public opinion, and became a meeting of magnates in support of the prince. (Ladislas Makkal, Histoire de Transylvanie (Paris, 1946), p.259ff.)

required the confirmation of the Porte, and if the properly-elected prince showed signs of assuming too much power, or of embarking on adventures thought detrimental to the Turks, they had no hesitation in supporting rival claimants to the throne. Apart from short periods, the country had led an uneasy existence. It was not an ethnographical unity, since it contained privileged Magyar (Hungarians) and Saxon ruling élite as well as the great mass of ordinary peasant Roumanians, all with their different languages and customs, and at continual variance with one another. It lay open to foreign invasion from all sides, and, like all weak states, had only survived by allying itself with one or other of its stronger neighbours. Its princes were nearly all ambitious and under Gabriel Bethlen and George Rákóczi I, Transylvania prospered. As one writer has put it, 'the rulers of Transylvania based their policy on a vision, not reality'.(1)

George Rákóczi I determined, however, to make himself independent of both Turks and Habsburgs, and allied himself with the Swedes. The Turks invaded the country to punish him, only to be heavily defeated in 1636. Eight years later, when the Austrians attacked the Swedes, who were then in Hungary, Rákóczi invaded Hungary in support of his allies, and also in support of the Hungarian Protestants, who had complained that their rights were being disregarded, and defeated the Emperor. The subsequent Treaty of Linz gave Rákóczi guarantees for his future security, and Transylvania figures as a sovereign state in the Treaty of Westphalia.(2) It seemed that Transylvania would carry on as an hereditary monarchy under the House of Rákóczi, and might hold the balance between Cross and Crescent, by extending

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(1) Peter F. Sugar, South Eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804 (University of Washington Press, 1977), p.167.

(2) The Treaty of Linz, signed on 16 December 1645, gave the Protestants complete religious liberty. Rákóczi ratified the treaty at Alba Julia on 20 October 1646. (S. Bauhofer, History of the Protestant Church in Hungary, tr. J.Craig (London, 1854.)

its power into Poland, Moldavia and Wallachia. But all changed in 1648. The Treaty of Westphalia gave the Habsburgs the opportunity to interest themselves in what was going on in Transylvania, at least for a time, while, under the Kiuprili family, the Turkish Empire was slowly recovering, and once more becoming powerful. In the same year George Rákóczi I was succeeded by his son, George Rákóczi II, who was to be Basire's patron. The younger George inherited his father's foreign policy and ambitions, but had neither his wisdom nor caution.

In deciding to accept Rákóczi's invitation to Transylvania, Basire was influenced by the picture given to him in Constantinople of the religious state of the country. There was a large Protestant population, and as Transylvania was midway between eastern and western Christianity, he thought there might be profitable points of contact between Protestantism and Greek Orthodoxy.(1) Both Calvinism and Lutheranism had taken root in Transylvania, while Unitarianism had become a force to reckon with, all these religions attracting adherents among the ruling, landowning Saxon and Magyar élites. The tensions among the religious denominations had been stabilised in 1571, when the Diet passed a law recognising what it called the 'four received religions' of the ruling élites: Calvinism, Lutheranism, Unitarianism and Roman Catholicism. Each denomination was allowed the free exercise of its religion, together with 'equal status for all time'. While it is true that toleration was always relative, Transylvania did provide a significant field of experiment in toleration, especially at a time when much of Europe was

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(1) It is, perhaps, an over-simplification to relate the different churches to nationalities, though the Orthodox Church was almost entirely Roumanian. The Reformation in Hungary arrived at the same time as the Turks, who saw Catholicism as a known enemy, and encouraged Protestantism in the areas they controlled. So Lutheranism was followed by Calvinism and, particularly in Transylvania, by Unitarianism, and though the Saxons tended to stay with Luther, the Hungarians tried all three varieties, not to mention Sabbatarianism.

torn by wars of religion. This complex situation appealed to Basire. The flaw in the arrangement, however, was that the Greek Church was excluded from it, a serious omission in view of the fact that it had more adherents than the others among the Roumanian peasant population. Their faith was 'tolerated', in other words, while it could be freely practised, it was not given political equality with the other denominations. George Rákóczi I favoured Calvinism, and tried to lessen the dominance of the Greek Orthodox Church by a vigorous campaign of proselytism, and by encouraging the use of the vernacular in the Scriptures and in the conduct of services, but Protestantism does not appear to have made much headway among the Roumanians, probably due to the gulf which existed, racially and socially, between them and the privileged adherents of the new religions, the Magyars and the Saxons.

Basire seemed completely unaware of the tensions and uncertainties of life in Transylvania, and soon after his arrival in the country, asked his wife to join him in Alba Julia. In January 1656 Frances told him that all her preparations to leave had been made, and that she hoped to be with him later in the year.(1) But even now their affairs were complicated by finance, and whether or not she could make the journey depended on whether Basire could send her £100 by her uncle Pigott. She intended bringing her daughter Mary with her - 'she is so serviceable to me that I can in no case want her'. Peter and Charles were to come as companions to their mother, while John was to be left in the care of friends at Eaglescliffe, and Isaac with Dr Busby in London. She dryly commented that when her proposed journey became known, she would have 'those old debtors around her'. She intended, however, to quieten them 'with wisdom and good advice'. Meanwhile she told her husband how worried she had been over Peter, who had been staying at Rouen in the care of M. Roussel, an old school-fellow of Basire. Peter had

(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.83. 24 January 1656. Basire annotated this letter 'Received January 20 1657. The looking-glasse of conjugal obedience.'

last written to her in February 1655[1] and had lamented that during the two years he had been there, he had learned little but to speak French, and to read and write a little, while waiting for his father's return. Roussel had apparently boarded him out with a pastor living twelve miles out of Rouen, in order that he might learn Latin. This had not proved successful, for the pastor had failed to teach him anything 'by reason of his forwardness and for sickness of the dropsy whereby he died'. A second tutor had been no more successful, this time because his pupil had been sick of quartan and tertian fever for almost a year. A third tutor, also named Roussel, had proved such a hard taskmaster that Peter had finally written to his guardian, beseeching him 'to take me out of this slavery'. The fourth tutor was a M. Geuese, a minister in Rouen, and a kinsman of Peter's father. According to Peter, he starved his pupil and treated him harshly. Eventually Peter went to stay with yet another tutor, this time in Quéville, about a mile from Rouen. The fees were rather higher, but Peter thought that he was making more progress, and hoped to speak very good Latin in a year or so. He was also worried about the health of his mother and sister. He wanted her to write and tell him how old he was, 'to satisfy his curiosity'. He must have remembered his mother as a very capable housewife, for he looked back with nostalgia to her wonderful cheeses, and asked her to send him one, 'as big as the moon', if she could find a ship carrying coal to Rouen from the north-east coast of England. He also wanted Isaac to write him a letter in Latin, and he promised to reply in the same language, 'for to speak English I cannot say a word'. He pleaded pathetically to be allowed to return home before the end of the year, to assure her and the family of his love, and 'to learn his mother tongue'.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.34.

M. Roussel, for his part, had not been finding it easy to look after Basire's affairs, and to find tutors for his son. In March 1655 he told Mrs Basire,

> I am very weary of having charge of his affairs, and of his son and yours, whose board and entertainment go far beyond his revenue. (1)

He proposed sending her his account, and hoped that he might be paid within six months:

> for though he has been my intimate friend, yet had I known his purpose had been to remain seven years away out of this (country), I should have been loath to have undertaken such a charge and trouble. I wish (I) had given thirty pounds to the poor rather than to have undergone all these pains.

Meanwhile, Basire began his duties at the College of Alba Julia.

The Calvinist College at Gyulafehérvár (Alba Julia) had been founded in 1622 by Gabor Bethlen[2] who hoped that it would become the leading educational establishment in Transylvania, and endowed it generously. He invited German theologians to occupy the main posts, in order to provide a sound Reformed basis of instruction. Among the more notable members of the staff were Martin Opitz, Alsted, Piscator and Bisterfeld, whom Basire was to succeed. The students were trained mainly as teachers and clergy, and included members of some of the great Transylvanian families. Bethlen also provided funds to send students to study abroad in Protestant colleges and universities. They went mainly to the Netherlands and Britain, where they became well acquainted with all the contemporary trends in academic and church life. Basire's was not a popular appointment, for the Hungarian members of staff envied his high salary and free lodgings. Some queried Basire's suitability for the post. One of his pupils, Miklos Bethlen (1642-1716) rose to become

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.75. 10 March 1655.

(2) Makkal, op.cit., p.233.

Chancellor of Transylvania, and while in prison towards the end of his life[1] wrote his autobiography,[2] in which he gave his impression of Basire. He first described the significance of Basire's appointment:

> Shortly afterwards Bisterfeld died and the responsibility of the whole college at Fehérvár fell upon him (i.e. Basire) all the more since he was regarded as a semi-martyr in the cause of justice. This was all the easier for him because at that time the poor uncivilised Hungarians, particularly in Transylvania, believed that no man could be a scholar unless he was a German, and went about in German-style trousers.

It would have been considered sacrilege for any Hungarian to have taken the title of professor or doctor of theology, philosophy or medicine. The four Hungarian teachers of syntax, poetics, rhetoric and logic, were simply called 'rectors'. The German was called professor of Holy Scripture and theology, and his mantle had fallen on Basire.

Bethlen spoke favourably of Basire as a person: he was pleasant, moderate and of sober habits. He was well-behaved, affable and a good conversationalist, gracious and eloquent. He was a good Latinist, speaking fluently and elegantly, though with a French accent. Bethlen, however, was not impressed by him professionally: he considered him to be only a mediocre theologian, with a superficial, rather than a deep knowledge of other subjects, with the exception of mathematics. His knowledge of Hebrew and Greek was weak, and Bethlen disapproved of his intention to teach both languages. In

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(1) When it seemed that Transylvanian independence was to be lost, and that the country would become a province of the Austrian Empire, Bethlen, in 1704, appealed to Protestant England and Holland for assistance, arguing that Transylvanian independence was of interest to all Protestant states. Unfortunately the letters fell into the hands of the military governor, appointed by the Emperor. Bethlen was condemned to death, but an imperial amnesty commuted the sentence to life imprisonment, and Bethlen died in prison in 1716. (Makkal, op.cit., p.256.)

(2) Miklos Bethlen, Oneletiras, ed. Eva V. Windisch (Budapest, 1955) vol.i, pp.156ff. (I owe the translation of this and other Hungarian material to Professor Cushing of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London.)

Bethlen's view, Basire's students, and other 'good, solid folk', regarded him as unsatisfactory for the important post of professor, and the high salary it commanded. While Basire was considered to be a good preacher, they found his disputations boring and fruitless, so much so that at the college of Sarospataki, the number of students who attended his lectures was very small.

Bethlen confessed that he did not know what authority Basire recognised in his teaching of philosophy, but in theology he certainly accepted the authority of Wollebius.(1) He noted that Basire normally wrote out his lectures at home, and then dictated them to his students:

> He began with words and analysed them for a time: 'hucusque onomatologia, eamus ad pragmatologian'; true, there was a lot in his dictation - philosophy, philology, ethics, politics, history - but neither I, nor much older and wiser students than I, learned anything from him, and if the college had not given its students free board, as my father did me, we should certainly all have left him and gone to Kolozsvar with Apáczai. Indeed, most of the students did leave, going to Kolozsvar, Debrecen and Patak. I cannot set down anything that I studied with him; in theology and philosophy I was always opposed to him, and on one occasion I gave a public lecture to a crowded auditorium in praise of metaphysics. This is how I wasted my time, to my great detriment from March 1656 to June 1657....In June 1657 we had to flee Fehérvár because of the news from Poland. (Apaczai once wrote a fine thesis in which he showed that out of the thousand thalers paid to Basire and the then yearly income of the college at Fehérvár, there was enough to pay for a gymnasium to teach classics, an academy and eight professors.)

While these criticisms may appear damning to Basire's reputation as a teacher, it would be fair to say that they reflect the deep division between members of the Calvinist church in Translyvania. On the one hand, there were the traditionalists, led by the Prince, George Rákóczi II, and consisting

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(1) Jean Wollebius (1536-1626) was professor of New Testament in the University of Basle. His chief work was Abrégé de Théologie (Compendium Theologiae) which became a classic in schools of theology. (Biographie Universelle (1843-65), v, 43.)

of the more conservative of the clergy and academics. Though Calvinists, they supported an episcopal order of church government, and an Aristotelian philosophy, and were in line with Basire's own thinking. In Bethlen's opinion, this made Basire acceptable to the prince, the bishops and the gentry, and made him an ardent supporter of Rákóczi, who saw himself very much as the 'defender of the faith'. To Bethlen, Basire appeared over-zealous and intolerant in his views.

On the other hand, there was the party which supported the new ideas which were being brought into the country by Hungarian students returning from the West. Presbyterian and Independent thought had greatly influenced many of them, and they returned home convinced that these new ideas would raise the cultural level of Church and State. The Protestant Church in Transylvania reacted vigorously against the new ideas because it wished to guarantee the survival of the Church by the purity of its doctrine and centralisation of its organisation. In 1646 the Synod of Szarenárnémeti, under the prince, condemned Puritanism as scandalous, and took its stand on the authority of bishops, ordering the censoring of books and the surveillance of the pastors coming back from abroad. George Rákóczi II at first was tolerant of the new ideas, but the English Civil Wars and the execution of Charles I brought about a stronger emphasis on orthodoxy.

These tensions were reflected in the life of the College and came to a head soon after Basire took up his duties as principal. The leader of the opposition was a brilliant young Hungarian scholar, Janos Apaczai Csere, who had returned to Transylvania after having studied in Holland for five years. He was an Independent in his ecclesiology, accepting Cartesian philosophy, and was very much in favour of educational reform. Inevitably he and Basire clashed, for Basire regarded his teaching as dangerous. Matters reached a climax on 24 September 1655, at a disputation which was held before

the Prince. Basire launched a strong attack on Arpaczai, who was compelled to admit to the Prince that he was an Independent. George was so enraged that he wanted A paczai thrown from the battlements, but later calmed down enough to banish him to a dilapidated school at Kolozsvar, where he began to introduce reforms in the educational system. To their contemporaries, Arpaczai was a more attractive personality than Basire; he was a much younger man, brimming over with the new ideas he had brought from Holland. He also appeared to be a better teacher, and his popularity was enhanced by the fact that he taught in Hungarian. Basire, in contrast, was a foreigner and appeared to the students as a narrow-minded conservative. As a result, when A pazcai left Alba Julia he took a large number of students with him.(1)

With his chief opponent removed, Basire was now free to devote himself to what he considered to be his two main objects in Alba Julia; to improve the college and to make it the foremost educational establishment in the country; and to bring the Church into line with the views of the Prince and himself. All that we know of his scheme to improve the college is contained in a paper which he wrote in 1656, entitled Articuli propositi Principi Rákóczi ab Is. Basirio .(2) Unfortunately the manuscript is damaged and much of it is indecipherable, but it is possible to make out some of the ways in which he thought the life of the college could be improved. He suggested that the buildings should be put in good repair, and made more adequate for their purpose. They should be used only for academic purposes, and not put to any different use. He was much concerned with student discipline, and set out in detail how it should be enforced, and where the final authority lay. Suitable teachers should be appointed, and the college staff should set a high example of a disciplined Christian life. Stringent

(1) For a full account of their rivalry see Frigyes Endrodi, Basire Izsak Erdelyben, in Studies in English Philology (Budapest, 1937), vol.ii.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.33.

conditions should be laid down for entry into the college, and he insisted that before any students were admitted, they should submit testimonials as to their suitability for college life. He did not think that attendances at courses were very well regulated, and he had drawn up draft regulations to prevent any absence from college during term-time.

He emphasised the need for some measure of uniformity in the books which were to be used by the students, and which ought to be printed to a high standard on good quality paper. Some printing must have been done on the college premises, for on the eve of the Turkish invasion, the college apparently had the use of a printing press and suitable type.

Basire's second aim of safeguarding the Church against the new ideas which were coming into the country emerges in a letter which he wrote to Charles II in 1656,[1] and in which he hints at the opposition he was having to face:

> Since your royal father adopted me as his subject and servant, my allegiance has been so firm that to bind it needed not the addition of your gracious letter to my new master, the Prince of Transylvania, yet gratitude improves my sense of duty, which I hope to prove when the King of Kings restores you to your throne, which is my chiefest wish.
>
> The delivery of your letter was providentially seasonable as the very time when the notorious representatives were met at their diet, and it was noised that, by reason of the public act of mine some months since in the university before the Prince, against independency and presbytery (flown over here from England) and for episcopacy, that crew was so incensed against me that they threatened to cite me before their national assembly as now they do before their general synod; where by the better, though not the bigger part, I am chosen to preside...(2)
>
> The effect of your benign influence has been the constancy and improvement of the Prince's favour, but this increases my opponents' envy.

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(1) C.S.P.D. 1655-56, p.258; dated 8th April.

(2) This is probably a reference to the incident in September 1655 when he launched his attack on Arpaczai.

At the Synod held at Marosvarhely in June 1656, Basire read out his plan for the safeguarding of the Church.(1) All his points were concerned with very necessary reforms, and in many ways give a preview of the things which were to occupy his mind when he finally resumed his duties as Archdeacon of Northumberland.

First, he emphasised the need for a thorough reformation of the administration of Communion, so that no scandal should take place, 'lest the obviously unworthy or even the excommunicate should eat of the children's bread'. He suggested that uniformity in the actual administration of Communion would advance the unity of the Church. From his remarks about baptism, it would seem that private baptism (i.e. baptism in the home) was as much a trouble to the Transylvanian Church as it would be to the restored Church of England. Basire made the suggestion that Solemn Baptism should be administered in the presence of the congregation, as, indeed, he said, had been ordered by Canon 12 of the Hungarian Church in 1595. He set out the advantages which he believed would accrue if this custom were to be adopted: people would have a better understanding of the nature of the sacrament, and that, in turn, would inculcate a deeper sense of Christian duty, and a deeper piety among the people.

He supported the Rákóczis in their policy of giving the people services in the vernacular, and argued that congregations ought, at least, to be able to join in the singing of the Psalms. He suggested that one of the reasons for the relative success of Calvinist propaganda among the Roumanians of Translyvania had been the use of the vernacular - Hungarian, German and Roumanian - in the religious services provided for the different ethnic groups. The Bible had been translated into Hungarian in 1590, and Basire

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.32. Considerationes quaedem Ecclesiasticae.

greatly regretted that his request for a new and corrected edition had met with no response from the Prince.

Education was always important to Basire, and he made one or two suggestions as to how it might be improved. Vernacular schools or seminaries should be established for boys and girls, and he quoted in support Galatians iii.18., 'In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female'. He was convinced that such schools would increase true religion quickly, and decrease the danger of apostasy to other denominations. Private schools should be carefully inspected, teachers properly trained, and there ought to be some uniformity in school books, especially the Catechism, so that pupils who moved from place to place should not suffer.

He wanted the safekeeping of church registers, and the proper recording of church income, and ended by recommending that at the end of each synod a panel should be appointed, consisting of the bishops and three or four doctors, whose task it would be to pass judgment on bad cases of offences against ecclesiastical law, and to establish some form of censorship of books.

Basire summed up in a letter to Sir Edward Hyde his aims as professor of theology as 'the opportunity in the chair to propagate the right Christian religion, as well for discipline as for doctrine'.(1) He clearly did not see his work as confined simply to academic instruction, and he was determined to influence the life of the country as widely as possible.

To ensure that his ideas had the largest possible circulation, he also published in 1656 a pamphlet in which he set out his ideas about episcopal government of the Church.(2) Basically, as we have already seen, he regarded

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(1) Darnell, p.161.

(2) Triumviratus sive Calvinus, Beza et Zanchius pro Episcopatu. Published at Patakini in 1656. (Hunter MSS., fo.140, no.12.)

episcopacy as having a 'ius divinum', the historic oversight of the Church. But, like Hooker, he was sympathetic to many of the reformed churches over their lack of episcopacy, regarding this lack as due to the incident of history, rather than the deliberate action on their part. He would not, however, have endorsed Hooker's argument that while episcopacy was of apostolic institution, and consecrated by use, it was not positively enjoined by the Law of God. Therefore, in certain circumstances, it might be rejected, as it had been in Geneva.(1) Basire was much closer to the Laudian view. In his pamphlet he was at pains to show how the idea of episcopacy was maintained in many reformed churches under different titles. This is brought out very clearly in a paper he wrote entitled Some Fragments of ecclesiastical observation about the Government and Rites of sundry Reformed outlandish Churches.(2) Unfortunately the paper is undated, but it was clearly written after 1659, most probably during his last year in Transylvania, while waiting to go home. He examined the practice of the Protestant churches in turn, beginning with the church in Germany. There, he said, the Church was governed by bishops, 'nomine et re', that is to say, bishops who had both the power of ordination, and also the authority of jurisdiction over subordinate clergy. These powers were executed, sometimes by individual bishops, and sometimes synodically, according to the nature of the acts performed. In most areas the bishops were called superintendents, but Basire regarded this as but a change from the Greek word "episcopus" into a worse Latin title of 'Super-intendens'. In support of his argument

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(1) cf. H.Trevor-Roper, Renaissance Essays (London, 1985), p.110.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.93.

he claimed the authority of Zanchius,[1] though he is rather vague as to where the note is to be found. In Poland the Protestant Church was governed by bishops, and he noted that they claimed to hold office according to the Apostolic Succession. He noted with interest that in Poland the people received Communion kneeling - 'they utterly detest as profane the gesture of sitting'. He explained that sitting to receive Communion really stemmed from Arianism, for that heresy 'degraded Christ into a lower form of deity', and so made sitting to receive the Sacrament the norm, and 'so presume upon this homely familiarity with our blessed Saviour'. It seemed to him that there was much in the Polish Lutheran Church which was like the Church of England; they had high altars, 'and upon them candles burning at some time', they observed roughly the same holy days, while before their pulpits hung cloths upon which were crosses of needlework.

As for the Church in Hungary, he noted that since the Reformation they had been governed by bishops of whom there had been fifteen. Basire discovered that in that part of Hungary which was under the control of the Turks, there were still two Protestant bishops, and even in the part of the country governed by 'the Roman Emperor', there were also two Protestant bishops.

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(1) As Basire gives no details about Zanchius, it is difficult to identify him. There were two theologians of that name. Jerome was in a monastery for nineteen years before being converted to Protestantism by Peter Martyr. He lectured in theology at Strasburg, and after an interval in parochial ministry, became professor of theology at Heidelberg. He wrote a number of books; on the Trinity, the nature of God, the Creation, the fall of man, and commentaries on Hosea and I Peter. H. Zanchius was a humanist alongisde Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, Acontius and Grotius. They tended to concern themselves with the moral rather than the doctrinal content of Christianity, and their ideas made an impact on the Great Tew circle. Zanchius thought efforts to enforce orthodoxy by force as futile, and favoured a church based on a common profession of those articles of faith consented to by all, a church which repudiated all non-rational methods of teaching doctrine. The evidence would seem to suggest that it was Jerome to whom Basire was referring.

He then turned to the Church in Transylvania. It, too, had had bishops since the Reformation, and he gave a list of them taken from the registers of the Church in Alba Julia. In 1653, however, there had been a determined effort by those who had been influenced by the Presbyterian and Independent ideas brought from Holland, to abolish bishops. This attempt had been defeated through 'the constancy of that heroical Prince George Rákóczi II and the vigilance and courage of him who was then entrusted with choice in the schools, and thro' God's blessing defeated their plot'. Basire expressed his contempt for another attempt to abolish episcopacy in 1659, when the country was ruled by Akos Barcsai, who had replaced Rakoczi as Prince at the command of the Turks. Barcsai, trying to ingratiate himself with those demanding the abolition, agreed to their demands, and it was only the resistance of the nobility which prevented the law from being passed.(1)

Basire then gave an account of ordination in the Transylvanian Church. The churches of both Hungary and Transylvania normally met once a year in several provincial synods. They were presided over by the bishop, who, on this occasion, at least, Basire thought to be in effect a Metropolitan Archbishop. The bishops first examined the candidates for Orders, and when they had taken the canonical oaths of obedience, conferred Holy Orders on them through the laying on of hands, during which ceremony the choir sang the Veni Creator. In the laying on of hands the bishop used the formal words from John xxii:- 'Receive thou the Holy Ghost, etc.' - and apparently he was joined in the act by the other 'seniors' who were present. Basire then argued that these 'seniors' were, in fact, diocesan bishops

> for the Helvetian or Switzerland's Confession (which these churches do profess) allows of no other seniors or presbyters or elders, but such as have the authority of imposition of hands in the ordination of ministers with power, (which) was never yet by any approved Reformed Church attributed to any pretended Lay-elders.

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(1) George Rákóczi II founded a new bishopric at Bihor. (Matila Ghyka, Documented Chronology of Rouma nian History (Oxford, 1941), p.85.

Basire never managed to fulfil his plans for either the college or the Church for his activities were overtaken by political events. In 1656 George Rákóczi II made his ill-fated intervention in Poland in support of the Swedes, and in the hope of winning the Polish throne. In January 1657 his army entered Cracow, and joined up with Charles Gustavus of Sweden, and their combined armies captured Brest-Litovsk in May. The Turks, however, viewed the activities of their Transylvanian vassal with disfavour, and George was ordered to return to his own country. George, however, completely misread the situation, thinking that the Turks were too committed elsewhere to bother about him. He ignored the Turkish instruction and continued his war against increasing Polish resistance. Unfortunately for him, the Swedes withdrew their forces to meet the Danish invasion of their own country, and George was left in a critical position. Realising that he could not fight the war alone, he decided on a fighting retreat, but was forced to make peace in July 1657, agreeing to withdraw completely from Poland, and pay a heavy indemnity to the Turks. George himself escaped to his Slovakian estates, but his army was defeated and captured by a combined force of Poles and Tartars.

Meanwhile, in Transylvania itself, the Turks demanded George's deposition from the princedom. The Estates-General was ordered to elect a new prince, and they chose Francis Ridei. The new prince was elderly, and the Estates-General expected him to die fairly soon, giving time for the Turkish wrath to subside, and so providing an opportunity for Rákóczi to make his peace with the Turks, and resume the throne. The people of Transylvania, however, were becoming disillusioned with him, the general feeling being that he was sacrificing the well-being of the country on the altar of his own ambition.

Basire himself was not at all happy. He was bothered about the irregular payment of his salary, and he was not sure how long his appointment was going

to last. Clearly his position depended on the support of the Prince, and he felt that that support had not been forthcoming, when the Prince was embroiled in Poland, giving little attention to the affairs of his own country. He wrote numerous letters to Rákóczi about his difficulties, but did not receive any reply. On 29 December, however, the Prince wrote to him from Alonost,(1) apologising for his delay in replying to Basire's letters, and urging him to join him if he could. From the letter, it looked as though Basire had seriously been considering going home, as he was entitled to do under the terms of his contract, or at least moving elsewhere. Rákóczi told him to wait until the Diet had come to some decision about his own future, before he made any final decision to leave. Rákóczi assured him that 'we shall not fail to take proper measures to secure your state and dignity. Let not your excellency doubt of my favour toward you'. George added a postscript to the letter:

> Knowing your Excellency to be fond of antiquity, I have sent you a few old coins, which have somehow or other come into my hands. Do not, however, measure my esteem for you by the value of this trifling present.

Not only was Basire anxious about his position in Transylvania, and especially about the threat of a Turkish invasion and its effect on the life of the college, but he felt that he had been forgotten by Charles II and his friends at home. He complained to Hyde that while he had written to both him and the King four years before, he had as yet had no reply. He wanted Hyde to write to him, giving him news of the King, and 'of that knot of precious friends, Sir George Ratcliffe, Sir Edward Walker, Dr. Earles, Dr. Creighton, etc., whose happy meeting, next to my own dear wife and five children, unseen above eleven years, (and sad divorce, God knows, I feel it) 'tis one of my choicest vows here on earth'. He was pleased, however, that in spite of all his worries, his health was excellent,

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(1) Darnell, p.159.

> notwithstanding the variety, that I say not contrariety, of so many climates, hot and cold, throughout these several regions of Europe, Asia and Africa, which before, for so many years pilgrimage I have inhabited; For, at this age, past fifty years, yet for labour and vigour I do find myself as strong as at 25, God's holy name be praised, not knowing as much yet, as what means a headache.

In his letter to Hyde he enclosed one to his wife, and asked him to send it on 'that my poor wife, of whom I have not heard a great while, may be refreshed with the knowledge of my life and health hitherto'.(1)

He told a former pupil, Andrew Olthard, that he was harassed day and night with his public duties, and could hardly find time to write.(2) Apparently Olthard had sent him money to enable him to leave Alba Julia if the Turks invaded the country, and find a place of greater safety. But Basire refused to leave because he felt that his presence in the city would not only provide a good example to the others, but might also be useful to the government. He argued 'that a subject cannot, unless he had permission, leave the service of the legitimate prince (though his conduct be tyrannical) without incurring the guilt of perjury and consequently of treason'. He was sorry to hear that Olthard had again been ill, and advised 'the use of diuretics, such as 'sal prunella', and the more frequent and daily bathing of your feet in warm wine for the purpose of effecting a change in the humours of your system - yet never without the sanction of your medical attendant'.

Later in the month he received letters from correspondents in Constantinople,(3) telling him that the Grand Vizier was with his forces in Belgrade, gathering more support before invading Transylvania. He also learned that the Venetians had won a bloody victory over the Turks. On 8 August he told the Prince bluntly(4) that he must either come to the defence of his country

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.132*, p.117. 28 May 1658.

(2) Ibid., p.113. 5 August 1658.

(3) Ibid., p.114. 8 August 1658.

(4) Ibid.

or abdicate. He set out to the Prince three possible courses of action in the doubtful situation in which he found himself; either to betray the country, or to yield it to its enemies, or to defend it. To betray it to the enemy would be a criminal act, to yield without a struggle would be disgraceful and ruinous; to defend it was the only honourable course. He suggested three means of resistance: first, to trust in God and in a just cause; second, to establish a closer bond between prince and people, since 'salus populi suprema lex'; the third suggestion was that every tenth slave should be emancipated. 'The better part of them should be selected, the most steady, not the poorest, heads of families, men of good character. It is better to give liberty to others, in itself a god-like work, than through diabolical envy or spite to suffer ourselves and others to be enslaved.' He added that this emancipation should be conditional, 'as was that of the freedmen among the Romans'. He told the prince that many of his subjects were convinced that he was the cause of all their troubles. The government was proving to be a broken reed, arguing and talking incessantly, but coming to no firm decisions. Rákóczi should either save or dissolve the government in order to prevent its overthrow.

Four days later, he wrote another letter of advice and exhortation, but, unfortunately, the messenger forgot to take it with him.(1) Rákóczi's absence was increasing the danger to his kingdom of invasion by the Turks, and people were beginning to ask what hope they could have in their absent prince. Basire suggested that, at least, George might send some part of his army to the capital; it would strike terror into the enemy, be a check upon traitors and rebels, and restore the confidence of his supporters. He once more reminded him that 'salus populi suprema l ex', and, paradoxically, wished that his prince would order him not to meddle in politics, 'such

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.132*, p.115. 12 August 1658.

matters being without the sphere of my scholastic duties'. Apparently the nobles, clergy and superintendents of education were concerning themselves not so much with the well-being of the community, as with that of their own families and dependants, and there was no one of authority left in the city, not even the Bishop of Alba Julia. Basire himself was very much occupied in safeguarding the college. He had almost fifty pupils left with him, and of them perhaps thirty-five were reasonably well-armed. But he had not encouraged them to flee to their homes in small groups, because they were ill-provided with the means of defence. He had warned them, however, not to place too much reliance on his own 'obstinacy in remaining at my post, but to take reasonable measures for their personal safety'. He had given the college printing press to the Lord President for safekeeping, and he had undertaken to transport it to safety. As for the Prince's type and the muniments of the College, Basire had deposited them in the Chapter House and walled them up. Now he was going to turn his attention to the library. Clearly Basire was giving a much needed lead in preparing the city for the expected attack of the Turks. He, himself, unless instructed otherwise by the Prince, proposed to retire to Hermanstadt, where some of his predecessors in office had found refuge in the troubled times of Bethlen Gabor. He feared that his delaying in the capital might lead to his capture, but he was confident that God would support him should this come about. He reported an almost incredible panic in the country: many had fled the towns, and he prayed God to pity 'the myriads of poor souls, who, devoid of aid or counsel, cannot discern their right hand from their left'. He begged the Prince to be mindful of the sufferings of his people, and to do all that he could for their safety.

Writing a week later,[1] he again pleaded with the prince to send at least part of the army to the city, with the proviso that it could be relied on, was well paid, and full of zeal for the cause, and under strict orders not to commit violence in the surrounding countryside. Its sudden appearance would, he was sure, deter the enemy who, report had it, were hesitating to invade the country, would restrain the machinations of traitors and rebels, and would give confidence and support to his friends. He hinted that 'salus populi suprema lex' might mean making a treaty with the enemy, even if he were a barbarian. He only made these suggestions, he said, because he was anxious to contribute to the safety of both prince and people.

In 1658 Rákóczi left his estates in Slovakia and returned to Transylvania with an army to meet the Turkish threat. The Estates-General deposed the temporary prince, Francis Ridei, and re-instated Rákóczi. The Turks, under Mohammed Kiuprili, the Grand Vizier, led a large army against him, calling on the Crimean Tartars to attack from the north. The two armies entered the country in September and defeated Rákóczi, occupying the principality and bringing its prosperity to an end. Several towns, including Alba Julia, were destroyed. Rákóczi again fled to his estates and it was left to Akos Barcsai, the former ambassador to Constantinople, to negotiate with the Turks. The latter agreed to withdraw from the country on condition that a heavy indemnity was paid, and that a new prince was elected. On 14 September the Grand Vizier nominated Akos Barcsai as prince, but the Estates-General said it would only accept him under constraint. Rákóczi, meanwhile, continued the struggle, because, together with many of his subjects, he believed that the Turks wanted to occupy Transylvania totally.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.132*, p.121. 16 August 1658.

When the Turks destroyed Alba Julia, the College was also destroyed,[1] and, as a result, Basire's activities as professor ceased abruptly. He seems to have taken on the job of adviser and secretary to Rákóczi, drafting documents and letters for him, and generally supporting him in the increasing hostile environment. He also undertook the education of Ferenc, Rákóczi's son.[2] Basire left Alba Julia ahead of the invading Turks, and went to the fortress of Veradin. He seems to have gone alone, and it is likely that his fifty pupils had scattered earlier. Nicholas Bethlen states that many students had fled Alba Julia as early as June 1657, in view of the precarious situation in Poland. Basire had clearly felt the strain of the last few months, with all his feverish activity, preparing the College against the impending Turkish invasion. He complained to Rákóczi[3] that his health had suffered, and that the house in which he was living, was no fit place in which to spend the winter, especially at his age. He was distressed that no salary had been paid to him, and that he had been unable to buy even necessary food. He also had to struggle single-handed with all his correspondence, since the promised secretary had not appeared. He was trying to make the best of things, but he suffered torment at seeing the kingdom literally falling to pieces. It seemed to him that the prince had failed to realise the urgency of the situation, and had not taken steps to safeguard his kingdom. He reminded him of the truth that if a prince expected obedience from his people, then he had to accept the duty of protecting them. The aim of good government, so he declared, was to protect the people from outward dangers, and enable them to live regular lives, and to serve God

(1) The College was refounded in 1662 on another site where its successor, the Bethlen College, still stands. It was wrecked again in 1704, but was rebuilt with the aid of £11,000 collected by the Church of England, only to be again burned down, with the consequent loss of most of its records and papers.

(2) This was Ferenc I, who never occupied the throne, and in any case, became a Roman Catholic.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.132*, p.122. Letter to Rákóczi, 29 December 1658.

faithfully. It appeared to him that everyone except the Prince realised that the Turks had simply been playing with him; he could not fathom the Prince's plans for the safety of his people, but it was clear that 'this Christian people, ground down between the two mill-stones, is perishing'. Whoever was responsible for this state of affairs, would have to give an account of himself at the last judgment. He gave Rákóczi a plain lesson in political philosophy:

> I am neither a flatterer nor an idolater of princes, but I am a most faithful monitor. Did I not long ago foretell the general desertion which has now taken place? .... The court, the army, the civil powers, are day by day melting away like wax. I pity the innocent. It should be a point of conscience with you to save the relics of this Christian empire, humanly speaking, just about to perish, if it be in your power, ... or otherwise to dissolve elements of which it is composed, that it be not utterly destroyed through your fault.

He described the tree as a secret symbol of a good prince, 'whose root is piety, whose trunk is prudence, whose branches are power, whose fruits are justice and clemency'. He could see no way of getting help; the Swedes were otherwise engaged, while the Hungarians were divided and disheartened. Would it not be better, he asked, for Rákóczi to abdicate? There were a number of precedents: Charles V had abdicated partly for the purpose of saving the Empire from an overwhelming invasion of the Turks; Queen Christina of Sweden had laid down her crown with her own hands; there were precedents in the Prince's own family, for both Sigismund and Stephen Bethlen had resigned. He commended the Rákóczis for publishing in 1590 an edition of the Bible, translated into the Hungarian language,[1] but regretted that his own request for a revised edition had never been granted. He complained that people were saying that the prince was fonder of money than of the Scriptures, and added that there were two sins which the Holy Spirit branded as idolatry, love of money, and an over-great confidence in our own powers.

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(1) Published by Sigismund (George's grandfather) and printed at the expense of him and other Hungarian chiefs.

During the disturbances in Alba Julia, and his enforced retreat to Veradin, Basire lost many of his papers, and endeavoured to obtain at least copies of them. One of his former pupils, George Hutter, had fled from Alba Julia, and taken refuge in Tragapolis, where he met Basire. His former professor, 'with his usual warmth of heart had absolutely oppressed me with kindness which I can never repay'. Basire told Hutter of the loss of his papers, and asked him if he could give him copies of the notes which he had taken at the lectures. Hutter asked his fellow-pupil, Martin Herbert,(1) to copy out the 'Treatise on Metaphysics, on Perfection and Imperfection, on the Beautiful, and that upon the husband's right to punish his wife', and to send copies to him at Eperia, and he would see that Basire got them.

