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SPIRITUALITIES AND TEMPORALITIES
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OF



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

BY THE

REV. R. C. PACKMAN,

MINOR CANON OF ST. PAUL'S.

SECOND EDITION, WITH NOTES.

Under the Sanction of the Warden and Majority of the College of the Twelve Minor Canons.

LONDON:

W. EDWARDS, AVE MARIA LANE.

1839.

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NO. I.

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To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—We, the undersigned, Minor Canons of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, having read in the columns of a weekly paper of yesterday the review of an anonymous pamphlet, entitled *Spiritualities and Temporalities of St. Paul's Cathedral*, lose no time in declaring that the said pamphlet contains various statements and assertions wholly untrue; together with others in which facts are so exaggerated and misrepresented, as to produce an impression very different from what truth would warrant.

We therefore, in justice to ourselves, further declare that the said pamphlet does not emanate from, nor is in any way sanctioned or approved of by us.

J. W. VIVIAN. J. V. POVAH.
C. PACKE. J. C. HADEN.
R. H. BARHAM.

St. Paul's Cathedral, March 18, 1839.

NO. II.

SPIRITUALITIES AND TEMPORALITIES OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—A letter, signed by five of the Minor Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral, having appeared in your paper of Wednesday last, in which it is said that a pamphlet entitled as above "contains various statements and assertions wholly untrue, together with others in which facts are so exaggerated and misrepresented, as to produce an impression very different from what truth would warrant," I beg leave to avow myself the Author of that pamphlet; and now call upon those Gentlemen to substantiate their charges as publicly as they have thought fit to prefer them.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

R. C. PACKMAN,

St. Paul's Cathedral, March 21, 1839.

Ninth Minor Canon of St. Paul's.

NO. III.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—In avowing himself the Author of the anonymous Pamphlet, Mr. PACKMAN adopts it with all its responsibilities.

The period is fast approaching when the question at issue will be seriously brought before a proper tribunal. When called upon by parliamentary inquiry, the Church Commissioners, or any competent authority, we are perfectly prepared to substantiate our assertions, but we will not enter into a war of pamphlets and newspapers with an individual of our own body; which will not only be devoid of general interest, but throw an air of discredit upon those establishments from which the public, under any circumstances, have a right to expect a spirit of peace.

J. W. VIVIAN. J. V. POVAH.
C. PACKE. J. C. HADEN.
R. H. BARHAM.

March 23, 1839.

NO. IV.

SPIRITUALITIES AND TEMPORALITIES OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—In candidly avowing myself the Author of the above-named Pamphlet, which was so gratuitously denounced in your Paper of the 20th inst. by Dr. VIVIAN and Messrs. PACKE, BARHAM, POVAH, and HADEN, I presumed that in honour and justice they were bound to lay before the public—the "tribunal" to which they thought proper to appeal—something bearing a semblance of proof in support of the assertions they were pleased to make. They have deemed it prudent to decline so doing.

A Second Edition of the Pamphlet, with copious Notes, under the sanction of the Warden and majority of the College of the Twelve Minor Canons, will be published on Saturday next.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

R. C. PACKMAN.

March 27, 1839.

Such being the only proof which these five Gentlemen have adduced for the aspersions they have cast upon my pamphlet, I feel bound in justice to myself now to *publish* what before was *printed* merely for private circulation.

R. C. P.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

CHARTERS BELONGING TO ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL,

REFERRED TO IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES.

CARTA ETHELBERTI,

De Manerio de Tillingham.

Ethelbertus Rex dedit terram quæ appellatur Tillingham ad *Monasterii S. Pauli solatium, ut in perpetuum in Monasterii permaneat.*

CARTA ATHELSTANI.

De Terris apud Sandon, Rode, Ardeleage (modo Yeardley) Luffenhale, Bylcham, Wicham, Tidwolditune, (nunc Heybridge,) Rumwelle, Eadulfesnesse, Draitune, Berne, Neosdune & Willesdone.

Ego Athelstanus Rex renovavi atque restauravi *libertatem ad Monasterium S. Pauli.* Hæc est interim *illa libertas, quam ut perpetualiter in sæpedicto Monasterio permaneat, animo libenti constituo, id est, decem Mansas ad Sandonam, cum Rode; et octo ad Ardeleage cum Luffenhaele; et decem ad Bylcham, cum Wicham; et octo ad Tidwolditune; et duodecem ad Runawella; et triginta ad Eadulfesnesa; et decem ad Draitune; et octo ad Berne; et decem ad Neosdune, cum Willesdune.*

ALIA CARTA ADELSTANI.

Ego Athelstanus notum facio quod liberabo *omnem terram ad S. Pauli Monasterium spectantem.*

CARTA EADGARI,

De Manerio de Nastoke.

Ego Eadgarus Rex, rogatus, ut aliquam partem terræ liberam darem imperpetuum in Monasterium St. Pauli, &c. id est, 15 Mansiones in loco qui vocatur Nasinstock, et michi, cum lato digno pretio, id est 60 Mancas in auro purissimo. Et nunc Ego Eadgarus Rex, &c.

CARTA REGINÆ EGELFLEDÆ,

De quatuor hidis terræ apud Lagefare & duabus apud Cochamstede.

Hic patet in hac (donationis) Charta, quod Egelfleda concessit in Dei laudem, &c. quatuor hidas terræ apud Lagefaram, et duas hidas apud Cochamstedam, quas concessit ipsa, &c. S. Pauli Monasterio Londini fratrum in victum ibidem quotidie Deo servientium, &c.

CARTA ÆTHELREDI,

Donationem Ægelfledæ Reginæ confirmans.

In nomine Domini, &c. Ego Ætheldredus notifico, &c. quod Ægelfled, meo concessu, duas de possessione sua terras, &c. Ecclesie fratribus, die noctuq. famulantibus, cum summa devotione obtulit; quarum hæc sunt nomina, Lagefare cum quatuor mansis, et Cochamstede cum duabus mansis. Hanc vero donationem perpetuam esse concessimus, &c.

ALIA CARTA ÆTHELREDI,

Confirmationis de terris a se, vel à prædecessoribus suis collatis.

Ego Æthelredus Rex, &c. terras Monasterii Beati Pauli Apostoli, quas à prædecessoribus meis, sive à me donatas, seu à regibus gentium exterarum, seu à principibus, seu à quibuslibet hominibus sub confirmationis testimonio, omnes perpetualiter possidendas, contuli, &c.

CARTA CNUDI,

Donationes Ecclesie S. Pauli confirmans.

In nomine Domini Dei, &c. Ego Cnudus, &c. concedo, &c. *omnes terras juris mei, vel antecessorum meorum, ad augmentum Monasterii beati Pauli Apostoli, &c. quod positum est in civitate Lundoniæ, omnes has terras consentiens confirmavi, &c. Si quis vero harum terrarum condonationem contradicere præsumpserit, &c. Amen.*

ALIA CARTA CANUTI,

De quibusdam immunitatibus eidem Ecclesie per ipsum concessis.

Ego Canutus Rex saluto, &c. omnesque meos Thanos, &c. in eis Comitatus in quibus *mei Sacerdotes in S. Pauli Monasterio habent terram*, amicè. Et ego vobis notum facio, quod volo ut ipsi sint eorum Sacæ et Socnæ, &c. . . . Et ipse non permittam, ut aliquis in aliquo eos vexet, &c.

CARTA EDWARDI CONFESSORIS,

De octo mansis apud Berlings, & quinq. apud Cingeford.

In nomine Domini, &c. Ego Eadwardus Rex, &c. ad honorem S. Pauli Apostoli, &c. regali autoritate renovavi, atq. restauravi *libertatem ad Monasterium* ipsius statutum in Lundonia civitate, &c. Hæc est enim libertas illa, quam ut *æternaliter in supradicto Monasterio permaneat*, animo libenti constituo; id est *octo mansas ad Berlings, & quinq. ad Cingeford, &c.* Denique adhuc, pro ampliori firmitatis testamento omnimodo præcipimus, atq. præcipiendo obsecramus, ut maneat ista libertas, &c. insolubiliter ab omni humanæ servitutis jugo, *cum omnibus per circuitum ad illud Monasterium ritè pertinentibus, &c.*

ALIA CARTA REGIS EDWARDI.

Edwardus Rex saluto, &c. omnesq. &c. in Præfecturis illis ubi *mei Sacerdotes in Pauli Ecclesia terram possident,*

amicè. Et ego notum vobis facio, quod volo ut ipsi sint corum Sacæ et Socnæ (Privileg. sic dict.) digni, et intra burgum et extra, &c. *Et nolo ut recipiant plures Sacerdotes in eorum Ecclesiam, quàm facultates suas pati (id est sustinere) possint, &c.*

CARTA REGIS WILLIELMI CONQUESTORIS,

Donationes terrarum apud Nastoke, Lagefare Coccamstede et Runwell, confirmans.

Ego Willielmus Dei gratia Rex, &c. *terras Monasterii S. Pauli, quæ in tempore antecessorum meorum à quibuslibet hominibus ablatæ fuerant & injustè detentæ, omnes in die primi diadematis & Coronationis meæ, Deo, ejusq. Apostolo Paulo in Lundonia, & eorum servitoribus in perpetuum possidendas restitui, & eas ex omni parte liberæ concessi; exceptis tribus, Expeditione, Pontis, & Arcis constructione; id est 15 cassatas ad Nastoke, quatuor ad Lagefare, tres ad Coccamstede, & Sex ad Runwell, &c.*

CARTA REGIS WILLIELMI CONQUESTORIS,

De diversis Immunitatibus & Privilegiis Ecclesiæ S. Pauli concessis.

W. gratia Dei Rex Anglorum, Omnibus, &c. salutem. Scias quod ego concedo Deo & *Ecclesiæ S. Pauli* de London, & *Rectoribus & Servitoribus ejus, in omnibus terris quas ipsa Ecclesia habet, vel habebit, infra burgum & extra Saccam & Soknam, &c.* (Cart. 9 Ed. 2. n. 37.) (Pat. 1. H. 5. m. 3. per Inspex.)

CONSIMILIS CARTA PER EUNDEM REGEM.

W. Rex Angl. Omnibus, &c. salutem. Scitis quod concedo Deo & *S. Paulo, ejusque Servitoribus* 24 hidas, quas Rex *Ethelbertus dedit Ecclesiæ S. Pauli* juxta civitatem London, quando eam fundavit, imperpetuum, &c.

SPIRITUALITIES AND TEMPORALITIES

OF

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

ST. PAUL'S Church, London, is a Cathedral of the old foundation. It was founded by Ethelbert,* King of Kent, the first of the Saxon Kings who embraced Christianity. He was converted to the faith of Christ by St. Augustine. This monarch, as will be seen by the extracts from the Charters, or deeds of gift accompanying this statement, endowed† the church of St. Paul with the manor of Tillingham, in the county of

* Bede mentions the founding of St. Paul's by Ethelbert.

† The form of making donations of property to churches in ancient times was very solemn, thus: I, *A. B.*, give to God and the church of St. Paul, such and such goods. Here the person placed his hand on the altar, who was thus with the estate offered to God.

Essex, which pious gift was followed by many others, of a very extensive nature, from the sovereigns who succeeded him in these realms.* The fraternity belonging to this church, although not Monks, or "Religious," as they were designated, yet lived together in a community† after the manner of monks, and consisted originally of

* Erkinwald, also, fourth Bishop of London from Mellitus, augmented the revenues of St. Paul's very much from his own estate; as also did Edgiva, a noble-woman. Maurice, Bishop of London, gave to the church for the service of the altar, viz. for bread and wine for the sacrament, the rent of his new wharf upon the River Thames (Paul's Wharf), and other valuable gifts. William the Conqueror gave the castle of Storford, and other valuable privileges.—*Doomsday Book*.

† Eusebius, Bishop of Verceil, first introduced the monastic rule to the manner of living among Clerks. We must not confound the Clerks, who lived in community under the direction of their Bishop, with Monks. They were not Monks, but borrowed their way of living in common (under St. Martin and St. Augustine), being for that no less serviceable to the church. Monks had possession, however, of many of our Cathedrals in the earliest times, and were the constituted Canons thereof: they were finally ejected from them by Richard the First, and Clerks settled in their places, according to the prescripts of the Canon Law. It is remarkable that all the Archbishops of Canterbury were Monks from the time of St. Augustine down to Henry the First, when, upon the election of an Archbishop, all the Bishops declared publicly that they would not have a Monk for a Primate. St. Jerom, who was a Monk, thus speaks of himself: "Clerks are shepherds, for my part I am one of the sheep." Monachism was designed to serve as a noviciate for becoming Clerks. "Live," says Rusticus, a Monk, "in such a manner, that the Bishop may think you worthy to be a Clerk."

a Dean,* or Superior, and thirty Regular Canons, clergymen, each one of whom was required to have an assistant vicar in the choir, a person regularly appointed in holy orders. “ Quisq̄e habuit vicarium, hominem in sacris ordinibus constitutum.”† This establishment being formed under the special direction of St. Augustine, was governed wholly by the Augustine rules. “ Secundum Divi Augustini Regulam, facultatibus in commune ‡ collatis, communiter vixerunt, in

* “ It was the duty of the Dean to take especial care that the statutes and laudable customs of the Church were diligently obeyed.”—Vide *Statutes*.

† Dugdale, Appendix in Hist. Ecclesiæ Cath. S. Pauli.

‡ A community of goods originated with the first Christians, and was a law of charity, not of compulsion, whereby the necessities of the christian ministers were provided for, and the poorer ones protected; the officers of the church being the persons appointed to make a proper distribution. These *officers* had the care of the revenues of the establishment, and were appointed, as at present, by the Bishop, to manage and distribute them according to the statutes and canons. St. Augustine admitted no Clerks into his church, till they had first disposed of all their goods either in favour of the poor, or by sale. He admitted none into the churches he established, but such as were really poor, and made them, in imitation of the Apostles, live altogether in common upon the revenues of the Church. Pope Gregory wrote to St. Augustine, in England, to persist in a community of goods, rather than any division of them, for that the division had brought most of the disorders into the Church. It had taught those who were the *guardians* of church property to act in the same manner as private persons would do, who were the absolute masters of it.—*Simon, Eccl. Benef.*

victu eorum factâ necessariâ rerum justa distributione.” “Union in one house. Food and raiment distributed by the Superior. Every thing in common. Clothes from one common vestiary, as food from one common cellar. Labour for the common good.”*

In this Monastery,† as in all others of the Augustine Order, there was a common Exchequer, or Treasury, over which was appointed a Treasurer, or Bursar, whose duty it was to receive from the various collectors, all the rents or monies due to the Monastery, which monies ‡ were immediately to be handed over to the Dean, and within a stated time safely deposited in the iron chest (*cista trium clavium*) in the Treasury. It was the business of the Treasurer, likewise, to pay all outgoings for repairs, &c., and such like expenses. There was also a chamberlain, *Camerarius*, to attend to all the household matters of the establishment; such as the bedding, distribution of clothes, &c. There was

* Third Augustine Rule.