From Veradin Basire joined the court at Szekelybid, where the Princess Sophy, Rákóczi's wife, had taken up residence. She took an interest in him, providing handsomely for his maintenance, and dissuading him from making a dangerous journey to join the Prince, which he had said he was going to make. While in Szekelybid Basire continued to act as correspondent for Rákóczi, attending to his negotiations in Italy and Germany, and telling the Prince that he had just written 'long letters to Venice and Vienna, the object of which was to exhibit the bright side of your highness' affairs, and to withdraw the dark side from observation'.(2) He hoped that the heavy pressure of events was not preventing the Prince from reading his Bible daily, and he reminded him that he himself had told him of his father's habit of reading the Scriptures daily, even when engaged in war.(3)

From his estates Rákóczi engaged in a bitter war of words with Barcsai and his enemies. Basire was frequently called upon to draft suitable replies

(1) Hunter MSS., fo.132*, p.126. 9 June 1659.

(2) Ibid., p.127. 13 December 1659.

(3) George Rákóczi I is reputed to have read the Bible thirty times. (Makkal, op.cit., p.237.)

to the attacks on the Prince, as by Janos Bethlen in a pamphlet entitled Innocentia Transylvania. In reply Basire sought to explain and defend his master's policy with his pamphlet Vindiciae honoris Hungarici, issued in 1659.(1) It is a closely written manuscript in Latin, almost two hundred pages in length. It is an account of the reign of Rákóczi, setting out and defending his policies.

In the summer of 1659 Rákóczi once more took the field with his army. Varad and Kolozsvar opened their gates to him, and the Estates-General once more elected him prince. But his position was very precarious, and Basire continued to write to Venice and Germany, seeking their support for 'the true cause'. In 1660 Rákóczi besieged the town of Szeben (Hermanstadt), and Basire drafted a pamphlet, entitled Tuba Transylvanica(2) to try and win over the garrison to Rákóczi's cause. It met, however, with no success, and the besieged forces reacted sharply against the foreigner who had dared to write to them.

The Turks sent an army into Transylvania, which defeated Rákóczi who was saved only by the severity of the winter. On 22 May 1660 Rákóczi once more met the Turks in battle, this time in Gyala. He was utterly defeated and received wounds from which he died shortly afterwards. Basire offered his services to the royal family. But he had often expressed to his wife his desire to return home, and he had written to Charles II(3) seeking some position of eminence in the restored Church of England:

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(1) Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, Additional Manuscripts.

(2) Tuba Transylvanica is something of a mystery, and no copy seems to have survived, though it is mentioned in Siebenburgische Quartalschrift, V.Jg, s 243, 1796. This was a Saxon quarterly published in Szeben (Hermanstadt) from 1790 to 1807 by Martin Hochmeister.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.58 (undated). Probably late 1660 or early 1661.

> May it please your royal highness for the first-fruits of your free grace towards me, now these fourteen years an exile for your royal father of glorious memory, and for your Majesty's own just cause, out of your royal bounty, graciously promised to me at Paris, in the year 1647, to reserve some eminent position in Church or State, and to vouchsafe for me competent provision for my wife and five children, till God blessing me, I return unto them as soon as I have discharged my last offices to the late Prince of Transylvania, George Rákóczi my dear master of glorious memory: meanwhile if allowed by that God, by whom kings reign, may always guard your sacred person, establish your Majesty's deliverer, and continue your royal race till the second coming of Christ, Himself the King of Kings, shall be the prayer of ..... I. Basire.

Clearly news of the Restoration in England had reached Basire, but what he did not know until after Rákóczi's death was that Charles II had written to the Prince asking him to send Basire home, as his services were needed. The reason the Princess gave for the delay in telling Basire of the letter, was that she and her family were anxious that he should perform the last rites for the Prince. But this hardly explains why he remained in the country for a further year before returning home, acting as a tutor to the young Prince Ferenc. In a letter to his wife, unfortunately undated, he expressed his reluctance to stay in Transylvania any longer, for 'the desolation of the schools, the danger of the Church, the death of the prince; my losses, though great, being not worthy to be reckoned amongst them. My heart, I say, thus soaked in a sea of sorrows....'. In addition, he added, 'my heart is so fixed next to God, upon the old Church of England, the lawful King, and you, my dearest'. Nothing would prevent him returning to England, once he had performed the last honours for the prince, and 'seen him in his grave'. He would have liked to have come home in the autumn, but failing that, at the latest, next spring, he was going to begin his journey through Germany and Hamburg, where he would take ship for England. He was so determined to come home, that he was prepared to forfeit all his goods still detained by the usurper, to the value of 1500 crowns, and his unpaid

salary of 1400 crowns.(1)

In 1660, while Basire was still waiting to come back to England, a new edition of his History of the English and Scottish Presbyteries was published in London.(2) It is not clear whether Basire employed the last months of his exile in Transylvania to revise and enlarge the original book which had been first published in 1650. The suggestion has been made that the new edition was prepared and issued by an exiled theologian, Richard Watson, who thought that Basire had died in exile. The evidence for this is very sketchy, and it seems more likely that it was Basire himself who did the revision, and enlarged the text. As has already been seen, the book was originally written as part of the campaign of the Jersey group of divines to separate the Huguenots from the English Presbyterians, and to make them see that they had a natural affinity with the Church of England. But it also says a great deal about Basire's views on the relationship between monarch and subjects, some of which were expressed in his letters to George Rákóczi.

It is likely that he owed a great deal of his thinking on the subject to Thomas Morton, who had been his patron in Coventry and Durham, and who had published a book of his own on the subject shortly before Basire first wrote his. Basire began by describing the Church of England as the needle in the compass, kept on a steady point which is God and King. Any action against the stability of religion is an offence against the well-being of the State. The Presbyterians had used their power to overthrow Church and State, and yet had lacked the power to restore them. At this point Basire clearly agreed with Laud, to whom it was a vital necessity that Church and State stood together. Laud believed that without the backing of the Church

(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.95 (undated). Probably 1660. (A copy of his letter.)

(2) Vide supra p.42.

the State could not stand firm, while the State seemed to be the only effective means of promoting the reform of the Church which he considered vital. Basire agreed:

> Of the King's solemn oath at his coronation whereby the King is obliged so in point of honour, as he is a man, as in point of justice, as he is a magistrate, and likewise in point of conscience, as he is a Christian, constantly to grant, preserve and defend the rights of the Church. (1)

In his book Basire saw that his main task was to prove that rebellion is contrary to the Word of God, contrary to the constitution of the country, and contrary to natural equity.(2) To him it was obvious that the opposition had inflamed the passions of the people by means of rebellion; a bitter controversy had been encouraged, and it had made a reasonable settlement virtually impossible. The then Bishop of Lincoln had suggested a conference, and had made the following proposition:

> that the divines should in no wise touch upon the point of Discipline, until such time that they are agreed upon points of Doctrine, hoping thereby that their spirits being united by the bond of one common, but holy Faith, they would easily accord about the Exterior Government of Discipline. (3)

But the opposition, fearing that some agreement might be reached, and their ambitions thwarted in consequence, began to persuade the people by seditious libels that 'the degree of bishops was an essential Branch and Mark of Anti-Christ'.(4) They proceeded to forge a form of state to restrain the King by force of arms and usurp the government of the land. It would not have been good for the King to yield to them, for the more he yielded, the more they would demand of him.(5)

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(1)I.Basire, Sacrilege, Arraigned and Condemned by St.Paul. Heading to chapter ix. (Vide supra p.30.)

(2) History of English and Scottish Presbyteries, p.1.

(3) Ibid., p.4.

(4) Ibid., p.5.

(5) Ibid., p.10.

In denying the Presbyterian conception of kingship, Basire set out his own views very clearly. They had argued that sovereign power was inherent in the people, that they elected the King, committing to him the authority he exercised, while reserving to themselves the right to resume that power whenever the occasion demanded.(1) To Basire there is no question of a king deriving his power from the people, he is the anointed of the Lord. He argued that

> that which renders King anointed of the Lord, is not true Faith, nor the gifts of the Spirit, but that Sovereign power which they have from on high. (2)

He then clarified his view on the inalienable character of kingship:

> If the Kings are the anointed of the Lord, without consideration of their religion and virtues, it follows that they lose not their unction, neither by their errors nor their vices; and that falling from the grace of God, yet they fall not from that power they hold of him. (3)

Basire supported the principle of hereditary kingship, that a king ruled by right of birth, and not because of the anointing he had received. Yet later, he was inclined to shift his ground when, dealing with the Presbyterian argument that an invader conquers and rules, but not by divine right, he was driven to assert that the invader must be resisted by the citizens, but if he won and was accepted by the people, then we must believe that God had ordained him prince.(4) The Presbyterians asserted in their turn that sovereign power resided in the people, that it resided there by divine right, and that, therefore, the state is greater than the king, and should maintain constant control over him. Basire, for his part, claimed that the power of the king was exercised according to law and custom. As he was the principal part of the estates of the realm, the House of Lords and the House

(1) History of English and Scottish Presbyteries, p.41.

(2) Ibid., p.15.

(3) Ibid., p.15.

(4) Ibid., p.108.

of Commons, neither singly nor collectively, could make laws apart from him. Law could only be made by king and parliament together, and, in fact, the very power to limit the monarchy came from the king himself. In support of this argument he quoted Bodinus' De Republica: 'the Estates of England cannot be assembled nor dissolved, but by the Edict of the Prince'.(1) To Basire the point at issue seemed quite simple: the people cannot grant to the king what they have never possessed:

> To reason thus, that the people may take away their authority from the King, because they gave it him, is to prove one absurdity by another; as if one should prove the Moon might be burnt because it is made of wood. For to say the people gave the power to the King, is to imagine that which never was. (2)

The people are bound to obey the king, and 'we do not believe that any man living can depose the king or dispense with their subject's oath of allegiance'.(3) Not only must the king be obeyed, because he rules by divine right, but also obedience must be given to magistrates as well, for 'obedience to the King and Magistrates is of divine right and founded upon an ordinance of God. (Rom.xiii.1-2.)'.(4) A subject cannot, unless he has received permission, leave the service of a legitimate prince, however tyrannical he may be.

On the surface Basire would seem to have agreed with many of his contemporaries - though they hesitated to support a full-blown absolutism - that a subject must serve the king, and that it is wrong under any pretext to refuse to give him obedience. There is another side to the question, however, in the letters he wrote to George Rákóczi, when Transylvania and its people were threatened by the Turks. Over and over again he reminded Rákóczi of the maxim 'salus populi suprema lex', that while a prince may

(1) History of English and Scottish Presbyteries, p.54.

(2) Ibid., p.110.

(3) Ibid., p.97.

(4) Ibid., p.105.

indeed rule by divine right, he has the responsibility to care for and protect his subjects. In one letter to the prince he put it very plainly:

> that as your Highness expects and requires faithful obedience from your subjects even in these times of general dismay; so you are bound, both by divine law, and also by your oath, to exert yourself to direct them and protect them, not only from danger, but from the just apprehension of it. Without such guardianship it is impossible for men to live regular lives, and to serve God with a quiet mind, which ought to be the aim of every good prince and government. (1)

Basire was prepared to accept the principle of divine right of kings and the idea of non-resistance, that a king must always be obeyed, in whatever circumstances. But at the same time, he argued that a king had his responsibilities; his power was not arbitrary, given to him by God for his own use, but as a trust, in order to safeguard and protect his people, and to give them a society in which to live full and Christian lives.

By 1661 Basire was ready to depart, but 'no eminent position in Church or State' was reserved for him. It was a source of puzzlement to many of his friends why he should have been passed over, while others, with less claim on Charles, should have obtained preferment.(2) But Charles did ensure that Basire would be reinstated in his prebend at Durham, and to his archdeaconry. It was also arranged for his stipend to be paid to Mrs Basire, even though her husband was still abroad. On 19 March 1661 instructions were issued to the Dean and Chapter of Durham:

> Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; By the humble petition of Dr Isaac Basire, late one of the chapls in ordinary to our Father (of blessed memory) and now one of the Prebends of your Church, We are informed that for his former loyalty to our said Father, and in abhorrence to the late usurpers, he was forced to live in exile, in which condition he hath discharged the Duties and Offices of a good Christian and subject (as a true son of the Church of England). And that by

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(1) Darnell, p.177.

(2) For suggestions as to why Basire did not receive promotion on his return to England, see below p. 134.

> reason of his long residence in foreign pts, he is become so far engaged in business of government that without manifest prejudice, he cannot speedily return into this our Kingdom of England and Residence in your Church according to his desires, from which considerations and our particular regard to his deservings, we do by the Power of Dispensation in such cases reserved to us, Dispense with the said Dr. Basire for his Non-residence with you, since your happy Restoration and Establishment. And also for the future, during such times as his said occasions shall enjoin his stay abroad, and therefore require you to make him a Participant and Sharer, as well of all such profits and emoluments of his said prebendary as are grown due since your happy Re-establishment, as if he had been personally present or continually resident amongst you; as also of all such other profits as shall accrue for the future until such times as he shall return to the personal possession of his Prebendary, and that you pay the same from time to time (as it shall grow due) unto Frances Basire, wife of the said Dr. Basire, notwithstanding any Local Statute or Restraint to the contrary. Given under our Signet at our Court of Whitehall, this 19th day of March, 1661. (1)

On the back of the order there are two comments in different handwriting:

> March 19, 1661, a gracious dispensation of K.Charles II in the behalf of Isaac Basire, D.D., Prebendary of Durham, he being then transmarinis.

and in another hand:

> this first dispensation Dr. Basire did waive for the peace of the Church then newly restored.

He left Transylvania in May 1661, but just before his departure, he wrote a farewell letter to Prince Ferenc in which he asked for the payment of the arrears of his salary, and said that he had been aggrieved that he had been detained longer in the country than he had desired. He had stayed, however, 'to discharge my duty of gratitude towards the dead, for benefits received from him when living; whose memory shall ever live precious in my heart'.

He began his homeward journey in May. He travelled through Galicia, staying for a few days at Krosno, and then went on through Silesia, with short stays at Breslau and Frankfurt, until he reached Berlin. There he

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.99.

paid his respects to the Elector at the court of Saxony, and visited Leipzig and Wittenberg, on whose church door Luther had pinned his Ninety Five Theses in 1517. He was received with great honour by the Elector and the whole body of professors. He had intended paying his respects to the Elector of Brandenburg, but finding that he was absent from court, had taken the opportunity of visiting

> the most pious lady, the aged sister of the immortal Frederick, Count Palatine, King of Bohemia, and conveyed (her commands) to the Most Serene Queen Dowager, then living in England, who was highly gratified by my attention. (1)

From there he travelled down the Elbe to Hamburg, where he finally embarked for England, landing at Hull in June, where 'after sixteen years of voluntary exile for no other reason than my attachment to my religion and my King ... I found my wife with our five children in perfect health'.

It is possible that he occupied part of the journey in compiling a list of the manuscripts and effects which had been left behind in Transylvania, and which he feared had been lost, for on June 4th he signed a statement about them:

> I, the underwritten, entrust the noble Lords Wolfgang, Bethlen, Ladislaus Lubimieci, Samuel Granski, the very reverend and learned M. John Dodai, Minister of Holkner, and the noble Lord John Skikszai, prefect of the same place, to deign, jointly and severally, to employ proper means to procure the complete restoration of such of my effects as may be found amongst the goods of M.Achatius Bareszai, or any where else. Of these, I submit, as far as my memory will assist me, a faithful list, and promise to ratify whatsoever the aforesaid noble personages, to whom full powers are hereby given, shall do and perform in this matter, according to their judgment of what is right. In attestation, I subscribe my name, and affix my seal to these presents. (2)

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(1) Darnell, p.246. Letter to Peter Moll, November 1665.

(2) Ibid., pp.198-9. 4 June 1661. Original in Latin; Darnell's translation.

The list to which he refers must be the undated list preserved in the Hunter manuscripts.(1)

Schedule of goods left by Isaac Basire, D.D.
in Transylvania.

1. A painted chest full of clothing.
2. A lesser painted chest, containing four silver cups parcel-gilt, together with six silver spoons.
3. One other chest of wood, full of manuscripts, and mathematical instruments.
4. A large leathern Turkish basket, (commonly called a 'sapet') full of books.
5. A vessel containing furniture belonging to the bed. The bed is of down, and of a large size. The pillow long, and also of down. Curtain and tester of green silk. A silk counterpane. An embroidered counterpane stuffed with cotton. The value of the bed alone 150 crowns or imperials. A few pairs of sheets.
6. New towels, napkins, etc.
7. A rich Turkish carpet, quite new.
8. A green, and parti-coloured carpet.
9. Six embroidered bands.
10. Several boxes of Orichalch.
11. Black silk stockings.
12. A red night-cap.
13. A small medicine chest of wood, containing drugs.
14. Manuscripts; the chief are as follows:

    Theological Lectures on Wollebius.
    Hebrew Lectures on Psalm 34, and Proverbs 1.
    All the Lectures on Metaphysics read by me at Alba Julia.
    Two separate Treatises on the Beautiful, and on Order.
    Problem:- Whether a husband may beat his wife. - 'Negatur'.
    Several Academical Orations.
    Funeral Orations to the pious memory of the celebrated M.Keresturi, court preacher, and of M.Professor Bisterfeld, my predecessor.
    Various Itineraries, particularly one relating to the East, in different languages, bound in green. An Arabick MS bound in quarto.
    A Disputation in MS held in the University of Alba, between Dr.Isaac Basire and M.Kryskowsky, a Polish doctor and Jesuit, Anno 1656.
    A MS vol. in 8 vo. containing a collection of various Hungarian Synods.
    A new doctor's silk gown, à l'Anglaise with rich silk trimming: which gown, with cassock and apron, cost me 120 imperials, or crowns.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10A, no.7. (See Darnell, pp.195-7 for a translation from the Latin.)

And many other such like things, which in my confusion do not occur to me. Other articles which I cannot immediately recollect, may easily be known either by the form of the garment, by the marking, or by some other indication.

In response to this commission, Lord Nicholas de Bethlen, his former pupil, wrote to Basire at Durham, informing him of his investigations into the missing manuscripts:

> If my journeys into Italy had not prevented my writing, you would have had accurate intelligence from me before now. In a word, then, your various manuscripts are in the hands of your acquaintance, Francis Taratskozi, to whom you must write. In the meantime I shall ask him, indeed I have already asked him, to allow Mr G.Hutter, the second master of the school at Hermanstadt, where M.Taratskozi resides, to furnish you with a catalogue at least of your manuscripts, in order that it may be forwarded to you. He, however, aping Diogenes, as it should seem, rudely refused to comply with my request. If he does not attend to a second hint from me, I shall take care that he be brought to reason by a mandate from the prince. (1)

It is unfortunate that these papers of Basire never seem to have been recovered, for particular interest would have attached to the various itineraries, especially those referring to his travels in the East.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.107. (undated)

HOME AGAIN

Basire arrived back in England in the summer of 1661, and by that time the re-establishment of the Church of England was almost complete. Within a year the Church had recovered what it had lost. The new Parliament, with the significant addition of the House of Lords, had assembled at Westminster in April 1660, and was presented with a letter from Charles II and a conciliatory Declaration of Breda, issued on the advice of General Monck. Four basic concessions were offered; a free and generous pardon, with few exceptions, to those who had fought against the King, confirmation of their titles to land, arrears of pay for the army, and a limited freedom of conscience. Very circumspectly Charles added the proviso that these concessions and arrangements were subject to the approval of Parliament. Charles was proclaimed King and entered London on 29 May 1660.

The situation, however, was delicate. When the royalists assumed power in June 1660, they were very much aware of the fact that the Restoration was partly due to the influence of the Presbyterians, and so it behoved them to tread warily in their efforts to restore the Church on the old basis. Bosher[1] suggests that while from a modern standpoint the Restoration inaugurated an era of peace and stability in the country, this was far from being apparent to the new government, and it was unable to foresee the strong royalist reaction of the Cavalier Parliament. It appeared that the Presbyterian acceptance of the restored monarchy might only be a temporary expedient, for it seemed incredible that the rampant sectarianism of the Commonwealth era could be so suddenly quenched. But perhaps the biggest worry was what the anti-royalist and sectarian army would do. Fortunately it was kept under control by Monck, and when finally its arrears of pay

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(1) Bosher, p.145.

were paid in February 1661, and it peacefully returned to the ranks of civilians, one of the most surprising features of the Restoration, the government could feel secure. There was, however, evidence of plotting among the fanatics, and Venner's rising in 1661, and the Anabaptists' attempts to seize Newcastle and Berwick, and to kidnap Bishop Cosin,(1) seemed to suggest that the danger had not entirely passed away. Even in 1664 Cosin wrote to Basire asking for a list of people in the parishes of Eaglescliffe and Stanhope who had served under Parliament in the Civil War, and instructed him to find out whether they were still disaffected against the government and the Church.(2) Basire replied 'that there were but three who at Parliament's command, made only their appearance with the Trained Band but never served the Parliament or otherwise, and now they are all three conformable in every way'.(3)

The authorities, therefore, moved slowly, trying to induce the Presbyterians to accept change. Negotiations to establish a comprehensive Church were entered into, while the Presbyterians were given various assurances; there were to be no forcible ejections from livings, several Presbyterians were appointed as royal chaplains, preaching before the King, while the King himself maintained a non-committal attitude towards the re-establishment of episcopacy, delaying the filling of many vacant sees. But the Laudians were now pressing on to achieve their aim of restoring episcopacy. Various important offices in the Church were filled by them, and they hurriedly re-constituted cathedral chapters so that new bishops might be elected without delay, when the King decided to make the nominations, though I.M. Green suggests that this was only a minor motive with Charles, and cites the fact that among the first chapters to be re-constituted were those of Westminster

(1) Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, p.387.

(2) Cosin's Correspondence, vol.ii, p.108.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.86.

and Windsor, neither of which possessed the right to elect a bishop.(1)

The smooth running of the Laudian plans received a jolt, however, in the late summer of 1660 when the Presbyterians managed to obtain control of the House of Commons. Puritan incumbents were protected from ejection and harassment, and some of the recent ecclesiastical appointments were severely criticised. The Laudians, thereupon, persuaded the King to adjourn Parliament until later in the year, while at the same time, the government sought to allay Presbyterian fears. Friendly negotiations with them were entered into, and preferment was offered to some of their leading members. The fruit of these discussions and negotiations came in the Worcester House Declaration on Ecclesiastical affairs in October. This was the most favourable offer ever made to the Puritans, and was a triumph for those on the Privy Council who favoured some form of reconciliation, and for the moderate clergy who favoured mutual concessions. Bishops and presbyters were to be associated in various functions of the episcopacy, each diocese was to have an elected council, while suffragan bishops were to be appointed to assist in the administration of dioceses. In addition, discussions about the revision of the Prayer Book were promised, and the oaths normally taken at appointments were not to be obligatory, at least for the present. The Presbyterians fought hard to have this Declaration passed into law, and it was only with great difficulty that they were defeated. The government, meanwhile, had gone ahead appointing bishops, most of whom were Laudians, and were exerting pressure on the parish clergy to obey the old laws.

By March 1661 the Presbyterians were again indignant, and once more conciliatory gestures were framed to reassure them. The most notable was the promise of a conference between representatives of both sides to try

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(1) I.M. Green, The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1978), p.66.

to resolve the difficulties which existed, and find some accommodation between Presbyterians and Anglicans. The resulting famous Savoy Conference was, however, a failure,(1) and former Puritans, like George Monck himself, realised that conformist Anglicanism was the religion of the successful, and so gave their support to the government. Convocation was restored, power was given back to the Church courts, and the administrative machinery of the Church was almost complete.

It was at this point that Basire returned to England. On landing at Hull, and being re-united with his family, it is probable that he would have wished to return with them to spend a little time in his own home. He was urged by his friends, however, to go to London as quickly as possible in order to expedite the return of his former appointments. Thomas Lambton wrote to him in August:

> yet the matter is so, that your wife and children (by some of your brothers, the doctors, who you will find more politicians, I fear, than good Christians) are denied of that dividend which in right belongs to you, notwithstanding his Majesty's gracious letter to them on your behalf, besides the usurpers of your livings cannot (as yet) be ejected, so as upon the whole, your condition is more deplorable than others. Therefore your real friends here advise you rather to steer your course to these parts, then London, in regard you may fully inform yourself of all matters relating to yours, whereby you may the better lay open your cause to his Majesty. (2)

It appears, however, that he was reinstated in his three livings and in his archdeaconry, although there was some difficulty in getting Andrew Lamont, the intruder at Stanhope, to accept another living in its place. Basire wrote to Cosin in September, asking him to present to the King Lamont's petition to be granted the living of Redmarshall, if he were willing to surrender Stanhope:

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(1) See G.Nuttall and O.Chadwick, (eds) From Uniformity to Unity, 1661-1962 (London, 1962), pp.52-5, 75-8, 83-6. Also Bosher, p.229. The Anglican delegates, at least, blamed Baxter for the failure.

(2) Cosin Letter Books 1A & 1B, fo.77, 18 August 1661.

> Dr Lamont, a Scottishman, (my supplanter) desires me, by letter, to procure this his petition to the King, which I, willing to requite good for evil, humbly recommend to yr. L's charity. The King's gracious answer being procured, I will forthwith return it to the Doctor. (1)

The matter was finally settled in September, and A. Smallwood (Rector of Greystoke, Cumbria), who had an interest in the living, and was ready to surrender it, wrote to the bishop, thanking him for offering Redmarshall to Lamont, and telling him that Lamont and Basire had come to an amicable agreement as to the division of the stipend of Stanhope. They had also made arrangements for the payment of Mr Smith, the curate. Mrs Basire was named in the final agreement:

> Know you that I, the said Andrew Lamont, being now in possession of the Rectory and Parsonage of Stanhope in Weardale in the county of Durham, by agreement made the 30th August last past between me, the said Andrew Lamont, and Frances Basire, wife of Isaac Basire, Doctor of Divinity, Rector of the Parish of Stanhope in Weardale, on the behalf of her said late (sic) husband being then out of England... (2)

He then went on to assign everything to Mrs Basire. The document is dated 25 September, and is witnessed by 'Francis [sic] Basire'. A reference to Lamont is to be found in one of Basire's notebooks:(3)

> 1667. Nov. 6. Dr Lamont's son, a minister, came to visit me. Affirmed that Dr Chaworth, Knt., Vicar General,(4) told him before my coming in to England, that the bishopric of Lichfield was kept vacant for me and [that he] was entrusted with it in the vacancy and that then his father, Dr. Lamont, was to have Stanhope.

Chaworth's assertion that Lichfield had been kept open for Basire when he returned from abroad is open to dispute, for Lichfield was the diocese which had been offered to the moderate Puritan, Edmund Calamy in the autumn of

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.102.

(2) Ibid., fo.132, no.93.

(3) Ibid., fo.135.

(4) Sir Richard Chaworth was appointed Vicar-General of Canterbury in June 1660 on the King's recommendation. (Green, p.124.)

1660,[1] and when he refused it, to Richard Baxter.[2] Eventually, in 1661, it was given to a former chaplain to Charles I, John Hackett.

It is difficult to understand why Basire was never offered a bishopric, especially after the promise made to him by Charles II that he would give him a suitable reward for his faithfulness to the royal cause. There are in his correspondence, however, two notes which suggest that he had been offered advancement, but had declined it. Writing to Peter Moll in November 1665, he answered his friend's hope that he would soon be a bishop or archbishop:

> I little deserve the honours, which in your kindness you would confer on me; I have, however, in consequence of my tardy arrival in England, in part escaped them, and I in part declined them. (3)

Writing to his son Isaac in 1670, he commented on his lack of promotion:

> but I renounced, and also expressly deprecated it, An^{o} 1661, with reasons spiritual and temporal...My design is to preserve the public good; and therefore I would be loth to open a loop [hole] to others (not being natives) unto this greatest and best of Churches, for fear of future alterations by worse strangers upon such precedents. My ambition is now to find a retreat from the world. Oh, that I might live and die in one place! (4)

From these two notes it would appear that because of his delay in returning home from Transylvania, he missed the first batch of new promotions. Later, when an offer was made to him, he refused it because he was a Frenchman, and because he felt that high office in the Church of England should only be given to natives of the country. Basire had been naturalised, in 1632, shortly after he came to England.[5] On 15 June 1665 a bill for the naturalisation of French Protestant strangers who resided in England, or who should enter the country within a certain period, was brought before Parliament,

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(1) Green, p.89.

(2) Ibid., p.97.

(3) Darnell, p.247. The date of the Latin version is September. (Ibid., p.391.)

(4) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.265. 13 May 1670.

(5) Vide supra, p.20.

and Basire's name was on the list. In the House of Lords an un-named Lord of the Barons' Bench moved that the name of Isaac Basire should be deleted from the bill 'for that, he said, in his prayers for the King he leaves out his title of France, naming only Great Britain and Ireland'. The esteem in which Basire was held by his contemporaries was shown by the fact that the motion was rejected,(1) and that among those who spoke in his favour were the Duke of York, later James II, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Winchester and the Earl of Carlisle. It looks very much as if the original Certificate of Naturalisation had been revoked while he was spending fourteen years in exile. If the second offer of promotion was made before 1665, then it is possible that objections had been raised on the technical grounds that he was a foreigner.(2)

Be that as it may, there was at least one person who recognised what Basire had done for the Church of England during his long exile. John Evelyn recorded that on 26 November 1661 he attended a service in Westminster Abbey in the afternoon, and heard 'Dr Basire, that great traveller or rather French apostle, who had been planting the Church of England in divers parts of the Levant and Asia. He showed that the Church of England was, for purity of doctrine, substance, decency and beauty, the most perfect under heaven; that England was the very land of Goshen'.(3)

On his way home from London, Basire was persuaded by his friends to stop in York and attend at least part of the meeting of the Northern Convocation which had been in session since May 1661. The origins of Convocation

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(1) Huguenot Society, p.98. Nov.2 1666. Isaak Basire, Doctor of Divinity,

(2) For a discussion of the complexities of his naturalisation, see below, p.205. See also Darnell, p.252. Letter to Basire from Edward Rainbow Bishop of Carlisle, 24 Jan. 1666.

(3) Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn (ed.) W. Braye, (London, 1859), vol.iii, p.303.

go back a long way in the history of England.(1) Convocation first took its modern shape under Edward I, when the archbishops were bidden to summon their bishops to a synod, the bishops were to summon their archdeacons, while the archdeacons were to arrange for their clergy to send representatives to the forthcoming synod. The main functions of Convocation were to provide the opportunity for the clergy corporately, to assess any proposed taxation, to give them a forum for their grievances and the opportunity to consult with the king. Though distinct from it, Convocation normally sat as long as Parliament was in session. The exception was the Convocation of 1640 which, on the instruction of Charles I, and with his authority, remained in session after Parliament had been dismissed. It then proceeded to formulate a controversial set of canons which Parliament later claimed to be illegal, since it was asserted that Convocation had no right to remain in session when Parliament dispersed.(2) From then until the Restoration, Convocation did not meet.

It met again on 8 May 1661, the Northern Convocation meeting in York Minster, and remained in session until March 1662. The main business was the discussion of the proposed changes in the Prayer Book, and the Northern Convocation was invited to send representatives to sit with their southern brethren to share in the work. In the meantime, the Northern Convocation continued to meet. It agreed on a set of Articles, drawn up by Peter Samways, proctor for the clergy of Richmond and Chester, and a friend of Basire, concerning the revision of the Prayer Book, and ordered their transmission to the bishops sitting in London.

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(1) For a full account of the Northern Convocation see The Records of the Northern Convocation, ed. by the Dean of Durham (G.W.Kitchin), (Surtees Society, vol.cxiii, 1907).

(2) They included instructions that the Communion Table was to be sealed off, and that worshippers were to reverence it when entering or leaving the Church. Among the new canons there were some asserting the doctrine of non-resistance and requiring all clergymen and schoolmasters to declare on oath their approval of the established government of the Church "by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, etc." This 'etcetera oath" became a favourite theme of Puritan ridicule.

Basire probably arrived in York in time to hear at least some part of the discussion on Samways' Articles, and on his return to Durham, wrote to Cosin on 19 December, giving him an account of the proceedings:

> In my passage through York, I was intreated by my brethren to attend the Session of Convocation, which I also did. Sundry things were propounded (haply thought on already and provided for above) the sum whereof may be this:
>
> 1. That the preface before the Book (altered) should be so authoritative (that the Schismatics might catch no ground therefrom to extenuate their former Non-Conformity) styling those Alterations, rather Explanations, or necessary Additions, then Emendations.
> 2. Touching a Proper Office to be appointed for the Ember Week.
> 3. To stop all gaps of arbitrary worship (as to the Schmismatics) it was wished that the usual standing at the Psalms (because prayers for the most part) and other such like public Acts of outward worship were enjoined Sub Canone, if a People (Durae Cervices) would but undertake them.
> 4. About some Admonitory Clause, in one of the Ante-Communions or in the Comminations, that although (Exceptis Excipiendis) the great crimes of Parricide, of Schism, and of Sacrilege etc. be pardoned, quatenus Injurys as to man, In foro soli yet in foro poli as to God, the offences remain still unpardoned, till the Repentance and the Restitution also (quoad posses) be as public or general as were the crimes.
> 5. That some lighter punishmen be contrived for the smaller offences, lest the keen edge of the spiritual sword of Excommunication should become blunt, that we say not profaned, and further come into contempt, by the two common use thereof, where the matter is not of such weight, and there appears no evident contumacy. (1)
> 6. About some sinewy clause (to be inserted in the Oath of Allegiance or in the LV Canon for the Form of Bidding Prayer, or in the very first Canon for Preaching Allegiance four times a year at the least and in all these) to prevent the Rebellious Cavill of power. For instance, after those words, over all persons, to add some such like binding words (as well jointly as severally).

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(1) There is a good deal of contemporary evidence to indicate that there was resentment that in many cases excommunication was pronounced by lay officials, and not just by the clergy. In any case, excommunication had come into such disrepute as a penalty, that in many cases it was ignored. In his notebook (Hunter MSS., fo.137), Basire made a note: 'Excommunication not to be used for lesser offences'. Cosin instructed Basire not to enforce rules about excommunication until the Church was more securely established. (Letter from George Davenport, chaplain to Cosin, to Basire, 29 November 1664, Cosin Letter Books, 1A & 1B, fo.117.)

7. Lastly, we all do confide that the Most Revd. Metropolitan, and especially your Lp. and Rt. Reverend Diocesan, will have a care of the rights of this Province, which, as some say, never yet gave their assent by proxies, before themselves had seen the decrees sent down into their Province, knowing your Lp. zealous in the observation of the ancient (VIth) Canon of the ecumenical Council of Nic. (1)

In Basire's notebook, for the years 1664 to 1676,(2) there are almost five pages of headings for a speech he intended to give at Convocation. They are extremely difficult to understand, for the notes themselves are very rough and contracted, and in at least one of them he used a kind of private shorthand. The notes, unfortunately, are undated, but internal evidence suggests that they might have been compiled after 1670. As the Northern Convocation, however, does not appear to have met between 1669 and 1672, it is difficult to know whether or not the speech was ever delivered. The notes, do, however, throw light on the kind of topics which occupied the attention of the clergy when they met in York Minster.

First in Basire's list comes taxation. He did not understand why the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor, came to a verbal agreement whereby the clergy surrendered the right and privilege of

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(1) The VIth Canon of the Council of Nicaea reads:

'Let the ancient customs prevail, namely, those in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria have authority over all these, since this is customary for the Bishop of Rome also. Likewise both in Antioch and the other provinces, the privileges (πρεσβεία) be secured to the Churches.' (E.J. Bicknell, The Thirty Nine Articles (London, 1932), p.430.) Bicknell comments that the Canon is silent about any jurisdiction of Rome over the whole Church. The nature of the authority belonging to the three churches is the same, even if Rome is quoted as a precedent. Later, it was necessary to insert a spurious clause, claiming that Rome always had the primacy.

Clearly Basire is making some reference to the Northern Province's claim to a measure of independence, and to be consulted before any ecclesiastical measure was enacted for the whole country. (University of Durham Library, Cosin's Letter Books, 1A & 1B, fo.83.)

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.137. See appendix for the notes and a suggested expansion of them.

self-taxation, and, in future, would be taxed in the same way as the laity.[1] It seemed to him that they had become little better than slaves when it came to taxation, having to pay without being given the opportunity to discuss the matter. At least the other estates were able to give their assent through their representatives in Parliament. He complained about the clergy having to pay the bridge tax, though apparently excluded in the 1670 Statute of Bridges. Later in the notes, he returned to finance with a complaint that while the cost of a licence to run a school was 1/-, the diocesan registrar had been charging 10/-.

He then turned to what he called the 'coercive power'. He was always reluctant to resort to any kind of repression to achieve his aims for the Church. Writing to his son Isaac,[2] Basire commended the use of preaching, catechising and prayer, and added that conference was a good means, though all of them needed God's blessing to make them effective. But, at the same time, he recognised that if the Church was to be restored fully, then some kind of government coercion was necessary, for, as he remarked to Isaac

> I find, by sad experience, that the staff of Beauty will not do the work without the staff of Bands. (3)

He wanted stronger action over Romanists and Nonconformists, with a greater use of excommunication against them. Remembering the complaints from the clergy of his archdeaconry, he also wanted action taken against those who refused to contribute to the cost of repairing and restoring the 'ruinous churches' which were to be found all over Northumberland.[4] The Church must

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(1) W.G.Simon, in The Restoration Episcopate (New York, 1965), p.77 suggests two benefits: two out of the four subsidies for 1663 would be remitted, and parliamentary taxation would prove lighter.

(2) Darnell, p.304. Letter to Isaac Basire, 3 June 1664.

(3) Zechariah, chap.xi, v.7.

(4) In his notebook (Hunter MSS., fo.137), there is a note: 'Whether for non-repair of chancels (the Churchw. presenting) the Archdeacon may sequester, or rather cite, the Impropriator of Incumbent of Rectory.'

tighten up its discipline against unordained preachers, apostates, those who refused to recognise the value of confession, and against those who used the Sacrament for their own convenience.(1) He likened the last to those of the early Christians who, in the days of persecution, to avoid praying to the Imperial Name, received certificates of excuse on payment of a fine.

From finance and the use of a greater discipline in the life of the Church, he turned to a favourite topic, the orderly performance of the services of the Church. He expressed concern about the way in which services were conducted, and asked for regulations about standing for the recitation of the Psalms and the Introit. He was particularly concerned about the Communion service. It was celebrated too infrequently, and often, at the communion, the celebrant, instead of staying at the altar rail, went down into the body of the church to administer the Sacrament. He also criticised the practice of giving the Sacrament to unrepentant Recusants and Nonconformists, and felt that it would prove dangerous if the practice were not checked.