† Monastery, in this sense, meant a community of men employed in the service of a Cathedral.—*Tract. Sion College*.

‡ These were put into the treasury, and constituted a treasure for the salaries and maintenance of the ministers. From these the stipends were given weekly or monthly to the ministers as a salary for their services. The monthly stipends were called “*mensurnæ divisiones*.”—*Selden*.

Church treasury, “*Redditus Ecclesiæ et oblationes fidelium*.”—*Gelasius*.

a Clerk of the Bakehouse, Custos Pistrini, whose office it was to receive the corn from the farms of the Monastery, and to be careful to observe that all things in his department were sweet and good: a Kitchener, to supply the tables with meats, and to attend to and take charge of the cellar: a Herdsman, to attend markets, &c. &c. Particular manors and estates were expressly assigned for the use of these departments. There was a Pittantiary, to administer the commons* or pittances to each person of the establishment. There were common rooms, where fires were kept for the use of all the members, and a refectory, where they all dined. It is important to bear in mind all these facts, because in treating of the revenues of St. Paul's Cathedral, and showing how they were distributed in former times, *justa distributione*, we shall find that all these several offices† existed, exactly in the manner we have described, in this establishment.

* A commons was given to each person upon a separate plate; a pittance was an allowance in one plate between two. The administration of these was a distinct duty among certain officers. Afterwards money was given in lieu of viands, and the table farmed (*procurari*). The dinners were on the most ample scale, and most especially on the feasts of the Apostles.

† Many offices, which were necessary whilst *the revenues were in common*, are now become totally useless; but instead of being suppressed, they have been erected into benefices, which are called dignities, that is to say, *sine-cures*, or benefices without office.

Before attending, however, to the mode of distributing the property of the Cathedral, it may be as well to say a few words on the subject of the property itself, how it came to belong to the Church of St. Paul, and with what view it was given to that church. This property is frequently mentioned in the local statutes of the Cathedral, under the denomination of "*Patrimonium Sancti Pauli*," for the purpose of showing, as we conceive, that the property is vested *in the Cathedral itself*, and not specially in the Dean and Residentiaries for the time being;—that it is "*communia bona*," the common property of the Church of St. Paul, and intended to be fairly dealt out, according to the Augustine rules, among all the members, high and low, of that establishment. We give an extract or two from the statutes, to show that the property is so designated. In the statute "*De Senescallo Curiarum*," *i.e.* the person who held the Manorial Courts, it says of him, "*Pertranseat universum Pauli patrimonium et Curias teneat.*" Again, in the statute "*Visitatio Decani*," it says, "*sustineatur patrimonium S. Pauli.*" But what must be considered quite conclusive on this point, is the following, from the statute "*De Residentibus*:" "*Jam Residentes ipsi reformatione egeant; propria lucra sectantur; Communia Bona in privatos usus vertunt; Nec aliud est in hac infælicitate et confusione temporum in Ecclesia Cathedrali*

residere quàm proprium commodum quærere ; ac at planius loquar, *spoliare Ecclesiam, et se ditiores facere.*" The property, then, being of this nature, and designed for the support of an extensive establishment, the very essence of which was a *community* in all things, it was to be expected that we should find the wording of the charters, which conveyed the property to the Cathedral, in unison with that intent. Accordingly we have them in these terms : "*Ad Monasterii* S. Pauli solatium. In Monasterio permaneat. Darem imperpetuum in Monasterium St. Pauli. S. Pauli Monasterio Londini fratrum in victum ibidem quotidie Deo servientium. Concedo Deo et Ecclesie S. Pauli de London et Rectoribus et Servitoribus,*" &c. &c.

Now, it is only by attending to these expressions, and by ascertaining from ancient records in what way they were formerly carried out, that we can come at a proper conclusion, as to what the *intentions of the royal founder and benefactors, respecting the distribution of the property, really were.* The only correct inference we can draw from the charters, or deeds of gift, certainly is, that the patrimony is the *common property* of the Cathedral ;—that it is vested in the Cathedral itself, and intended for the support of those,

* What is now the Quire, or the Chapter of St. Paul's, was called *Monasterium Sancti, or Beati Pauli.*—*Antiquity of London,* Vol. III, p. 101.

and only those, *who constantly perform the divine service, and attend upon the church.* And in this light it was considered by those in ancient times, who were the most likely to place a right construction upon the words of the charters, and the most likely to understand, and to carry into effect, the "*pias voluntates*" of the royal donors of it. That the property was regarded as the common property of the establishment, and that a fair distribution of it was made in by-gone days, there is abundant evidence to prove. We shall see presently, for we have authentic documents to show it, both how the property was appropriated whilst the community retained its pristine character, and in what proportions it was dealt out to all the various members, according to their different grades, when the Cathedral Establishment became like to what it is in the present day. We shall see that every precaution, which could by possibility be devised, was taken, to prevent those, who, from being the *chief managers and trustees* of the property, were in a situation the likeliest to induce them to transgress, from taking an undue share of it to themselves. We shall see with what *caution and jealousy* the *local statutes* are all framed to stay encroachments; and lastly, we shall be able to judge, whether any thing like the "*justa distributio*," so strongly enjoined by those statutes, is at all attended to at the present time—a distribu-

tion in accordance with the intentions of the benefactors, or one in the least degree approximating to what is just and right.

As we shall have occasion to quote from documents, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, which we have no opportunity of examining, it will be as well to say a few words about the copies of them given in Dugdale, by way of stating the authority upon which these copies rest. Sir William Dugdale was born in September, 1605, and died in February, 1686. He wrote, besides his *Monasticon*, a history of St. Paul's Cathedral. Accident placed all the original* Charters, Records, Leiger-Books, and other valuable papers of the Cathedral in his possession, which enabled him fully to accomplish his object. We cannot do better than to give a part of the Introduction to his History. "Nor do I account it," says he, "other than the like providence, that I was the chief means of preserving all the venerable chartularies and records belonging to this ancient and famous church, which, upon that sacrilegious and ravenous seizure of the Dean and Chapter's lands throughout the whole nation, by that Long Parliament, coming to the hands of one Mr. John Reading, Chairman of the Committee for ordering the possessions thereof, were by him casually

* Have the Ecclesiastical Commissioners seen any of these papers?

communicated to me. Whence having reduced them out of no little confusion, and extracted what I have said in my ensuing discourse of the Cathedral, I kept them in my hands during the whole time of the late usurpation; and soon after his late Majesty was most happily restored, did faithfully deliver them unto the then worthy Dean, Dr. Barwick, by whom being carefully laid up, they are still preserved for the benefit of after ages." There can be no doubt, then, as to the authenticity of Dugdale's papers, as printed in the Third Volume of the Monasticon, and in his History of St. Paul's Cathedral. We shall begin with an extract from one of them, exhibiting the state of the revenues of the Cathedral at a particular period, and the purposes to which they were then applied.

*Ex Cartaceo Registro penes Dec. et Cap. Eccl.
Cath. S. Pauli Lond.*

THE STATE OF THE LANDS OF THE CHURCH.

	£	s.	d.
By the hands of the Camerarius	158	3	0
From the two Collectors of the London district	361	18	4
Ditto ditto Middlesex	90	7	2
Ditto ditto Bucks, Herts, Surrey	125	4	8
Ditto ditto Essex	460	18	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>		
Summa totalis	£1196	11	2 $\frac{1}{4}$

" This foresaid sum cometh to hand once a year, beside casualties, as fines, merciaments, reliefs, heriots, escheats, forfeitures, felons-goods, with such other royalties; also besides woodfalls,

legacies, and sepultures, which by estimation will extend yearly, one with another, to the sum of 40*l*.

“And of the foresaid sum total goeth out yearly to charges and payments, both certain and casual; of which, the certain and ordinary be these following :

	£	s.	d.
Poorege and Senege	1	13	6
Pensions resolute	32	12	2
Rent resolute	56	0	9
The Ministers Comens (Commons)	46	15	2
Ale Sylver	46	0	0
Trencher, Bread, and Wilkyn	7	4	0
Fedyng days	30	12	0
Petances	2	16	8
Stagiaries	13	6	8
Ø Sapientia	1	15	8
The Apostle's Mass	9	0	0
De profundis	2	16	4
Chautries	119	0	0
Anniversaries	154	10	4
Fees by the Chamberlain	39	0	8
— by the Auditor	22	10	0
— by the Receiver	41	0	0
Livery of the Ministers	9	10	0
Wax, 7 cwt. at £3 per cwt.	21	0	0
Wyne	3	6	8
Oil	4	0	0
Necessaries, yearly	6	13	4
The Bakehouse	120	0	0
The total	791	3	11
Remaineth	405	7	3½
Set out for reparations	£200	0	0
Also for Casualties	26	14	4
Remaineth	178	12	11½

“And yet out of that, they must bear Dymes,* which is 70*l.* 15*s.*”

It should be observed here, that this ancient document, which states the amount of monies and rents then received from the London districts and different counties, states further the rents from each individual manor, or estate, mentioning them all by name. It would take up too much room to introduce the whole document here. But it is important to remark, that these manors and estates are the same as those named in the charters, or deeds of gift; and the same as those which are in the possession of the Cathedral at the present time. It is the same “*Patrimonium S. Pauli*,” the same “*Communia Bona*” in every respect, except that keeping pace with the improved condition of property, it is now become enormously valuable.

The document just referred to, shows clearly enough that the whole revenues of the Cathedral, including casualties, as fines, &c., went to defray the general expenses of the community. There is one item in the expenditure of 120*l.* for the bakehouse alone, a sum of money which of itself forms a considerable part of the revenues, and which was sufficient to provide a very large quantity of bread when wheat was not half-a-crown a sack. Nor is there anything in this

* Dymes are Tenths.

document that can lead to the belief that the patrimony especially belonged to any particular members of the establishment—nothing to prove that even the surplus, small as it was, not a hundred pounds after the *common expenses* were paid, was handed over to any particular members: on the contrary, we know that it was deposited in the treasury chest with the three keys, and never extracted from it but in cases where the Cathedral itself required its use. “*Nullò pacto dividatur Residentibus, sed ad necessarios Ecclesiæ usus in Thesaurò Ecclesiæ reponatur.*”* “*Communia Bona*” it was then, “*Communia Bona*” it is *not* now.

But a time arrived in the history of St. Paul's Cathedral, when the whole thing was to be remodeled; when the establishment, so far as it consisted of a *community of clergymen*, living together in common, having food in common, clothing in common, everything, in short, in common, was to be broken up, and a new state of things introduced in its stead. A time arrived when *money payments* were to be substituted for bread and all the other necessaries of life; when the patrimony was to be dealt out in coin instead of meal and malt.

It was about this time that the name or title of Residentiary was first used in the Cathedral,

* Statute “*Residentes nihil ultra portionem assignatam.*”

a distinction which arose from the circumstance of a few of the regular canons taking upon themselves to reside constantly at the Cathedral,*—“continuo manere in Ecclesia, et Deo incessanter et Sancto Paulo inservire,”—whilst the greater portion of them had gone away after secular pursuits, and neglected the sacred duties of their church. This was the case of most of the other Cathedrals in England, as well as of St. Paul’s: “Itaque in Cathedralibus Ecclesiis nomen Residentiæ cœpit inolere,† quod est nomen novæ professionis, novæque promissæ observantiæ.” The absentees, as a mark of reproach, began to be called “Seculares,” instead of “Regulares Canonici.” They were unwilling, however, to give up all participation in the patrimony, and the question being strongly agitated, it was at length determined that they should retain their share. “Liceat eis cum sua portione abire, et ubi locorum voluerunt, liberè permanere.” This portion, however, became a *fixed one*, a *money payment* of so much in lieu of bread, &c., as we have stated. It has continued to be such to those major canons, who are not Residentiaries, down to the present period. Whilst, then, the times were changing, the estates increasing in value, and all the articles of life getting dearer,

* Dugdale, Appendix in Hist. Ecclesiæ Cath. S. Pauli.

† The words *cœpit inolere* and *modo*, fix the time of the Residentiaries first existing in Cathedrals.

still the payment to the secular canons remained the same; and properly so, if it were proper for them to receive anything at all from the Cathedral, because the "*Patrimony*" being bestowed for the maintenance of those who perform the duties of the Cathedral, those who neglected these duties could have no title to it whatever. "*Ecclesiæ fratribus die noctuque famulantibus, cum summa devotione.*"*

But the times grew sad, so sad that even the new residentiaries were unobservant of their sacred duties, and regarded the Cathedral merely as a place for their own convenience, and its patrimony for their profit. 'Hii quoque vocati Residentes,† *modo, et regula, et disciplina, apostatarunt; divinum cultum relinquunt; curam Ecclesiæ abjiciunt; propria lucra sectantur; Communia Bona in privatos usus vertunt; Nec aliud est in hac infælicitate et confusione temporum in Ecclesia Cathedrali residere, quàm proprium commodum quærere; ac ut planius loquar, spoliare Ecclesiam, et se ditiores facere; O scelus nefandum! O detestanda iniquitas! veruntamen non defuerunt superioribus seculis, tùm Episcopi, tùm Decani, qui videntes et experientes, quod omnia progressu temporis labuntur in deterius, ederant Leges et Statuta prohibentia transgressiones et aliquosque ad meliorem formam revo-*

* Extract from Charters. † See Note, page 20.

cantia. Itaque in hac nostra Ecclesia S. Pauli, partim Episcopi, partim Decani, in visitationibus suis, *quid Residentes faciant, et quam Residentiæ regulam observent, definierunt.* Quod totum nos Johannes Collet Decanus, ut excerptimus ex libro Statutorum, postea trademus.”