He felt the need for a revision of much of the Church's administrative machinery; there was a need for an updated Table of Fees, for a revised Book of Homilies, more in keeping with the needs of the times, and for a standard book of Visitation Articles to be issued for the use of archdeacons. As a representative of the Cathedral, he expressed the concern of the Chapter that they were being wrongly assessed for taxes. They argued that their present assessment was based upon the Book of Rates brought in by the Puritans, and that it was unfair, since it did not take into account the fact that they needed money for the upkeep of the choir, the free school and the bedesmen attached to the Cathedral.

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(1) Perhaps a reference to the Corporation Act of 1661 which required all aspirants to office in local government to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England.

In the final numbered note he turned his attention to another favourite topic, the supply of clergy. He was alarmed at the lack of curates in Northumberland, and forecast that if more were not forthcoming, it would not only be difficult to supply chaplains for the Navy, but also for some of the churches in the archdeaconry.

An additional note is about the 'poor clergy of the Isle of Man'. Presumably he wished to draw attention to their plight, and to ask that something should be done for them. It is not clear why he should have intended to raise this subject since the Archdeacon of Man was a member of the Northern Convocation, and he might have been expected to raise it if he felt it was necessary. Possible the Archdeacon had asked Basire to speak for him in his absence.

When, in 1664, Sheldon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, surrendered the right and privilege of the clergy to self-taxation, the role of Convocation came to an end for almost two hundred years. Since the main reason for its existence had been removed, interest in it began to dwindle, and when it did meet, it was simply to transact formal business. There was thus no active body to initiate reform, which was an ever-present need if the cumbersome machinery of church courts was to be brought up to date, or the anomalies of the unwieldy Canon Law to be redressed. Nor was there any comparable body through which the Church could speak with a united voice in matters of social justice or political corruption.

By January 1662 Basire was firmly established in his prebendal house at Durham, and was facing the immense challenge of restoring his archdeaconry to some semblance of order. His first reaction was 'that the Archdeaconry of Northumberland will take up a whole man; 1st to reform the persons; 2nd to repair the churches', to which he added, 'and this, of course, leaves out the

worst difficulty of all, the violence of the two extreme parties in the country, the Romanist and the Calvinist, both strong in numbers and determination'.(1) In an undated, semi-humorous paper, written later, he set out a list of things which were to occupy his time for the remainder of his life.(2)

LABORES CONCATENATI

Kalendarium sive Orbis Officiorum

JANUARY	13. Sessions. Residence for Hospitality at Durham.
FEBRUARY	Residence at Eaglescliffe. Residence at Durham. Sermon at the Cathedral.
MARCH	Ordination.
APRIL	Synod. Sessions.
MAY	Visitation in Northumberland. Sermon at the Cathedral.
JUNE	The King. Ordination.
JULY	20. Sessions after Trans.S.Thom.M. Chapter General. Visitation ad Comperta, Northumberland.
AUGUST	Assizes. Sermon at the Cathedral.
SEPTEMBER	24. Ordination.
OCTOBER	Synod. And then Concio ad Clerum, as Archdeacon of Northumberland. Sessions. Visitation in Northumberland.
NOVEMBER	Sermon at the Cathedral. 20. Chapter General.
DECEMBER	Ordination. Visitation ad Comperta, Northumberland. The Convocation, sometimes. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἱκανός: 2 Cor.ii.16 (and who is sufficient for these things?)

(1) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(2) Ibid., fo.86. Probably written in 1667.

Out of the present Kalendar must be taken:-

1.	For attendance on the King, going, coming, and staying 2 months.	60 days
2.	For the Convocation at York.	14
3.	At 2 Synods.	8
4.	At 4 Ordinations	16
5.	For 4 Visitations in Northumberland, 1 month.	30
6.	At 2 Grand Chapters.	15
7.	For 4 months' residence at Durham, by the statutes; 3 months to attend the Church, and 1 month to keep hospitality.	120
8.	Residence at Stanhope, above 3 months.	100
9.	Residence at Eaglescliffe, 3 months. Daily Public Prayers, and constant Sermons in both, every Sunday and Holy Day.	90
10.	At the Assizes.	6
11.	At 4 Quarter Sessions	16
	In all	475

More than the year affords by 110.

Besides emergent (and yet unavoidable)
Occurrences of -

1. Church Offices, as Treasurer, one year; Sub-Dean another,
2. Set Conferences with Heretics, one Schismatics; Receiver:
3. Public Commissions and References.
4. Interruptions by Warrants, Examinations, etc.
5. Intercourse of Letters, Foreign and Familiar, concerning matters sp'cal, eccli'call, civil, scholastical, etc.

(This ingenuous account may serve for a full answer to the multiple solicitations to the press, from public and private persons, as well without as within the kingdom.)

THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER

Among the 'emergent and yet unavoidable) occurrences' which Basire listed in his Kalendarium sive Orbis Officiorum, he included 'Church Offices; as Treasurer one year; Sub-Dean another'. A good deal of his time and energy was taken up by his duties as Archdeacon of Northumberland, but, in addition, he had to bear his share in the administration of the Cathedral.

At the Reformation, the monastery of Durham ceased to exist, and was reconstituted as the Cathedral Church of Christ and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with a Dean and twelve Canons, whose first reponsibility was the maintenance of the regular worship of God. The reorganisation was carried out in accordance with the statutes of Henry VIII, though there is no record of a copy ever having been received in Durham. The existing statutes of the Cathedral date from the reign of Philip and Mary, and were issued under the Great Seal of England on 20 March 1554.(1) A copy of the Philip and Mary statutes is to be found in a paper book of about 500 pages, entitled Statua Ecclesiae Dunelmensis.(2) In addition to the statutes, the book contains a large number of memoranda, written in various hands at various times, from which we learn that the book was compiled in September 1583 by Toby Matthew, successively Dean and Bishop of Durham, and later Archbishop of York. The text of the statutes was taken from a copy which Richard Marshall, a notary public, had collated with the original before the end of the reign of Mary. The book seems to have been handed down from one prebendary to another, and eventually it came into Basire's hands, probably after the death in 1668 of

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(1) A.H. Thompson, (ed.) The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham, Surtees Society, vol.cxliii (Durham, 1929). The present day cathedral is, of course, regulated by new statutes which were drawn up in 1966 under the 1965 Cathedrals Measure by the Cathedrals Commission appointed by that measure.

(2) Durham Cathedral Chapter Library, MS.,C.iv.33.

the last recorded holder, Joseph Naylor. It remained in Basire's possession until his death in 1676, when it passed to his successor in the Seventh Stall, John Morton. He died in 1722, and at his request, the volume was given to the Dean and Chapter Library where it now remains. While he had possession of the book, Basire studied it carefully, and certain marginal notes, as well as some of the memoranda, are in his handwriting. Hutchinson, in his History of Durham, mentions an attempt made by Basire in 1665 to procure an 'exemplification' of the statutes for the Dean and Chapter. There had been some dispute between them and the Bishop about his rights of visitation in the Cathedral, and Basire had been commissioned to try and clarify the position:

> 1665. Sept. 12. At a meeting between Bishop Cosin and the Dean and Chapter, it was agreed amongst other things - 'That an exemplification of the Statutes of the Church should be procured from the Rolls on [sic] the Tower, or any of the King's Courts, within a twelve month after it hath pleased God to cease the prevalent pestilence.'

The following is Dr Basire's answer to the Chapter, and literally transcribed from the original:

> I took the pains to cause a search to be made in the rolls, but found nothing. The like I did with Mr Dugdale, when he was searching the records of the dioceses, and the records of St. Paul's Church, and to encourage him, gave him a gratuity from the Dean and Chapter, but sped [sic] no better. What may be found in the Tower I know not, having had neither the use nor opportunity to search there; Mr William Prynn (no great friend to cathedrals) being keeper of these records. (1)

The 1554 statutes set out in detail how the Cathedral was to be organised, what endowments were to be provided for its upkeep and the maintenance of the Dean and Chapter, and what were to be the responsibilities of them and their

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(1) W.Hutchinson, The History of Durham, vol.ii, p.181. cf. Cosin's Correspondence, ii, p.139. After the Restoration, Charles II rewarded Prynne's staunch royalism, with the appointment as Keeper of the Records of the Tower. (W.M. Lamont, Marginal Prynne (London, 1963), p.206.)

staff. Each canon was normally to be "in residence" for 21 days,[1] but canons were allowed 80 days absence in order to visit their livings, to preach elsewhere in the diocese, or to undertake any other duty with the approval of the Chapter. Should a canon fail to keep his residence without any adequate reason, then he would forfeit some of the emoluments due to him. The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, contain a number of dispensations granted by the King to canons, permitting them to be absent from their duties, without incurring the penalties laid down. For example, in 1667, Basire was occupied in London with Chapter business, and with the publication of his book, Sacrilege Arraigned, and petitioned the King for a dispensation to be absent. It was granted, and the King instructed the Dean to pay Basire his full emoluments for that period.[2]

One notable feature of the sections of the Statutes dealing with the duties and behaviour of the canons was the stress laid on hospitality. Both dean and canons were expected to keep open table, where it was needed during their twenty-one day period of residence. Canons who were resident, i.e. continually present throughout the year, were expected to invite the choir and the poor men attached to the Cathedral[3] at least twice a year, in addition to any important visitors who might be visiting the Cathedral. To

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(1) A canon was required to 'protest' his residence at the beginning of the twenty-one continuous days at which it was fixed. During those days, however many canons may have been residing in the church, he was the sole residentiary, bound to a more abundant degree of hospitality than at any other time of the year. The twenty-one days constituted the statutory "residentia", as distinct from "praesentia" which implied residence in a general sense. (Cathedral Statutes, p.lviii.) In his Visitation Articles of 1662 Bishop Cosin enquired whether a third of the canons were in residence at any one time. (Hunter MSS., fo.11, no.78.)

(2) C.S.P.D., 1667-1668, p.77.

(3) Cathedral Statutes, p.147. Poor men, disabled either by war or age, were appointed by royal mandate, and maintained by the Cathedral. It was expected they would attend the daily services, and assist the Sacrist.

help meet this expense, all who were resident had the right to share in the 'quotidians', or daily allowances, from the common fund, which were to be in addition to their prebendal stipends. If a canon's income, above his Cathedral stipend, did not exceed £40 per annum, then he was relieved of the duty of keeping a separate table, and could share with two other canons, though they could draw only one share of the 'quotidians'.

This question of residence was always a sore point with Basire, and it was one of his complaints that the burden of residence, and therefore hospitality, lay heavily on a small number of canons. Two years before his death he made a fretful entry in his notebook:

Ruina Ecclesiae
Dissipations
Dispensations
since K.Ch. the 2nd happy Restoration, An^{o} 1660

1674 Apr.6. detained by D:Ch. in h.week,
to make up a Chapter, after 6 mon.
Resid. at Durham.

All the burden lies on 6 of 12. The 'Residences' an 100 marks, (whch. should at least be cut off from the Dispensed.)
3. Decay of Hospitality to the dishonour of the Church.
4. Sermons supplied by Curates.
5. One Chapter in 5 months from March to Sept.7 71. (con.stat.quindenis.) (1)

Clearly a great deal of organisation and administration devolved on members of the Chapter, for they were not only responsible for the maintenance of the Cathedral worship, but also for the smooth running of a large staff, numbering around ninety, and for the heavy responsibility involved in managing extensive estates and properties. There were three main officers working under the direction of the Dean and Chapter, a Vice-Dean, a Receiver and a Treasurer, and they were elected each year on 20 November. A canon held

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.138. See below, p.158.

each office for one year, and if he refused nomination without adequate reason, he then forfeited his emoluments for that year. As there were twelve canons, each would hold each office every four years, though the matter would be complicated by the dispensations claimed by other members of the Chapter. Basire was Treasurer in 1663, Sub-Dean in 1664, and Receiver in 1670.

Of the three officers, the most important was the Vice-Dean. In the absence of the Dean, or during a vacancy in the deanery, he was to be in full charge of the Cathedral and staff, though there were certain restrictions on his authority during a vacancy. Among other things, he presided over and had the oversight of the canons and all the ministers of the Church, and was to 'keep them in order'. But the title of Vice-Dean was later replaced at Durham, and at other cathedrals of the new foundation, by thatof Sub-Dean, which was habitual in secular cathedrals. The secular Sub-Dean, though he might preside at Chapter meetings in the absence of the Dean, did not possess the full authority which the Vice-Dean held as the Dean's delegate in the 'new foundations'.(1)

The function of the Receiver,(2) as the name implies, was to collect and receive 'all moneys, rents as well temporal as spiritual of lands and tenements and churches, and debts appertaining to the Church, and faithfully deliver them all as soon as he shall have received them, or at most within twenty eight days, to the Treasurer for the time being'. In addition, the Receiver was 'to take diligent heed for all the goods of the said Church, especially those that are external, and to give timely aid with necessary

(1) Cathedral Statutes, p.xlvii. There was not, however, any clear-cut distinction. Some cathedrals had both a Sub-Dean and a Vice-Dean, though the latter seems to have been a personal deputy appointed by the Dean. Cathedrals of the 'new foundation' were Bristol, Carlisle, Chester, Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, Oxford, Peterborough, Rochester, Westminster, Winchester and Worcester.

(2) Ibid., p.127.

repairs to the dilapidations of buildings outside the Church'. For all the work involved, he was to receive a stipend of six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, in addition to the money allowed him on days when he was holding courts or prosecuting the other business of the Church. To ensure that funds were not misappropriated, the Receiver, after his election, had to bind himself by an oath taken in the presence of the Chapter, 'laying his hand upon the most holy Gospels'.

The Treasurer was to be responsible for the payment of all stipends and allowances due to the canons. He was also responsible for the upkeep of the Cathedral fabric, and for the houses of the staff within the enclosure of the Church. The dean and canons were responsible for their own repairs, unless the repairs required were due to the negligence of their predecessors, in which case they would either be paid for by the Cathedral or a grant given. If, however, the dean and canons did not do the necessary repairs, the treasurer was empowered to have them done, and to deduct the cost from their stipends.(1) The Treasurer's job must have had its pitfalls, for Thomas Smith, Treasurer in 1679, wrote a note at the beginning of his Audit Book, 'A Caveat for the Treasurer, at his peril write, before you pay. Receive before you write'.

Unfortunately it is not possible to obtain an exact picture of the value of the prebends in Basire's time, for the first Audit Book of the Cathedral to survive is that of 1679, three years after his death.(2) The figures for that year, however, are likely to give a picture similar to that obtaining in previous years. It records that the Chapter income for the year ended November 1679 was £4348.3.5, and that the Treasurer paid out £2706.15.7, leaving a balance of £1641.7.10 to be distributed among the

(1) Cathedral Statutes, p.129.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.11, no.81. Reply of Chapter to Cosin's Visitation Articles of 1665, gives income and expenditure figures for 1662 as £5314.6.8. and £2807.18.4., and for 1663, £4683.2.2. and £3218.5.8.

members of the Chapter. Of this sum, £33.15.0. was for arrears carried forward from 1677, and this was to be divided into 13 parts of £2.11.11. Two parts (£5.3.10) were to go to the dean, and one each to the canons, with the exception of Knightly, who was occupying Basire's former stall, the seventh. Of the remaining £1607.12.9. two fourteenths were to go to the dean, and one each to the canons. In addition, the Treasurer paid out £50 to each canon and £100 to the dean for residence. In 1678-9 this payment for residence amounted to £500.

It is impossible to work out any exact figure for Basire's total income,[1] since figures for his various appointments are not available, but his total income from all sources would include the following items:-

1. Stipend, which was the 'corpus' of his canonry (£33.6.8. - Treasurer's Book, 1662.) (This seems to include items 5 & 6.)
2. Payment for residence (£50 in 1678-9.)
3. Proportion of 'dividends', i.e. the difference between Chapter income and expenditure at the end of the year.
4. Fees for sermons (varied between 10s.0d. and £2.)
5. Fee for each day he attended Morning and Evening Prayer (1s.4½d.)
6. Quotidians (allowances for hospitality while in residence.)
7. Share of 'perditions' (Perditions were deductions for absence at 1s.4½d. a day. The dean and canons shared out the total at the end of the year, in proportion to the number of days they had actually been in residence.)
8. Fees for serving as a Chapter Officer (e.g. the Receiver got £6.13.4.)
9. Payments for any extra duty performed for the Chapter.
10. Seal money: proportion of fees for sealing leases.
11. Income from lands attached to his prebend (Seventh stall - the mill at Finchale which provided an annual income of £9.19.0.)
12. Tithes from the parishes of Harton (£9.10.0), Wallsend (£3.13.4), and Felling (£1.0.0.), also attached to the Seventh Stall. (2)

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(1) See Appendix for a rough estimate of what his income might have been.

(2) The estates and tithes attached to each prebend were simply an augmentation contingent upon residence.
And since we desire good provision to be made in things necessary for those Canons in residence who are given to hospitality (a thing supremely pleasing to God and men) in the Church and exercise it according to their power, we therefore have assigned to the Dean and each of the Canons certain of the lands, tenements and tithes to the aforesaid Church appertaining,...to the end to wit that he who shall maintain a household after the manner of a Resident may keep the same lands and tithes in his and occupation to the increase of his residence. (Cathedral Statutes,p.117.)

These were the emoluments which came to Basire as a member of the Cathedral Chapter. There were, however, other incomes at his disposal:

1. His stipends from his livings at Eaglescliffe, Stanhope and Howick (annexed to his archdeaconry). He would, however, have to provide and pay curates to serve his cures while he was absent. There are references to various curates serving at Eaglescliffe and Stanhope.
2. Sundry fees from Archdeaconry of Northumberland.
3. Income from properties he had leased from the Chapter.(1)
4. Income from a weekly market which he got permission to hold in Stanhope.

From this income, however, there were various deductions, as, for example, a payment from each canon for the use of woods and quarries owned by the Chapter. The charge against the Seventh Stall was £1.9.8., while the dean paid £10.4.0. There was also a deduction for the 'perditions', mentioned earlier, if he had failed to make the necessary attendances and had not obtained a dispensation to be absent. In addition, each canon paid a rent for the 'lands, tenements, grazings, pastures or tithes' which they held from the Dean and Chapter.

An illustration of the immediate Chapter payments made to a canon can be seen in the Treasurer's account of monies paid to John Morton, who succeeded Basire in the Seventh Stall for a few months in 1676 before being transferred to another. His income was:

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(1) While the revenues from the surface land at Finchale were assigned to the Seventh Stall, Basire had to lease the mineral rights of Finchale Colliery from the Dean and Chapter. In October 1663 the Dean and Chapter granted to 'Mr Isaac Basire a lease of the colliery in Finchale and Prior's Close for the benefit of Dr. Basire, his father'. (Chapter Acts Book, p.89.) This lease was renewed for 21 years in March 1673 (Ibid., p.181). In his notebook, Basire commented that the rent of Prior's Close had increased from 10s to £5 per annum, and that an entry fine of £50 had been paid. (Hunter MSS., fo.138.)

Quotidians	10. 5. 6.	
First dividend	2.11.11.	
Second dividend	114.16. 7½.	
His share of 'perditions'	5.15. 9.	
His journey to York	6.13. 4.	
		140. 3. 1½.
DEDUCT for money already paid	30. 0. 0.	
for the library	6.13. 4.	
For Mr Wrench, share of arrears	1.14.10.	
For Mr Knightly, share of arrears	2. 0. 7.	
		40. 8. 9.
		99.14. 4½. (1)

In the 1678-9 and later accounts, it is recorded that Isaac Basire, Basire's eldest son, received amounts for arrears due to his father in 1679. A further sum for arrears was paid as late as 1690.(2)

(1) Morton held the Seventh Stall from 16 October to 9 November 1676 when he was transferred to the Sixth Stall. Wrench and Knightly had held the latter stall for parts of the financial year.

(2) For a table of the comparative values of the Cathedral Stalls, see Appendix.

CATHEDRAL VISITATIONS

When the Cathedral Chapter re-assembled in 1660, they were faced with a formidable task, for the whole ordered sequence of the life of the Cathedral had been disrupted during the Interregnum. The Cathedral itself was in a lamentable state after twenty years of neglect and devastation. The final blow had been its use as a prison for the Scottish captives, who, in order to keep warm, had burned most of the woodwork. The roof was leaking badly, while windows and ornaments had been smashed. The only seating was a few chairs, placed in the choir, as a temporary measure for the use of the choir and ministers. A start was made with the resumption of services, and a small choir of sorts was collected. But the great problem was money. The lands which had been attached to the Cathedral for its maintenance had been lost to the Chapter, which had first to re-establish its ownership. Tenants had been forced to buy their lands during the Interregnum, or to pay rent for them to the new owners, and now they were being asked to take up new leases from the Dean and Chapter, and to pay heavy entry fines. The tenants felt that they had had a raw deal, and complaints rumbled on for a good number of years. In desperation, the Dean and Chapter petitioned the King to solve their difficulties, and he referred them to the Commission which had been set up to deal with this and similar problems. It apparently found in favour of the Cathedral authorities, though to be fair to the Chapter, it did realise the position of tenants and made allowances for it in setting the level of leases and fines. The restoration process began under Dean Barwick, but he was moved to St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and the burden fell on Dean Sudbury, who was in office from 1662 until 1684, and with whom Basire worked in harmony.

The Bishop of Durham was, and still is, the Visitor to the Cathedral, and Cosin, through his Visitations, kept a close watch on what the Dean and Chapter were doing, prodding them into greater activity when he thought it necessary. He held four Visitations, in 1662, 1665, 1668 and 1671, though the last was performed by Chancellor Burwell, owing to Cosin's ill-health. As a member of the Chapter Basire was, of course, concerned in the replies sent to the Bishop.

The Visitation Articles of 1662[1] are exhaustive, and set the pattern for the others. Cosin began with the Cathedral establishment. Was the full establishment, as set out in the Cathedral Statutes, now in existence? Were the members fulfilling their duties in a proper fashion? Was the dean vigilant in his office and in the government of the Church, and was there always a third of the prebendaries in residence at a time, preaching once a quarter, or providing an adequate substitute? When they were preaching, did they sit properly robed in the choir, or did they sit in the vestry until it was time for the sermon?[2] Cosin wanted to know if the minor canons attended the daily services regularly, and if the precentor kept a record of the absences of any of the prebendaries, including the dean. He was anxious to be assured that the daily services were performed regularly, and that the Book of Common Prayer was always used.

He then enquired in minute detail about the fabric of the Church. Had the neglect of previous years been remedied, what had the Dean and Chapter done about replacing the organ which had been destroyed, what had happened to the wood and lead from the spires on the two towers at the West end? He also wanted to know how much money they had spent so far on the repairs,

(1) For full details of the Articles, see Hunter MSS., fo.11, no.78.

(2) In a memorandum issued by Cosin in 1665 concerning the privileges of the Cathedral, he expressly instructed that the canons were not to come to the choir 'in their fur and night-gowns, or to sit with their hats on their heads during the reading of the first and second lessons'. (Ibid., fo.11, no.82.)

and how they proposed to finance the remainder. The Dean and Chapter replied in June 1663, listing what they had spent:

Repairs to the Cathedral	£4306	
Repairs to the houses	3616	
Gift to the King	1000	
(Six canons gave an additional £350)		
Gifts to old choirmen and the poor	566	
Money for the redemption of captives	400	(1)
Augmentations of vicarages and wages of choirmen	711	
Payments to the poor of the Cathedral and the city	566	
The repair of highways and bridges	20	(4)

Together with their other benefactions, they estimated that they had spent more than £13,000. But there was still a great deal to do: the canons' houses had to be rebuilt, work to be completed in the choir, a new font and pulpit to be installed, and sundry repairs to be made. These, they thought, would need a further £3,000.

Cosin, however, had a great deal more to ask. Did Chapter have the original Statutes Book, and if not, had it procured an 'Exemplification thereof under the Great Seal of England?'. Basire was to spend many days in London, searching for the missing Statutes. Cosin was concerned to know that the prebendaries, when in residence, were giving hospitality, as laid down in the Statutes, and he wanted details of the charitable giving of the Chapter. He insisted that the Chapter meet every fifteen days, as required by the Statutes, and that their Acts be recorded and presented on the two Great Chapter Days, July 20 and November 20. He also asked whether the Chapter had done anything about augmenting the poor livings in their gift, and whether they were providing an adequate and suitable supply of curates for those parishes. These two problems were to haunt Basire in his own archdeaconry.

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(1) Sums of money to ransom civilian captives of the Barbary pirates were a regular feature in Church accounts at this time.

(2) Highways and bridges were to be maintained by the parishes in which they stood. (John Miller, Restoration England: The Reign of Charles II (London, 1985), p.50.

Lastly, the Bishop wanted to know whether the prebendaries obeyed the dean, and whether there was any 'scandalous living' among them.

In the main, the Visitation Articles of 1665[1] cover the same ground as those of 1662. Clearly Cosin was being persistent, and was not prepared to allow the Chapter to relax its efforts. In its reply in July 1665, a note of irritation with the Bishop's persistence crept in: about the repairs to the Cathedral, the dean and canons commented that 'it is visible that we have not spared any cost or pains to effect what we first intended', and that 'much more would have been done, if we had not found it necessary to take off many of our workmen at several times, and send them to repair many of the chancels of churches belonging to us, which in these late disorderly times were much decayed, and some of them so ruined, that it was necessary to build them new'. In answer to Article 22, about the income and expenditure of the Chapter, it replied, 'we cannot think that your Lordship expects an exact and full account from every one of us, on oath, of all the monies that we have received and disbursed since our first restoration, some of us, having not been here so long, cannot say what was done before our time'. Their indignation over Cosin's persistence increased: 'And, truly, my Lord, we do not believe that your Lordship makes this enquiry out of any distrust of our care of the occasions of the Church, or an opinion that we have converted any part of that which is due to them, to the private benefit of ourselves and our relations.' Clearly, the Chapter was becoming restless under Cosin's continual questioning.

In the Visitation of 1668,[2] Cosin was concerned that the members of Chapter had not yet appointed the full number of minor canons, and caustically remarked that it was because they were not offering high enough salaries.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.11, no.81.

(2) Ibid.

If they did not exert themselves over the matter, he threatened to report them to the King. He did ask, however, if anyone on the Chapter knew of any likely candidates. Basire seems to have been active over this problem, and replied to Cosin:

> To increase the number of Petty Canons, I have both at London, at Southwell, or elsewhere, inquired and invited divers, but could not prevail. (1)

In his same answer to Cosin in 1668, Basire complained about the failure of the membership of Chapter to make a regular arrangement about their preaching duties in the Cathedral:

> Ad. Cap. XV de Concionibus etc., I humbly move that a certain course may be settled for the supply of the vacant Sundays and holy days, either by a sufficient-licensed preacher or otherwise; we being put to an extemporary provision. (2)

There are in the Hunter MSS two documents, dated 1671, concerning articles exhibited 'to the Seventh Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Durham in the Fourth Episcopal Visitation of the Right Reverend Father-in-God, John, Lord Bishop of Durham'.(3) One contains the articles themselves, and the other Basire's answer to them. For convenience, the questions and answers are collated together:

> 1. IMPRIMIS. Whether are the Monitions and Injunctions duly observed which at the conclusion of our three last Visitations of this Church were given to the Dean and Chapter under our Episcopal Seal? And are the same recorded in your Registry and safely preserved in your Treasury, to the end that both Mr Dean and every one of the Chapter and other members of this Church (as far as they are concerned in them) may take knowledge and render a due account of them from time to time when they shall be called thereunto respectively, as now they are?
>
> ANSWER. To the 1st Article I have enquired, and am told that such Injunctions as were required to be registered are so, and further I cannot answer. As to the observation of them I do and will endeavour for myself, and I hope the rest will do the like according to our Statutes.

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(1) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.37), p.262n.

(2) Ibid., p.151n.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.11, nos.116 and 117. Owing to Cosin's ill-health, this Visitation was carried out by Thomas Burwell, Chancellor of the diocese, acting as his Commissary.

2. Item: Do you know that either Mr Dean or any other of the Prebendaries, Minor Canons and other Officers or members of this Church, have not duly observed the Statutes and ordinances thereof (not altered by the laws of the land) as the same do respectively concern them?

ANSWER To the 2nd Article I do answer ut supra; adding only this, as I have done formerly to the point of residence, that I do fear the usual non-residence of half the body contrary to our Statutes is still a malum omen of the decay, if not ruin, of this famous Church, partly through the abuse by surreption, of the Royal Dispensations, partly through the usurpation of self-dispensations, so frequent that 'tis impossible for those few that reside to keep a Chapter singulis quindenis, and the burden is too heavy for three or four to bear all the year long, against the rule of equity, good conscience, and to the great distraction and discouragement of those who do attend that service: besides that the Cathedral Sermons are frequently supplied by Curates and others, contrary to Canon xliii and li, and to the Lord Bishop's former Injunction. (1)

3. Item: Is the Churchyard wall, adjoining to the Palace Green, finished in a comely manner, according to the order given for that purpose? And is the Churchyard made level, decently kept, and freed from beasts, and all other annoyances and disturbances?

ANSWER To the 3rd Article, the Churchyard wall is finished, the ground I am told, cannot be levelled, neither is the Churchyard wholly free from beasts, as horses and kine, the occupiers pretending their lease.

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(1) It was a regular complaint of Basire that the burden of residence fell on roughly half the Chapter. (Vide supra p.147.) At the time of the Fourth Episcopal Visitation, of the twelve canons of the Cathedral, five were deans of other Cathedrals, one was a canon of Windsor, while another, Dennis Granville, then Archdeacon of Durham, was notorious for his long absences. As a result, eighteen periods of twenty one days of residence had to be maintained by five canons at the most, without allowing for the fact that some of them might have had dispensations for absence, as Basire had. This meant that a great burden of hospitality was carried by less than half the Chapter, for the canon 'in residence' was expected by the Statutes to offer a larger measure of hospitality than those simply residing in the Cathedral precincts. It meant, too, that it was difficult to obtain a quorum for the meetings of Chapter which the Statutes directed should be held every fortnight. Preaching was also affected and Basire complained that the preaching rota was often filled by curates and others, contrary to the Statutes. He noted in one of his notebooks (Hunter MSS., no.138), that while, according to the Cathedral Statutes, those not actually residing had no right to the Quotidians, the Treasurer had, in fact, paid them in 1673.

4. Item: Is the North Isle [sic] of the Cathedral Church freed from rain? And is the Consistory there freed from rain? And are the leads there in good repair? And is the Consistorial seat made up as it ought to be?

ANSWER To the 4th Article, I have enquired and am told that the North Isle [sic] and place of Consistory are freed from rain. As to the Consistory seats, nothing is done.

5. Item: Is there any acknowledgement made in writing or other satisfaction given by Mr Dean and the Chapter for the ground taken from the Bishop's Palace Green at the late new building of the Grammar School belonging to this Cathedral Church?

ANSWER To the 5th Article, I know nothing of any acknowledgement for any ground said to be adjacent to the Grammar School.

6. Item: Are the uncomely forms and coarse mats, lately used in your Church at the administration of Holy Communion for such persons as usually resort thither, without the rails, taken away and other more comely put in their places and decently covered as heretofore hath been accustomed? And are the partitions on each side of the said forms under the two arches of the Church next the said rails well framed in joiner's work, and there set up for the better keeping out of the wind and cold, which otherwise do many times molest and annoy the communicants?

ANSWER To the 6th Article, the forms before the rails are not covered. I know nothing of the mats. There are no partitions under the two arches.

7. Lastly: Do you know anything else concerning the state and honour of this Church, or concerning any member belonging to it fit to be declared and presented unto us for the amendment thereof in this our Visitation?

ANSWER To the 7th and last article I refer myself to my presentments at the former triennial Visitations and particularly unto my answer to the 2nd article supra.

Basire was commanded to make his 'special and peculiar' answer to the Bishop's questions, 'in writing and sealed up', by virtue of the oaths he had taken at his installation to his Prebend in the Cathedral.

RESTORING THE CHURCH

In January 1662, Basire made arrangements for his first Visitation of Northumberland, though he had not as yet received the official form of Visitation Articles. He had, however, drawn up some of his own, based upon previous issues, and he sent them to Cosin for his approval, asking for an early reply, since 'the Church's fabric there are reported ruinous (and the longer so the worse), so many intruders, without canonical ordination, the people as I am credibly informed, in very many places ἀπροίμιαντος, to use the great Nazianz' term'.(1) Cosin replied that an official Book of Articles was to be issued, and Basire agreed to wait for it.(2) Cosin also told Basire that he had been informed by an unknown informer that Basire was meeting and talking with members of other denominations, and he expressed his displeasure. Basire replied quite firmly; he would have preferred Cosin to have heard his side of the story before issuing his reproof, and, in any case

> I hope it will not seem an offence to the Church, to return common civilities (frequently imparted to my wife and family in my absence), between parties of different religions, especially so near allied in blood, as that lady and my wife, (the inviter), cousin-germans, as well as countrywomen. (3)

Basire reminded Cosin that the previous thirty three years had been proof enough of his faithfulness to the Church of England.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.109. 25 January 1662. (ἀπροίμιαντος = untended)

(2) In March 1662 Convocation accepted unanimously a new Book of Articles drawn up by a committee that had been appointed in June 1661, and of which Cosin was a member. But nothing was heard of it, and bishops produced their own amended versions of the old Book of Articles. (Green, p.136.)

(3) Darnell, p.222. 4 February 1662. Clearly these were relatives of the Corbett family, who had become Puritans, but gave Mrs Basire support during her husband's absence out of family feeling.

The task of putting to rights the Church in the diocese of Durham was to be no harder than elsewhere. This was not only a question of the men and the buildings of the Church, but the attitude of the nation. It was summed up by William Lucy, Bishop of St David's, writing to Basire in January 1662:

> I was in hope that the unhappiness of the church had principally fallen to my share, but reading your last letter, I find that I have fellow-mourners for the same sad calamities. Papists have taken a great advantage upon these sad and destructive times, which were of late brought into the church by the propagators of the Gospel, as they were called, a sort of people, four or five, who rode up and down preaching, and all the parsonages sequestered. I have been informed that sixteen churches together have had no divine duty officiated in them for twelve years together. (1)

He feared 'a secret atheism more than them all',(2) and that this atheism will only be overcome by 'apostolic men'. No man professed it with his tongue, 'but the universality with their lives; men in general which have put off the morality which is the foundation and in religion adds to its theological perfection'. Lucy bemoaned the effect the 'Fanaticks' had on the Church, but he hoped that 'they will wear away with the revival of ecclesiastical discipline'.

The first months of 1662 had seen the campaign in Parliament for the passing of the Act of Uniformity. According to one of Basire's correspondents, Richard Wrench, Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Boldon(3)

> heats and contests have been very high in the parliament... The Act of Uniformity, which you enquire after, hath occasioned most of the dispute, some such zealous patriots there are, for such as scarce deserve the name of Christians, much less the continued qualification to officiate as priests, especially under the indulgence of a proviso, to

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.121. 2 January 1662.

(2) For an account of seventeenth century 'atheism', see Michael Hunter, 'The Problem of Atheism in Early Modern England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, vol.35 (London, 1985), passim.

(3) Darnell, p.213. 10 April 1662.

> forbear if they will, the use of surplice, cross and ring. I am told the Act is so passed in the Lords' house yesterday; yet with such circumstances as will make their non-conformity very troublesome and chargeable unto themselves, if their parishioners scruple at the omissions in baptism and matrimony, they being then obliged to find one that shall act according to the letter of the rubric and canon.

Wrench expressed his astonishment that 'Dr Hall and Dr Ward, both Calvinists, are elected to fill the vacant sees'.(1)

Meanwhile, in France, M. Roussel, to whose care Peter Basire had been entrusted, had been involved in litigation on Basire's behalf. Peter assured his father that he would send him news of the outcome, as soon as he knew of it himself. He then made some comments on the state of religion in France, for his father's interest:

> Liberty of conscience is a more precious pearl than those which jewellers adventure by sea, land and fire, to attain: we have here on the one side Babylon, which under the pretext of religion and visor of piety runs into a labyrinth of superstition... On the other side we have the Presbyterian Protestants, who to avoid Charybdis (Superstition, nay innocent ceremonies unfitly termed Charybdis) run headlong upon Scylla, (Irreverently, most sinful and undecent): betwixt both, it is very difficult to practise what learned Mercer judiciously observes, that the same words in Hebrew, which signify an ear, in the dual signifies a pair of balances. (2)

He added that he found his father's words to be very true, 'no church like England'.

By this time the results of the passing of the Act of Uniformity in May were felt. From St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, every clergyman who wished to hold office in the Church had to read Morning and Evening Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer, swear an oath that it was illegal to fight against the King, deny the Covenant, and obtain episcopal ordination, if he had not

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(1) Presumably Seth Ward, who was appointed to Exeter, and George Hall to Chester. Neither of them was a Calvinist. Hall was accounted a Laudian, while Ward was a belated convert to the party. (Bosher, p.183.)

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.81. 12 October 1662.

already done so. Perhaps almost a quarter of the beneficed clergy were put out of their livings. Clarendon recorded the Presbyterian dismay at the harshness of the Act. They had hoped from the terms of Charles' Declaration of Breda, that there would be some consideration given to tender consciences within the Church, but it was not to be so.(1) Charles asked for a limited power of dispensation, by which he hoped to temper the severity of the Act, but Parliament would have none of it.

Basire himself attested to the Act of Uniformity publicly in his church at Eaglescliffe in October 1662, and swore the oath of non-resistance to the King:

> I, Isaac Basire, do declare that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against the King and that I abhor that traitorous position of taking up arms by his authority against his person or against those that are commissioned by him; and that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now established by law; And I do declare that I do hold there lies no obligation upon me or any other person from the late, commonly called, the Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any things or alterations of government, rites in Church or State, and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the liberties of this kingdom. (2)

It would be wrong, however, to assume that the Cavalier Parliament was acting purely from religious conviction. The county gentlemen who so largely composed this parliament were not enamoured with Laudianism, but they could not forget that law and order had been overthrown by the Puritans, and that the historic relationship between king and people had been disrupted. They attributed their personal sufferings, and the sufferings of their fellows, to the Puritans, and were determined that never again would the Puritans

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(1) For the tone of Parliament, see the speech made by the Speaker, when preventing the Bill for the royal signature. (Parliamentary History of England, ed. W.Cobbett (London, 1808), quoted by Bosher, p.255.)

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.67. He had previously assented to the Act in Stanhope Parish Church on 31 August 1662. (Register of Stanhope Church, 1659-1700, vol.ii, p.3.)

disturb the established order of the realm. Dissent had led to rebellion and, therefore, the crushing of Dissent would prevent any further disturbances.