“ Exhibita à Johanne Collet Decano, Reverendissimo Patri et Domino Cardinali Ebor. Ac Apostolico legato à latere, *pro reformatione status Residentiariorum in Ecclesia S. Pauli,* primo Septembris A.D. 1518.”*

Here, then, we have the reason assigned for

* Ex Cartaceo Registro penes præf. Dec. & Cap. Eccl. Cath. S. Pauli Lond.

“ In the same year, this good man, Dean Collet, when he felt that he was approaching his end, laboured to leave his Church of St. Paul in a better condition than he found it, as to the residence, discipline, and *distribution of the revenues*; and therefore drew up a Scheme of the Foundation, Statutes, Customs, and Regulations that had been made in the several Visitations of it. He laid the case before Cardinal Wolsey; the title prefixed to his matters of complaint being thus worded:—‘ Exhibita a Johanne Collett Decano, Reverendissimo Patri et Domino Cardinali Ebor,’ &c. We should be able to give a better account of his wise and faithful administration of the affairs, revenues, and discipline of his Church, if we could come at those collections which he left for the use and service of the successive Deans and Chapters, and which were among the books appertaining to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, in London, delivered by Henry Cole, some time Dean of the said Church, to Dr. May, succeeding Dean, the 20th day of Sept. 1559, viz.

“ A book entitled, ‘ Statutes used in Dean Collett’s Days.’

“ A book written in parchment, of certain Statutes collected

making the local statutes of this most ancient Cathedral. And the reason was, that after the remodeling of this establishment, and bringing it to the form in which it at present exists, the residentiaries did not attend to their clerical duties, *but unjustly took away the patrimony of the Cathedral merely for the sake of enriching themselves. They spoiled the Cathedral: they abstracted its revenues from the purposes they were intended to serve—the providing for the service of the church.* Now all this is very forcible and clear; and exactly in agreement with the construction we have placed upon the wording of the Charters—*that the patrimony is vested in the Cathedral, and designed for the support of all those who perform the sacred duties; but that none of the members shall have an undue share of it.* It would be useless to insert all these Latin statutes in this tract, or even to give long quotations from them, inasmuch as they are open to any one's inspection in the third volume of the Monasticon. They were drawn up, of course, before the Reformation, and consequently so much of them only continues in force as is consistent with the reformed religion. The reformed religion, however, has nothing to do with *the right to a just and equitable distri-*

by Dean Collet; being bound in boards, and covered with black leather."—*Knight's Life of Collett.*

He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

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*bution of the patrimony of St. Paul among the serviceable members of St. Paul's Cathedral; and until some new enactment shall take place, although that right may be in abeyance, it nevertheless is not lost. How these local statutes are framed to prevent encroachments upon the patrimony, it may be necessary to state. But observe, in the first place, with what exactness the duties of the Cathedral are to be attended to by the Residentiaries. " Residentes in Ecclesia S. Pauli, in nulla alia quacunq̄ Ecclesia, sive Cathedrali, sive Collegiata resideant, sed solum in Ecclesia S. Pauli suam residentiam teneant; aliter autem facientes fructus omnes, quos receperint ab Ecclesia, restituant." " Ante omnia dent operam omnes residentes, ut intersint divino officio omni die."**

How this agrees with the Residentiaries residing on benefices far removed from the Cathedral, or on benefices at all, we are at a loss to understand; unless it be that these Churches not coming within the description of Cathedrals, or Collegiate Churches, offers a loop-hole by which to evade the statute. Doubtless it was never contemplated in those days that the Residentiaries of St. Paul's Cathedral would condescend to become the officiating ministers of their *appendent or dependent Churches, or these*

* Not merely is one to be present, but they are all to attend.

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would have been included in the restriction. These Churches had not then a revenue of 1500*l.* or 2000*l.* a year belonging to them. Most certain it is, that the Residentiaries becoming the ministers of them, was never anticipated, or the expression would not have been used, "*intersint divino officio omni die.*"*

The penalty for not fulfilling the condition of residence is, that the Residentiaries shall be compelled to restore to the Cathedral all the emoluments which they shall have taken from it. We will take it for granted, however, that they do fulfil this condition, and that they perform all the necessary duties belonging to their office, still the question even then remains to be determined, *what is the statutable amount of income to which they are entitled for so doing?* We are compelled to give a few extracts, in order to elucidate this point."

"*Quotidiana Distributio Residentibus.*"

"Singulo cuique Residenti, &c., dabuntur per manus Camerarii pro sua quotidiana distributione eo die *quo sic interfuerit*, denarii tresdecem; et hæc distributio fiat, et solvatur præsentibus

* *Residens autem in domo aliquâ Ecclesie vicinis maneat, et continuo resideat.*

De residentia Decani. Decanus in primis in Ecclesia resideat secundum ordinationem Domini Warham Episcopi, qui in plena visitatione sua ordinavit, ut Decanus omnino resideat, alioquin pro nullo Decano habeatur.

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 vel dietim, vel septimanatim, singulo quoque sabbato.

“ Et eo die quo *non interfuerit*, nec præsens fuerit in choro, &c. *carebit illa distributione* denariorum tresdecem: et tunc illi tresdecem denarii distribuentur reliquis Residentibus qui eo die in choro in habitu præsentés fuerint, excepto quod unus denarius ex tresdecem ejus erit qui notaverit absentes totiens quotiens, &c.

“ In Festis verò S. Pauli Residentes præsens divino officio, ultra tresdecem denarios accipiet *5d.* Ita *tota quotidiana distributio pro diurna præsentia per totum annum* Residenti cuique ex quatuor *est 20l.*”

“ *Distributio quaternatim per annum.*”

“ Præterea singulo cuique Residenti, qui præsens fuerit, et domum suam tenuerit, et uni horæ dici adfuerit in quarterio à Michaele ad Nativitatem per duos menses continuos, ultra quotidianam distributionem tresdecem denariorum dabitur ei in fine anni, facto computo *5l.*

“ Item ad eundem modum in quarterio à Nativitate ad Pascha *5l.* Item ad eundem modum in quarterio à Paschale ad Joh. Baptistam *5l.*

“ In quarterio vero quod est inter Joannem Baptistam et Michaellem, si præsens fuerit per tres septimanas et domum tenuerit, et choram sequatur, viz. duabus septimanis proximè sequentibus Festum Joh. Baptistæ, ut possit interessé

solemnitati S. Pauli, et una septimana immediate antecedente Festum Michaelis, tunc ei dabitur pro hoc etiam quarterio 5*l*.

“*Item hæc quaternalis distributio alicui uni Residenti ex quatuor, si præsens fuerit per duos menses continuos in quarterio erit in anno 20*l*!*”

“*Pæna absentis Residentis.*”

“Si autem in aliquo quarterio *non fuerit præsens* ad modum prædictum, *tunc carebit portione* ei debita pro illo quarterio; et *ea portio tota repnatur in Thesauro Ecclesiæ, ad usus Ecclesiæ necessarios*. Nihilominus tamen quocienscunque fuerit præsens uni horæ diei distributione sua tresdecem denariorum non fraudabitur.”

“*Portio Decani dupla.*”*

“*Decani autem Residentis portio in omnibus duplabitur*. Ille præsens uni horæ diei à principio usque ad finem, *accipiet eo die 2s. 2d.* Item ille præsens duobus mensibus continuis in quarterio accipiet duplum ejus quod alius Residentis accipiet. Et hac dupla portione non fraudabitur si præsens fuerit et residerit, nisi infirmitas eum, aut Ecclesiæ manifesta negotia excusaverint: in

* In the chapter regulating the residence and double portion of the Dean, it is expressly ordained, that this ordination concerning the Dean shall not take effect till after the decease of the present Dean (Collett). “*Hæc ordinatio de Decano capiat effectum post Decanum Modernum.*”—*Life of Collett.*

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 quibus, quia pro suo officio Decanatus erit multum occupatus, oneranda est ejus conscientia, ut non se subtrahat à choro et capitulis, et à quoque alio quod ad divinum officium pertinet, nisi justa eum cogat necessitas, nec se excuset fraudulenter in aliquo, sed ut est primus loco et dignitate in Ecclesia sub Episcopo, ita sit primus in omni bono exemplo, ut quod ab aliis velit fieri, hoc agat imprimis ipse, et præbeat se in omnibus formam quam alii Residentes imitentur.

“Decano autem absente ubi causa absentiae ejus nec morbus, nec Ecclesiae occupatio est, cotidiana ejus distributio partiarum inter eos qui Residentes sunt. Ipse quoque Decanus praesens particeps eorum portionis absentium in omni quotidiana distributione. *Distributio verò illa quam novimus quaternalem justè detracta à Decano absente in Ecclesiae Thesaurò reponatur*: Notum verò Decani diurni absentia accipi ex ejus portione Decani—Distribuenda Residenti praesenti 2d. toties quoties.”

“Residentes nihil ultra portionem assignatam.”

“*Ultra hanc portionem supra diffinitam Decanus et Residens nihil omnino accipiant, exceptio Pitanciis et obitibus, quibus praesentes sunt; nec illam quoque portionem aliter aut alio modo accipiant quàm est supra traditum; quod si fecerint, cogantur ad restitutionem, et praeterea pro delicto poena esto.*”

Hence the statute payment to a *Residentiary* out of the patrimony is limited to 40*l.* per ann.; 20*l.* in daily allowances, and 20*l.* in quarterly. The payment to the *Dean* is double that amount—80*l.* There were besides some small sums for pittances and obits, of which we shall have occasion to speak presently. But, as if this mode of binding them by positive statutes, as to their incomes, were hardly deemed sufficient—as if by possibility certain chance monies, such as *finis* for the renewal of leases, and other perquisites, falling into their hands, might not be strictly accounted for and safely deposited in the Exchequer for the general purposes of the Cathedral—it was thought expedient for further security to make even yet an additional statute expressly to that effect.

“*De aliis pecuniis quæ casu obveniunt.*”

“*Pecunia ex finibus. Pecunia ex perquisitis Curiarum. Pecunia ex legatis Testamentorum. Pecunia ex sepulturis Pecunia ex venditione bosci, et silvæ; et quæcunque alia pecunia casualis undîcunque eliciatur, nullo pacto dividatur Residentibus, sed ad necessarios Ecclesiæ usus in Thesaurò Ecclesiæ reponatur.*”

“*De Generali Receptore.*”

“*Pecunia ad manus Decani, ut in cista reponatur.*”

“ Is generalis Receptor omnia recipiet à particularibus receptoribus, et in patria, et in civitate, atque pro omnibus respondebit et computum reddet. Quod verò receperit singulo quoque quarterio, in fine quaterii *afferet fideliter ad manus Decani*, vel eo absente ad ejus deputatum: Decanus autem vel deputatus traditam pecuniam accipiet per indenturam, et *acceptam statim infra tres dies, accitis clavium custodibus, in cista trium clavium reponat*: sic enim ordinavit dominus Warham Episcopus* in visitatione.

“ *Ex illa deinde cista* quotienscunque causa et necessitas expostulaverit, Decanus, vel ejus deputatus, in presentia *custodum clavium*, extrahet pecuniam præsentem enim Scriba Capituli, qui mactet quando et quanta, et qua de causa extracta est pecunia, et cujus manibus traditur exponenda. Is generalis Receptor superintendet omnibus reparationibus in patria; annum ejus stipendium erunt libræ viginti.”

“ *De Camerario.*”

“Camerarius Ecclesiæ is qui procurabit omnia necessaria divino officio: et pensiones colliget et *debita stipendia* suis temporibus *solvet*.

It would be needlessly lengthening out this statement, if we were to go on making any further quotations. Let it suffice therefore to say, that in all the other statutes, such as “De Auditore

* Consecratus 1503.

Compti,” “De firmis non locandis Residentiariis,”*—there is not a single syllable to be found which can be strained to the meaning, that either the Dean or Residentiaries ever did, or were permitted, *to receive any surplus monies over and above the exact amount of their stipends.* All comment upon these statutes is quite unnecessary, they are so plain and so expressly to the point.

But how stood the case at the time when the Church Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII. were called upon “to visit† all the cathedrals in the realm; when they were commissioned to inspect all their writings and papers, whether private, peculiar or local statutes—*to see how they were observed, and whether all and singular the revenues and profits were converted and employed according to the founder’s mind and giver ?*”

“Statuta illa localia, et alia quotquot habent, exhibeant.”

The sum total of all the revenues of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, according to the returns made to the Church Commissioners, A. D. 1536,

* Nihil ex Maneriis in Patria locetur alicui Residentiario ad firmam ullo pacto, ne ob aliquas causas detrahet solutionem; neque reluctetur forsitan et noluerit cogi ad justum computum. Præterea ne sint desidiæ inter fratres propter firmas. Item ne Decanus et Capitulum cogantur vocare in jus proprios fratres Residentes.

† Cot. MSS.

27th of Henry VIII., was 1485*l.* 0*s.* 9½*d.*, being an increase of 288*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* upon the amount of the revenues before stated. The items, according to the Valor Ecclesiasticus, are as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Total in London and Middlesex	560	4	9
Ditto Herts	187	10	7
Ditto Surrey	33	0	0
Ditto Essex	512	5	9½
Belonging to the Office of Camerarius	191	19	8
Total	£1485	0	9½

The Dean's income at this period was returned at 210*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*,—the then Dean, John Incent, claiming in right of his dignity two separate manors. When this claim was first set up, or wherefore, it does not appear, notwithstanding the manors formed a part of the benefactions to the Cathedral, and were consequently a portion of the patrimony.

There was no Prebendary in the Cathedral at this time whose income was returned at more than 46*l.* per annum; *whilst the incomes of the Minor Prebendaries varied from 25*l.* to 14*l.* or 15*l.**

The office or dignity of a Minor Prebendary, or Minor Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, is of very ancient institution.* As early as the year

* At what time the Minor Canons were first introduced into the Cathedral, or whether they were a part of the original constitution, or not, I have no evidence to shew: the presumption is, that, under some denomination or other, they were so.

1395, the twelve Minor Canons were incorporated by royal charter, from Richard II., on account, as their charter expresses it, of their exemplary conduct, and strict attention to the duties of the Cathedral.

“Nos vero honestam conversationem ac continuam devotionem ipsorum Minorum Canonorum qui Ecclesiæ prædictæ in majori parte *indies sustinent pondus diei et estus merito commendantes,*” &c.