It was against this background that Basire turned himself to the task of restoring order in the life of the church in Northumberland. When Cosin and Basire returned to Durham after the Restoration, they were faced with a daunting list of problems, but Cosin was determined that the diocese should return to the old-established ways of the Church, and that Dissent should be curbed. While the driving force may have been provided by the Bishop, the key figures in the implementation of his policies were the archdeacons. Basire once referred to himself as the 'oculus episopi', and it was very true.(1) While Cosin had made an early appearance in the diocese, ordaining clergy, confirming vast numbers of laity, and presiding over clergy conferences, no one knew the exact state of the Church in the diocese until the archdeacons had made their visitations. It was from the visitation returns that a true picture of the state of the Church would emerge, and the Archdeacon would, with the authority of the Bishop, demand that changes should be made, and would, at the next visitation, check on whether, indeed, they had been made. Where necessary, offenders would be brought before the archidiaconal court for examination and trial. Penalties, including excommunication, could be imposed. There is no systematic analysis among Basire's papers of the charges brought before his archidiaconal court; there are only occasional references as, for example, a note that in 1668 a Mr Thomas Thompson, a schismatic minister, was excommunicated for 'multiplying contumacies', and for trading in clandestine marriages.(2) Some idea of the variety of cases which came before his court can, however, be gathered

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(1) Darnell, p.222. Letter to Cosin, 4 February 1662.

(2) Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of Newcastle, 3rd series, vol.ix, p.132.

from a list of offences which were tried in the court of his fellow-archdeacon, the Archdeacon of Durham, from 1673 to 1677.[1] The largest number of offences come under the heading of 'offences against various ordinances, ministrations, and Canons of the Church'. They include total abstinence from going to, or negligence in coming to church; behaviour in church; not receiving the Sacrament, or coming to receive it without due preparation; having reached the age of 22 without having come to Communion; various offences concerning baptism, marriages and funerals; speaking scandalous words against the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed; and not paying fees due for the occasional offices. There were various 'scandalous' offences such as adultery, incest, living in unlawful marriages, and cohabiting without being married. It was an offence to use abusive language to the minister, and to call the churchwardens' office 'a roguish office'. Great importance was given to paying the minister his due fees, and the proper assessment for the repair of the parish church. The churchwardens could be presented to the Archdeacon for neglect of duty, not appearing at the visitation, not repairing seats in the church, not mending a cracked bell, or failing to provide bread and wine for the Communion service. A suitable candidate for the office of churchwarden could be fined for refusing to take office. There were, in addition, offenders against the Act of Uniformity, 'Papist and Popish recusants, Anabaptists, Quakers, Sectaries, Separatists, that refuse to come to the public assemblies and prayers of the Church'. Finally, there were those guilty of schismatic acts, frequenting conventicles, keeping meeting-houses for the holding of conventicles; speaking, preaching or praying without authority at a conventicle; teaching in schools without a licence, and refusing to teach the Church Catechism.

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(1) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.47), p.xix.

Basire was most faithful in performing his Visitations. Twice a year he visited the churches under his care, and sometimes more often when necessary, usually on horseback, and often enough cold and wet and dropping with fatigue. For a man almost sixty, with the strenuous years of his exile behind him, it could have been no easy task to perform all his many duties, and he can be forgiven the occasional note of complaint in his correspondence. Writing in April 1665, he bemoaned his fate, and longed for leisure to study, and in particular, to write a treatise on the state of the clergy in the East:

> But this and many other desired designs, like abortive embryoes, must die within me, whose life is spent in a circular, itinerant drudgery from place to place, to which I am doomed in my old age, to supply the several functions of my scattered preferments. (1)

Sone relief was afforded him, however, when his son Isaac was appointed Official to the Archdeaconry in 1670, and deputised for his father when the weather was especially trying.(2)

Basire made his first Visitation in the spring of 1662, but he had already been made aware of many of the problems facing him in a report which he received from the Rector of Ford, James Scot, and the Curate of Norham, Alexander Davison.(3) It gave a succinct account of the major problems facing the Church in Northumberland;

> I. The papists of late have taken much boldness that in several places of that archdeaconry masses are openly and publicly said, and warning given to the prople to come thereto. As was done on Easter's Day last in the town of Duddo, within the parish of Norham, where there was public mass and preaching and the people

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(1) Darnell, p.235. Letter to an unknown correspondent, 22 April 1665.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.137. Isaac sworn as Official according to Canon 127 at Newcastle on 12 December 1670. Note entry in the notebook on 7 May 1674, 'the Archdeacon was fully purposed and prepared on horseback to visit his parishes in person'. He was, however, prevented by rains and floods, and Isaac went in his stead.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.11, no.68. 9 April 1662, Information given to Dr Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, by some of the Clergy of that Archdeaconry.

invited thereunto. Memorandum, that at the chapel of Eslinton mass is publicly said every Sunday at Mr George Collingwood's.

II. That there is a great need of a visitation of the churches in these northern parts, many of them being either altogether unprovided of Ministers, or provided with such as are, in effect, no ministers; and are so far from conforming, themselves, that they preach against those that are conformed, intrude themselves upon their charge, baptising children and marrying the persons of such as are enemies to the orders of the Church of England. And likewise the fabrics of many Churches and Chapels are altogether ruinous and in great decay, and cannot be gotten repaired without Visitations. Besides, in many churches there be neither Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, Surplices, Fonts, Communion-tables, nor anything that is necessary for the service of God. Nor will the Churchwardens (not being yet sworn) contribute any assistance for the supply of these defects. In all which respects there is a great necessity of Visitations, so soon as conveniently may be.

III. In respect that by the King and Parliament there be two Anniversary-days appointed to be kept, viz., the 30th January and 29th May, and that there is no order as yet come in these northern parts how the same shall be kept, nor are the books appointed for that purpose here to be gotten. My Lord Bishop of Durham would be made more acquainted therewith, that some course may be taken for the observing of these dates.

Soon after receiving this report from the Rector of Ford, Basire began his first Visitation of his archdeaconry. The Articles that he used[1] constitute an exhaustive enquiry into the state of church affairs in Northumberland, and the questions are grouped under seven heads. The first dealt with the fabric of the churches and chapels, whether the roofs were leaded or slated, and whether the windows were glazed. Under this head he enquired whether everything necessary for the performance of the services was available: Books of Common Prayer, a Bible of an approved translation, copies of the Book of Homilies, of the Canons, and of Bishop Jewel's works.[2] A point was made about the registers of the church, whether they were properly kept, and whether

(1) The Visitation Articles which Basire used were probably those drawn up by Cosin for the committee appointed for that purpose in June 1661. There are some modifications in Basire's handwriting, which indicates that he used them. (Hunter MSS., fo.11, no.80.)

(2) In 1610 Archbishop Bancroft had issued an instruction that a copy of Jewel's 'Apology' should be kept in every church in the kingdom.

there was a strong chest with lock and key for their safekeeping. The second head dealt with the churchyard, the parsonage house, any almshouses which might be in the parish, and the glebe and tithes attached to the benefice. There had to be a terrier of glebe land and tithes attached to the parish, and a copy of it had to be deposited with the registrar of the diocese. The third head dealt with the ministry, ministers, preachers and lecturers. Enquiry was to be made about episcopal ordination, whether the minister had within two months of his induction, sworn to the Thirty Nine Articles in the presence of the congregation. If he had omitted any, the Archdeacon wanted to know which they were. He wanted to know if the minister used the Prayer Book and followed its rubrics; whether he preached 'unfeigned faith, and obedience to God's holy commandments, submission and loyalty to the King and his laws, together with true Christian piety and charity among the people'. Questions were asked about the minister, about his dress, whether he led a sober life, whether he frequented taverns or ale-houses, and whether he wore 'his hair of a moderate and comely length'. The fourth head dealt with the parishioners, and the first enquiry was about the existence of 'schismatics, or Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers, or other sectaries who refused to attend church'. There were other questions about the parishioners, about their churchgoing and conformity to the practices of the Church, and about their private behaviour. Other questions dealt with the officials of the Church, their suitability for office, and the performance of their duties.

In 1663 Basire drew up a survey of his archdeaconry,[1] clearly based on the Visitation returns. The Church undoubtedly needed a great deal of attention to bring it up to the standards desired by Cosin and Basire, and the religious condition of the North was less favourable to the Church of

(1) Hunter MSS., fo.80, no.2.

England than elsewhere. This had been a source of frequent and adverse comment in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[1] and Howell, in his Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution,[2] suggests three influences militating against a satisfactory church life in the North; the large size of the parishes,[3] the low general educational level of the clergy, and pluralism. A list compiled in 1675 showed that in Northumberland, excluding Newcastle, there were only fourteen rectories and thirty five vicarages. It had always proved difficult to supply enough clergy for the country, and inevitably the standard of men was not always of the best. Matthews, in his revision of Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy,[4] suggests that only half of the clergy were in possession of a university degree, and that among them were some of the more 'scandalous' clergy. Higher authority was not always cooperative, and when the parishioners of Muggleswick (a Durham Dean and Chapter living) complained about the man sent to them, a prebendary of Durham Cathedral replied that if the minister could read the Prayer Book and a Homily, it was nothing to them what kind of man he was. Another man sent to them refused to preach, and would not let anyone else do so, locking up the church on a Sunday so that services had to be held in the churchyard, and when the parishioners' preacher attempted to speak, the curate rang the bells. Overton commented that the Church had to begin her work of restoration with a

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(1) The Dean of York wrote to Cecil of the need for a good Archbishop of York, 'a teacher because the country is ignorant'. (Matthew Hutton to Cecil, 13 November 1568, quoted in Collinson, Archbishop Grindal, p.188.)

(2) Roger Howell, Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution (Oxford, 1967), p.65.

(3) But note Basire's comment, in his 1668 Visitation report, upon the church at Kirkharle, 'church ruinous, too big, parish too little'.

(4) A.G. Matthews, Walker Revised (Oxford, 1948), pp.288-291. Mervyn James, in his Family, Lineage and Civil Society, p.127, comments that it is likely that after 1570 educational standards of the clergy improved, and that some of the improved supply of graduates available to the Church reached Durham. He quoted Walker Revised, pp.139-144, that out of 58 clergy ejected during the Civil War, 34 had degrees.

clergy of whom at least three quarters were alien to her doctrine and discipline. Many of them had been flexible enough in their beliefs and practices to maintain their livings during the Interregnum, and he suggested that the penal laws which were shortly to be enacted, were a direct encouragement to men of loose principles to conform; better a nominal conformity than the loss of their benefice.(1)

It would be wrong, however, to suggest that all the Northumbrian clergy were ill-educated and slack in the performance of their duties, and that they were entirely responsible for the lamentable state of affairs. The real problem, according to Howell, was that there were too few clergy trying to cope with too many people, and that parishes were too poor to attract responsible and educated ministers. Impropriations were largely to blame for this. Basire's survey of 1663 shows this very clearly. In Newcastle all the churches were impropriated. The parish church of St Nicholas belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, who had been granted it as far back as the reign of Henry I. Tynemouth belonged to the Earl of Northumberland and Ralph Delaval, and was valued at £460 per annum, out of which the vicar received £30, while the earl paid the curate £4.13.4. Those parishes where the impropriations were owned by colleges fared slightly better. Benton, in the gift of Balliol, gave the vicar £40 out of an impropriation of £60, while Merton College granted £90 out of £126.(2)

The deanery of Alnwick presented no better picture. Alnwick itself had been without a vicar for over a year, and services were only held there because Basire had made arrangements with local clergy to help out. Basire himself obviously took his responsibilities seriously, for at his return he

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(1) J.N. Overton, Life in the English Church, 1660-1714 (London, 1878), p.158.

(2) For a list of Impropriations and Stipends in Northumberland, see Hunter MSS., fo.12, no.192.

found that his church at Howick was in a ruinous condition, and restored the chancel at his own expense. Since he obviously could not minister there personally, he saw to it that a curate was provided. A more strident illustration of the evils of impropriations was given by the parish of Bamburgh. Bamburgh itself was valued at £323.13.4., while the chapels at Belford, Tughill and Lucker, which were attached to it, were valued at £573. Out of a total of £896.13.4. the minister received only £13.6.8. per annum.

Cathedral Chapters did not come out of Basire's survey very well. The Dean and Chapter of Carlisle held a number of impropriations in Northumberland, and were not noted for their generosity. At Ovingham the vicar received only £13.6.8. out of an impropriation of £300, the vicar of Corbridge £60 out of £160, and the vicar of Warkworth £60 out of £400. In spite of the letter written to them by the king in 1660,(1) instructing them to augment the stipends of the clergy in livings held by the Dean and Chapter, the Dean and Chapter of Durham did not do a great deal; at Bywell St Peter they paid the minister £60 out of a value of £160, but only, Basire commented, after having received the king's letter. The Bishop of Durham was no more generous in the case of the parish of Stamfordham, where the minister received £90 out of an impropriation of £200.

In his survey Basire expressed his concern that many impropriations were held by Roman Catholics. This point had already been made by the Rector of Ford in the report he sent to Basire in 1662. The vicarage of Whittingham was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, but the impropriation was held by three Roman Catholic gentlemen, 'Mr Clavering of Callaly, Collingwood of Eslington, Baronet Radcliffe of Dilston, all papists'. Basire also noted that Mr Thornton of Netherwitton would not let any land to anyone unless

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(1) Acts of Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, 1663-1668.

they first turned Roman Catholic. At Mitford the impropriation was held by the same Sir George Radcliffe, the Roman Catholic, and, strangely enough, by a Henry Rawlings, whom Basire described as 'a noted sectary'. The entry for the church at Chollerton records that the impropriation was valued at £160, and was apparently owned by Sir William Fenwick. Basire, however, noted that most of the impropriation had been sold to the Mercers' Company, who used the income to pay the stipend of a lecturer in Hexham.

The Clergy

One question Basire had asked was 'What scandalous[1] ministers?' and his survey picks out some of the answers given to him. The prize must certainly go to Mr Humphrey Dacres of Haltwhistle. He had been presented to the archdeacon by his churchwardens

> for a notorious drunkard, being so drunk on the first Sunday in this year as he would not come to the service of the Church. There are sundry other foul and scandalous informations brought in publicly against him, by occasion whereof many of that parish are said to be lately fallen away to popery.

Various vicars and curates were reported to be scandalous and negligent; some were accused of drunkenness, while the curate of Kirknewton was reported to be a 'schismatic', which, although it is not explained, probably means a dissenter. Basire had clearly taken action in some cases; Mr Andrew Hall, the vicar of Bywell St Andrew, was reported to be scandalous, and was admonished by the archdeacon. Mr Tallentire, the minister of Whittingham, had been reported scandalous, but was now said 'to be reformed upon the Archdeacon's public admonition'.

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(1) The term 'scandalous' is obviously used to describe those clergy whose general behaviour was less than was to be expected from a minister of religion. Drunkenness and immorality were common criticisms. But the term was used more widely to describe those clergy who failed to live up to the professional standards of their ministry, failing to conform to Prayer Book rubrics, refusing to wear a surplice, and leaning towards Dissent.

It may well be that the low stipends did not encourage men of the best calibre and education to seek preferment in the North, but certainly a sense of duty and order was lacking in many of the existing incumbents, either through inclination or ignorance. There is a fretful entry in one of Basire's notebooks in 1666 about the church at Shilbottle, where he had been preaching on the Eve of St Luke:

> there was no catechising. The wrong Collect was said - the 17th for the 19th Trinity - and the Collect for the Feast of St Luke omitted. Both lessons were wrong. There were swine in the churchyard and boys fighting during the time of prayers. (1)

Clearly there had not been any special preparation for the visit of the Archdeacon. It is rather surprising, for in his 1663 survey, Basire reported favourably on the parish. The stipend was certainly low, £20 per annum out of an impropriation value of £60, but he reported that the church building was in a reasonable condition, while there were 'no papists, no seducers to popery, or sectaries'. But he did add that there was no school.

Both Cosin and Basire were well aware that any general improvement in the life of the Church in the diocese could only come when there was a sufficient number of orthodox, well-trained and reliable clergy. But it was a problem they found difficult to solve. In his Visitation reports of 1669 Basire said that he had once more urged the Mayor of Newcastle to 'maintain orthodox ministers and appoint good schoolmasters'.(2) In the notes he had prepared for a speech in Convocation in 1670, he commented

> provision for curates. Many churches, especially in the north, will become utterly destitute and the King's service about sea-chaplains will be totally hindered. (3)

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

The Buildings

If the quality of the clergy was sadly lacking, it was matched by the deficiencies of the buildings in which they had to minister. On the visit to Shilbottle, already mentioned, Basire made the cryptic comment, 'the minister had no gown and the chancel no windows'.(1) All over England there were the same complaints; churches had been desecrated, and in many cases, almost totally destroyed. Others had been so neglected that they were roofless and little better than ruins. The accusation that the churches in the North had been allowed to decay badly in the Cromwellian times was frequently heard, but, as Howell points out,(2) it should be remembered that this was not always due to a Puritan lack of interest. Much of the damage done to the churches in Newcastle occurred in the heat of the siege, and was one of the misfortunes of war, not the result of negligence. In fact, the town, under the Puritans, expended money for the repair of churches on a number of occasions, and appears to have made sincere attempts to keep the fabric of the churches intact. This policy is understandable when it is remembered that the Puritans did not wish to destroy the Church of England, but to reform it on the model of the 'best' reformed churches.

Nevertheless, the state of the churches in Northumberland makes appalling reading. Out of Basire's sample of 21 churches, 17 were classified as 'ruinous'. South Gosforth's chancel was so tumbledown that only sorry walls remained; Alnwick was ruinous, with a good chancel about to fall down; the church of the Rector of Ford was in an even worse condition, for the chancel had no roof, there were no windows or doors left in the body of the church, while the roof was so faulty that 'no one could sit dry during the rain'. Basire himself, on a visit to Longhoughton in 1664, made a long catalogue of

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(2) Howell, p.270.

defects; the seats were broken, the bell cracked, there were no steps but cobblestones up to the pulpit, the incumbent's surplice was dirty, there was no 'great Bible', while the churchyard was unfenced.(1) Even in Newcastle things were not a great deal better. Visiting the town in 1665 Basire noted that

> St Nicholas, the mother church of Newcastle, the roof is so bad that it rained in on the aldermen when they received Communion. (2)

The impropriation of St Nicholas was in the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle who were notorious for their refusal to repair properties owned by them. In 1665 Basire wrote to the Bishop of Carlisle about the state of St Nicholas' roof, but got the reply that the Dean and Chapter were not bound to repair it.(3) Nine years later, in 1674, he was still writing to the Carlisle Chapter, trying vainly to persuade them to do the necessary repairs.(4)

It was clear that a campaign of repair, and in some cases rebuilding, would have to be launched, but the difficulty was the apparent unwillingness of impropriators and laity alike to cooperate and share the cost. The church at Warden, on the Tyne, was reported by the vicar, John Shafto, to be in bad repair; the nave had no roof, and the chancel needed extensive repairs. Shafto had tried to levy the cost of repairs from his parishioners, but they would not accept the responsibility, and he called on Basire to levy an assessment on his archidiaconal authority.(5) There is no record of a reply to Shafto, but it is possible that his church at Warden was one of those for whose repair Basire had issued twelve injunctions in March 1665.(6) Clearly

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Henry Bourne, History of Newcastle upon Tyne (Newcastle, 1736), p.242.

(5) Hunter MSS., fo.137. See also a letter to Basire from a Mr Smallwood, 7 May 1663. (Ibid., fo.9, no.165.)

(6) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

the matter was very much in Basire's mind, and he was wondering how best to get those responsible to do the necessary repairs. It can be seen from his notebook that he was considering whether there was any more effective action he could take:

> whether for non-repair of Chancels (the Churchw. presenting) the Archdeacon may sequester, or rather cite the Impropriator or Incumbent of Rectory. (1)

The church at Hepburn, one of the parishes under the control of the Duke of Newcastle, was propped up by thirteen rough-hewn stones, and no services could be held there for fear of the building collapsing. Again nothing was done about it. As late as 1669 Basire was writing to Cosin that 'many churches scandalously ruined and sequestration extremely difficult as men were loath to undertake them against such powerful patrons as the Duke of Newcastle'.(2)

He noted in his notebook that

> the general complaint of ministers and churchwardens is that they cannot get any sesses for reparation of the churches, because there is no coercion. The J.P's at session refuse to assist. (3)

Action was taken, however, against some of those who failed to maintain their churches properly, such as Lord Gray, who was presented to the Archdeacon's court for the ruinous state of the church at Belford. But Basire did have his successes, and was glad to report to Cosin that it had been possible to get some of the buildings repaired, and that he was particularly pleased with the fact that the church at Felton, which was 'down nave and chancel', had now been completely restored. But there was still a long way to go, and in his jottings for the Visitation charge of 1670, the first item was still 'repair of churches'.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(2) Darnell, p.281. 8 November 1669.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

Northumberland, however, was unusual in that it contained two churches whose construction had been begun during the Interregnum, Berwick and Christ Church, Tynemouth. The latter was built because the earlier church had been taken over for the use of the garrison. At the county Quarter Sessions in April 1655 an assessment of 2s. in the £ was laid on the county by J.P.'s for the building of the new church. It was completed after the Restoration and was consecrated by Cosin on 5 July 1668:

> The Bishop of Durham, being at Newcastle on his visitation, and with the assistance of Dr Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, consecrated a new church...Dr Thomas Dockwray held the first service, Dr Basire and Richard Wrench the second. Mr George Davenport, the Bishop's chaplain preached the consecration sermon. (1)

The Services

With the ministry and the churches in such an unsatisfactory state, it was hardly to be expected that Basire would find the services of the Church maintained in a way of which he would have approved. In report after report we read of the neglect of the services, and the lack even of the most elementary equipment. The Rector of Ford had commented that in the churches of the area 'there be neither Bibles, Prayer Books, surplices, fonts, Communion tables, or anything necessary for the services of the Church',(2) and what made the position even worse was the refusal of the churchwardens 'not yet being sworn', to contribute any assistance for the supply of those necessities. The Bishop of St David's had remarked to Basire that in sixteen churches in his diocese there had been no divine service for over twelve years.(3) Overton paints a bleak picture of the neglect which had attended the performance of divine service during the Interregnum.(4) With the proscription of the Book of Common Prayer, Anglican liturgical services had almost entirely ceased.

(1) Horatio A. Adamson, 'Gleanings from the Parish of Tynemouth', Archaeologia Aeliana (1896), series 2, vol.xix, p.98.

(2) Vide supra p.167.

(3) Vide supra p.161.

(4) Overton, p.165.

In the register of the parish church of Whitworth, in the diocese of Durham, there is an entry for a baptism on 27 July 1645, to which had been added the note, 'the last that was baptised with the Book of Common Prayer in this parish'. The same register records a baptism on 12 May 1660, with the accompanying note, 'upon which day I began again to use the Book of Common Prayer'.

After the Restoration, of course, the Prayer Book, at least in theory, came into general use, but it proved no easy matter to resume the ordered procession of church services. On the one hand, the necessary books, vessels and ornaments had in many instances been lost or destroyed, and it took time to replace them. Churchwardens continually complained, for example, of the difficulty of getting copies of the new Prayer Book. On the other hand, many of the clergy had grown unaccustomed to using the old forms of service, and, indeed, many had never used them. Overton[1] singles out the service of Holy Communion as being one of the most difficult to reinstate.[2] In his view, the frequency of, and the attendance at Communion, seems to have been the least satisfactory part of the restoration of church services. Writing well after the Restoration, John Evelyn commented that 'unless at the four

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(1) Overton, p.165.

(2) The ideal of the English Reformation, as of Calvin himself, in respect of public worship, was the assembling of the Church every Sunday for the service of Holy Communion. Each Sunday in the Church's year had been provided with its own Scripture readings, which, together with the sermon, the expounding of the Scriptures, united Word and Sacrament. But the conservatism of the laity in adhering to their mediaeval custom of infrequent Communion frustrated the Reformers. The rubric of the 1552 Prayer Book, demanding four, or at least three, to communicate with the priest, led to the disappearance not only of the daily, but also the weekly Communion. The result was that, at best, there was a Communion on one Sunday in the month, while on the other three the Celebration was replaced by the Ante-Communion. (N. Sykes, The Crisis of the Reformation (London, 1946), pp.91-92.)

greater feasts, there is no Communion hereabouts'. There is little direct comment in Basire's papers about it, but other writers testify that the diocese of Durham was no different from the rest of the country. In November 1680, Dean Granville, Cosin's son-in-law, and at that time Rector of Sedgefield, wrote to Basire's son, Isaac, telling him how difficult it was proving to insist upon a regular celebration of Holy Communion:

> I have been many years studying how to accomplish this good work, namely to revive that important, though neglected Rubric of the weekly celebration of the Sacrament in all Cathedrals, which without all dispute is the main Rubric of the whole Book, and so judged by your venerable deceased father. (1)

Granville could only venture to insist that his curates at Sedgefield should celebrate on the four great festivals, and five other days, though by 1697 he had managed to obtain a monthly Communion. In 1681 Granville received a letter from Dr Comber:

> If we consider how terribly this Sacrament was represented, and how generally it was laid aside in the late times, we might wonder how Monthly Communions should be so well attended on by the people as they are, and this was as large a step as could in prudence be expected for the first twenty years. (2)

By 1736 a monthly Communion had been established in each of the four parishes of Newcastle, St Nicholas, the first Sunday, All Hallows the second, St John's the third, and St Andrew's the fourth.(3) This, in fact, provided the town with a weekly Communion if communicants were prepared to go to a different church each Sunday.

Of the administration of the other Sacraments there is little evidence in Basire's papers, but if Holy Communion was so infrequently celebrated, and so difficult to restore to its rightful place in the life of the Church, then it is reasonably safe to assume that the other Sacraments received little better consideration.

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(1) Granville, Remains, (Surtees Society, vol.47), p.49.

(2) Ibid., p.86.

(3) Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, p.482.

One of the main problems was the restoration of public baptism. During the Interregnum baptism had been administered privately in the home for various reasons. The use of the Prayer Book had been prohibited, while in an age when it was the custom to baptise children within a few days of their birth, it was argued that private baptism was less harmful to the child. In fact, after the Restoration, according to Pepys, private baptism was more the rule than the exception, and the authorities were finding it difficult to restrict private baptism at home to the purpose for which it was intended. People preferred a baptism at home to bringing the baby to church to be baptised publicly. In his Visitation of 1663 Basire noted that John Tate of Alnwick had been cited for not having had his child baptised, and for the fact that his wife had not been churched.(1) Many factors contributed to this reluctance to bring babies to church; the impossibility of holding public baptism with the Prayer Book service during the Interregnum had broken the tradition of public baptism; the increasing 'atheism', noted by the Bishop of St David's, would make parents careless of bringing their children to church; private baptism provided a loop-hole through which Puritan-inclined ministers could evade the use of the sign of the cross, surplice and god-parents.(2) It was a problem which was never satisfactorily solved. In 1678, Compton, Bishop of London, summoned a meeting of his clergy in St Paul's Cathedral, to deal with certain problems, among which was the discovery of ways to suppress private baptism. In 1684, Basire's son, Isaac, in his capacity as Official of the Archdeaconry, issued a mandate enjoining that baptism should only be performed on Sundays and in church.(3) Basire, himself, while in Transylvania, expressed his personal opinion that solemn baptism administered in the presence of the whole congregation would stimulate people's understanding and piety.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(2) Ibid. Basire noted at his 1664 Visitation that at Ovingham there had been a 'Baptism sine ✝'.

(3) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.47), p.131.

Another problem facing Basire was the re-establishment of the traditional marriage discipline. The 1662 Visitation Articles give some indication of the abuses which had crept in, for in the section concerning the behaviour of the minister, there is a searching enquiry into his activities over marriage:

> Doth he presume to marry any persons in private houses, or such as, being under the age of twenty-one years, have not the consent of their parents, or without the banns first published on three several Sundays or Holidays in your church, or at any other hours than between 8 and 12 in the forenoon, unless he hath a licence or dispensation to the contrary. (1)

There are further questions concerning the parishioners themselves:

> Are there any living in your parish, who have been unlawfully married, contrary to the laws of God? Or any, that being lawfully separated, and divorced, have been married again, the former husband or wife still living? Or any, that, being lawfully married, and not separated or divorced by course of law, do yet live asunder, and cohabit not together? (2)

It seems likely that the abolition of ecclesiastical marriage under the Protector had not only made people neglect regulations, but had made them cease to regard marriage in church as important.(3) The so-called 'clandestine'(4) marriages became a regular feature in the charges presented at the Archdeacons' Courts, and we have already seen that in 1668, Basire excommunicated a Thomas Thompson, a schismatic minister, for trading in clandestine marriages. One complication in the enforcement of any marriage discipline was the number of clergy, who had refused to comply with the Act of Uniformity,

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(1) J.Cosin, Works (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1851), vol.iv, p.512.

(2) Ibid., p.515.

(3) G.Davies, The Early Stuarts (Oxford, 1938), lists three kinds of marriages during the Interregnum; before a J.P., by a minister according to the order of service in the Directory of Worship, and by an Anglican minister, using the Prayer Book.

(4) Roman Catholics had to marry before clergymen of the Church of England in the parish church. 'Clandestine' marriages, i.e. by a Roman priest, numbered more than a hundred in the Court of High Commission at Durham between 1628-39 (M.J. Havran, The Catholics in Caroline England (Oxford, 1962), p.78.

and had found refuge over the Border in Scotland. There are frequent complaints by the Scottish authorities about their activities in Scotland itself, while they seem to have crossed over the Border into England from time to time, taking services, preaching, and performing marriage services without complying with Anglican regulations.

One of the things about which both Cosin and Basire felt strongly, and which they determined to revive, was the daily recitation of Morning and Evening Prayer in each parish church, in accordance with the Prayer Book rubric. To the best of the Caroline divines the recitation of the daily offices was a great privilege, and one of the highest duties of a parish priest. We are familiar with the Ferrar family at Little Gidding, meeting each day at the hours of ten and four to say the offices together, and with the story of the ploughman who would kneel in the fields and join in prayer as he heard George Herbert ringing the bell for Morning and Evening Prayer. Cosin wrote that 'we are also bound, as all priests are in the Church of Rome, daily to repeat and say the Public Prayers of the Church',(1) and then went on to criticise those who spent all their time studying divinity

> and have no leisure to read these same common prayers; as if this were not the chief part of their office and charge committed unto them. Certainly the people whose souls they have the care of, reap as great benefit, and more, too, by these prayers, which their pastors are daily to make unto God for them, either privately or publicly, as they can do by their preaching. For God is more respective to the prayers which they make for the people, than ever the people are to the sermons which they make to them. (2)

Cosin then summed up his argument:

> It were therefore well to be wished that the like order were taken in the Church now, and that the sacrifice of prayer might be continually offered up unto God among the Christians, as well as it was in the synagogue of the Jews. (3)

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(1) Cosin, Works, vol.5, p.9.

(2) Ibid., p.10.

(3) Ibid., p.11.

Basire, too, was a firm believer in the recitation of the daily offices, and he regarded it as one of the great duties and privileges of the ordained minister. He said so in a revealing passage in the sermon he preached at Cosin's funeral in 1672:

> He (Cosin) strictly enjoined, according to the rubric, the daily public offices of Morning and Evening Prayer within the churches of his diocese...Without vanity I have (through God's providence) travelled and taken impartial survey of both the Eastern and the Western Churches, the Greeks and Armenians etc., constantly observe their daily public services of God, and in the Eastern Churches, I, passing through Germany (to take the like survey) did with comfort behold the same daily offices with full congregations in those they call the Lutherans and Calvinists... and truly when the laity doth daily plough, sow, work and provide for the clergy, 'tis but Christian equity that the clergy should daily offer public prayer and praise for the laborious laity.(1)

In his Visitations he was keen to note whether or not the clergy were obeying the rubric. He noted, for example, in 1666, in his report on the church at Morpeth that 'Mr P reads no prayers at either morning or evening'.(2) The Rector of Bedale, writing to Dean Granville in 1681, recalled that Basire had been zealous for Morning and Evening Prayer, while Isaac Basire, Jnr., placed the following item in his Visitation Articles of 1684:

> III. That the rubric enjoining Daily Prayer to be observed daily by all Priests and Deacons, either publicly or at least privately, not being let by sickness or other reasonable cause. (3)

Overton(4) quotes a Newcastle account book as showing an item 'for candles in winter for daily prayers'. The re-establishment of the daily office took a long time to bring about.

Knowing the stress that Basire made during his exile on the importance of the Catechism, and how he translated it into the languages of the different

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(1) I. Basire, Dead Man's Real Speech, p.95.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(3) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.37), p.282.

(4) Overton, p.170.

countries he visited, and then left copies behind him, in the conviction that the Catechism was proof of the orthodoxy of the Church of England, it was to be expected that his Visitation Articles would contain the question, 'Doth he diligently instruct the youth of your parish in their Catechism?'. As he went round visiting his parishes, he complained many times of the way in which the clergy neglected this important part of their ministry. That he never catechised was yet one more criticism of the unfortunate vicar of Shilbottle, when the Archdeacon visited his parish in 1666.

PAPISTS AND SECTARIES

After the Restoration, two sections of the community refused to accept the restored Church, the Roman Catholics and the Nonconformists. The North was a particularly fertile field for both of them, for, as has already been seen, the Church of England was weak both in Newcastle and in the surrounding countryside. Lack of clergy meant that the Anglican settlement had not provided adequate provision for the North, and the distance from the authorities in the South offered the opportunity for other denominations to make progress. Newcastle, which had become one of the major cities in the country, had only four parishes to cater for its religious needs.

It is very difficult to establish the exact number of Roman Catholics in the country at the Restoration.(1) Magee calculated that there were about 200,000, while Bossy regarded this figure as much too high, and suggested that 60,000 would be nearer the mark. W.G. Simon, quoting the Calendar of Domestic State Papers, puts the number at 14,000,(2) while Edward Norman, writing in 1985,(3) argues that in the first half of the seventeenth century the number was around 40,000. He suggests that up to 1650 the number of Roman Catholics increased at a rate almost twice the rate of increase of the population generally, but that in the second half of the century, the rates were almost the same. In 1767 Parliament mounted a papist-counting census, and this produced a figure of 69,376.(4) It would seem, on the available evidence, that Bossy's figure is nearest the truth. Some historians have argued that the number of Roman Catholics declined slowly after the Restoration, but Bossy argues cogently

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(1) For a full discussion see Brian Magee, The English Recusants (London, 1938), and John Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 (London, 1975).

(2) W.G. Simon, p.184.

(3) E. Norman, Roman Catholics in England (Oxford, 1985), p.30.

(4) Bossy, p.184.

that it is more likely that the number remained fairly steady until the middle of the eighteenth century, when it began to increase slowly. As for numbers in the North, Thomas Ogle, writing about Northumbrian recusants in 1625,[1] 'Their number by conviction 900; Their number by estimation 2,000'. Magee interprets this statement to mean that in addition to the 900 convicted recusants, there were a further 2,000 by repute. This, he suggests, is in accord with the prevailing estimate that there was one conviction for every three to five recusants. Bossy's estimate would probably be between 1,500 and 2,000.

The North has, of course, been traditionally regarded as a stronghold of Roman Catholicism in the seventeenth century. Bossy argues that the Anglican clergy in the North were so weak in numbers,[2] and in effectiveness, that the way was laid open for the Roman Catholics, though it must be said in fairness to him, that he believes that later in the century their place was taken by the Quakers. The Rector of Ford had reported to Basire[3] in 1662, that in several places in the archdeaconry masses were said openly and advance notice given. The thing which distinguished north-country Catholicism from that of some other regions was that it was usually grouped round the old-established families,[4] who maintained a priest. Bossy suggests that in Northumberland the fortunes of the Jesuits tended to follow those of the Haggerston family. In 1660 they provided £6 a year for the maintenance of a priest, but that had risen to £10 by 1710, while one member

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(1) Magee, p.107.

(2) Archbishop Grindal's Visitation of 1571 suggested that in many parts of the North the Elizabethan Settlement was still, at least in part, a dead letter. (Collinson, Archbishop Grindal, p.199.)

(3) Vide supra p.166.

(4) D. Mathew, The Age of Charles I, p.147, gives an impressive list: Erringtons, Haggerstons, Widdringtons, Grays, Hodgsons, Claverings, Fenwicks, Radcliffes, Swinburnes, Conyers, Charltons and Tempests, to name only some.

of the family left a substantial legacy to the Society of Jesus. The Rector of Ford noted that mass was said openly at the home of the Collingwood family, illustrating the fact that Roman Catholicism in the North reflected local or collective options, rather than individual ones, though there were individual Catholics scattered all over the county, particularly in Newcastle and the Tyne Valley. Some gentry who maintained a priest on their estates were, however, often reluctant that he should minister to anyone outside the household for fear of attracting the attention of Parliament and possible financial penalties.(1) In addition to the nuclei of Roman Catholicism gathered round the local families, the frequent coming and going of ships between the Tyne and the Continent not only provided a convenient passage-way for Catholic priests, mass books and tracts, but also for Roman Catholic seamen who often took up temporary residence on Tyneside. Perhaps the most notable Catholic household in Newcastle was that of Mrs Dorothy Lawson. The Lawson household was one of intense spirituality, and her biographer recounted that at Christmas 'she spent the eve of this festivity from eight all night until two in the morning in prayer; litanies began punctually at eight; immediately after confessions which, with a sermon, lasted till twelve; at twelve were celebrated three masses'.(2)

There is not a great deal of evidence in the Basire papers of the incidence and influence of Roman Catholicism in his archdeaconry, but he did express his concern that so many impropriations were held by Papists. In 1663 he noted 'that impropriators in Northumberland are generally recusants', and a few are listed; Netherwitton, as we have seen, was held by a Mr Thornton, Mitford by Sir Edward Radcliffe; he noted that the impropriation of Whittingham was held by three papists, Mr Clavering of Callaly, Mr Colling-

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(1) Havran, p.78.

(2) W.Palmer, S.J., Life of Mrs Dorothy Lawson, ed. G.B. Richardson quoted in Alan Dures, English Catholicism, 1558-1642 (London, 1983), p.63.

wood of Eslinton, and 'Baronet Radcliffe of Dilston', singling out Collingwood and Clavering as 'seducing papists' who kept priests. He commented that there were many other papists, and that Allington (Alwinton?) and Holystone were also held by papists, Sir Edward Widdrington, Mr Thurloe of Rothbury and Mr Selby. He was particularly concerned with the activities of three Catholic ladies, who were very active - Lady Widdrington, Lady Charlton and Lady Heron - and he credited the first-named with having made over a hundred converts.