In the statute, “De Canonicis Minoribus,” it is said of them, “There are in the Church of St. Paul, Canons who are called Minor Canons, and whose duty it is to attend by turns at the high altar, to perform divine service. They are selected from the most meritorious of the inferior clergy of the establishment, and hold rank next

William the Conqueror, in his charter of freedom and exemption from taxes, protection from molestation, &c. granted in the year of his coronation, says—“Know ye that I do give unto God and the Church of St. Paul, and to *the Rectors and Servitors* of the same, in all *their lands*, which the Church hath, or shall have, freedom,” &c. The *Servitors*, doubtless, were the inferior Clergy of the establishment, who, as the charter implies, had then an interest in the lands. In 1290, a statute was made that the *Sub-dean of the Cathedral* should be appointed from the Minor Canons. At the period of their incorporation they are said to have been sustaining the “heat and burden” of the Cathedral duties.

In a charter of Edward the Confessor, it says, “Et nolo ut recipient plures Sacerdotes in eorum Ecclesiam quam facultates sue pati, (id est sustinere) possint.”

to the Dean and Chapter.* Above all things, it is incumbent upon them to lead exemplary lives, knowing that *they are placed in the Church of St. Paul to set an example to the rest of the Clergy of the City of London.*" One of the Minor Canons, by statutable right, holds the office of Sub-Dean† of the Cathedral; two of the others are dignified by the name of Cardinal, &c. &c.: *all which tends to shew, that they were of some consideration in former times among the Clergy both of this Establishment and of the City of London.*

In the earlier accounts of the distributions of the temporalities of St. Paul's Cathedral, it appears, that the portion assigned to a Minor Canon was about *in the ratio of one-half of what was*

* The inferior clergy of the Cathedral at this time consisted of 12 Minor Canons, 30 Vicars in holy orders, and 40 Chantry Priests.

† The Sub-dean was clothed "More Majoris Canonici." Qui vices Decani, eo absente, gerat in Choro; quod quidem ordinatum fuit Anno Christi 1290, tunc Decano Radulfo Baldok. Incrementum accipit ad victum suum in pane et cervisia, vel pro hiis in pecunia, ut hoc operis justè adimpleat.—*Statute.*

In the Statute "De Canonicis Minoribus," it is said of *theris*, Sit memor se, supra Sacerdotem, *Canonicum esse in Ecclesia S. Pauli*; et supra habitum Sacerdotis, *Canonicalem habitum portare, qui reverà habitus Sanctitatis et Religionis, ac propterea studeat vivere meliori modo quàm communes alii Sacerdotes, agnoscens se in Ecclesia S. Pauli esse, ut exemplum sanctioris vitæ, aliis in Civitate Sacerdotibus, ostendat.*

Here the Minor Canon is designated a *Canon of the Church of St. Paul*, and set forth as an example to the *Clergy of the City of London.*

allotted to a Residentiary; and consequently, *one-fourth of what was given to the Dean*. This fact is ascertained both by comparing the different items, such as bread-money, obit-money,* &c. &c. assigned to the several parties as set down in the accounts of the distributions, and by the sum total of their incomes. And this may be considered as an equitable apportionment.

A Minor Canon's income in the reign of Henry VIII. was made up of the following items:—

For his Stall in the Choir	£0	11	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
“ Bread †	1	4	5
“ Beer	3	0	0
“ Food	1	0	0
“ Pittances	0	3	0
“ Obits	1	18	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ Funerals	0	1	8
Lands in common given to them	0	18	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Portion of Gregory's	1	13	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Vage Portion	5	0	8
Another portion	9	7	5
Total	<hr/>		
	£24	17	10 $\frac{5}{4}$

* When the keeping of Obits was abolished, extensive property fell into the hands of the Dean and Chapter, and the Minor Canons were given annually a sum of money in lieu of their portion: this property is now very valuable, but the Minor Canons' payment remains nearly the same.

In the statute “De Obitibus” it is said, “*Distributio autem in Obitibus, fiat eis duntaxat, qui præsentés sunt. Stagiarii (the ancient name for Residentiaries) autem propterea, qui onus Ecclesiæ sustinent, plus duplo quam alii percipient. Reratio autem dupla illa, ad Stagiarium quemcunque nequaquam pertineat, nisi præsens fuerit ipse, et ut videri, et conspicí in choro possit.*

† In the Statute “De Custode Pistrini,” it is said, “*Is (Custos Pistrini) tradit ex Pistrino Canonicis et omnibus.*

Now in looking over these several items, we notice, *that they all, with two exceptions, came out of the general patrimony of the Cathedral.* The two exceptions are—the lands in common (to the College of Minor Canons) 18s. 2½*d.*, and the portion of St. Gregory's, 1*l.* 13s. 2½*d.*, amounting together to the sum of 2*l.* 11s. 5*d.* *The first Minor Canon (Prima Prebenda), therefore, received annually 22*l.* 6s. 5¾*d.* out of the patrimony of the Cathedral, in the reign of Henry VIII. The others did not receive quite so much, but gradually approaching to it. The twelve Minor Canons had upwards of 200*l.* a year out of the patrimony, when the gross amount was 1485*l.* 0s. 9½*d.*, i. e. nearly a seventh part of the whole.* Twenty pounds a year was a considerable income for a clergyman at that time; very

ministris suam cuique justam portionem." The estates annexed to the Bakehouse, as we have noticed, were very considerable. In the reign of Henry VIII. the money payment to a Minor Canon in lieu of bread was 1*l.* 4s. 5*d.*; for beer, 3*l.*; the present payment is—for bread, 1*l.* 2s. 9*d.*; for beer, 2*l.* 12s.; actually less than it was 303 years ago. This is to be seen in a Return made to the Dean and Chapter, in 1794, of the various items constituting the present incomes of the Minor Canons. A slight augmentation was made to seven of the twelve stalls at this period, and a written engagement entered into on the part of the Dean and Chapter, that the Minor Canons should have fifteen Livings out of the patronage of the Church set apart for their better maintenance—how this engagement has been kept will appear in the sequel.

few of the London clergy had more. But the case is wonderfully altered now. Many of the London clergy have incomes of 500*l.* a year, some 1000*l.*, and 1500*l.*, together with excellent houses to reside in. *The Dean of St. Paul's, instead of his 210*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*, is netting from his dignity 5,227*l.* 5*s.* and each of the Residentiaries 2262*l.* 5*s.* from the patrimony of the Cathedral. But it will scarcely be believed that the Minor Canon's portion of the patrimony hardly exceeds what it was in the reign of Henry VIII., 20*l.* a year.* The only part of his income, which has*

* Scarcity of things, increase of people, multiplication of coin, have rendered these portions too penurious for necessary expenses. The Ministers' wages must be changed. The tithing system is built upon the rule of change, according to the variations of persons and places. It is this which does away with the inconvenience which would otherwise be felt and render the maintenance by tithes obnoxious. The importance of these considerations cannot escape the commonest understanding.—*Selden*.

In the inventory of Richard of Gravesend, Bishop of London, of the price of corn, &c. as rated by himself, are as follows, viz. :—Malt, ground, 3*s.* 4*d.* ; Pease, 2*s.* 6*d.* ; Oats, 2*s.*—the quarter. Bulls, 7*s.* 4*d.* ; Kine, 6*s.* ; Mutton, 1*s.* ; Ewe Sheep, 8*d.* ; Capons, 2*d.* ; Cocks, ob. ; Hens, ob.—a piece.—*Life of Collett*.