The minutes of the Archdeacons' Courts, however, record fines being imposed for non-attendance at the local parish church, and it would seem that the Roman Catholics were allowed to remain relatively undisturbed as long as they kept a low profile, and their recusancy fines were duly paid.(1)

Both Cosin and Basire had personal knowledge of the influence of Roman Catholicism, as both had sons who became Roman Catholics. It appears that Basire's youngest son, Peter, had been converted while he was in France, but later returned to the Church of England. He wrote to his father on 29 July 1665:

> I do, from a serious preponderation and conviction, declare with shame that my departure from the Church of England was a sinful schism. I aver from my heart that I do own, and recognise the authority of the same both in matters of doctrine (doubtless sound and ancient) and discipline. (2)

The fact, however, that there is no mention of Peter in his father's will would suggest that Peter returned to the Roman Church.

In many ways the problem of Nonconformity was much more troublesome to Cosin and Basire in their attempts to restore uniformity. Inevitably things were very uneasy during the first years after the Restoration. The Declaration of Breda seemed to promise a measure of tolerance to those who were outside

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(1) But note in Hunter MSS., fo.137: 'A Popish Recusant indited for not coming to the Parish Church or receiving Communion above the age of 18, upon complaint one Justice may tender him the Oath of Allegiance and upon refusal commit him to gaol without bail till the next Sessions.'

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.90.

the Church of England; there was a good deal of support for some form of comprehension, the widening of the Church of England to accommodate at least some of those outside. But all this came to nothing in the face of the resolution of an intensely Cavalier Parliament, that never again would Dissent cause trouble. There were numerous reports of possible risings of the more extreme sects. In 1660 Newcastle was in a state of alarm at the possibility of an armed rising by the Anabaptists. Writing to Edward Gray, his friend in London, William Delaval described what had been going on in the town:

> a treacherous party of 150 horse tried last night to surprise Newcastle but failed through fear. Commissioners should be appointed for settlement of the militia and disarming the factions; these are chiefly merchants, who disperse infinite quantities of powder and shot into the northern counties and Scotland. Most of the disbanded forces lie about Newcastle, and would join the fanatics to raise a new war. The pulpit blows sparks, and it is common discourse that the government will not last a year. Fears hellish designs in embryo. (1)

Things were little better in 1663, and Thomas Swan, the Newcastle Postmaster, informed a Mr Muddiman that while the issue of affairs was very uncertain, it seemed clear that the object of another plot was

> to force the King to perform his promises made at Breda, give liberty of conscience to all but Romanists, take away excise, chimney-money, and all taxes whatever, and restore a Gospel magistracy and ministry. (2)

Examination of prisoners showed that the malcontents had bound themselves into a society with an oath of secrecy and passwords. The King and his ministers, however, had been informed of the conspiracy and instructed the mayor and aldermen of the town to choose a person of known loyalty to be mayor at the forthcoming election, for they felt that more than normal vigilance was needed on account of the recent conspiracy.

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(1) Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, p.387. 10 January 1661.

(2) Ibid., p.395. 13 November 1663.

Apart from the activities of the 'fanatics', nonconformity was much more of a problem to the authorities than was Roman Catholicism, for two main reasons. First, as the reports coming into Basire suggested, the ministers of the restored Church were not always themselves free from the taint of nonconformity. Basire was continually facing the problem of the ministers who had conformed to the letter of the law in order to retain their benefices, but would not conform to the official view of the teaching and tradition of the Church. In 1669 he reported that Dockwray, the vicar of Tynemouth, refused to wear a surplice when preaching, and omitted the service after the sermon.(1) His fellow-Archdeacon, Dennis Granville, complained of

> the nonconformity, or rather semi-conformity of the clergy, (who did with zeal more than enough, and sometimes too bitterly, inveigh against non-conformists) which engendered that brood which are the authors of our misery. (2)

As late as 1697 he was still writing with bitterness:

> of all the nonconformists, I confess, I have most indignation against those that can accept a fat benefice and preferment upon pretences of conforming. (3)

It was, of course, the traditional line of Elizabethan Puritanism, to remain inside the Church in the hope that the Church could be modified from within. Even after the ejections of 1662, many Presbyterians, including Richard Baxter, still regarded themselves as members of the Church, and though they were unable to officiate as clergymen, attended services as laymen. The weakness of the Nonconformists' position lay in the fact that they had failed to grasp that in the mind of Parliament, Nonconformity and rebellion against the King and lawful authority went hand in hand; to refuse to conform to the discipline of the Church was tantamount to rebellion against the King and against lawful authority. In 1661 they prayed that the bishops would not be too severe and eject ministers unnecessarily. They received from Cosin an uncompromising

(1) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(2) Remains of Dennis Granville (Surtees Society, vol.37), p.136.

(3) Ibid. (Surtees Society, vol.47), p.42.

reply:

> What, do you threaten us with numbers? For my part I think the King would do well to make you name them all. (1)

On another occasion they complained that after so many years of calamity, the bishops were unwilling to grant what their predecessors had offered before the war. Cosin replied, 'Do you threaten us then with a new war?. 'Tis time for the King to look to you.'(2)

The second way in which nonconformists showed themselves was in their insistence on holding their own services outside the established Church, either as a supplement to, or a replacement of the Anglican services. Conventicles had been a thorn in the side of the Church since Elizabethan times, but they received a new impetus when the Puritan clergy were evicted from their livings in 1662.(3) As a result, the first Conventicle Act was passed in 1664, banning the holding of conventicles under the threat of severe penalties. Its enforcement, however, does not appear to have been carried out particularly well, and a further Act was passed in 1670, this time with less severe penalties, which were to be more stringently enforced.

Reports reached Basire from all over his archdeaconry about the holding of conventicles; in 1663 Cosin reported to the Privy Council that there had been a meeting of 'seditious persons' at Muggleswick; in 1664 Basire reported that 'conventicles were held at Jo. Hunter's, Benfieldside, every Wednesday at noon; at Arthur Raw's every Sunday at noon'.(4) The itinerant preachers seemed to be very well organised and Basire noted that they usually stayed with Hunter at Benfieldside, and then went off on circuit to Sherburn, Sunderland and Hartlepool. Even Eaglescliffe, Basire's own parish, did not emerge

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(1) Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, p.388. 25 March 1661.

(2) Ibid.

(3) 'Conventicles in Corporations were the seminaries out of which the warriors against King and Church came.' (J.Hacket, A Century of Sermons, ed. J. Plume (London, 1675), p.xv.)

(4) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

unscathed, and an Order of Sessions was issued for the suppression of a disorderly house there, though it does not definitely describe it as a conventicle. In July 1669, however, Basire wrote to H.Doughty, his curate at Eaglescliffe that

> the praise belong to God that the Church of Eaglescliffe is a virgin church as to doctrine. I pray God that it may prove such also in point of discipline. (1)

He added in a postscript that

> I thank God once again that in my fifteen years voluntary exile for my religion and allegiance only, that parish was so well-principled that, upon my first enquiry, only one (shall be nameless) took up arms against the King, against which rebellion upon Whitsunday, 1643, I precautioned them, before I delivered unto them the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The greatest trouble, however, to the authorities was the Nonconformity in Newcastle. Cosin expressed his feelings forcibly to the mayor and corporation:

> I would fain vindicate the town of Newcastle from the foul imputation of being the nursery of faction in these northern parts, which, as things now stand, I cannot do. (2)

During the seventeenth century, nonconformity in Newcastle seems to have been well organised, particularly during the Interregnum. Howell[3] suggests that a definite Puritan leadership began to emerge with the arrival in the town of Dr Robert Jennison to be Master of the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene in 1611. It was he who led the opposition to the appointment of Arminians to livings in the town. Nonconformity was also fostered by constant intercourse with the Scots. There was a large community of Scots working in the mines in the Tyneside area, and, as Basire reported in his 1663 Survey, preachers came into Northumberland from across the border. Another factor encouraging the growth of Nonconformity was the fact that trade with the Baltic brought them into regular contact with the reformed churches abroad, and, on occasions, ministers

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.261. 30 July 1669.

(2) Cosin's Correspondence, vol.ii, p.207. 6 August 1669.

(3) Howell, p.85.

who had been ejected from Newcastle found refuge in the Netherlands. By the time of the Restoration there was a strong nonconformist element in the town, and as early as 1665 nonconformists were winning places on the town council,(1) so weakening the Church's efforts to enforce conformity. The rapid increase in the number of conventicles in Newcastle was attributed to four men. The most influential was probably Richard Gilpin, a descendant of Bernard Gilpin, 'The Apostle of the North'.(2) Gilpin was ejected from his Cumberland living of Greystoke, soon after the passing of the Five Mile Act in 1665, and was invited by the Nonconformists in Newcastle to act as their pastor. He arrived there in 1665. On one occasion the town council proposed to banish him from the town, but Alderman Ambrose Barnes, a prosperous Nonconformist merchant, persuaded the magistrates to let him stay because of his skill in medicine, since he had qualified as a doctor in Leiden in 1676. Gilpin eventually died in 1699. The second leader was Henry Lever, the ejected Rector of Brancepeth. He continued to live there but exercised a ministry in Newcastle. The third was John Pringle who had been ejected from Eglingham and had then gone to Newcastle as assistant to Gilpin, while also acting as a physician in the town. The fourth was William Durrant, a graduate of Exeter College, Oxford, who, during the Interregnum, had acted as lecturer, first at St Nicholas, and then at All Saints. Ejected by Cosin in 1662, he collected around him a congregation which met in his house in Pilgrim Street. He died in 1681 and, according to Calamy, was buried in his own garden, probably because he had been excommunicated by Cosin. Basire commented in 1669 that had it not been for these four men, conventicles might easily have been suppressed in north-eastern England.

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(1) Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 2 September 1665.

(2) Bosher suggests that there is evidence that Gilpin was offered the bishopric of Carlisle in 1661. (Bosher, p.193.)

Behind the four, however, there was obviously a good deal of support from the civic authorities. One of the leading figures on the Newcastle council, Ambrose Barnes, had been imprisoned for a short time in Tynemouth Castle on suspicion of plotting against the King. The authorities tried in vain to make him conform, but he sturdily refused to do so in spite of being cited, excommunicated, and having his goods distrained.

In 1668 Cosin wrote to the mayor and aldermen, enclosing a letter from the King, complaining about the number of conventicles being held regularly in the town, and the lack of action on the part of the council in dealing with them. The town officials defended themselves against the charge of neglecting their duties:

> We are sorry that there is any cause of complaint upon this occasion; we have this to answer for ourselves, that we have put the laws against conventicles into execution, so far as we had any information, and have convicted several persons upon the late act against conventicles, and taken care to prevent these meetings under the pretence of worship, by employing the churchwardens to give information, in case they should discover any. We do take the late statute against conventicles to be in force, and shall be always ready to proceed to punish offenders against it; and if any offenders have not been punished, it was for want of evidence to convict them; and if those persons that informed your Lordship would have been pleased to have acquainted us, we would have taken away all cause of complaint. (1)

While Cosin accepted their explanation, and was glad that they were so diligent in enforcing the law, he did not accept their excuse of lack of information

> when the notoriety of the fact, by their numerous meetings at your Barber-Chirurgeon's Hall upon All Saints' Day last, being Sunday, the 1st November, was such, that it was voiced and made known to all the town and country about; notice being also taken what special Psalm, or New Rejoicing Song, they then chose and applied to themselves, as Holy Saints, of 'Bearing a double-edged sword in their hands to bind Kings in chains and Lords in iron bands', of which notorious meeting both myself and divers others here at this distance were so shortly after informed. (2)

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(1) Memoirs of Am ·ose Barnes, p.405. 15 December 1668. Mayor and aldermen of Newcastle to Cosin.

(2) Ibid., p.405. 22 December 1668.

He also took them to task about a further meeting which had been held on 25 November, where Nonconformists had fasted, prayed and preached from 8 a.m. until 4 p.m. under the leadership of Gilpin, Lever and Durrant:

> Of all which, surely you might have had knowledge, and if you had not, you will give me leave to say, without offence, that many of your townsmen are very backward in discovering to you and attesting their knowledge of such disorderly assemblies and disturbances in your town. (1)

Clearly Basire, as 'oculus episcopi', was keeping Cosin informed of what was going on in Newcastle, for there is an entry in his notebook about these events:

> On November 1 and 25,68. Notorious conventicle at Mrs Jane Shafto's (Pringle's hostess). The Four ringleaders, Wm. Durrant, Jo Pringle (excommunicate), Rich. Gilpin (excommunicate in Carlisle), and Henry Lever. (2)

In the same year Cosin complained about the mayor and council licensing and electing a Mr Ashburnham to serve the cure of St John's. The town council and the vicar were to be informed 'that it is not in their power to put a man into a church, but to nominate him only unto the Bishop, or else they make themselves bishops, which is strong spice of the Presbyterians and Independents.'(3)

In December 1668, Cosin pressed Basire on the need for firm action against conventicles. Basire had already reported one conventicle which had been attended by 500 people, but Cosin replied that the Dean of Carlisle had assessed the number at more like 3,000:

> I commend your zeal which you have for the suppression of the seditious and numerous assemblies at Newcastle wherewith I was acquainted before by Mr Naylor, the vicar there, and now again by yourself and the Dean of Carlisle. All your information I have, by the King's command, represented unto the two principal Secretaries, who say they will acquaint the Privy Council with it, and give me an account thereof as soon as they can. In the meanwhile, they say that numerous conventicles are frequent here, both in London and Westminster near His Majesty's own court and they do what they can to repress them by making the people whom they take there pay several fines and sums of money to the

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(1) Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, p.406. 22 December 1668.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(3) Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, p.403. (dated only 1668).

> poor. I wrote lately to Mr Chancellor T. Barwell about this matter, when the Newcastle saints met together, 500 of them, upon All Saints' Day and sung the 149th Psalm in great triumph. And I could wish that Mr Chancellor would presently take the pains to go to Newcastle, he and you or Dr. Carlton, together there to confer with the Mayor (whose wife the Dean of Carlisle says by strong report was present at the last conventicle of 3,000 people, as Mr Ralph Davison related the matter to him) and with the rest of the Governors and Justices of Peace in that town, urging them to put the laws now in force against the four principal heads and ring-leaders of the faction, lest the mischief spreads further, both in that town and in the country about them. If I were in the country I would go thither with you in person. In the interim I shall not be wanting at this distance to do all I can. (1)

In a postscript to the letter, Cosin begged Basire to keep secret the fact that he had reported the matter to the King, in case the four ring-leaders heard of it and fled somewhere else to do more mischief. He also stressed that the laws were to be enforced through the Mayor and Justices of the Peace in Newcastle.

On 7 April 1669 Basire informed Cosin of a 'notorious conventicle' which had been attended recently by more than 300 people from Gateshead and Newcastle. It had been held in a house in Gateshead, and had been conducted by 'Rich. Gilpin, one of the four heads of the ringleaders, who keeps frequent assemblies, by flitting between Newcastle and Carlisle, situated in 2 dioceses, avoids the jurisdiction of the bishops and justices in both places.'(2) Later that month, Naylor, the vicar of Newcastle, complained to Basire that the town magistrates were disgusted with him for the zeal he had shown in suppressing conventicles.(3)

Clearly the royal commands were not being obeyed by the town council, and it appeared that they were more than a little sympathetic with the Non-conformists they had been ordered to suppress. Cosin told Basire in June 1669

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.245. 8 December 1668. Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, p.403.

(2) Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1672, p.195.

(3) Darnell, p.279. 30 April 1669.

that the King had expressed to him his royal and just indignation against all those who frequented conventicles under the pretence of religion. He had been instructed by the King to increase his efforts to suppress conventicles and he ordered Basire to give notice to

> all Persons, Vicars and Curates, within your jurisdiction, requiring them that they with the assistance of the Church-wardens and constables of their respective parishes make diligent search and enquiry about all conventicles and unlawful assemblies within their several parishes, how often they are held, what are the numbers that usually meet at them, of what condition or sort of people they consist, and from whom, and upon what hopes, they look for impunity. (1)

Later Basire performed his autumn Visitation of 1669 and reported his findings to the bishop:

> I returned to Newcastle where I did earnestly entreat the present Mayor, Mr Davison (a good man) to have especial care of three things; the maintenance of orthodox ministers, the choice of good schoolmasters, well-principled, and the suppression of conventicles, whereof one was kept the Sunday before (October 17th) at Pringle's lodgings (Mrs Shafto's house) from 8 in the morn. The Mayor promised me that upon information he will proceed effectively. (2)

In 1672, however, the King issued his short-lived Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all penal laws, and granting a convenient number of meeting places for nonconformists. On 10 June three Presbyterian leaders were given permission to hold meetings in their own houses; Robert Pleasaunce of Bishop Auckland, Robert Lever of Brancepeth, and THomas Wilson of Lamesley. On 12 August, another Presbyterian, John Rogers, received permission to hold meetings at the house of Robert Nicholson in Darlington.(3) The former pastor in Newcastle, Henry Lever, had been invited to minister to a congregation in Darlington, but had declined on the grounds of ill-health. One congregation was licensed on 5 September to hold meetings in Newcastle:

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(1) Cosin's Correspondence, vol.ii, p.205. 17 June 1669.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(3) Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1672, p.195.

> We have allowed, and We do hereby allow of a Room or Rooms in the house of George Bendall of Newcastle upon Tyne to be a place for the Use of such as do not conform to the Church of England, who are of the persuasion commonly called Congregational to meet and assemble in, in order to their Public Worship and Devotion. (sic) (1)

The ecclesiastical, civil and military authorities were to be made aware of the licence, and were to see that the worshippers were protected from any tumult or distraction.

In February 1673, however, Parliament declared the Declaration to be illegal, and the King accordingly withdrew it. While the toleration given to the Nonconformists was short-lived, it did encourage them and gave them hope, and it certainly did not make Basire's job of suppressing conventicles any easier. It is doubtful whether he and Cosin had achieved any great success in their efforts, but in the eyes of some they had been more successful in Durham than had others in other dioceses. In 1683, seven years after Basire's death, Denis Granville, then Dean of Durham, when dining with the Archbishop of Canterbury, informed him that

> Northumberland has very much improved in point of conformity, and that some part of it was more conformable than any other diocese in England, except the Bishopric of Durham... The good seed sown by Dr Basire, beginning now by the cultivation of a very able and worthy Official (2) and Vicar, (both of whom had done great things in their respective places) to spring up apace, and that there was not now one public conventicle in the town, and if there were any that did meet at all, it were some few by night. (3)

Basire himself looked with approval on the improvement Cosin and he had made in their efforts to restore the diocese of Durham to orthodoxy. Preaching at Cosin's funeral in 1673, he said:

> And I who have lived in the diocese of Durham forty years and have been an unworthy Archdeacon of Northumberland, as also Prebend of this Church for the space of thirty years never saw it more regular (since the sad twenty years of schism and war and so confusion) whereby his successor, whoever he may be, enjoy the comfort of a regular diocese (4)

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(1) Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, p.411.

(2) Basire's eldest son, Isaac, had been appointed Official of the Archdeaconry in 1670. He was also brother-in-law to Granville.

(3) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.47), p.110.

(4) Basire, Dead Man's Real Speech, p.97.

CHAPTER AND FAMILY AFFAIRS

There were apart from Basire's activities as Archdeacon of Northumberland, trying to restore order to the Church, and to control the activities of papists and sectaries, many other demands on his time and energy.

One which occupied a good deal of his attention, and that of his elder son Isaac, was the matter of subsidies due to the Crown from the Dean and Chapter of Durham. By an Act of Parliament, 'anno 15. Car. Regis', a restatement of a similar Act of Henry VIII, passed in 1535, Deans and Chapters were required to pay four subsidies to the Crown. The Dean of Durham, John Sudbury, denied that the Durham Chapter was liable for these subsidies on two grounds; first, that it had never before paid them, and second, that the 'new foundations'[1] were exempt, since they only came into existence in 1542. The government, for its part, claimed that the Durham Chapter had paid subsidies in earlier years, and that it was therefore liable to them now. When Dean Sudbury was in London, conducting negotiations with government departments, he wrote to Basire in April 1664[2] - Basire being Sub-Dean in that year - telling him about the negotiations, and that a search had been made for proof of previous payments. The necessary proof had not been forthcoming, and Sudbury, in consequence, refused to pay the new demands. He had thereby incurred a good deal of unpopularity in court circles. Lord Ashley had affirmed that there was a precedent, while 'his grace of York' was of the opinion that many cathedral chapters of the 'new foundation' had paid. The unfortunate Dean was also informed that all the bishops were against him. He had, however, taken legal advice, and told Basire that Sir Hugh Cartwright was confident that they would not have to pay, and he had disputed the matter with Sir Charles Harbord, the King's Surveyor and Chairman of the Committee.

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(1) For cathedrals of the 'new foundation', vide supra, p.148.

(2) Darnell, p.225. 23 April 1664.

The case had many complexities, and a document entitled The Case of the Dean and Chapter of Durham upon the Act for Subsidies. Anno. 15. Car. 2. Regis[1] goes a little deeper into the matter. The document sets out one significant difference between the 'old' and 'new' foundations. In the 'old' foundations the prebendaries held lands attached to their prebends in order to provide adequate maintenance, and when they were admitted to their prebends, they paid first fruits. The argument of the Dean and Chapter of Durham was that they held their lands in common, but separately for individual prebends, and that the total income from the prebendal lands was divided among the prebendaries in certain proportions for residence and hospitality.[2] They were, in fact, tenants of the Church, and on entry to their appointments, they did not pay entry fines but the traditional rents. While this is probably true, the Cathedral Statutes do allocate lands to each prebend, and it has been shown that while Basire was in exile, he was very anxious that the income from his prebendal lands at Finchale should be paid to his wife.[3] The document also asserts that since the Dean and Chapter did not pay first-fruits or entry fines, it paid to the Exchequer in place of them an annual sum of £218. Its main argument was, of course, that the 'new' foundations were exempt from subsidies, and so it refused to pay unless it could be proved that a previous payment had been made, so providing a precedent. The dispute dragged on for many years, and Basire and his son spent December 1667 and January 1668 making 'searches and inquisitions' about the alleged payments by the Dean and Chapter.[4] The final result of the controversy does not seem to have been recorded, though no payments appear in the Cathedral records.

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.125.

(2) Ibid., enacted by the statutes of 1 & 2 Philip and Mary.

(3) Vide supra, p. 53.

(4) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.127.

Amid all the worries and preoccupations of his official duties, Basire also had domestic problems. In 1665 the executors of Sir Richard Lee demanded from him the return of various sums of money which Lee had provided for the support of Mrs Basire and her children during her husband's exile. Basire took legal advice on the matter, and Serjeant Turner set out Basire's case in a lengthy document.(1) It throws a good deal of light on the difficulties experienced by the exiled clergy in their efforts to provide for the wives and families they had left behind:

1. At the Scots' first invasion in the year 1640 Dr.B, being for his loyalty by them deprived of all he had in the north, was forced to live in the south, a sojourner at Westminster A° 1640 and 1641.
2. That exigency induced him (as many more better men) to borrow for the subsistence of himself, wife and family. Mr Richard Piggott, grocer, (Dr.B's wife's uncle) lent him £100 upon interest. Noble Sir Richard Lee did offer himself a bondsman for Dr.B; the original bond was £200 - the counter-bond from Dr. B to Sir Richard Lee was £400.
3. As soon as the Scotch army was departed out of England Dr.B repaired to his estate in the north and in the year 1642 did send £60 of the £100 to the said Mr Richard Piggott, which was then endorsed on the bond.
4. In the time of the usurpation, while Dr.B was sojourning in Jerusalem, An° 1652, the said Mr Richard Piggott did sue Sir Richard Lee, upon the promised bond; upon the suit Sir Richard paid the remaining £40 wherewith the same Mr Richard Piggott, not being content, Sir Richard Lee paid him for the interest and costs of suits £40 more, in all £80 besides the £60 paid by Dr.B to the said Mr Richard Piggott; this second £40 was paid in the year 1653 when Dr.B was living in Constantinople, who being this far off, knew nothing of these transactions in England.(2)
5. An° 1660 Dr.B being recalled by the King out of Transylvania into England, and returning An° 1661, did bona fide cause inquiry to be made of the Lady Lee, widow to Sir Richard Lee, about these bonds, that he might clear them all. Answer was made (that) Sir Richard Lee himself had promised Dr.B's wife (his kinswoman) that the promised bond should not be questioned, and so bade her rest secure of it; but on the last day of February 1664 a sudden letter was sent to Dr.B that Francis and Thomas Smith and William Blackway, styling themselves executors unto the said Sir Richard Lee, had sued the said counter-bond for £400 in the Court of Common Pleas, and that the said Dr.B, who knew nothing at all of

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.122.

(2) Ibid., fo.9, no.72. Letter from Mrs Basire to her husband in May 1654 'my uncle Piggott has received your 'two pels' of 22 ponds'.

> these proceedings, should be run in as an outlaw, unless he made his Appearance within 10 days of the date. He received this warning on the 6th March at Durham and yet did make good his appearance within the time prefixed.
>
> The question is what relief to the defendant in Law of Equity.
>
> I, Dr. Basire will be relieved in equity against the penalty of the bond, but will be enforced to repay all the money paid by Sir Richard Lee, with interest for the same sum it was paid by Sir Richard.
>
> T.Turner. 5 August 1665.

Mrs Basire was called upon to give her account of the transactions, and her statement has survived: (1)

> Touching Sir Richard Lee's business, this much I can attest upon oath; that when I heard that Sir Richard Lee had paid my uncle Piggott £80 for you, I repaired to him and asked of him how it came to pass that he had paid £80, seeing my cousin Ramsden had already paid £60 (which £60 Sir Richard Lee did acknowledge to me was paid by my cousin Ramsden to my uncle Piggott). He answered me that he had paid £40 to make up (with my cousin Ramsden's £60) an £100, and the other £40 was to pay the interest for the whole £100 which my uncle Piggott did then demand of him. And Sir Richard Lee bid me not to be troubled at the £80 which he had paid to my uncle Piggott, for, if you did not come into England, he would never desire it, but if you did come and were able to pay it, then you might pay it. This much I can attest upon oath.

It appears that the matter was finally settled amicably, though 'uncle Piggott' did not come out of it very well.

In April 1665 Basire made a journey into Northumberland to settle the cures of the sea-chaplains he had provided for his Majesty's service. Unfortunately he did not enlarge on the subject, so it is difficult to discover exactly what the sea-chaplains were. Providing chaplains for the Royal Navy was within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London,(2) and it may be that he had delegated to others up and down the country the duty of actually enrolling chaplains. If that is so, then the task in Northumberland had fallen to Basire. He throws some light on his activities in this direction in a letter he wrote to Morley, Bishop of Winchester, in May 1665,(3) asking to be excused attendance

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.124. (undated).

(2) See E. Carpenter, The Protestant Bishop (London, 1956), p.238.

(3) Cosin Letter Books, fo.131. 2 May 1665.

on the King as a royal chaplain, as he had been ordered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, through Bishop Cosin, and in his capacity as Archdeacon of Northumberland, to appoint suitable curates to be chaplains to the Navy. He had done his best to appoint fit clergymen out of the archdeaconry, but it had not been an easy task because of the desperate shortage of curates in the North. He had only succeeded in doing so by uniting various churches under the same minister, drawn from each deanery. The minister would administer the sacraments and the occasional offices of churchings and burials, 'in casibus necessitatis', on weekdays as well as Sundays. In his reply a week later, Morley did not comment on Basire's activities over sea-chaplains, but merely said that Basire would be excused from his attendance on the King, and the journey to London, on condition that he found a royal chaplain willing to deputise for him. Should he find it impossible to do so, Morley added, he himself would stand in for him.(1)

The journey to Northumberland was not uneventful, for Basire informed an unknown correspondent that he had had 'a troublesome accident of a horse fall, which did so bruise my breast, that but for present blood-letting, might have ended my breath. But God be thanked, I am now recovered'.(2) He included a note about his status while he was in Transylvania:

> When I was Professor of Divinity in the University of Alba Julia in Transylvania, all the Doctors under the Bishop gave me place; and the prince himself,, both by tongue and pen, was pleased to honour me with the title of 'Excellentissimus' and 'Clarissimus.' And in the Greek Church, as in Zante and elsewhere, I have observed that the protopapas or chief priests (equivalent to our doctors here) took place of the nobles there and their wives accordingly.

One personal problem which haunted Basire for nearly twenty years was the establishment of his right to the estate that his father had left him in France. Basire's school-fellow, Jacob Roussel, who had been entrusted with the care of

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(1) Cosin Letter Books, fo.124. 9 May 1665.

(2) Darnell, p.234. 22 April 1665.

Peter, had agreed to act for Basire over his claim, but had had no success. Basire sought the help of Charles II in 1663, and asked him to submit his case to the English ambassador in France, Lord Hollis, in the hope that he might be able to do something. Basire summarised his case:

> 1. Isaac Basire, the only son of John Basire, Esq., though born at Rouen in France, and of French parents, yet by an Arrêt from the Court of Parliament there, he was An^{o} 1647 and is still to this day, debarred from enjoying his Father's Land of Inheritance in France, for no other reason, but because he continues a member of the Church of England, and hath sworn allegiance to the King of England, being made free-denizen.
> 2. Although this suppliant glories in his manifold sufferings at home and abroad, during the space of xvi years, both for his late Majty, of gl.mem., and for his Majty now reigning, yet to the end he may now not continue still a sufferer in his own native country, his Humble Suit is that his Majty would be graciously pleased to recommend this his singular case unto the Rt.Honble the Lord Hollis, his Majty's ambassador into France. (1)

Charles responded to Basire's appeal and instructed 'Sir Ph.W.'(2) to

> give a testimony of our love and favour to Dr.Isaac Basire, who having at this time a Process and Suit in France about his patrimonial estate. We require you to accept his Memorial concerning the same, And having made your own judgment of what is fit to be presented in his behalf that you press the same in our name either to our brother of France or his Ministers as you shall find best. (3)

It seems clear that the point at issue was his naturalisation as an English citizen.(4) In French law this prevented him from succeeding to his father's estate, and the husbands of his two sisters, living in France, Pierre de Tocqueville and Pierre le François, had obtained rights to it. Basire's legal advisers had drawn up a statement of his case, and copies had been printed.(5) It argued that Basire had been born in Rouen and baptised there in the French Huguenot Church, and had gone to England only to pursue his

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10A, no.2.

(2) Probably Sir Philip Warwick, secretary to the Lord Treasurer.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.10A, no.16. (undated)

(4) Vide supra p. 20.

(5) Hunter MSS., fo.10A, nos.8 and 9.

studies. The idea that he had been naturalised was denied:(1)

> Si bien que le dit Isaac Basire étant né en France, de père et mère François et y demeurant actuellement, et ne s'étant jamais fait naturaliser pas aucun Prince étranger, il demande d'être remis en la possession et propriété des successions de sesdits père et mère, avec restitution des fruits et levées perçeues depuis [Ms torn] feu M.Jean Basire son père et avec depens.

and later,

> le dit Basire se soit jamais voulu faire naturaliser en Angleterre, qu'au contraire ayant toujours en animum revertendi. (2)

His case rested on the legal definition of citizenship. It was argued on his behalf that there were three classes of citizens in France: the natives, foreigners and those who had been naturalised. But in England there was an extra class, 'les Priviligiés pour leur vie durante seulement', those who could claim rights of citizenship only for their lifetime. They, like strangers, paid double taxes, while those with full naturalisation, paid only the normal taxes. The point was also made that while the King alone could issue a Letter of Privilege, a letter of 'naturalité absolue' could only be issued by King and Parliament together. Clearly it was being argued on Basire's behalf, that since he had not been fully naturalised in England in the French sense, and had only received this limited status, he had not forfeited his French citizenship, and could, therefore, inherit his father's estate under French law.(3)

As has already been seen,(4) Basire's name was included in a list of French Protestants who were to be naturalised in 1665. A move to delete his name from the list was overwhelmingly defeated and he was accordingly natural-

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.10A, no.8.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Writing to Sir Richard Browne in 1647 (Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.51), Basire had suggested that a possible reason for his failure to obtain his right to his father's estate, had been the failure of his lawyers to make clear the full significance of the Letter of Privilege.

(4) Vide supra p.135.

ised, presumably in a way which removed the French objections, since the undated letter from the French king, quoted earlier,[1] must have been written either in 1665 or 1666.

In June 1665 an event took place which no doubt pleased Basire immensely, the dedication of the chapel at Auckland Castle, the residence of the Bishops of Durham, where he had lived for four years as chaplain to Bishop Morton. During Sir Arthur Heselrig's occupation of the castle during the Commonwealth, he had pulled down the chapel which had been erected in the grounds by Bishop Antony Bec and had used the stone to build a banqueting hall in its place. The hall had never been completed, but Bishop Cosin, horrified that consecrated stones should have been used in the building, pulled it down and built a new chapel on the site. Its dedication took place on the feast day of its patron, St Peter, 29 June. George Davenport, chaplain to Cosin, wrote to Sancroft, then Dean of St Paul's, and later Archbishop of Canterbury, giving him a full account of the occasion.[2] Davenport himself preached the sermon before 'the dean and prebendaries and many clergymen, but abundance of gentlemen were present, and had a great feast made to them'. In the sermon he expressed the hope that the restoration of the chapel would inspire the clergy and laity present to go home and see about the restoration of their own parish churches. The governor of Tynemouth was so moved by the address that he asked the Bishop to have it printed, and to send a copy to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Northumberland, 'who had many ordinary churches in Northumberland'. Davenport and Basire were good friends, and it may be that the latter had suggested the theme of the sermon in the hope that it might stir up the consciences of those present to do something about 'the ruinous churches' in his archdeaconry.

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(1) Vide supra, p. 8, note 2.

(2) Cosin, Correspondence, vol.ii, p.xxii. 1 July 1665. In 1661 Cosin had appointed Sancroft to a prebend in Durham Cathedral, and to the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring.

Basire was also concerned at this time with the education and future of his sons. Just before Isaac left for France to see what was happening to his father's application to succeed to his grandfather's estate, he told his father that he had visited Dr. Busby at Westminster and had received good reports on the progress of his two brothers. Busby described them as 'very industrious and good children'. Charles seems to have done very well, and Busby made the comment that worse scholars than he had gone to university. He would, however, not 'promise that he is so exquisite and in every way qualified as you desire', and suggested that Basire should bring him home to examine him himself, and to give him a letter of introduction to the authorities at Cambridge. Isaac added that if there was no more advice from Busby, he would take Charles to Cambridge and have him admitted there.(1)

In the meantime, Peter, the youngest son, then aged 17 or 18, was living at Stanhope. It is uncertain when he returned to England from France, but he must obviously have returned before his father, since Basire, in a letter to one of his friends, said that he was met at Hull by his wife and their five children.(2) Writing to his father in July 1665.(3) Peter regretted that he could not wait on him in person. 'This proxy', however,' 1. tenders my H. Duty to you; 2. craves your blessing. and, 3. gives you the inclosed account of my time, as spent according to your charge.'

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(1) Venn, pt.i, vol.i, p.102. Charles admitted as pensioner of St John's College, May 11th.

(2) Vide supra p.126.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.89. Note Venn, p.103, Peter admitted as pensioner of St John's College, May 12th.

An Account of my Time

	Days
From May the 19th (the day of your departure) to July 13th (the day of your arrival), are 55 days.	55
Out of which are deducted	
1. Sundays	9
2. Holy Days	3
On which days I read nothing but (salve tuo consilio) practical divinity.	
3. Spent (as being co'manded) in riding up and down about yours and my mother's occasions, the p'ticulars whereof I could give you at large.	10
Remain for my studies out of	55
The just number of	33
Wherein I learned and writ out	
1. In Logic, chap.	13
2. In Divinity, pages	36
3. Out of Terentius, many phra.	000
4. Out of the Travells, pages	100.

Finis coronat Opus.

I hope my mother will give you an account of my deportment in your absence.

Basire seems to have spent the rest of the year at Stanhope, His friend, Dr Smallwood, sent him a copy of a sermon which he had written, and Basire was so impressed by it that he read it out in church after Evensong on St Thomas' Day. Writing to Smallwood on St Stephen's Day, 'before Sermon', he said that he had taken the liberty of adding some marginal comments, and hoped that when a second edition of the sermon was published, they would be included, together with an index of scriptural references. Why Basire should have regarded the sermon as so important is not clear from the letter, for he does not give any analysis or details of it. It might be surmised that it was a sermon on the duties of a Christian, based on the Catechism, which would certainly meet with Basire's whole-hearted approval. He bemoaned the fact that the multitude of his public duties prevented him from doing any writing of his own, and he was sorry that his book on sacrilege was still unfinished. He hoped to see Smallwood in May, when he would be in London for his period of residence at court.(1)

(1) Darnell, p.247. 26 December 1665.

Meanwhile Isaac had returned from France, and was at Gray's Inn. He told his father[1] that he had been invited to attend a committee which was dealing with the vexed question of the subsidies claimed by the crown from the Dean and Chapter. He was to accompany the person 'that speaks in the name of the D. and C. that I may answer to what these may object'. He had been received by the Bishop of Exeter, who had been pleased 'to enlarge upon your worth and say that the Church of England was much beholding to you'. He added that his brothers were staying at Colne.[2] Peter had travelled to Colne to join his brother Charles. There is no mention of why they should have been at Colne, but 1665 was, of course, the year of the Great Plague, and Cambridge was affected by it. Sermons at St Mary's were suspended, as were the customary Acts in the schools, while many people, including Isaac Newton, quitted Cambridge until the plague subsided.[3] It seems likely that Charles and Peter found a refuge in Colne where they could continue their studies, for Peter, writing to his father, mentioned the presence of a tutor with them.[4] He also told him that Charles would be sending him particulars of their last quarter's expenses, while he himself would only list generally what it had cost them from 22 June to Michaelmas Day:

	£.	s.	d.
In our diet	6.	13.	11½.
In tuition	1.	0.	0.
For my bed and sheetes, which I hire a quarter.		11.	0.
For mending and turning my (only) suite, for books, Toba, and private expenses, wherein may be mentioned (yet which I would omitt but that you delight in punctuality,) some shillings given at the receipt of the Sacrament, dayes of fasting, and public collections. I say in all, in these private expenses	2.	4.	6.
Total of our quarter.	10.	9.	5½.

(1) Darnell, p.250. 8 January 1666.

(2) A village fifteen miles north-west of Cambridge.

(3) J.B. Mullinger, A History of the University of Cambridge (London, 1888), p.160.

(4) Darnell, p.255. 13 October 1666. Cambridge Fellows were 'tutors'. A don might have anything from one to twenty pupils, boys who lived with him, and directly paid him, and were entirely controlled by him. (H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (Cambridge, 1958), p.237.)

He added that they might 'table out' for £4 a quarter, but Mr Peck (presumably their tutor) was thought to have lessened expenses by keeping house. He also asked his father not to be offended at his use of tobacco. He had reduced his consumption by half, but he was having to pay more for it. Finally, he would be grateful if his trunk could be sent on to him, because he wanted some winter clothes. It could be sent from Newcastle to Lynn, and thence thirty miles by water until it arrived within a mile of Colne.

Charles' list arrived later;[1] it was for the Lady Day quarter, 1666-7:

Received by Mr Peck £5
Received by Green £10.

	£.	s.	d.
Steward p. 1 man	0.	4.	4.
	(0.	1.	7.
2 men	(0.	12.	6.
Coales, Feb. 28th		1.	8.
Necessaries.		5.	0.
To Mr Peck		9.	9½.
To the Chapel Clerk		1.	0.
Balls and Barres		1.	0.
Necessaries.		5.	0.
Steward—the 3 men	(0.	2.	4.
	(0.	12.	2.
For linen		14.	0.
Carriage of the money	0.	1.	8.
Taylor's bill	0.	10.	6.
Hire of a Bed and Curtains	0.	6.	0.
Bedmaker	0.	4.	0.
To lente the Cook	0.	1.	0.
To Mr Spense	0.	7.	9.
Shoemaker	0.	4.	9.
Laundresse	0.	5.	0.
Draper's bill	1.	0.	4.
Chamber rent	0.	5.	0.
Tuition	1.	0.	0.
Sum	7.	16.	4½.
Debit	£5.	12.	9

Towards the end of the year Basire apologised to Isaac for not replying to his last two letters, but pleaded pressure of work, various preachments, and

(1) Darnell, p.258. 1 May 1667.

his Visitation of Northumberland. As a result, his book on sacrilege lay buried and was likely to remain so unless he was able to find more time for it.(1)

In October 1666, Basire was called on to help the Bishop resist an attempt to obtain parliamentary representation for the county and city of Durham.(2) The county of Durham had never sent representatives to Parliament, because of the Bishop's palatinate jurisdiction, by which, with the consent of his council, he was able to levy taxes and raise men in the bishopric, without reference to Parliament. Attempts had been made in 1614 and in succeeding parliaments to obtain Members of Parliament for the county, but they had failed because of episcopal opposition. During the Interregnum, however, both county and city sent representatives to Parliament. An effort was made in 1661 to continue the practice, but it was defeated by Cosin. Another attempt was made in 1666, and this time success was almost achieved. A petition was drawn up in October and was presented by the Grand Jury to the Court of General Quarter Sessions held in Durham on the 3rd. The petition was presented in the names, and on behalf of all the freeholders of the county, and it asked that Parliament should 'grant this just and reasoned request that they may have knights and burgesses to represent them in Parliament like all the other counties in the kingdom'. The petition was read out in open court, and an immediate protest was lodged against it by the Bishop, Dean Sudbury, Archdeacon Basire, Thomas Craddock, esq., Samuel Davison, esq., and William Blakiston, esq. The petition was accepted by a majority of eleven votes, but was successfully opposed by Cosin in the House of Lords on the grounds that the proposed measure was derogatory to his own rights, and to the peculiar privileges of the Palatinate.

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(1) Darnell, p.259. (translated from the Latin)

(2) For details see W.Hutchinson, History of Durham, vol.ii, p.60, and Cosin, Correspondence, vol.ii, p.xxviii.

Further attempts were again defeated by Cosin in 1669[1] and 1670, and it was only after his death in 1671 that the first Members of Parliament - John Tempest and Thomas Vane - were elected to represent the county of Durham, taking their seats in 1675. Elections for Members of Parliament to represent the city were delayed by technical difficulties until 1678.

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(1) In 1669 Basire reported to Cosin that he had attended the Quarter Sessions as instructed:

> where nothing was moved of that which we suspected, and for which I was prepared; but I do hear their agents above will endeavour manibus pedibusque obnixe omnia agere to drive on their old business at this new Session, but I hope they will speed no better then [sic] before.(Hunter MSS., fo.137, p.25.)

IN JOURNEYING OFTEN

Travelling occupied a good deal of Basire's time in the fulfilment of his various offices; he went regularly to London to perform his duty as chaplain to the King, or to undertake missions for the Dean and Chapter, or sometimes to settle his own affairs. On occasions he attended Convocation in York, though he confessed that he was not a very regular attender, while twice a year at least he travelled round Northumberland, performing his Archidiaconal Visitations. He seems to have moved regularly between his benefices, Eaglescliffe and Stanhope, and his prebendal house in Durham. There are among his papers various notes and itineraries which give a picture of the long and wearisome journeys he was called upon to make.(1)

In 1666 he was due to be in attendance on the King at the end of May, and he began his journey to London on the 17th,(2) travelling to Bedale via Hornby Castle, and spending the night there. The following day he went on to Wath, where his friend Dr Samways was rector, and then proceeded to Noxton, where he enjoyed the hospitality of Sir Richard Graham and his wife. He was very taken with the house, and noted the remains of an ancient chapel in the grounds. The following day he travelled to York, arriving in the evening, and stayed as usual at St John's College. He and his party(3) paid their respects at Bishopthorpe to Dr Sterne, the Archbishop of York, so ending what would seem to have been a long day. The following morning they were in the Minster at 6 a.m. to attend Matins, but Basire was disappointed that the service was said and that there was no organ accompaniment. By the 22nd they had reached Blyth, not far from Doncaster, having passed through Bolton Percy, Sherburn and Doncaster itself. So far the weather had been good, but

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.135. (A small notebook in which Basire recorded details of some of his journeys, amongst other things.)

(2) Ibid., fo.135, p.2.

(3) Probably included Dr Carleton and Dr Neile, two fellow prebendaries of Durham. (Ibid., p.7.)

it changed on the 22nd, and they had to endure some heavy showers, so heavy that Basire's boots were wet through. From Blyth they visited Rufford, the seat of Sir George Savile, a stately house with a very fine garden around it. They stayed the night at Normanton. On the 23rd they rode to Bever (Belvoir) Castle, ten miles away, and from there passed on through Thistleton to Stamford where they stayed the night in 'The George Hotel'. Basire noted that they had been 'ill lodged'. The next morning they decided to hear Matins said at Stibbington Church, not very far along their road. They were disappointed, however, for when they got there they found neither minister nor clerk in the church, nor could they obtain a key, so they contented themselves with saying Matins 'in via'. They passed the night at Bugden, where Basire was delighted with the profusion of yellow roses. The next day proved to be showery, but they pressed on through Biggleswick, Baldock and Stevenage, reaching London on the 26th. There they hired a guide for the sum of 1s. to take them to their destinations. In the city they were courteously received by Colonel Carfax in his chambers in Suffolk Street, near Charing Cross, and Basire finally reached the home of Dr Busby, Headmaster of Westminster School, where he usually stayed on his London visits. The journey had taken in all eight days.

At the end of his notes he added the comment that 'in all this journey, (224 m.) not so much as a fall. D.Gr.' He added, however, that his horse's left foreleg was swollen from shoulder to knee, and that he himself was suffering from a heavy cold.

Having completed his tour of duty at the Court, Basire set off for home on 3 July.[1] First, they called at Hatfield House, the home of Lord Salisbury, where he noted that the vineyard was a garden of pleasure. He was very taken with Lord Cranborne's little two year old daughter, Catherine, and they were delighted to hear her say her prayers. They paused at Baldock to go to church,

(1) Hunter MSS., fo.135, p.7.

but Basire was disgusted to find that the minister did not wear a surplice, omitted to say the Litany, and that there were only four people in the choir. The weather had worsened during the day, and they were forced to spend the night at Timpsworth. July 6 saw them once more at Belvoir Castle. The hay was being mown, and it brought back memories to Basire of a poem which he had composed in French in 1629 at the sight of hay-mowing. The Countess of Rutland was most hospitable, and placed a 'Turky ring'(1) on his finger. He regarded this as a lucky omen, as the gift had been completely unexpected. While at Belvoir he was also shown a report of a conference which had been held at Winchester House in 1623, at which Dr Neile, Bishop of Winchester, Dr Andrewes, Bishop of Ely and Dr Laud, Bishop of St David's had been present.(2) They had been discussing the future of Prince Charles (the future Charles I) after his unsuccessful marriage excursion to Spain, and had remarked on his devotion to the Church of England. Dr Wren prophesied that Charles 'will be put to an end both for his crown and his head to defend the Religion of the Church of England'. Basire commented that this prophecy was made 25 years before the event, and that Dr Wren had revealed it to Bishop Cosin, and then 'sub sigillo'.

The notebook also records a journey he had made to Northumberland for his Visitation, probably in 1666. The account gives a picture of the unpleasant conditions he had to endure as he travelled round his archdeaconry:

> from Durham to N/c: mist.
> 9. To Morpeth: ibid. and rain.
> 11. To Alnwick: rain all the way; wet through boots and clothes.
> 13. To N/c: wind and weather: some rain in face: wet through.

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(1) Probably a ring brought from Turkey. (Hunter MSS., fo.135, p.15.)

(2) When Charles had returned from Madrid, after his abortive attempt to obtain the Infanta's hand in marriage, these three Arminian bishops had met secretly to discuss how to ensure that the heir to the throne would be favourable to their views. (Rawl. MSS., D 392, 356 ff, quoted in Charles Carlton, Charles I (London, 1983), p.63. (Hunter MSS., fo.135, p.16.)

In 1667 he visited London on two occasions and there is an itinerary of one of his journeys there from Stanhope:

> Sat. May 11. to Durham - great fall upon the little black horse - leg wrenched and swollen left wrist. (D.Gr. not broken as Mr Alex. Davison)
> 13. to Eaglescliffe - rain.
> 20. Eagl. to York by Thirsk.
> 23. Rose ante 3 a.m.
> Coach to Newark and Grantham.
> Grantham to Stamford.
> 24. Stamford to Wansford, Stilton, Biggleswick.

On the return journey the coach overturned at 'O'kenbury, on July 2, but no harm D.G.' They arrived at Richmond, Yorkshire, on the 7th, and the following day travelled to Forsett and Bishop Auckland, and then on to Durham via Binchester and Brancepeth. During the journey Basire met a Dr Lloyd, who remembered part of a sermon that he had preached at St Germains in 1647. He also noted that after his return there were continual boisterous winds and a good deal of rain in the first week in August, and he prayed that the Lord would have mercy on the British fleets.

In September he was off to London again, also partly by coach. On the 24th they travelled from Bawtry to Stamford, and he noted that they spent 18 hours in the coach, from 3 a.m. until 9 p.m., changing three times. When they finally reached Stamford they put up at the George Hotel, having dined atoGrantham, where the food had not pleased him, 'nothing but cold beef, old pigeon pie'. This visit to London was also concerned with his own affairs. He had apparently petitioned the King for a dispensation to be absent from his prebend:

> Dr Basire, chaplain in ordinary and prebendary of Durham, For a letter of dispensation to the Dean and Chapter for his non-residing, is detained in town by recovering his rights as prebendary in the Rectory of Stanhope and settling them by proviso in an Act of Parliament for the benefit of his successors, and also by attending the press for a book which he is printing. (1)

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(1) C.S.P.D., 1667-8, p.125.

There is no clear indication as to what the problem was at Stanhope, but at the time of his visit to London there seems to have been some dispute over the amount of glebe held by the Rector of Stanhope, and consequently over his right to certain tithes. There was also a difference of opinion as to the right of the Rector of Stanhope to certain grazing rights on the common land of the town.(1) The book mentioned in his petition was the long-awaited book on 'sacrilege', which he had been trying to finish for the last few years.

In December 1667 the King granted Basire's petition and instructed the Dean and Chapter to pay him his dues for the period of his absence:

> We commend Dr. I. Basire, prebendary there, for full allowance of profits, etc., although he cannot keep the required residence, being engaged in a tedious Exchequer suit to recover the rights of the Rectory of Stanhope, and other occasions requiring his attendance in London. (2)

The return journey in November had been very unpleasant - 'both my hands and eyes much swollen from the cold wind of the window, and in the neck and body'.

January 1668 found him once more in London, this time about the disputed question of the subsidies the Crown was claiming from the Dean and Chapter. He recorded an amusing incident at one of the hotels in which he stayed:

> No sleep at all for the noise of a mouse in a trap. So what is man that such a vile creature can serve him with a prohibition to stop his proceeding [?] in a thing so small as sleep. A cat can catch a mouse; a man cannot. This Medit. may help the cure of pride. (3)

While he and Isaac were making enquiries to find out if the Chapter had, indeed, paid subsidies in the past, as the Crown claimed it had, a letter arrived from Dean Sudbury complaining that in his last letter Basire had made no mention of

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(1) Vide Hunter MSS., fo.10, nos. 8, 9 and 10.

(2) C.S.P.D., 1667-8, p.77. 13 December 1667. But note Hunter MSS., fo.138, '1668. Though I had the King's letter for Dispensation from Residence this year, yet to uphold the honour of the Church (there being 4 vacant months without Resid.) I began a voluntary residence on Friday, April 24.'

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.135. Jan.27 1668.

having searched the Remembrancer's Office

> where, I suppose, there is not only a record of the charge of the diocese of Durham for the whole sume of a subsidy, but a particular list of all the benefices and dignities which make up the charge, and I have reason to believe there is no mention of the dean and chapter in any former payment, for I remember well that My Lord Ashly made enquiry there. And if it do not appear there that we have paid in former times, the matter will be so clear on our side, that I can not think that the Barons of the Exchequer will give us so much trouble as to send out any processe. (1)

This letter also throws some light on the relationship between the Bishop and the Chapter. Cosin had appointed Jean Durel to a prebend in the Cathedral, and Sudbury was worried in case the Bishop sent his writ for Durel's installation before they were able to assemble a full Chapter. If the writ of installation did arrive 'we shall not be able to do it, and you know how apt he is to think that we do him not right which we should, if any business of his suffer any the least delay'.

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(1) Darnell, p.260. 19 January 1668. There seems to have been a good deal of tension between the Bishop and the Cathedral Chapter over various matters. This tension was aggravated when the Chapter refused to grant Cosin the various leases which he had asked for on the grounds that he had incurred very heavy expense in restoring episcopal property at the Restoration. The Chapter refused to grant the leases because they considered that the Bishop's income since the Restoration was more than enough to meet his expenses. The dispute dragged on until 1667 when the Dean was summoned to London by the King, and asked whether it was against his conscience to confirm the leases. The Dean began his reply, 'No, but...', only to be interrupted by the King: 'I will not have 'buts', so go home and confirm it.'

SACRILEGE ARRAIGNED

> Henry VIII committed such sacrilege by profaning so many ecclesiastical benefices in order to give their goods to those who being so rewarded, might stand firmly for the King and the lower house; and now the King's greatest enemies are those who are enriched by those benefices. (1)

So commented Sir Francis Windebank, Charles I's Secretary of State to the Pope's representatives in England.

Fifty years ago it was a commonplace to attribute the rise of the new nobility to the distribution of the spoils of the monasteries, and to suggest that by deliberately doing this, Henry ensured the permanence of the Reformation settlement. Recent research has, however, modified this theory in two ways: first, that the prime motive for the dissolution of the monasteries was financial, to save the Crown from fiscal embarrassment; and second, that the final result was to increase the holdings of many of the existing class of landed proprietors, rather than to favour the growth of a few great families or plant a generation of new men or London merchants on the land.(2) The fact remains, however, that Henry VIII and his successors turned capital assets into cash, and that by 1603 only a comparatively small part of the monastic lands remained the property of the Crown. As a short-term financial expedient the Dissolution justified itself, but as a piece of long-term planning it failed.

To some members of the Church of England, it was sacrilege that lands and endowments given by previous generations for the maintenance of religion should have been plundered to satisfy the royal financial need and the greed of some of the laity. At a time when prices were rising, this inevitably meant that the clergy were becoming poorer, and that, in turn, affected the

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(1) Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, p.163.

(2) For a full discussion of the motives for the Dissolution, see A.G.Dickens, The English Reformation (London, 1964), pp.139-141. The territorial implications are dealt with by David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, vol.3 (Cambridge, 1961), pp.394ff.

social standing of the clergy, fewer of the educated classes being prepared to accept a life of poverty in the Church. Lack of education meant more 'dumb dogs', clergy who had not been trained to preach, and who contented themselves with a very often meaningless recitation of the Daily Offices, lacking any real theological knowledge. The Puritans also condemned the sacrilege, for it made impossible two things which were dear to them, a wider preaching ministry, and better education of the clergy.

Feelings ran high, and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a large literature condemning this alienation of the resources of the Church. Perhaps the most notorious example, according to Hill, was A History of Sacrilege, written by a staunch member of the Church of England, Sir Henry Spellman.(1) Like others, he condemned the way in which he considered the Church had been despoiled, but he also made the novel suggestion that the recipients of church lands had come to no good. Hooker himself thought that those who had squandered their own funds, would have little difficulty in doing the same to any lands or monies they had obtained from the Church. Another book on sacrilege was that published by John Sempill in 1619 and entitled Sacrilege Sacredly Handled.(2) To Sempill sacrilege was a taking away of things consecrated to God, and the removal of tithes from the clergy. Tithes were not simply ceremonial or token offerings, but a moral offering. If the Gospel is to be preached effectively, then the preacher must be adequately maintained, and this meant his right to tithes. We fight as soldiers of Christ, therefore He pays our wages; tithes are of divine ordinance. Sempill criticises the fact that laymen hold tithes, arguing that tithes were taken up for the worship of God, and so can never come under the control either of prince or parliament. Atheists, of course, since they have no religion, have no compunction about withholding tithes from the clergy.

(1) Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, p.24. Sir Henry Spellman, A History of Sacrilege (London, 1698).

(2) John Sempill, Sacrilege Sacredly Handled (London, 1619).

The leaders of the Church seemed able to do little to prevent this continued plundering of the Church, though Archbishop Parker, almost at the end of his life, wrote to Elizabeth 'with some vehemence' against what was going on.(1) Archbishop Whitgift took a rather firmer stand than any of his predecessors. In a life, written by Isaak Walton,(2) Whitgift was reported to have given the Queen a lecture on 'sacrilege':

> religion is the foundation and cement of human societies; and when they that serve God's altar shall be exposed to scorn and become contemptible, as you may already observe it to be in too many vicarages in this nation.

It was, of course, a factor in the fall of Laud, that the propertied classes viewed with alarm his determination to improve the finances of Church and clergy, for it seemed possible to them that he might attempt to recover some of the Church's lost lands and impropriations.

Basire added his modest contribution to the controversy in a sermon which he preached before Charles I at Oxford during Lent 1646, and which was afterwards printed by royal command.

There was, of course, no easy answer to the problem, as Sir Edward Hyde saw very clearly. Discussing in 1647 the view that Church property should be restored, because its retention by laymen was sacrilege, he came to the conclusion that the resumption of all Church properties would present an even worse problem, the ruination of thousands of families who had come to enjoy them. A new twist was given to the question, when, after the abolition of the episcopate in 1649, the Puritans proposed confiscating the lands held by the Bishops and by Dean and Chapters. The action prompted the publication of many books in support of them. One such was by Cornelius Burges, published in 1659 and entitled No Sacrilege Nor Sin to alien or purchase the lands of Bishops or others, whose offices are abolished. It was a revised and enlarged

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(1) The letter does not appear to have been sent. (Hill, p.30.)

(2) I.Walton, Lives (World's Classics) pp.191-5, quoted in Hill, p.30.

edition of a previous book, A Case concerning Bishops' Lands, and pursued the Puritan theme that instead of the lands maintaining high church dignitaries and their families in opulence, they should be sold, and the proceeds given to augment the stipends of poorly-paid clergy, so ultimately providing better preachers. It was this book which prompted Basire to revise and enlarge his original sermon into the book entitled Sacrilege arraigned and condemned by St.Paul. Rom.ii.22. which was published in 1668.(1) The copy in the Durham Cathedral Chapter Library has endorsed on the fly-leaf, in Basire's handwriting, '1 April 1668. Bibliothecae publicae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, D.D.Author.' This new edition was dedicated to Charles II:

> Most gracious Sovereign.
> It is now two and twenty years since this piece was Rough-case. Inter Tubam et Tympanum, [during the siege of Oxford in 1646] being then commanded upon that service by that late Incomparable King, your Royal Father.

In the preface he described the structure of the work:

> This book will appear most what a new Book, both for matter and form. For first, as to the matter of it, it is in great measure augmented, as by our Experience abroad, so by our Inquiry and Discovery at home of such books as since the first Edition have been published for or against this subject...this work is increased with many additions, so that from a transient Sermon at first, afterwards by the Royal Command, printed into a short Treatise it is now become a full Book.

He then related how he had been in the service of George Rákoczi, Prince of Transylvania, for over seven years, holding the Divinity chair in the College of Alba Julia. At the death of his patron from wounds received at the battle of Gyala, he had intended coming home to England, but had been delayed for a year at the request of the Princess Sophy, Rákoczi's widow, in order to perform the last rites for the Prince, and to continue the education of his son. The revision of the treatise was further delayed after his return to England in

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(1) Sacrilege Arraigned and Condemned by St.Paul, Rom.ii,22, second edition corrected and enlarged, London, 1668. The original sermon had been printed on Ascension Day, May 7th, 1646, at the express command of the King.

1661 because

> I have had my hand full, as of many public functions in my scattered stations, so of sundry very tedious and most expensive suits of law (being engaged to fight, as well as to write against Sacrilege) in the practical defence of the Church from sacrilegious Invasion and Usurpation, to vindicate and establish (though with my own personal loss) the Rights of Succession...Our law binds every Archdeacon expressly to defend the possessions of the Church that the Church be not defrauded of its right.

He once more asserted his firm belief in the Church of England, though he admitted that it was not the same Church that it was when he first knew it:

> I do fully purpose to be still, that is, in the bosom of the best Church in Christendon, both for verity and for antiquity, both for Christian Doctrine as also for Catholic Discipline... But, alas, our Vices are so great for want of sincere practice of the Holy Doctrine, our Divisions so many, for want of sufficient power for the due execution of godly discipline, that this Eminent Church is now in a far worse state than when I first had the Happiness and Honour to know it.

He was quite convinced that the great enemy of the Church was what he called 'atheism'. For Basire and his seventeenth-century contemporaries, the word 'atheism' had a much wider connotation than it has today.(1) It was very much more than a denial of the existence of God, and covered moral failings, the practical refusal to accept the rule of God and His Church in men's lives, failure to submit to the established discipline of the Church, and the indulgence in all manner of excess. Right at the beginning of his book he analyses this 'atheism' into its different categories; 'atheists' were of all shapes and sizes:

> First, Dogmatical Atheists, worse than the Devils in Hell - But these Incarnate Devils (Monsters of Men) do openly deny God, and so, as much as in their lies, rob God of Essence, of his Providence (which is real Sacrilege indeed).
>
> Second, Practical Atheists, that rob God of his Attributes, of his Holiness and of his Justice, when they profess that they know God, but in works they deny Him.
>
> Third, Atheists Pragmatical - they train up Novices in the Black Art of Atheism (the highest kind of Sacrilege).
>
> British Sadducees that basely degrading themselves to the low form of brute Beasts, do deny or dispute the Immortality of the Soul of Man.

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(1) Vide supra, p.161.

> Beastly Epicures bring up the Rear of the Hellish Regiment, polluting their own bodies that should be God's Temples (which is heinous sacrilege again) with the Vomit of Drunkenness and all manner of Excess, wallowing in the Mire of Uncleanness (open Adulteries) 'whose God is their belly, and whose glory is their shame, and whose end will be destruction.'
>
> Meanwhile, God help His Church (that Lily among thorns).

He then defined his conception of the meaning of sacrilege:

> By sacrilege is meant, the Abuse of things sacred, or belonging to the service of God, whether the Abuse be committed by way of violation, through profaneness, or usurpation, through fraud or covetousness. (1)

Sacrilege is a more heinous offence than adultery,(2) and it is the devil's stratagem to begin with the shepherds, so that the sheep may be more easily scattered.(3) Sacrilege and rebellion usually go hand in hand, as in the case of Judas, 'as a sacrilegious thief, so a base traitor'.(4)

Basire clearly regarded impropriations as sacrilege, and commented that while the Pope had impropriated 3,845 out of 9,284 parishes, he was a mere novice compared with the Protestants.(5) He admitted, however, that he was no friend of popery:

> I was bred and born in a religion opposed to it - and in this religion, as it is established and professed in the Church of England, for which (25yrs at home and 15yrs abroad) I have both done and suffered my share. (6)

He then analysed his conception of sacrilege, beginning with the King. He restated his firm belief in the duty of loyalty to the King.(7) Every king is holy by virtue of unction, 'yes, though he were a mere Heathen', and every person who 'dares lift up but a thought against God's Anointed, violates a

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(1) Basire, Sacrilege, p.13.

(2) Ibid., p.18.

(3) Ibid., p.22.

(4) Ibid., p.23.

(5) Ibid., p.25. In 1603 the bishops estimated that out of 9,284 parishes, 3,849 had been impropriated. (Hill, p.114.)

(6) Ibid., p.26.

(7) Ibid., pp.30-31.

Person Sacred', and added the sin of sacrilege to that of rebellion.(1) While the king's person is sacred, he has an obligation to preserve and protect the clergy. Priests are made sacred by their ordination, and are, therefore, in some sense, inviolable by the 'Law of Nations', as well as by the Law of God, or of Holy Church, whose ancient canons were so strict to preserve the respect due to the priest.(2) But because of this, priests have a special responsibility to deport themselves more holily than ordinary Christians. If the priest, instead of teaching the people knowledge, opens his lips wide to folly or vanity, then he commits sacrilege.(3) It is sacrilege to abuse or not devoutly use God's services, not to use the traditional ceremonies of the Church, or the vestments ordered to be used in those services.(4) This refers to the reluctance of many ministers of the Church to wear the surplice. The clergy can also commit sacrilege by the misuse of funds committed to their care. While it is their duty to alleviate the miseries of the poor, they must make sure that they are 'true poor', and not those who have beggared themselves through riotous living and profligate spending. Correction and labour are the best remedies for them.(5) The misuse of Scripture is also sacrilege, when used to support heresy, schism, rebellion or sedition.(6)

He then turned to the persons against whom sacrilege can be committed, beginning with the clergy. Whatever is granted to the Church for the honour of God and for the maintenance of religion, and for the performance of the services of worship, is given to God Himself.(7) Magna Carta's ruling 'Quod Ecclesia

(1) Basire, Sacrilege, p.31.

(2) Ibid., pp.32-33.

(3) Ibid., p.33.

(4) Ibid., p.34.

(5) Ibid., p.35.

(6) Ibid., p.40.

(7) Ibid., p.46.

Anglicana libera sit', means that all ecclesiastical persons within the realm should be freed from all unjust exactions or oppressions.(1) Magna Carta is a fundamental law for the rights of the Church.(2) He instanced as an example of an unjust exaction from the clergy, what he called the 'Pontagium', money collected for the maintenance of bridges. He referred to this again in the draft of a speech he was proposing to make at Convocation sometime after 1670, when he complained that while the clergy were not specifically mentioned in the 1670 Act for Bridges, yet they were included in the assessment.(3)

He argued that clergy everywhere have been treated with honour and respect in Christendom and elsewhere. He had been admitted to the Holy Sepulchre at half the usual rate; this was not something personal to him, but a courtesy accorded to every priest.(4)

Sacrilege is to be regarded as an offence against God Himself, 'who is the Great Proprietary of the Revenues of the Clergy'.(5) Church lands belong to the clergy by as good a right as any, and they have been lawfully purchased and piously given by churchmen for perpetuity to the Church.(6) In some parts of Europe the maintenance of the priest was ensured by a grant of lands to support him. There is divine support for paying tithes, since Abraham paid tithes to Melchisedek, and a tithe law was enacted by the Jews (Numbers 18) in the year 2454.(7) Offerings which are the expression of a personal, voluntary dedication, are a moral debt which the laity owe to the clergy.

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(1) Basire, Sacrilege, p.47.

(2) Ibid., p.46.

(3) Hunter MSS., fo.137.

(4) Basire, Sacrilege, p.49.

(5) Ibid., p.58.

(6) Ibid., p.46.

(7) Ibid., p.62.

Basire then stressed 'God's heavy curses against Sacrilegious, both Persons and Nations'.(1) James I had said at the Hampton Court Conference, 'no bishop, no king',(2) and the clergy have a place in the community, established by Act of Parliament, and they are one of the highest estates in the realm.(3) Their deprivation is a damnable injury, while their decay is the ruin of all true religion. They have shown their loyalty to a church which had been in existence for 1600 years, as Gildas had said: 'summo Tiberii Caesaris tempore'. That church has four main buttresses - apostolic truth, holy peace, just power and due patrimony.(4) The clergy themselves are the servants of the King and not of the people, while it is the duty of the King to preserve and protect them:

> And if the Clergy may as lawfully, nay in some of the premised respects, may more deservedly, and more irrevocably, too, than any of the other Estates, possess their Lands, then sure, by the Rule of Proportion, the Deprivation, or taking away of the Church lands, must needs be an Injury, far more heinous, in the sight of God and man, than to take away the Lands of Barons, of Knights or Lawyers or Physicians.(5)

This applied equally to cathedral lands, which were held by as good a title as parochial glebe, and Basire roundly condemned as sacrilege the proposal of the House of Commons to sell all cathedral lands, after they had ejected the bishops from the House of Lords in 1649.(6) But in his condemnation of the actions of Parliament, he went even further, and stated unequivocally that there was no legislative power in either or both Houses of Parliament, without the consent of the King.(7) To him this was a fundamental law of the realm.

(1) Basire, Sacrilege, p.68.

(2) Ibid., p.73.

(3) Ibid., p.170.

(4) Ibid., pp.101-102.

(5) Ibid., p.109.

(6) Ibid., p.176.

(7) Ibid., p.177.

To Basire all the activities of the Puritans were sacrilegious, and he condemned what he called the 'fair colours of religion' which they used to varnish over the foul sin of sacrilege.(1)

The book, then, is a protest against the spoliation of the goods of the Church, and the usurpation by others of the place of the clergy. It is dry and laborious, with a great display of learning. Basire's friends welcomed the book warmly. Dr Cruso wrote that Basire 'had hit this Goliath in the forehead, and I cannot but give you the Io Triumphe... Your arguments are apposite and irrefragable, your deductions and conclusions magisterial, your style close and proper, and the whole work such as becomes the cause of God and the gravity of a priest, striking the inward recesses and consciences of men'.(2) The modern reader, however, might wonder why Cruso 'grudged sleep till I had read it over and over'.

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(1) Basire, Sacrilege, p.113. (there is a mis-numbering here)

(2) Darnell, p.265. 3 March 1668.

MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL AND ACADEMIC

After arranging for his book, Sacrilege Arraigned, to be printed in London, Basire returned North, and resumed his usual activities. The Archdeacond of Durham was due to visit the parish of Eaglescliffe in the course of his Visitation, and Basire was anxious that the churchyard wall, round 'the Saints's Dormitory', should be repaired. He was, however, doubtful as to what exactly should be done, as he wrote to Doughty the curate in July:

> If what is done be well done, I shall be glad...and then, if what is done be not well done, as becomes a place consecrated for the Saints' Dormitory, then what is done must be undone, which will double the cost. (1)

There is no note of the parish being presented for neglect of the wall, so the work done must have been approved by the Archdeacon.

In August he obtained a patent to hold a weekly market in the town of Stanhope, where he was a rector.(2) A market cross was erected in 1669, but was moved in 1871. The upright of the cross, however, still survives near the east wall of the churchyard.(3) The original market had been founded in 1421 by Cardinal Langley, and had been held each Friday. Clearly it had lapsed, and Basire was seeking to restore it. It strikes rather an odd note against the rest of Basire's career, with its emphasis on spirituality and devotion, and it might have been thought that while holding a market was within the letter of ecclesiastical law, the Archdeacon would rather have obeyed the spirit. It must be remembered, however, that in spite of his preferments, Basire must have been short of money for a number of years after his return. He had incurred heavy debts to maintain himself and his family during his years of exile, and on his return had to lay out considerable sums of money

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.261. Letter to H.Doughty, 31 July 1669.

(2) Ibid., fo.10, no.12. For Langley's market, see W.Fordyce, History of the County of Durham, vol.i, pt.2, p.657. Basire paid a fee of £4.2.6 to procure the patent (Hunter MSS, fo.10, no.12).

(3) L.L.Knightall, Guide to Stanhope Church.

to restore the churches to which he had been appointed. Howick church, annexed to his archdeaconry, was in a poor state until Basire restored it. His houses at Eaglescliffe and Stanhope would have needed money spent on them, while, like the rest of the prebendaries of Durham, he would have found that he had to spend money on furniture and household equipment. So he sought to increase his income from the profits of the market.

The rest of the autumn he spent performing yet another Visitation of his archdeaconry, and again he presented a gloomy report to Cosin of ruinous churches,(1) and the reluctance of those responsible to effect the necessary repairs. It was virtually impossible to get some of them repaired, 'the sequestrations being very difficult, if not impossible, men being loath to undertake them against such potent patrons as the Duke of Newcastle, for one'.(2)

On his journey back to Durham from his Visitation, Basire fell in with 'a crew of highway robbers', whose leader was alleged to be a man called Barwick, and who were thought to be responsible for housebreaking in Durham, and as far afield as Piercebridge and Great Stainton. When he reached Eaglescliffe, where he had gone to stay with his family for a time, Basire had a meeting with Mr Ralph Davison and Sir George Vane, to see what they could do about it. They decided to ask the local J.P.'s to order watches to be established around the haunts of the robbers, and if they were unsuccessful, to do what they could themselves. In the meantime they bound over to the next Sessions two harbourers of Barwick and his gang. When they were interrogated, Basire was surprised to find that Ord, 'a notorious mate of those robbers', had been in the congregation in Durham prison when Basire had preached there two weeks before.

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(1) For example, 'Ingram; body of church ruinous, covered with sods.' (Hunter MSS., fo.137, p.25.

(2) Darnell, p. 281.

In November 1669 it was once more Basire's turn to act as Receiver for the Dean and Chapter for the coming year, and he was not looking forward to his period of office. Writing to congratulate the new Master of St John's College, Cambridge, Dr Francis Turner,[1] he described himself as being 'angariated to be their receiver, (a burdensome office to an old climacterical man LXIII, overladen already).' He offered his congratulations to Turner, 'with the usual acclamation of the Greek Church to their prelates, εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη. 'Naturalists observe', he went on to say, 'that noble plants by transplantation improve to a greater prosperity; as I am confident you will succeed in the labours, I hope and pray you may happily in the rewards, incitaments virtutum'. He expressed his pleasure that his son was studying under such an excellent person:

> I bless God that my branch is planted under the healthful shadow of such a Gamaliel, whom I desire you to favour no further than quamdiu se bene gesserit, not else, 'tis my promise in all my recommendations. Next to real piety, in his studies I have recommended unto him the culture of the Latin Tongue, (not omitting the Greek and Hebrew) that he may speak and write that congruè et eleganter; 'tis a golden key to all other good learning: I wish he may be capable of real pupils to adorn his fellowship.

Although 'the branch' is not named, it seems likely to have been Charles Basire, for he was elected a Fellow of St John's on 29 March 1669. Charles was later, in September 1672, ordained to a title on his fellowship, but because there was no bishop of Durham at the time, Cosin being dead, and his successor, Nathaniel Crewe, not yet enthroned, Basire wrote to the Bishop of Carlisle, asking him to ordain Charles:

> I send the bearer hereof, my son Charles, craving, with your paternal benediction, your Episcopal imposition of hands upon him for the Order of Deacon. Having prayed for, and supposing the inward motion of the Holy Ghost, etc. Amen. I humbly present him to your lordship, conceiving him qualified according to the canons; as first, for his title, he was chosen Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, on the 29th March 1669, (which title is hastily omitted in his testimonial from the college, which doth attest both his honest conversation and his degree of

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(1) Darnell, p.285. 6 May 1670.

> Master of Arts); 2dly, he brings dimissory letters from the Dean and Chapter of this Church, sede vacante; 3dly, as for his age, he is above seven-and-twenty years. (1)

Basire told Turner that he hoped to be with him in their next month of duty as royal chaplain, but 'indeed (to you sub sigillo secreti) I do intend and pray for a favourable valediction to the Court, after full XXX years service to two great kings'.

It is clear that Basire was beginning to feel his age, and that he was finding his many commitments burdensome. He complained to Isaac[(2)] that he had found his last Visitation very tiring, the weather being particularly bad, and he had been in some danger from the floods. Now he had come to Eaglescliffe with Isaac's mother for a rest. He felt reasonably well, though he suffered from frequent relapses. It was a comfort to him that Isaac was now able to act for him in the archdeaconry, and he gave him some practical advice on planning his journeys:

> Contrive your journeys so in winter as not to ride from Morpeth, and especially preach, and keep the Court at Alnwick the same day, but either ride to Felton or Alnwick the day before. (3)

But all he wanted to do now was to sound a retreat from the world, to make an end to his seemingly endless journeying: 'Oh, that I might but live and die in one place...I fear I shall die Rachel's death, in travail, I mean in men's sense.'[(4)] His wish was not, however, to be granted, and there were still many things demanding his attention.

Though it was ten years or more since he left Transylvania, he still kept in touch with some of his former pupils. In July 1670, while staying with Dr Busby at Westminster, he commended to Thomas Barlow, Provost of Queen's

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(1) Darnell, p.296. 17 September 1672.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.265. 13 May 1670.

(3) Ibid., fo.137.

(4) Genesis, chapter 36, verse 18; Rachel died in giving birth to Benjamin.

College, Oxford, a Hungarian, 'Mr Joannes Adami, once my boy when I had the Divinity Chair in Transylvania for seven years'.(1) He added that Adami was not soliciting for funds, since he himself had already given him £5. He was coming simply to see the University, and was being commended to Barlow's 'wonted φιλοξενία'. Basire had obtained a place for him in the King's guards until he was able to return hom to Transylvania. He had done this with his usual proviso, 'Quamdiu se bene gesserit, et non aliter'.

Back in Durham once more, he began to deal with the letters which had accumulated in his absence. He apologised to Edmund Castell, Arabic Professor at Cambridge, for his delay in replying,(2) but pleading that 'the multiplicity of my functions will not suffer me to be so happy as to enjoy a desirous correspondence with such Worthies as yourself'. Castell had tried to persuade Basire to publish a collection of the confessions of the Eastern Churches which he had made. Basire replied that Archbishop Juxon and Bishop Walton had both tried unsuccessfully to do the same, but he had refused because he was not 'tam felix otii'. But had he been able to find the time to publish the confessions, he had intended mentioning Castell in the preface, as the expert midwife of the book. He sympathised with Castell over the loss of his Samaritan Pentateuch, and recalled that when he was in Jerusalem, he had asked Paisius Ligardius, the then Archbishop of Gaza, '(where, and at Sychar only are now Samaritans,)' to buy him a copy, but he had been unable to do so.

In October Basire was presented with a pastoral problem. Sir George Fletcher(3) alleged that he had been described by Dr Smith(4) as a person 'not favouring the interest of the Church', but Smith had refused to give his

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.273. 10 July 1670.

(2) Ibid., fo.9, no.275. 20 September 1670.

(3) Ibid., fo.9, no.279. 22 October 1670.

(4) Probably Dr Elias Smith, Precentor of the Cathedral, 1640-1676. (Cosin, Correspondence, vol.ii, p.7n.)

reasons for making such an assertion. Fletcher wanted Basire to look into the matter, and to act as judge between himself and Smith. He affirmed that he had been baptised in the Church of England, and had always been one of its staunchest supporters. Basire replied,(1) confessing that he was partly to blame. He had never regarded Fletcher as any other than a loyal son of the Church, both in doctrine and discipline. Had any suggested the contrary, he would have been one of the first to spring to Fletcher's defence. What had happened was that Basire had been told that Fletcher queried the rightness of 'some ancient outward privilege of the clergy, never questioned till of late', and he admitted that he had passed on the information to 'our reverend friend (to none else)'. The correspondence gives no indication as to what privilege of the clergy Fletcher had queried. It is possible that Fletcher had been reflecting the unrest in the county over the refusal of the bishop to allow Members of Parliament to be elected for the county and city.(2) In 1669, the year before Fletcher's letter, there had been a concerted effort by some of the gentry, but they had failed, and there was considerable feeling in the county about the matter. Basire, at any rate, apologised to Fletcher for any offence he had given, and asked pardon, but reminded him 'conscia mens recti famae mendacia ridet'.

Sometime in 1670 Basire found time to edit and have printed the letter of advice which his father, Jean Basire, had sent to him while he was still a student.(3) But he was clearly not in the best of health at this time - he had spoken to Isaac about having relapses - and he seems to have been trying to divest himself of some of his responsibilities. The publication of his father's letter would seem to indicate that he was going through his papers,

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.280. 28 November 1670.

(2) Vide supra p. 211.

(3) Vide supra p. 9.

and tidying up his affairs. Certainly in these later letters there is a note of weariness, a desire to make an end to his endless journeys, and to reduce the demands which his offices made upon him, to spend the remainder of his life in study and writing.

While he had not been able to do as much sustained writing as he would have wished, he had maintained a varied correspondence on matters of academic interest. He had achieved a reputation as an authority on eastern matters. While still in Transylvania, John Ferrar of Little Gidding, had asked him to help in the proposed production of an edition of the New Testament in thirty languages, including Chinese. Basire was asked to send two copies of the New Testament in the languages of the Near East which he knew, in order that Ferrar might 'paste them'. This letter only reached Durham in February 1662, 'almost six years after', as Basire noted in the margin.(1)

In 1671 he received yet another letter from Dr Robert Witty of York,(2) asking if, in his travels, he had seen Lot's wife's pillar. Had he tasted it and was it salty? Witty had written several books on scientific subjects, and seems to have made a close study of the water at Scarborough Spa, involving himself in the process in a controversy with Dr George Tonstall. Witty told Basire that he had been reading a book of Tonstall's(3) in which it was suggested that Lot's wife had been turned into a pillar of marine salt. This seemed impossible to Witty, since marine salt would have dissolved on exposure to the air, and, therefore, it could not have been erected as a memorial, and as a warning against disobedience. Witty was of the opinion that the pillar had been of mineral salt, which does not dissolve on contact with the air, but which, as Pliny had noted, hardened so that it could be used as building

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.132*, p.99.

(2) Darnell, p.283. 4 (or 23) March 1671.

(3) Probably Scarbrough Spaw, Spergyrically Anatomised (London, 1670). Witty had published Scarbrough Spaw in 1660.

stone. Basire wrote a courteous and detailed answer:

> When I was in Jerusalem (an^{o} 1652) I had the curiosity to see and report in Terrorem, that terrible monument of the divine vengeance upon Sodom (now called Mare Mortuum). But, upon inquiry, after Lot's wife, Nec vola nec vestigium nowadays, and so much modern travellers (English, French, Roman and Dutch) do testify. (1)

Like Dr Tonstall, Basire had also read the relevant parts of Josephus, and was ready to believe him when he declared that he had seen the pillar of salt, though Basire confessed that he found some of Josephus' tales 'rather fanciful'. He suggested to Witty that he had perhaps misread Tonstall, that he had not stated that it <u>was</u> marine salt, but that others had merely conjectured this. Basire himself preferred the opinion of Dr Rivet, under whom he had studied at Leiden in 1623. In his comments upon Genesis, chapter 19, Rivet had cited Wisdom, chapter 10, verse 7 - 'and a standing pillar of salt is a monument of an unbelieving soul' - and gave it as his opinion that it was a mineral salt. Basire told Witty that

> when I lived in Hungary, an^{o} 1658, I went down some twenty fathoms into a salt-mine of that kind. More of this matter you may read in Philosophical Transactions of July 10, 1670, pag. 1099, concerning the salt-mines in Poland, (which I also saw in an^{o} 1661). (2)

In January 1671, Basire received a letter from Edward Chamberlayne,(3) possibly the same man who became the first Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, who told Basire that he was a member of a small group which was exploring the possibility of establishing a Protestant nunnery. It was to be a college for the education of young ladies, under 'the government of some grave matron', who would spend their lives in the religious life. Basire had been suggested to them as a possible source of information, since he had mentioned to a mutual friend, Dr Thiscross, that

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(1) University of Durham Library, <u>Letter Books of Cosin</u>, 1a & 1b, fo.187.

(2) He must have visited the Polish mines on his journey home.

(3) Cosin, <u>Correspondence</u>, vol.ii, p.385.

there was some such college in Germany, run either by Lutherans or Calvinists.[1] The group was anxious to know whether or not Basire had seen such a college, where it was situated, and to whom they could apply for information about the college's rules and regulations. They also wanted to know whether he thought such a scheme would be possible in England. If he thought that it would be, then they would be glad to receive the names of young ladies who might be suitable for such an establishment. Chamberlayne did not think that the initial expense would be high; to begin with they would only require a house with a good garden, well-screened by walls, and a chaplain to minister to the spiritual needs of the young ladies. Sufficient money had already been promised to meet this immediate expense, but they would like the names of any whom Basire thought would be willing to make a contribution to the cost of running the college. Basire's reply has not survived, but the fact that he was approached for his advice, seems to indicate that he would approve of the idea.[2]

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(1) While there is no means of identifying the college of which Chamberlayne was speaking, it is true that there was a considerable interest among Protestants in the renewal of some kind of monastic life. H.C. Erik Midelfort, in 'Protestant Monastery? A Reformation Hospital in Hesse', in Reformation Principle and Practice, ed. P.N. Brooks (London, 1980), suggests that the inmates of this institution lived under a regular rule, involving daily prayers, Bible reading and sometimes daily services.

(2) Sir George Wheler, a Prebendary of Durham, published a book in 1690, entitled A Protestant Nunnery. He put forward some ingenuous reasons for the establishment of such an institution. It would benefit the state, since the industry of the young ladies would prevent them becoming a burden on society, and it would help parents to provide for their 'uneconomic daughters'. Wheler, however, thought there was little chance of such an establishment being founded, in spite of the fact that he considered it would be of benefit to both church and state, deepening piety and devotion. God, he asserted, must send unprejudiced times before such a scheme could be launched. In the meantime, 'the pious conduct of private families' would have to serve as nunneries.

It is recorded that Charles I called Little Gidding 'his Arminian Nunnery'. (Horton Davies, p.105.)

DEAD MAN'S REAL SPEECH

After a long illness, which had prevented him from travelling to Durham to perform his episcopal duties, John Cosin died on 15 January 1672, at the age of 67.(1) Because of the difficulties of winter travel, his body was kept in London until 19 April when, in a lead coffin, accompanied by his Gentlemen, Chaplains and other diocesan officials, it began its journey to Durham. It reached Durham Cathedral on Saturday 27 April, and was there received a little while before the time of Evening Prayer, remaining in the centre of the choir until Monday, when it was carried seven miles further to Bishop Auckland, the seat of the bishops of Durham, for interment in the new chapel of St Peter, which Cosin had built in 1665. After Evening Prayer had been said, Basire preached the funeral sermon,(2) and then the body was solemnly interred in a vault prepared under a large black marble stone. The service of committal was performed by Guy Carleton, Bishop of Bristol and prebendary of Durham.(3)

In September 1673 Basire's sermon was printed under the title, 'Dead Man's Real Speech', and he presented two of the first copies to the Library of the Dean and Chapter, where they still remain. The printed book, however, contains not only the sermon but also a 'Brief of the Life, Dignities, Benefactions, Principal Actions and Sufferings; and of the Death of the said late Lord Bishop of Durham'. This brief, he tells us in the introduction, was inserted at the request of the Cosin family. He also tells us that he had shortened his proposed address on account of the lateness of the day, and limited its length to 'the canonical measure of one hour', so shortening 'the

(1) Details of Cosin's last months are to be found in an account by John Durel (Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.294).

(2) For preaching the sermon Basire received the sum of five pounds, and a preaching gown. This had been provided for in Cosin's will. (Cosin, Correspondence, vol.ii, p.294.)

(3) For a full account of the funeral see the Certificate of the College of Arms, printed in Cosin, Correspondence, vol.ii, p.xxxix.

double pains both of the Speaker, and of the Hearers'. His book, he remarked, had become a river, and he hoped that it would not seem like a sea, and so deter readers from launching into it.

The 'Dead Man's Speech' reflects Basire's response to some of the problems which faced him. He had worked closely with Cosin for eleven years, and, while he had never been afraid to stand up to him when he thought Cosin was wrong or acting unjustly, their views coincided, and they both worked hard to restore the diocese of Durham to conformity. The personal warmth of the sermon, the result of this familiarity, is in contrast with the more formalised preaching of many of his contemporaries.(1) One example is that of John Barwick, who preached at the funeral of Bishop Morton. Both he and Basire had been chaplains to Morton, and both had a great affection for him, but it does not emerge in Barwick's stylised exegesis of his text or in the bare recital of the main facts of Morton's life.(2)

The text Basire chose for his sermon was Hebrews xi.4 - 'By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts: and by it, he being dead yet speaketh.' The last sentence provided the title for the book. His aim in the sermon, he declared, was to stir up the living to emulate the dead,(3) for while the text might be short, the lesson was long. The state of death was the deprivation of the life of nature common to all men; the state of life after death is the life of glory. To the unbeliever and the impenitent, death is darkness, but it is lightsome and welcome to all true penitents and believers.(4) When man was created in his original state of

(1) For a full discussion of funeral sermons see W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660 (London, 1959), passim.

(2) John Barwick, The Fight, Victory and Triumph of St.Paul, accommodated to the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas late Lord Bishop of Duresme, preached on Michaelmas Day, 1659 (London, 1660 and Newcastle upon Tyne, 1857).

(3) 'Dean Man's Real Speech', p.4.

(4) Ibid., p.5.

innocency, he was capable of living three lives; the life Corporal, which is the life of nature, and transitory; the life of Grace, a permanent life, but depending on perseverance and obedience to God; the life of Glory, which is the life of the saints triumphant, of the elect angels and of God Himself. Man, in his present position, has the first two lives, but he can only enjoy the third life 'in a sure reversion after the expiration of but one life, and that a short one'.(1) But man, by his apostasy from God through the first original sin of 'wilful incognitancy', and through pride, had deprived himself of all three lives. He had justly precipitated himself from that first state of innocency into one of sin and slavery: every man '(except the God and Man Christ Jesus)', has now by original sin become subject to a threefold death; corporal - separation of body from soul; spiritual - a state of sin which is separation from God; and eternal - the great or second death, which is total separation from the glorious presence, the beatific vision.

Temporal death none of us can avoid: 'die we must, die we shall'. We do not know the time of our departure, and therefore we must be constantly aware of the reality of death, and prepare ourselves by having a lively faith, timely repentance, and a real amendment of life.(2) We need not be sorry for our deceased friends, as others do who have no hope. We are sustained by the hope that we shall all meet again in the life of glory, but only if we follow the saints.(3)

Basire then made the distinction between inward and outward religion, and used Cain and Abel as his illustration from the Old Testament, and the Pharisee and the Publican from the New.(4) Too many people are satisfied

(1) 'Dead Man's Real Speech', p.6.

(2) Ibid., p.8. An echo of the Invitation in the Prayer Book Communion Service.

(3) Ibid., p.13.

(4) Ibid., p.18.

with the outward observance of religion.(1) Though good men must die like the rest, their good deeds live on, to receive praise in this world and reward in the next.(2) The dead can no longer indulge in vocal speech, yet by their actions in this world during their lifetime, they can speak to us from beyond the grave, and their 'real speech' will be for our conversion or condemnation at the end of the world.(3) Abel, 'being dead, yet speaketh'; by the repentance implicit in his sacrifice, by his faith and his works of righteousness, by his patience and passion. As Stephen is the prototype martyr of the New Testament, so Abel is of the Old.

The 'brief' which follows the sermon in the book is a detailed account of the main aspects of Cosin's life, and Basire tried to show how in each of them the dead man spoke to them by the example of his actions. Basire also took the opportunity of adding short personal notes about his own life, and of stating his own views on some of the problems which had faced Cosin. First and foremost was the excellence of the Church of England:

> I dare pronounce of the Church of England what David said of Goliath's sword, There is none like it, both for Primitive Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, Episcopal Hierarchy, the most moderate and regular. (4)

Towards the end of the book he quoted a passage from Cosin's will, which underlined his own views on the Church of England:

> I do profess, with holy asseveration and from my very heart, that I am now, and have ever been from my youth altogether free and averse from the corruptions and impertinent new-fangled or papistical (so commonly called) superstitions and doctrines and new superadditions to the Ancient and Primitive Religion and Faith of the most commended, so Orthodox and Catholic Church, long since introduced, contrary to the Holy Scripture, and the Rules and Customs of the Ancient Fathers. (5)

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(1) 'Dead Man's Real Speech', p.19.

(2) Ibid., p.20.

(3) Ibid., p.22.

(4) Ibid., p.41.

(5) Ibid., p.124.

Basire thanked God that he had enjoyed the privilege of being a priest of the Church of England for forty-three years, and counted himself fortunate to have begun his ministry under

> that great luminary of our Church, blessed Thomas Morton, famous for his holy life, solid learning and bountiful works of charity and hospitality; and for his manifold learned works against the Adversaries of the Church of England on the right hand and on the left...To whose memory I should be unthankful if I should not acknowledge that I had for above an apprenticeship, the happiest to be brought up as Domestic Chaplain at the feet of such an eminent Gamaliel. (1)

Morton was no Arminian and showed more than a little sympathy for the Puritans. Cosin, on the other hand, while being regarded as an extreme Arminian, and delighting in the Laudian revival of ceremony and order, was charitable to the Huguenots with whom he had to mix while he was in exile. He was prepared to communicate with them, and was sympathetic to their lack of episcopacy. When he returned to England, however, he was regarded, at least by Baxter, as unduly harsh on the Nonconformists. In England, of course, he was concerned with the restoration of the Church and, therefore, would have no dealings with those who sought to change it. Basire shared Cosin's attitude, distinguishing between Nonconformists abroad who lacked episcopacy because of historical accidents, and those at home who deliberately set out to change the Church completely. He referred to Laud as that 'glorious martyr' for the Church of England, and could hold Laud and Morton in equal esteem. While he was a Laudian in the sense that he admired what Laud had tried to do with the order and ritual of the Church, he could also admire the more relaxed Morton, the man of sound learning and pastoral devotion.

Basire remarked that Cosin had given a shining example of devotion to duty, and that searching the cathedral records for the thirty-six years that Cosin had been a prebendary, he had not been able to find one instance of

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(1) 'Dead Man's Real Speech', p.49.

Cosin seeking a dispensation to be absent from his duties.(1) The dead man did speak to those who followed him. Basire felt very strongly on what he considered to be abuses of the system of dispensations. He thought that they were given too freely and that, as a consequence, the burden of preaching fell heavily on those who were actually present. It seemed quite wrong that non-residents, absent without good reason, could yet claim equal profits with the residents, who bore 'the burdens both real and personal'. To say the least, he considered it to be against 'the Rule of Proportion'.(2)

He stressed how much the diocese of Durham owed to Cosin's work as a bishop, his hard work and careful stewardship, adding his own comments about the essential, historic nature of episcopacy. The function of a bishop derived from the apostles themselves, who, after they had founded Christian churches, as 'ecumenical ministers of Christ were settled in particular dioceses, where they were to exercise both the Episcopal Powers of Ordination and Jurisdiction'.(3) Basire regarded episcopacy as the norm of church government, though he made allowances for those who did not enjoy it through no fault of their own. This was the reason that he was so active in trying to bring the Church of England into some form of communion with the Greek Orthodox Church, for they both possessed the historic episcopate. He praised Cosin for his careful administration, and made mention of the fact that it was through Cosin that Charles II relieved the see of Durham of the annual payment of £880, which had been claimed by the Crown from the time of Elizabeth, and which, latterly, had been used for the support of the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria.

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(1) 'Dead Man's Real Speech', p.45.

(2) Ibid., p.46.

(3) Ibid., p.53.

In the brief Basire also cited Cosin as an example of how the clergy should use their stipends and other income. The clergy should readily support the poor as Cosin had done. He had helped individual poor persons, he had given money to foreign churchmen seeking refuge in England, and suffering from lack of funds, while he erected alms houses in Durham for poor people. In his life, and in his will, he had made provision for students, for grants to colleges and for the erection of a library and the provision of books. Second, they should use some of their money in the repair and restoration of their houses and chancels. Cosin had spent a large sum in rebuilding the episcopal houses at Bishop Auckland, Durham and Darlington, neglected during the Interregnum. He had also rebuilt the chapel of St Peter at Auckland Castle, which had been almost totally destroyed by Sir Arthur Hasilrig.(1) Sheldon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had written to Cosin and expressed his fears that people would be scandalised if they knew just how much money the bishops had received after the Restoration, especially if, as some had done, they had used the bulk of it for the benefit of their own families.(2) Basire himself had spent considerable sums of money repairing his rectories and the chancels of his churches. Third, the clergy should use their stipends to support their families.

His praise of Cosin ended with the setting out of his will, showing how the Church, the universities, and education generally had benefitted from Cosin's benefactions, over and above what he had given to the family, his servants, and others.(3)

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(1) Cosin estimated that by 1668 he had spent £41,885 on building and charitable works. Tenths, subsidies, royal aids, and pensions to the King and Queen, added another £12,500. (Cosin, Correspondence, vol.ii, p.173.) Simon, p.36 says that Cosin spent his entire income for the first seven years on improvement of episcopal properties. Basire compared Cosin with Bishop Neale, who in less than ten years spent seven thousand pounds on buildings, for he was indeed 'Vir Architectonicus'. (Dead Man's Real Speech, p.77.)

(2) Cosin, Correspondence, vol.ii, p.101. 26 December 1667.

(3) 'Dead Man's Real Speech', p.76.

One final note from the brief. Cosin had been supported by his wife, and Basire commented 'to have the Burden of a Wife, and not the Blessing of a Good wife, is a great cross, if not a curse'.(1)

The book ends with Basire's own estimation of the diocese of Durham at the end of Cosin's eleven years of episcopate:

> And I, who have lived in this Diocese of Durham forty years and have been an unworthy Archdeacon of Northumberland, as also Prebend of this Church for the space of thirty years, never saw it more regular (since the said twenty years of schism and war, and so of confusion) whereby his successor, whoever he may be, may enjoy the comfort of a regular diocese. (2)

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(1) 'Dead Man's Real Speech', p.39.

(2) Ibid., p.97.

FAMILY AFFAIRS

Of Basire's surviving children, one daughter and four sons, his papers say very little. Up to his return to England the only information about them is contained in the letters that his wife wrote to him while he was still in exile, and these give only incidental references. In the last years of his life, however, the children begin to emerge as distinct persons, though information is scanty.

On 18 May 1671, Mary, Basire's second daughter,[1] was married in Stanhope Church[2] to Jeremy Nelson, her father's curate.[3] Mary was born at Eaglescliffe in 1642,[4] but she appears as a shadowy figure in her father's papers, and then there are only occasional references to her in her mother's letters. It is true, of course, that until her marriage, she had lived all the time with her mother at Eaglescliffe and Stanhope, except for occasional visits to relations and friends of the family, and so, in a sense, letters to her mother were letters to Mary also. The references to her in her mother's letters suggest that Mary was a sensible, capable and religiously-minded girl, perhaps older than her years. It cannot have been an easy childhood for her, or, indeed, for any of the children. She never saw her father from the age of five until she was nineteen, while, as she got older, she seems to have undertaken the responsibility of running the household when her mother was incapacitated by frequent attacks of a stone in the kidney. Being the only

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(1) The first daughter, Elizabeth, was born at Eaglescliffe in 1640, and died in 1645, being buried in the churchyard there.

(2) Register of Stanhope Church.

(3) Jeremy Nelson was born at Ingoldsby, Lincolnshire, where his father, Jeremiah, was rector. He graduated B.A. from Emmanuel College, Cambridge, obtaining his M.A. in 1664. Little is known about him, but he became a prebendary of Carlisle. (See Basire's will, Hunter MSS., fo.12, no.155.)

(4) Register of Eaglescliffe Church. Both Basire and his wife had sisters with the name Mary.

surviving daughter, no doubt she had a special place in her father's affections, and she would be delighted with the small momentoes he sent to 'his Moll' from time to time. In his will he bequeathed to Mary some of his family portraits, of himself, his wife and Mary herself, and, in addition, one of his revered master, Bishop Morton.(1)

In the following year, 1672, there was another family wedding. Isaac, Basire's eldest surviving son,(2) was married to Lady Elizabeth Burton, one of the daughters of Bishop Cosin. They were married in Stanhope Church on 4 July by the recently married Jeremy Nelson, and not, as could have been expected, by Basire himself. He had been ill in 1670, and had told Isaac that he was having frequent relapses, and it may have been that he was not well enough to perform the ceremony. The Lady Elizabeth Burton had had three husbands, Henry Hutton, Sir Thomas Burton and Samuel Davison,(3) and already had two sons and a daughter. A rather unusual situation occurred over her son John. He had been appointed Keeper of Frankland Park, probably in 1665, at the same time that his future step-father had applied for the position.(4) Later, in 1673, however, Isaac was appointed, his step-son having withdrawn in his favour.(5) Isaac and his wife had a son of their own, Isaac, born in 1676, only to die two years later.(6) In 1684 Isaac commended John to the Archbishop of Canterbury as a suitable candidate for ordination.

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(1) Unfortunately no trace of these portraits can be found.

(2) A son, Thomas, had been born in 1639, but died a few months later.

(3) Though she married twice after the death of Sir Thomas Burton, Elizabeth continued to be called Lady Burton.

(4) C.S.P.D., 1665/6, vol.cxlii, no.9, p.138.

(5) C.S.P.D., 1673, p.519.

(6) Cathedral Registers, pp.9 and 13. Lady Burton died on 13 January 1700. (North Country Diaries, Second Series, ed. J.C. Hodgson (Surtees Society, vol.124, Durham, 1915), p.149.)

(7) D. Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.37), p.213.

Much more is known about Isaac than any other of the Basire children, simply because when his father returned from exile, they worked together on Archdeaconry and Chapter business. On leaving Cambridge, where he had graduated Bachelor of Laws in 1669, obtaining his doctorate in 1684, Isaac entered Gray's Inn and qualified as a barrister in 1671. He was very much in sympathy with his father's views, and after Basire's death in 1676, he remained the Official of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, and continued to maintain the traditions of the Church. Like his father, he was very much in support of more frequent Communion, while his Injunctions to the Archdeaconry in 1684[1] emphasised the things on which the Archdeacon had laid great stress, catechising, regular preaching and the faithful recitation of the Daily Offices. He also reminded the clergy of the archdeaconry of their duty to visit and instruct the sick, and that the whole, as well as the sick, should be 'seasonably and discreetly conferred with in order to reduce those who are out of the way, and to confirm and strengthen such as are wavering'.

Basire and his son had worked in close cooperation with Dannis Granville, who had been appointed Archdeacon of Durham in 1662, and succeeded John Sudbury as Dean in 1684. Granville, who was the brother of the Earl of Bath,[2] had married Cosin's youngest daughter, and so was to be a brother-in-law of Isaac. Granville was chronically incapable of managing his financial affairs, and was heavily in debt. On one occasion, he was arrested by the bailiffs as he was leaving the cathedral after taking a service, and was only released when the bailiffs were made aware of the fact that he was a Chaplain to the

(1) Hunter MSS., fo.11, no.135.

(2) Dennis Granville (or Grenville) was the son of Sir Bevil Granville, a noted Cornish landowner, who, like Clarendon and others, after first opposing royal policies, gave their support to the King in the Civil Wars. He remained a staunch supporter of the royal cause until his death in 1643. His eldest son, John, fought for the King and was wounded at the battle of Newbury. An active supporter of Charles II, he was created Earl of Bath in 1661. The earldom, however, became extinct on the death of the third earl in 1711. (D.N.B.)

King, and, as such, immune from arrest. Isaac did his best to try and establish some order into Granville's affairs, and, in general, to supervise his financial affairs.(1) Granville was suitably grateful and told Isaac that 'you are the man of law I rely on'.

But there was another side to Granville. He was very much concerned in the right ordering of the services in the cathedral and in his parish churches, and he sought, in particular, to establish a weekly Eucharist, and enforce the recitation of Morning and Evening Prayer. His policy was similar to that of his fellow-Archdeacon, and more than once he expressed his admiration and respect for Basire. Dining with the Archbishop of Canterbury on one occasion, he asserted that Durham was probably one of the best ordered dioceses in the country, and that much of the credit for it should go to Archdeacon Basire.(2)

Isaac was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1680, and acquired a reputation for enthusiasm and efficiency, for Granville noted in his diary that a court officer to whom he had been talking, had remarked that Basire was known as a good J.P. (3)

The next son to Isaac was Charles. Charles had been made a Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge in 1669, and ordained to a title upon his fellowship by the Bishop of Carlisle in 1672.(4) He appears to have acted as curate to his father for a time, for there is an entry in the register of Eaglescliffe Church, dated 1673, and signed 'Charles Basire, curate'. There is, however, the difficulty of reconciling his position as a Fellow, and presumably in residence at St John's, and his acting as curate at Eaglescliffe.

(1) Letter to the Earl of Bath, 26 December 1674, reporting that Granville had been behaving himself, and keeping within his income. Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.47, p.118) 20 April 1684.

(2) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.37), p.159.

(3) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.47), p.118. 20 April 1684.

(4) Vide supra p.231.

A clue to a possible explanation is found in a letter to his father, written by the Master of St John's, Francis Turner,[1] in which he congratulated Basire on his son's recovery and his intention to return to Cambridge in September. Turner, however, suggested that Charles should delay his return, 'since he has stayed away so long', until October. The letter does not name the son, but Charles was clearly meant. The obvious explanation would seem to be that he had been seriously ill, and was spending a lengthy convalescence with his family. When he had begun to make progress, and felt stronger, he had helped his father for a time before returning to Cambridge.

There was, however, another reason for Turner's suggestion that Charles should delay his return. The college was in a turmoil over the election of a new Master. Apparently it was a bitterly contested election, and Turner complained that what he found intolerable was the fact that there was a faction in the college, 'making to bury me alive, that is, to provide me a successor'. He also accused this faction of 'corrupting the younger men with the use of some inconvenient libertys'. He accordingly thought it best for Charles to delay his return, and 'to keep out of the fire'.

In 1675 Charles was appointed Rector of Boldon in the diocese of Durham, and remained there until his death in 1691. In 1676, having been informed that Archdeacon Basire was seriously ill, Charles II issued a mandate to Nathaniel Crewe, the Bishop of Durham, to appoint Charles to succeed his father at Eaglescliffe, in the event of the latter's death:

> As Dr.Isaac Basire, chaplain in ordinary, is so ill that his recovery is despaired of, and besides his 16 yrs banishment for his loyalty, he has spent large sums in building and repairing ruined houses and chapels of his ecclesiastical benefices, and paying debts contracted during his banishment, and has therefore been unable to provide for his children, therefore recommending his son Charles, to succeed him in the rectory of Eaglescliffe, the least of all his preferments. (2)

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(1) Darnell, p.305. 30 September 1674.

(2) C.S.P.D., March 1676 - February 1677, p.1909.

In the event, Charles stayed at Boldon, where he was obviously settled. He married a local girl, Elizabeth Baker, and took an active part in both deanery and diocesan affairs, preaching the sermon at the Visitation at Easington in April 1681.(1) He was also a member of a society 'of some sober clergy and civilians, to confer about order and rules of the Book of Common Prayer'.(2) The group met on the first Thursday of every month, assembling in the cathedral for Morning Prayer, and incurring a penalty of 2s.6d., payable to the poor, if they failed to attend. Dinner was at 11 a.m., and it was always to be frugal, 'without any kind of tipling or appearance of pipe or pot'. The members took it in turn to read a paper, and at every meeting a question was posed, which each member had to answer in writing, and bring to the next meeting. Charles seems to have been a conscientious parish priest until his death. Boldon Church today possesses a paten inscribed 'Mr Charles Basire, Rector of Boldon, Wm. Hodg. and George Brigs, Churchwardens. 1681.'

On the third son, John, little is known. He was probably born at Eaglescliffe in 1646 or 7, but apart from the mention in his father's will, there are only three references to him in his mother's letters. While Isaac, Charles and Peter all went to St John's College, Cambridge, there is no evidence that John attended a university. He emerges in 1682 as some kind of agent to Archdeacon Granville, being responsible, as his brother had been, for managing his finances, and paying out regular amounts to him.(3) Later John was appointed Registrar to the Archdeacon, but the relationship between them seems to have soured, so much so, that when John married Lady Stote in

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(1) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.47), p.72.

(2) Ibid., p.171.

(3) Ibid., p.98.

1685, Granville refused to perform the ceremony.[1] In 1701, Granville wrote from his French exile to a Mr Proud, who had replaced John Basire as Registrar, informing him that someone unknown 'was a great lover of John Basire, which makes me the more fear for him'.[2] Clearly, their relationship had deteriorated considerably.[3] Granville made a marginal note in his diary that John had become agent to Lord Barnard.[4] John, however, seems to have prospered, for among Granville's debts was listed £400 owing to John Basire.

The most elusive of Basire's sons is Peter. According to Venn,[5] he was born in Durham, but no date is given. Charles had been born in 1645, and Basire left the country in 1647, so that the two sons, John and Peter, would have been born between 1645 and 1648. Peter was perhaps born in late 1647 or early 1648. In 1653 he was sent to France under the guardianship of Jacob Roussel, an old school-fellow of his father. It is difficult to understand why Mrs Basire thought it necessary to send Peter abroad when he was only five or six. His letters home show that he was very unhappy under a series of not very satisfactory tutors, at times being treated rather harshly, and that he suffered acutely from homesickness. Clearly this traumatic experience produced a feeling of insecurity in the boy, and it may account for an instability of character which can be detected in his later letters. Writing to his father from Stanhope,[6] after his return home, he gave an account of

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(1) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.37), p.201.

(2) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.47), p.193. Granville had gone into exile rather than recognise William of Orange as king.

(3) It is not clear why they had quarrelled, but R.Granville, in his Life of Dennis Granville (Exeter, 1902), p.345 suggests that there had been a 'spiritual reason': that Granville had rebuked John Basire for some alleged spiritual offence, and that this sparked off their quarrel.

(4) Granville, Remains (Surtees Society, vol.47), p.202.

(5) Venn, pt.i., vol.i, p.103.

(6) Darnell, p.239. 13 July 1665.

how he had been spending his time, and listing in incredible detail the hours and minutes that he had spent on each subject. It gives the impression that Peter was more concerned to give a nice, neat picture of his life of study, in order to appease his father, than to concentrate on the work itself.

Peter, however, like many of the exiles, had felt the pressure of living in a Roman Catholic country, and had been converted, as, indeed, was the son of Bishop Cosin. With his tremendous enthusiasm for the Church of England, it must have been a great blow to Basire to find that one of his own children had become a Roman Catholic. Clearly he had used his powers of persuasion to make Peter realise his error in succumbing to the wiles of Rome.

There is a puzzling reference to Peter in the Calendar of State Papers for 1660-1661:[1]

> Peter, son of Dr. Isaac Basire, chaplain to the late King. For a warrant to find and recover all arrears due to the King in cos. Gloucester, Worcester, Salop and Hereford, after the time limited by the Proclamation, in order to pay for his better education, yielding one fourth of same to the Exchequer.

Obviously Peter could not have made the application himself, for he would only have been thirteen or fourteen at the time. It must have been made by his father on his behalf. We know that Basire was in London in November 1661, and that he was short of money, and it might be that he saw this as an opportunity of financing Peter's college career. There is no mention of a warrant having been granted, and if it had been, there is no indication as to how the money would be collected. Peter was not old enough to do it himself, while his father was occupied enough with his duties in the North. As Mrs Basire came from Shropshire, and had extensive family connections in the area, it is possible that one or more of them could have been responsible for the collection.

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(1) C.S.P.D., 1660-1661, vol.xxii, no.21.

Peter did, however, go to Cambridge, but there is no reference to his having taken a degree. In fact, there is no further reference to Peter at all, and we can only surmise what happened to him. It is possible that he had left the Church of England for the Church of Rome a second time, for when his father drew up his will in 1676, there is no mention of Peter. It is also possible that his father felt so deeply about it, that he cut him off completely. But it does seem out of character for Basire to act so ruthlessly. Cosin was equally distressed about his son's defection, but he did leave him a small legacy in his will. On the other hand, Peter might have succumbed to the plague while he was at Cambridge, in spite of the fact that he and his brother had been evacuated to Colne to avoid infection. Had this been the case, however, it could have been expected that there would be some reference to his death in the family correspondence, but there is none at all.

Behind the family, of course, was Frances Basire. The papers are full of the activities of the worthy Doctor, but there are few pictures of the wife to whom he was married for over forty years. It is, however, possible to sketch out some picture of her from the hints and notes which do appear. She clearly came from a line of country gentry, and while not having the benefit of a great deal of education, - her spelling, to say the least, is unusual - she had been brought up as an efficient housewife, running the household and caring for the family. Frances emerges from the papers as a woman of courage and determination, who faced fifteen years without her husband, struggling to exist and to look after five small children on the small sums she was able to obtain. She was obviously no scholar, yet among the papers is a set of notes, in her handwriting, for a sermon to be preached or delivered somewhere on Easter Day.(1)

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(1) Hunter MSS., fo.141, no.1.

Her courage is seen in the alacrity with which she responded to her husband's suggestion that she should join him in Alba Julia. The possibility excited her, and she quickly arranged for the care of the children, assuring Basire that she would use her wits to elude her creditors.(1) But not only did she have to cope with all the problems and difficulties of being the wife of a sequestered clergyman, she also suffered from ill-health. For twenty years or more she was a martyr to a stone in the kidney, which got progressively worse over the years. There were many occasions when she had to retire to bed, and leave the running of the house to Mary. On one occasion she asked Basire to send her some good white wine in which to take her powders, for the wine she was able to buy at home was not very good. She did not grumble, however, but thanked God that she had survived all the attacks so far, and that she had actually put on weight. In spite of her thankfulness at having survived, she was sensible enough to know that each attack was a little worse than the one before. In 1673 Basire informed one of his friends that Frances had been in bed from 17 November until 23 December.(2) She gradually grew worse until she died on 26 July 1676, and the long partnership between her and her husband came to an end. She was buried in Durham Cathedral on 27 July and the Cathedral Registers recorded her death:

> 27 July 1676. Francisca, uxor Isaaci Basiri, STP., et hujus Eccl'ae Prebendarii; natura concessit 26 die Julii et die sequente sepulta est. (3)

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(1) Vide supra p. 96.

(2) Darnell, p.302. Letter to Dr Barlow, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford. 23 December 1673.

(3) Cathedral Register, p.98.

LAST DAYS

For some time Basire had been feeling far from well.[1] When Frances died, he must have felt that his own life was nearly over, and he began to put his affairs in order. Six weeks after her death, he drew up a new will.[2]

In the seventeenth century, wills were the mirrors of the souls of men.[3] They were intensely personal documents, and few show only the hand of the lawyer in their composition. They were also honest documents, since men examined their consciences and defined their aspirations in the sight of God, as they came finally to make their last charitable dispositions, and to express their hopes for the society they were shortly to leave. Unlike modern wills, most seventeenth-century wills were made in the immediate presence of death; they were indeed last wills and testaments. Basire drew up his will a mere four weeks before his death, though he does admit to previous wills having been drawn up, possibly because of the unusual circumstances of his life.

'In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God blessed for ever'. So Basire began his will, like so many others, for the will was as much a profession of faith as a secular document disposing of goods and chattels. It sets out the faith in which the writer has lived, and displays the nature of his beliefs, while acknowledging

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(1) Two doctor's prescriptions survive from this time; the first, issued on 20 June (Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.314) recommends that he takes six papers of powder, one each day at bed-time. They will provide a cooling cordial which would cleanse the kidneys. The second was issued on 13 August (Hunter MSS., fo.9, no.312). Each evening at bed-time, he was to drink a small draught of the best canary, to which rosemary, nutmeg and sugar had been added, while he was advised not to exhaust his spirit by immoderate study.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.12, no.155, dated 14 September 1676. For the will in full, see Appendix.

(3) For a full discussion of seventeenth-century wills, see W.K. Jordan, pp.16ff et passim.

his own inadequacies, and his confident hope in the mercy of God, as he prepares to meet his end. Basire affirmed his faith in the love of God, and his trust in the all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ, who died on the Cross for him and all mankind. It was inevitable that Basire should profess his faith and confidence in the Church of England, which he had served so long and so faithfully:

> And I do declare that as I have lived, so I do die, with comfort in the Holy Communion of the Church of England, both for doctrine and discipline.

It was inevitable, too, that not only did he proclaim the excellence of the Church of England, but also its superiority over other churches:

> And I do further protest that having taken serious survey of most Christian churches, both eastern and western, I have not found a parallel of the Church of England both for soundness of apostolic doctrine and catholic discipline.

As could be expected, the will is a business-like document. After the preamble, he gave instructions for his funeral: he wished to be buried 'decently and frugally' in the churchyard of the Cathedral, and not in the Cathedral itself, not out of any singularity, which he had always declined in the lifetime, but out of veneration of the house of God. While his reasons for not wishing to be buried in the Cathedral can be understood, it seems strange when his wife was already buried there. In view of their apparent devotion to each other during forty years of married life, it could have been expected that he would wish to lie beside her. Wood, in his account of Basire's death,(1) stated that Basire died on 12 October 1676 and

> was buried in the cemetery belonging to the Cathedral of Durham, near the body of an ancient servant that had lived many years with him, and not by that of his wife in the Cathedral.

Presumably the servant mentioned by Wood is the Thomas White,(2) named in the

(1) Quoted in D.N.B. Wood, Fasti, I. 285.

(2) A Thomas White was buried on 25 April 1676 (Cathedral Registers, p.98). Perhaps White's behaviour was reflected in a note Basire made of the qualities of a good servant: 'Faithfulness, 2. Diligence. 3. Neatness' (Hunter MSS., fo.135.)

will, to whose son Basire made a bequest.

He requested particularly that there should not be a funeral sermon, though he recognised their antiquity in Christian tradition, and understood that they were meant to encourage Christians facing martyrdom in those early days of Christianity.(1)

Isaac was appointed as sole executor, but Basire gave instructions that he should be assisted by 'two judicious and impartial apprisers', and he nominated two of his friends, Sir George Vane and Ralph Davison, both prominent citizens in the diocese, to be supervisors of his will and generally to assist his executor. Most probably they acted as the 'judicious and impartial apprisers', and for their trouble, each was to be given £5 with which to purchase a ring. It had become the custom for the gentry, among whom the higher clergy had come to be numbered, to nominate their friends to assist an executor in his duties.

His bequests began with a donation of £5 to the choir of the Cathedral. Basire had always been interested in the choir and in church music generally. Attending service in York Minster on one of his journeys to London, he had expressed his disappointment that there had been no organ accompaniment. Among his effects was an organ, which was to be given to Mary, but we do not know whether Basire himself played it or some other member of his family. He then made his charitable requests: £20 was to be given to aid the poor in the city and suburbs of Durham, £10 to those in Stanhope, £6 to those in Eaglescliffe and £5 to those in Howick, Northumberland. His executor was to

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(1) Hooker in The Laws of Ecclesiastical Policy, vol.ii, 403, recorded that Thomas Cartwright objected to funeral sermons 'at the request of rich men, and those which are in authority, and are very seldom at the burial of the poor, by which there is brought into the Church, contrary to the Word of God, an acceptation of persons which ought not to be'. (Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, p.183.) Basire himself, of course, had preached the funeral sermon at Cosin's funeral.

decide how best the money should be administered. It is difficult at this distance of time to make any judgment on this item in his will, for we have no knowledge of what money he had given to the poor during his lifetime, but in view of his considerable income, and his concern for poor people in Transylvania, £41 hardly seems a very generous figure.

Like his contemporaries in the gentry, Basire recognised the importance of the servants in the life of the family, and made provision for donations to them. Anthony White, the son of Thomas White, mentioned previously, was to receive £6, while his servants who had been in his employ for three years or more were to receive double wages for the half-year's wages due to them after his death. He made special provision for Mrs Mary Heighington, who had given much care and attention to both him and his wife. She was to receive £10.

His coach and horses were to go to Lady Elizabeth Burton, Isaac's wife. His daughter Mary was to receive the organ and four of the paintings in the dining-room, namely those of Bishop Morton, Basire himself, Mrs Basire and Mary herself. The remaining pictures were to go to Isaac. To his son-in-law, Jeremy Nelson, his executor was to give £10, either in cash or books, at his discretion. His three godsons, John Nelson, Charles Cartwright and Corbett Skinner,[1] were to receive £10, £3 and £5 respectively, while his granddaughter, Frances Nelson, was to receive £5. Charles, the only son to follow his father into the ministry, was to receive all his father's gowns, surplices and hoods.

Basire then devoted some space to the lease of Prior's Close Colliery.[2] This had originally been taken out in the name of Isaac, but on the under-

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(1) R. Granville, Life of Dennis Granville, p.261, quotes 'Advice given to Mr Corbett Skinner upon going to sea, April 1683'.

(2) Vide supra p. 151.

standing that it was eventually to be handed over to John, and that he would enjoy the revenue of the unexpired portion of the lease. Isaac was instructed to draw up immediately a declaration stating that he only held the lease in trust for his brother John, and that he would hand it over to John whenever required to do so. Basire himself was owed £130 from the colliery, and he assigned this money to his children, Isaac and John to get a third each, while Charles and Mary were to share the remaining third.

When all the bequests had been made, and the funeral expenses settled, the residue of his estate was to be divided into three parts, one each going to Isaac and John, the remaining third to be shared by Charles and Mary. He added a special note which is underlined, that his children were 'to have a special care to preserve mutual equity, peace and concord among themselves'.

He then arranged for the disposal of the official papers which he had accumulated in his various preferments. Those concerning the Cathedral were to be given to the Dean and Chapter, while the remainder, dealing with the Seventh Stall in the Cathedral, and the rectories of Stanhope, Eaglescliffe and Howick, were to be given into the custody of whoever succeeded him in these appointments.

The will was signed, sealed and delivered on the 14th day of September 1676, in the 28th year of the reign of Charles II. There is a note added by the two witnesses to his signature, Ra. Adamson and Thomas Teasdale:

> signed, sealed and published, in the presence of us, the words (over and above I do give to Mrs Mary Heighington the sum of ten pounds, for the good offices done to myself and wife) and the words (to which supervisors I do give and they will be pleased to accept the sum of five pounds apiece to buy rings) being first interlined.

After he had completed the drawing up of his will, Basire seems to have deteriorated quickly. On 19 September George Davenport, the Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, and an old friend, informed the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, of Mrs Basire's death, and told him that Basire was far from well, suffering from jaundice, scurvy, and 'stone-griping in his belly'.(1) Davenport had spent the whole of the previous day with him, at his request, and was going again the next day. He asked Sancroft to pray for Basire, 'which is his desire to all his friends. Yesterday in the afternoon, he sent to the Cathedral to be prayed for there'. Basire was very appreciative of Davenport's ministrations, and left him a small bequest 'for his Christian and pious care about me'. Clearly time was running out for Basire. The last entry in his notebook, in his own handwriting, was a memorandum that he was to follow the Dean in residence, from 21 October to 11 November. But it was not to be, for he died on 13 October 1676, aged 69 years, and in accordance with his own request, was buried in the Cathedral cemetery on the 14th:

> Isaacus Basire, S.T.P., et hujus Eccl'ae prebendarius obdormivit in D'no 13 die Octobris, et die sequente sepultus est. (2)

The full inscription on his tomb was as follows:

> Depositum
> Is.Basire, S.T.D.
> Archidiaconi Northumbr.hujus
> Eccliae Canonici & Regibus Augg.
> Carolo 1mo & Carolo 2doa
> Sacris, Qui obdormivit 12 die
> Octob. A^{o}Dni 1676
> A^{o} Aetat. suae 69.
> I Thess. IV.14.
> Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jesum adducet cum eo.
>
> (Arms. 3 bars wavy, and in chief a mullet.
> Crest. A demi-angel affronted with clapsed hands.) (3)

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(1) Bodl. Library, Rawl.Letters 101. fo.39. Sancroft was a former rector of Houghton-le-Spring.

(2) Cathedral Registers, p.98.

(3) C.M. Carlton, Monumental Inscriptions of the Cathedral, Parish Churches and Cemeteries of the City of Durham (Durham, 1860) gives the date of Basire's death as 12 October, while the Cathedral Registers give 13.

APPENDIX A

A synopsis of a sermon which Basire preached on Easter Day, 1652, at Aleppo. (Hunter MSS., fo.140, no.10.)

To the Honour of Christ's Resurrection.

A Clear
Demonstration of the Truth
of Christ's Resurrection by
the Evidence of Reason.
Easter Day, 1652.

The denial of Christ's Resurrection is the very basis or foundation of the Jews' religion (the best religion next to the Christian) so the proof of this Truth is the very corner-stone of Christ's Religion.

The Arguments.

1. The unanimous consent of all the nations in the world, tho' otherwise so different in opinion, language or manners, acknowledging and professing this article, must needs argue that the primitive professors thereof found grounds in right reason to believe it... How could xii poor fishermen, Christ's first apostles, have persuaded the most judicious nations of the world, and in them the most learned scholars and philosophers (such as St.Paul and most of the primitive Fathers were) to believe such a report so improbable in the course of nature, unless they had proved it to them visibly by their own and others' experience, confirmed by so many several apparitions of Christ Himself after His Resurrection, to people of all sorts, of all sexes, for the full space of forty days during which Christ did continue on earth apurpose [sic] to prove the truth of His Resurrection by so many infallible proofs, as that none could then without impudence doubt of it, much less deny it.

2. Without such clear evidence the first witnesses of Christ's Resurrection must never have published it, especially at that time, when to believe, much more to broach such a report, cost the Reporter so many dangers, inconveniences and miseries.

3. The constancy of these first witnesses, standing to their testimony, even unto death, both by word and writing, still confirms the truth thereof.

4. Besides their writing, these first witnesses appeal to the joint-testimony of above 500 other witnesses (I Cor.xv.6) some whereof were then alive, and could have disproved it had it been a lie...

5. Men that report a lie, commonly do it to promise themselves either safety or ease, or some profit, or some preferment or fame and reputation. But none of all those five usual motives could induce those first witnesses to report Christ's Resurrection for a truth if it had been a lie NOT

a. to preserve their own safety
   - they exposed themselves to persecution from Jews and Gentiles.

b. to live at ease: e.g. St.Paul was rewarded with afflictions.

c. profit
   - profession of the Resurrection cost them all their worth - houses and lands...now they neglect the care of their temporal affairs to attend to their preaching of Christ's Resurrection.

d. preferment
   - Christians received nothing from the current power of the Jews and pagans to provide it - they received nothing but reproaches, etc. e.g. St.Paul.

e. fame and reputation
   - the first Christians were poor and they abhorred all pomp and vainglory: they could not hope to propagate such a doctrine so generally opposed by all sorts of men, naturally loving their ease too well to embrace a doctrine that seemed to propound to its followers, no other reward in this world but crosses.
   - the early Christians had not the power of the temporal sword to propagate (as some have done) their religion by outward violence.
   The only way the disciples could hope to propagate Christ's religion, founded upon the certainty of Christ's Resurrection, was wholly and solely fixed on the Divine Promise and Power of Almighty God, to prosper and support it.
   They could not hope for any duration of it since it was generally believed that the end of the world was near at hand (I Cor.x.11: I Thess.iv.15-16.). Neither can it be said that the first Christians did hold this opinion about Christ's Resurrection for their religion's sake only, which tho' false, they still believed to be true, for had their first Master, Jesus Christ, broken His promise to them about His Resurrection on the third day, that 'perfixe' time being over past without evident performance, the disciples, as simple as they were, would never have been so made as to have held out under so many persecutions and torments, if they had found Christ's Resurrection to be a false report.

6. Of all religions, it is clear that the Christian religion forbids a lie, especially about matters of religion (Rom.iii.7-8) even upon pain of eternal exclusion from God's paradise, therefore it is not likely to be founded on a lie.

7. Those first witnesses of Christ's Resurrection were so far from being imposters, that contrariwise, they were men of life unreprovable, and so acknowledged by their adversaries themselves.

8. No man can with justice or reason discredit so many honest witnesses of the truth of Christ's Resurrection, unless he could prove the thing itself, a dead man's resurrection, to be absolutely impossible. But to God Almighty nothing is impossible...Is it not possible for the Almighty to make a dead man alive again?
   How could the disciples have stolen the body guarded by a strong force of soldiers? And if the soldiers were asleep, how did they know that the body had been stolen?
   Yes, to this day this is the very foundation of the Jews's religion. God the Father of Light have mercy on them and open their eyes. Amen.

Magna est veritas et praevalebit.

APPENDIX B

Hunter MSS., fo.137. Archdeacon Basire's Notebook, 1664-1676.
Headings for a proposed Speech to Convocation.

F.9. '65 CONVOC. v.Fastos Ebor.

Propound viol. of Lib^t eccles. and M.Ch.

1. Clergy included tho not expressed in y^e stat. for Bridges.*
2. Aggr. by Judges Declar. and B. includ. with y^e Glebe, y^e Tithes, ten.L.Cooke.
3. Tho Stat. expire at Lady - D. 1665 yet Prud. praevides (?) a Precedent.
4. Formerly assessed only by o^r selves (τὰ Ἀρχαῖα Nic.).
5. Clergy, antehac, never included except where expressed (Privilegior. Reg.) $specialib^s$ non derogatur per generalia.
6. If valet in 6d. then p eand. Regulam in 6. o^{lib} (y^n clergy y^e only slaves in y^e Kgd. for all other states have y^r Repres. to consent).
7. Remedy. Peti'on of y^e clergy, in corpore, to y^e K. (y^e Ks. Coron. O.) for an Act of P. to (Protector Ecclae) declare y^e immunitys of y^e clergy.
8. Y^n not Ks Declar. but A. of P. revoke stat. as Illeg. and not to be drawne into Ex'ple 2. y^t clergy not lyable to $aggress^{ns}$ but such as (granted) (assented) by Convoc. as subsidys.
9. If Convoc. negl. wrong (I semet) (2 Trustees) ii K.vii.9. Esth.iv.14.
10. If wee have nothing of o^r owne y^n wee can grant nothing g^o not subsidys.
11. Coercive power. *Negl. of extem. effect of Excomm. Sep. accord to Can.65.

*12. Coercive way of Church ceasses.

*13. Excom. ag^{st} P. fanat. y^r Quiets ẽ.

14. Baptised in y^e schisme, without Godfathers, scruple at answ. in Catech.
15. By what Law or Can.Pr. bound to travell from Commun.Tab. to Pews to admin. Euchar.
16. Utrum conscia errans urgeri possit ad obedi'am, con. consc. in sensu composito?
17. Infrequ. of Coions.
18. Promiscuous Coions (espec. of Reb. sans Restit.) now after so long a schisme dangerous.

*19. Stand at y^e [illegible] [illegible] (f. per canones) et adorao in Introitu, to be made Cann. (Judge [illegible]). Many forbeare y^e Court and Cathedr. even for y^t tho allow y^e Thing, Iff lawf. enjoyned.

20. Scruple y^n about Stand at Gloria Pri (easterne Ch. stand at ψ ψ . bow at Gl.P.) to testify Ador. of Whole bl.Trin. ἀμερίστῳ προσκυν Naz.

21. Remisnes of o'r Ch. ag^st min.espri.
Apostates.
Exomologes.

con. libellatici primitus. /Recant. Newss (?) in Cathedr. nec. in fine Coidem. But Angli duxere Convic. (?)

*22. Defect. offic. pro perambulatione.

*23. Of spec. Prayer for Sick upon Litany, amentibus, surdis et pro damnatis capite.

*24. Utinam hic excitaret^r Coll. de propag. F.^after O

25. Artic. in y^e Commin. ag^st Navall' (?) I Sacril. 2 Prb, 3 Perjury. 4 Robbery - without Restit.

26. Cantus aeque obscur. in Cathedralibus ac Lat.con. Injunct. Reginae E. (Aedif. eccl'ae Scop.)

27. School lic. but 1^s by ye Act, Register Rs 10^s.

*28. Tab. of fees.

*29. Review B. of Homilys.

*30. A generall Forme of Artic. for visit.

*31. The speciall Grievance of y^e ch D and Ch. of Dur. Their lands assessed by y^e Reb. B. of Rates - which made freeholds, and y^e Rents besides w^ch Rents are the stip. of quire, free Schools, Beadsmen.

32. Provision for Curates etc. many churches, especially in the North, Northumberland etc. will become utterly destitute, and the Kings service, about Sea-Chaplains, will be notably hindered.
The poore Clergy of y^e Isle of Man.
Present y^e Tab. of y^e Archdeac. of Northumbl.

APPENDIX B (contd.)

Basire's notes for a Speech at Convocation expanded by the Very Rev. G.W. Kitchin, Dean of Durham. (The Records of the Northern Convocation, Surtees Society vol.cxiii (1907), p.370.)

F.9 '65 CONVOCATION vide Fastos Eboracenses

Proposed violation of Liberty Ecclesiastical and (?) Mother Church (or Ministers of Christianity. (?)

1. Clergy included, though not expressed in the Statute for Bridges (vide 22 Ch.11. 1670.)
2. Aggression (?) by Judge's Declaration, Benefice (?) included with the Glebe, the Tithes, tenant L.Cooke.
3. Though Statute expire at Lady Day, 1665, yet Prudence praevides (?) a Precedent.
4. Formerly assessed only by ourselves (τὰ ἐκκλῆσια νικάτω)
5. Clergy antehac never included, except where expressed (Privilegiorum Regis), specialibus non derogatur per generalia.
6. If valet in 6d., then per eandem Regulam in £6. (Then Clergy the only slaves in the Kingdom; for all other estates have their Representatives to consent).
7. Remedy. Petition of the Clergy, in corpore, to the King (the King's Coronation Oath) for an Act of Parliament to (Protector Ecclesiae) declare the immunities of the clergy.
8. Then not the King's Declaration, but (1) Act of Parliament revokes Statute as illegal, and not to be drawne into Example: (2) that clergy not liable to aggressions, but such as are (granted) (assented) by Convocation as subsidies.
9. If Convocation neglects (I semet) (2 Trustees) II Kings.vii.9[1] Esther iv, 14.
10. If we have nothing of our own, then we can grant nothing, ergo not subsidies.
11. Coercive power. *Neglect of external effect of excommunication. Separation according to Canon 65.[2]

*12. Coercive way for Church-cesses.

*13. Excommunication against Presbyterian[3] fanatics their Quietus est.

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(1) Should be II Samuel, vii.9.

(2) Canon 65, 'Ministers solemnly to denounce Recusants and Excommunicates', it threatens to admonish the people 'to refrain their company and society'.

(3) P. here may be Papist.

14. Baptised in the Schism without Godfathers, scruple at answer in Catechism.

15. By what Law or Canon (are) Priests bound to travel from Communion Table to Pews to administer Eucharist?(1)

16. Utrum conscientia errans urgeri possit ad obedientiam, contra conscientiam in sensu composito?

17. Infrequence of Communions.

18. Promiscuous Communions (especially of Rebels sine Restitutione) now after so long a schism dangerous.

*19. Standing at the Psalms(2) (fortasse per Canones)(3) et adoratio in Introitu to be made Canonical (Judge Ψ j.. δy..e ..] to Ψ). Many forbeare the Court and Cathedral even for that, though (they) allow the Thing, if lawfully enjoined.

20. Scruple then about Standing at Gloria Patri (Eastern Church stand at the Psalms, bow at Gloria Patri) to testify Adoration of whole blessed Trinity διμερίτῳ προσκυνήσει Gregory Nazianzen.

21. Remissness of our Church against Min. Espri.(4) Apostates, Exomologes (or those who hold views about confession) contra (?) libellatici(5) primitus: (?) Recantatio Newss. (?) in Cathedrali.(6) nec in fine communionis (?). But Angli duxere Convic. (?).

*22. Defectus officii pro perambulatione.

*23. Of Special Prayer for Sick upon Litany amentibus, surdis et pro damnatis capite.

*24. Utinam hic excitaretur Collegium de propagatione Fidei.(7)

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(1) This 'travelling to Pews' was, and still is, the custom at administration of the Holy Communion at Christ Church, Oxford. It was the custom at Pembroke College, and at the University Church of St Mary.

(2) This seems from the context to be necessarily the recital of the Psalms.

(3) 'Fortasse' for f. in MS is a guess only: the Canon on conduct in Church makes no mention of the recital of Psalms. Can.18.

(4) Min.Espri. may mean 'Ministers of the Sprit', i.e. unordained preachers.

(5) Libellatici - those who in days of persecution, to avoid the test of praying to the Imperial Name, received certificates of excuse on payment of a fine.

(6) This No.21 is at the bottom of a page, and written in a most confused manner.

(7) Here, above the line, written very faintly, stands 'after O', i.e. after the prayers or suffrages.

25. Article in the Commination against Navall (?). 1. Sacrilege; 2. Presbyterianism[1] 3. Perjury; 4. Robbery without Restitution.
26. Cantus aeque obscurus in Cathedralibus ac Latina(?) contra Injunctiones Reginae Elizabethae (Aedificationis ecclesiae Scopus).
27. School-licence, but 1s by the Act, Registrar receives 10s.
*28. Table of Fees.
*29. Review Book of Homilies.
*30. A general Form of Articles for Visitation.
*31. The special grievance of the Dean and Chapter and Church of Durham. Their lands assessed by the Rebel Board of Rates, - which made freeholds, and the Rents besides, which Rents are the stipend of Quire, Free-schools, Beadsmen.
32. Provision for Curates, etc. Many churches, especially in the North, Northumberland etc., will become utterly destitute, and the King's service, about Sea-Chaplains, will be notably hindered.

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(1) Prb. might stand for Probosity, a seventeenth-century word for general badness.

APPENDIX C

A Possible Reconstruction of Basire's Income and Expenditure

Income

Source	Amount		Notes
A. Cathedral			
1. Stipend which included Corpus of Canonry, 8. 4. 9½ Fees for attending Morning and Evening Prayer and Quotidians 25. 1.10½	33. 6. 8.		Treasurer's Book no.28. 1661-2. This amount was paid in four instalments; at Christmas, the Feast of the Annunciation, St John the Baptist Day and Michaelmas.
2. Payment for Residence	50. 0. 0.		Audit Book, 1679, p.68.
3. Share of Communal Dividend	115. 0. 0.		Ibid., p.123.
4. Fees for Sermons	10. 0. 0.		Each canon was to preach once a quarter as a minimum, but owing to absentees they would preach more often. Fees varied from 10/- to £2.
5. Share of Perditions	5. 0. 0.		Audit Book, 1679, p.123.
6. Fee for holding a Chapter Office, e.g. Treasurer	6.13. 4.		Cathedral Statutes, p.127.
7. Expenses for extra duties	10. 0. 0.		For example Morton received £6.13.4. for a journey to York. Audit Book, 1679, p.127.
8. Seal Money	3. 5. 0.		In 1666. (Hunter MSS., fo.138.)
9. Income from prebendal lands at Finchale	10. 0. 0.		Hunter MSS., fo.22, no.37.
10. Tithes attached to Seventh Stall from parishes of Harton, Wallsend and Felling	14. 0. 0.		Cathedral Statutes, p.23.
		257. 5. 0.	
B. Archdeaconry of Northumberland			
Archdeacon's Fees		50. 0. 0. (?)	There are no means by which to calculate these.
carried forward		307. 5. 0.	

	brought forward	307. 5. 0.	

C. Stipends from parishes

Stanhope	220. 0. 0.		Hunter MSS., fo.22, p.195.
Eaglescliffe	150. 0. 0.		do.
Howick	60. 0. 0.		
		430. 0. 0.	

D. Miscellaneous

Income from leased mineral rights at			In his will he noted that he was owed £130 from Prior's Close Colliery. Annual income? *There are no means to assess this. He paid £4.2.6. for a licence to hold it. (Hunter MSS., fo.10, no.12. 28 Aug. 1669.)
Finchale	100. 0. 0.		
Stanhope Market	*50. 0. 0.		
		150. 0. 0.	
Possible total income		887. 5. 0.	

EXPENDITURE

1. Payments to curates at Stanhope, Eaglescliffe and Howick.			60. 0. 0. (?)
2. Rents payable: for Seventh Stall	31. 0. 0.		
for Prior's Close Colliery	* 5. 0. 0. (Hunter MSS., fo.138)		
			36. 0. 0.
3. Charge paid to Dean and Chapter for right to draw wood from their estates.			1. 9. 8.
		Possible total expenditure	97. 9. 8.

* He also paid an entry fine of £50 at the renewal of the lease.

Note: As it is impossible to recover exact details of Basire's income and expenditure, amounts have have extrapolated from various sources, as they seemed appropriate to Basire's circumstances.

APPENDIX D

Comparative Value of Stalls in Durham Cathedral

It has not been possible to find the values of the twelve Stalls in Durham Cathedral for the years when Basire occupied the Seventh Stall. The table set out below is for the year 1832, just before the number of stalls was drastically reduced, but it does show the differences in the incomes of the stalls, though obviously the monetary values would be smaller in the seventeenth century.

1st Stall	-	£705 and share of the surplus	£1967 - £2673
2nd Stall	-	£813	£1967 - £2780
3rd Stall	-	£486	£1967 - £2453
4th Stall	-	£402	£1967 - £2369
5th Stall	-	£391	£1967 - £2358
6th Stall	-	£565	£1967 - £2532
7th Stall	-	£687	£1967 - £2654
8th Stall	-	£378	£1967 - £2345
9th Stall	-	£312	£1967 - £2279
10th Stall	-	£1043	£1967 - £3010
11th Stall	-	£1400	£1967 - £3367
12th Stall	-	£872	£1967 - £2839

For purposes of comparison, the figures for the Dean were £3266 and his share of the surplus £3934, making a total of £7200.

In the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, there was a tendency for the Durham canons to move frequently from one stall to another, usually for financial gain. Patrick Mussett, in the introduction to his Deans and Canons of Durham, 1541-1900, p.v, argues rather cynically that some idea of the relative value of stalls can be obtained by noting which stalls were resigned most often, and to which stalls the canons moved. By 1727 the Eleventh Stall had acquired the nickname of the 'golden stall' for obvious reasons. When the Cathedral was constituted after the Reformation, a canon's income included the income from his own prebendal lands. These estates were probably chosen to be of equal value, but during later years the values of some stalls increased

more quickly than others, and so provided the incentive for the occupants of comparatively poor stalls to ask for collation to a richer one. Basire occupied the Seventh Stall for over thirty years and does not appear to have sought to occupy any other.

APPENDIX E

The Last Will and Testament of Isaac Basire, D.D.

In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, blessed for ever, Amen, I Isaac Basire, Doctor in Divinity and (unworthy) Archdeacon of Northumberland, being at present in perfect understanding and memory, praised be God, but having of late years been summoned by divers infirmities, and put in mind of my mortality and death, now not far off, do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following: that is to say, First I do in all humility resign my soul unto Almighty God the Father of Spirits, trusting wholly and only in the all-sufficient merit, mediation, and full satisfaction of my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who suffered death upon the Cross for me and all mankind. And I do declare that as I have lived, so I do die, with comfort in the holy communion of the Church of England, both for doctrine and discipline. And I do further protest, that having taken a serious survey of most Christian Churches, both Eastern and Western, I have not found a parallel of the Church of England, both for soundness of Apostolic Doctrine and Catholic Discipline. Item. I desire my Executor to dispose of my body for decent and frugal burial in the churchyard, not out of any singularity, which I always declined when I was living, but out of veneration of the House of God, though I am not ignorant of the contrary custom, but I do forbid a funeral sermon, although I know the antiquity and utility of such sermons in the Primitive Church to encourage the Christians of those times unto martyrdom. As to my total temporal estate, I do ordain that my Executor shall get the same apprised by two judicious and impartial apprisers, and after I do dispose thereof as followeth: First, I do give to the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Durham, the sum of five pounds. And I do give to the poor of the city of Durham and suburbs thereof, the sum of twenty pounds. Item. I do give to the poor of the parish of Stanhope the sum of ten pounds. Item. I do give to the poor of the parish of Eaglescliffe, the sum of six pounds. Item. I do give to the poor of the parish of Howick, in Northumberland, the sum of five pounds, all which said sum and sums to be disposed of by my Executor according to his discretion. Item. I do give to Anthony White, son of Thomas White, my late servant deceased, the sum of six pounds. Item. I do give and bequeath unto the Lady Elizabeth Burton, wife to my eldest son,

Isaac Basire, my coach and four horses. Item. I do give to my dear daughter Mary Nelson, wife of Jeremy Nelson, Prebendary of the church of Carlisle, my organ, and four pictures, now hanging in my dining-room, that is to say, Bishop Morton's, my own, my late wife's, and my said daughter's pictures. Item. I do give and bequeath unto my said son, Isaac Basire, all the residue of my pictures now hanging in my dining-room, besides the said pictures given to my said daughter as aforesaid. Item. I do give and bequeath unto my said son-in-law, Jeremy Nelson, the sum of ten pounds, in money or books to the value, at the appointment of my Executor. Item. I do give and bequeath unto my three godsons, John Nelson, Charles Cartwright, and Corbett Skinner: that is to wit, to the first, ten pounds; to the second, three pounds; and to the third, five pounds. And I do give to Frances Nelson, my grandchild, and my late wife's god-daughter, the sum of five pounds. Item. I do give to my son Charles, all my ministerial habits, namely, gowns, surplices, hoods, etc. Item. I do give to my reverend friend, Mr George Davenport, parson of Houghton-in-the-Spring for his Christian and pious care and pains about me, the sum of six pounds. Item. Whereas a lease of Prior Close Colliery was lately taken in the name of my son Isaac, I do hereby direct and appoint that my said son Isaac, shall not only, so soon as conveniently may be, make a declaration in writing that the same lease was only taken in the name of my said son Isaac in trust and for the only use and benefit of my son John Basire, to whom I give the same colliery, but also, that my said son Isaac shall, upon request of my said son John, assign, grant, and convey unto my said son John the same colliery and lease for the residue of the term therein yet to come and unexpired. And as for the debts due to me upon the account of the said colliery, being one hundred and thirty pounds, I do hereby give the same to my said sons, Isaac, John, and Charles, and my said daughter Mary; that is to say, one third part thereof to my said son Isaac, one third part thereof to my said son John, and the other third part to my said son Charles and daughter Mary. Item. I do give to each of my servants who have served me three years or more, double wages for the half year's wage to be due to them next after my decease. And over and above I do give to Mrs Mary Heighington the sum of ten pounds, for the good offices done to myself and wife.(1) Item. My will and mind is, that after my legacies and funeral expenses shall be paid, defrayed and satisfied, that then all the residue and remainder of

(1) Interlined in the original.

my personal estate shall be divided into three parts, which I do hereby give and dispose in manner and form following; that is to say, one third part thereof to my said son Isaac, one other third part to my said son Charles and daughter Mary, and the other third part, residue thereof, to my said son John Basire. And I do charge my children to have a special care to preserve mutual equity, peace, and concord amongst themselves.(1) Item. I do hereby ordain and appoint, that all writings now in my custody, relating to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, the Seventh Prebend of the Cathedral Church at Durham, the Rectories of Stanhope, Eaglescliffe, and Howick, shall, after my decease, be delivered, bona fide, to the said dean and chapter, and my respective successors in the prebend and rectories aforesaid, for the use of the said respective churches. As for the debts due to me, my leases, rentals, and bonds, will declare them. Item. I do hereby ordain, constitute, and appoint my said son Isaac Basire sole executor of this my last will and testament. And I do hereby humbly desire my worthy friends Sir George Vane, Knt. and Ralph Davison, Esq. to be supervisors of this my will, and to assist and advise my executor in the execution thereof, to which supervisors I do give, and desire they will be pleased to accept the sum of five pounds apiece to buy rings.(1) And I do hereby revoke all former and other wills whatsoever by me at any time or times heretofore made. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the fourteenth day of September, in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith, etc. Anno Domini, 1676.

ISAAC BASIRE, D.D.

Signed, sealed, and published, in the presence of us, the words (and over and above I do give to Mrs Mary Heighinton, the sum of ten pounds, for the good offices done to myself and wife,) and the words (to which supervisors I do give and desire they will be pleased to accept the sum of five pounds apiece to buy rings,) being first interlined.

RA.ADAMSON,
THOMAS TEASDALE (2)

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(1) Interlined in the original.

(2) Hunter MSS., fo.12, no.155. Transcribed by Darnell, pp.311-7.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

PRIMARY SOURCES

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Oratio Privata, London, 1670. (no copy discovered).

Dead Man's Real Speech, London, 1673.

Correspondence of Isaac Basire with a Memoir of His Life, W.N. Darnell, London, 1831.

B. MANUSCRIPTS

1. Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham

a. Hunter MSS

fo. 9. Dr Basire's Letters, Vol.1.
fo.10. Dr Basire's Letters, Vol.2.
fo.10a. Miscellaneous Letters.
fo.11. Miscellaneous Letters and Papers.
fo.12. Miscellaneous Letters and Papers.
fo.13. Miscellaneous Letters and Papers.
fo.22., no.4. Annual Value of Rectories, Vicarages and Impropriations within the County Palatine of Durham, by the presentments of the Chief Constables. 16 January 1635.

no.35. An Abstract of all the several Parishes, Churches and Chapels, with the present Incumbents (Ministers appointed by the Commonwealth) within the County of Durham (with the value of their respective Benefices.) July 1650.

fo.24. Original Papers, Letters, etc., upon the subject of a Dispute between Bishop Cosin and the Gentry of the County, relative to the representation of the County and City of Durham in Parliament.

fo.35. A thin volume consisting of Letters and other Papers connected with Dr Basire.

fo.36. A Volume of Original Letters and other Papers labelled 'Dean Granville'.

fo.67., no.15. Remarks on the Customs of Eastern Churches.

fo.71. De Rhetorica et Ejus Partibus, with Extracts from printed Works upon different subjects. 'Isaacus Basirius ix°Kalend. Novembr. Anno humanae salutis MCXXI [sic] anno aet.xiii'.

fo.80.,no.2. A View of the Ecclesiastical State within the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, anno 1663.

no.3. A List of the Clergy of Newcastle upon Tyne and County of Northumberland...who have been imprisoned and barbarously used.

fo.84. An Introduction to the Orthodox Principles of the Church of England, tending to a full Vindication of that Church from the pretended Imputation of Schism etc., by way of Dialogue between a Governor and his Charge. By I[saac] B[asire] D.D., then in France and Italy. Annis 1647 and 1648.

fo.85. Trecentum-viratus et ultra, sive Calvinus, Beza, Zanchius, Daneus, Szegedimus Junius, & plerique omnes: universae item per Regna Galliae, Angliae, Scotiae, Faederati Belgii etc. Genevatumque Ecclesiae, Reformatae.
(A tract printed 'Patakini 1656', interleaved and copiously annotated by Dr Basire.)

fo.86. A Volume of a Miscellaneous Nature, chiefly in the handwriting of Dr Basire, containing Remarks upon the Church Catechism, Memoranda of his Travels, etc.

fo.87. Idea boni Concionatoris sive ars recte concionandi, plene etc. delineata etc. Opusculum Hebdom.unius (a die Febr.25. ad diem Mart.2. A°. C.1658) Authore Isaaco Basirio, S.T.P. in Illustri Lycaeo Albensi Rectore Primario.

fo.88. A Miscellaneous Volume, chiefly of loose Papers connected with Dr Basire.

fo.89. Decisio Quaestionis, 'An quilibet honeste vivens in Fide Catholica salvari possit.' (A Tract in the handwriting of Dr Basire.)

fo.90. Notes made by....during a visit to Messina, Palermo, etc., during the seventeenth century.

fo.92. Fragments ecclesiastica. Some fragments of Ecclesiastical Observations about the Government and Rites of sundry reformed Outlandish Churches. (In the handwriting of Dr Basire.)

fo.94. A brief Relation of a Voyage from Rome through the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to the Isle of Malta, with an Abstract of Dr Basire's Travels.

fo.132*., no.4. King Charles the First's letter to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, 2 June 1633.

no.12. Transcripts of Papers and Letters related to Dr Basire.

fo.133. A Book of Family Memoranda, begun by Dr Basire's Father, and continued to the year 1671.

fo.134. Dr Basire's Itinerary of France, Italy, etc. in the years 1647 and 1648.

fo.135. Notes by Dr Basire, relative to his different Journeys in the years 1667 and 1668.

fo.136. A Common Place Book, in the handwriting of Dr Basire, consisting of Medical Receipts, Theological Notes, and other matters of the most miscellaneous nature.

fo.137. A Memorandum Book, in the handwriting of Dr Basire, containing Notes of his Proceedings as Archdeacon of Northumberland, as a Magistrate, etc., from 1664 to 1676.
fo.138. Notes by Dr Basire, relative to the Proceedings of the Dean and Chapter of Durham from 1664 to 1675.
fo.139. Dr Basire's Memorandum Book for the four or five last years of his life.
fo.140. A Bundle of Miscellaneous Tracts, chiefly in the handwriting of Dr Basire.
fo.141. A Bundle of Tracts, with the exception of the first, in the handwriting of Dr Basire.
no.1. Sermon Notes - Easter 1643, by Mrs Basire.

(This list of MSS is taken from T.Rud, Codicium Manuscriptorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelmensis (1825).

b. Statutes of Durham Cathedral

c. Cathedral Registers

d. Special MSS

2. University of Durham, Department of Palaeography & Diplomatic

Dean and Chapter Audit Book, 1679.

Dean and Chapter Treasurer's Books, 1663 & 1679.

Dean and Chapter Acts Books.

Loose Papers.

3. Bodleian Library, Oxford

Tanner MS. 59/2 fo.528.
48 fo.76.
43 fo.167.
Rawlinson MS. 84(e) fo.64.
84(e) fo.171.
84(e) fo.144.
D.342.

4. Public Record Office

MS. SP 97/17.

5. Lichfield Joint Record Office

Bishop Morton's Registers B/A/1/16.
B/A/4/18.

Bishop Morton's Subscription Book B/A/4/18 (1618-42).

6. Shropshire County Record Office

Hardwicke, Phillips and George Morris Collection of Genealogies.

7. St John's College, Cambridge

Letter from Isaac Basire to the College dated 29 March 1672.

8. University of Durham Library

Cosin Letter Books, I and II.

C. PUBLIC RECORDS AND REGISTERS

1. Parish Registers

Diocese of Durham	Whitworth Eaglescliffe Stanhope Boldon
Diocese of Newcastle	Howick

Channel Islands (by courtesy of the Société Jersiaise).

St. Helier, St. Saviour, Grouville,
St. Martin, St. John, St. Brélade.

2. Elizabeth College, Guernsey

Register.

3. St John's College, Cambridge

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4. University of Leiden

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5. Huguenot Society of London

'Denizations and Nationalisations of Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700', ed. W.Shaw (Lymington, 1911).

6. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic

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7. House of Commons Journals

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E. OTHER SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SOURCES

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