As for money, so for commodities to be bought with it, the prices have been various. In the statute entitled " *Assisa Panis et Cervisie*," 51 Henry III. A.D. 1266, the dearest rate for a quarter of wheat, 84 pecks, was 12*s.*, the cheapest 1*s.* ; average 6*s.* In the reign of Edward II. a grass-fed ox 15*s.*, corn-fatted 20*s.*, best cow 12*s.*, fat hog, two years old, 3*s.*, fat sheep 1*s.* 2*d.*, fat goose 2½*d.*, fat capon 2½*d.*, fat hen 1*d.*,

at all kept pace with the times, is that portion of it which never formed a part of the patrimony—the two items just mentioned, and two or three other separate* donations to the Minor Canons. These may produce upon the average about 20*l.* a year for each Minor Canon.

State of the Revenues of the Cathedral, and the relative portions to Members, at three different periods.

	Antiquo Registro.			Valor Ecclesiasticus			Present Time.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Gross amount	1,236	11	2½	1,485	0	9½	14,316	0	0*
Dean's portion.	80	0	0	210	12	1	5,227	5	0 net.
Each Residentiary's . .	40	0	0	46	0	0	2,262	5	0 net.
Each Minor Canon's . .	20	or about		20	0	0	20	0	0

* Exclusive of the Revenues of Prebendaries.

N. B. The Minor Canons in former times had a residence,† now they have none.

four pigeons 1*d.* “Whosoever sold above, forfeited the goods to the King. In the reign of Edward I., an ox 5*s.*”

Church incomes should always be made to vary and keep pace with the real value of the commodities at all times, or with the value of money. Look at the *modus*, which was a compact between the Clergyman and the Lord of the Manor, or some other, for them and their heirs for ever. Perhaps, when it was made, corn was not one-twentieth part the value of what it is now, and the difference in the value of money as great. We meet with such things as a prescription of 2*s.* for a park. Prescriptions have generally been made for whole manors at the same time.—*Selden*.

* That *separate* gifts were necessary for their subsistence is easily conceived, if we consider that so late as the “*Visitation of Lord Thomas, Cardinal, Archbishop of York, and Chancellor of England,*” the *Patrimonium S. Pauli* is described as being *exile*, the Church greatly in debt, and no money in the treasury.—*Vide Statuta*.

† Statute “*De Minoribus Canonicis*.” “*Minor Canonicus, nec domum suam, nec quam ipsius partem locet, nisi alicui ex Ecclesia, qui est ex habitu.*”

The question then arises, What is a Minor Canon's whole income at the present time? And what are the items of which it is made up? It is as follows;—

Out of the Patrimony of the Cathedral, about	£20	0	0
Income from separate donations, lands in common, &c. about	20	0	0
Monies collected at the doors of the Cathedral, about	30	0	0
Total	£70	0	0

It is only right to state, that the Minor Canons of St. Paul's have held with their Minor Canonries some of the benefices in the patronage of the Cathedral, and until within a few years past they were tolerably well provided for in this way. If they had not held benefices, the Dean and Residentiaries could not have profited so largely as they have done by the patrimony; because those who perform the chief portion of the duties and bear the heat and burthen of the day, must by the Charters and Statutes be provided for in some way or other from the Cathedral's resources. They have an equitable right to it. "In victum ibidem quotidie Deo servientium." To have gone into the Court of Equity to obtain it, would have been fighting the battle of right against might. They are, however, worse off for livings at the present time than they have been for many years. Some time ago,

fifteen livings, specified by name, were set apart for them, out of the fifty-two in the patronage of St. Paul's, which allowed the Senior Minor Canons to have two small benefices, and the Juniors one each. St. Pancras, Cripplegate, and Edmonton, were among the livings given to the Minor Canons. The two latter owe their present improved condition to the exertions of Minor Canons. Cripplegate,* which is now 1500*l.* a year, is held by a Residentiary, making his income from the Cathedral 3762*l.* 5*s.* Edmonton also, which is about the same amount, is now held by a Residentiary. But the Minor Canons do not complain of this. They do not complain that the Dean has 5227*l.* 5*s.*, and each Residentiary 2262*l.* 5*s.* out of their Cathedral's patrimony, besides selecting for themselves the best benefices; they do not complain of the "Communia bona in privatos usus;" they do not complain of the "spoliare Ecclesiam et se ditiores;" *but they do complain, and justly, that in addition to all this, they bestow the patronage upon sons, and nephews, and friends, who have never done a day's duty in the Cathedral, in preference to the Minor Canons. This is a thwarting of the intentions of the Donors, and a direct violation of the letter and*

* This living was formerly given by special deed to the Sub-Dean for his better maintenance.

spirit of the statutes. It is enriching not only themselves, but their relations and friends, out of the Cathedral goods, which by the charters were given, and by the statutes are fixed, for the support of those who do the duties of the Cathedral.

The livings are a part of the cathedral patrimony. "They were erected and endowed ex bonis ecclesiasticis, and the patronage is patronatus ratione Ecclesiæ."* "These churches are the appendent † or dependent churches belonging to the manors out of which they were endowed, and those manors are a part of the patrimony. In the year 1776, when some dispute arose between the Dean and Chapter, and the Minor Canons, respecting the living of Edmonton, the Minor Canons were called upon to make a declaration that they had no claim of right from immemorial usage, or otherwise, to that living or any other in the patronage of the church of St. Paul; the very proper reply to this demand was—"were we to do so, we should do an act of great injustice to ourselves and successors, considering that we are sons of the Cathedral, and devoting our lives to its service." There have been perpetual disagreements between the two bodies about the patrimony and patronage, *the Dean and Chapter contending that the Minor Canons have no right to either the one or the other, beyond the 20l. a year they receive;*

* Lessius.

† Godolphin.

and the Minor Canons, on the other hand, contending that they have a right to a fair proportion of both. The very best writers upon Church temporalities, and those who are considered to be of the greatest authority, have expressed themselves most forcibly and conclusively upon this point. For example :*—“ The Dean and Canons were never absolute ; the temporal goods were always intended to be divided among the whole community. All the members are to have a proportionate share of the lands and inheritance of their community. The inferior members, instead of being considered as formerly a respectable portion of the communities to which they belong, their very subsistence entirely depends in many cases upon their superiors, who have *seized upon the absolute disposal of all the temporals and spirituals of their community,† as if they were absolutely their own.* The shaking off the jurisdiction of Bishops was originally effected to enable them the more easily to take the revenues of their communities. These appropriations to themselves were generally done in times of schism and disorder, particularly in the schisms between the Bishops, and the Deans and Chap-

* Simon Eccl. Benef.

† In the Statute De Residentibus in Ecclesia S. Pauli, it is said, “ Proprium lucrum non querere ; commune bonum præferre.” There is another very strong expression : “ Qui vero lucrum proprium affectant, et sitiunt, indigni cum Juda semper repellantur.”

ters, and what is done in such times should not be authorized.”

“Deans and Chapters are *the guardians* of the spirituality. The COMMUNITY should present to benefices dependent on their church. It was when the jurisdiction was divided, that the right of providing for benefices was assumed by Deans and Chapters as a private right. The canons and inferior clergy of the establishment, always went off upon these benefices in former times.”

† “When there is an occasion to nominate to a benefice, the consent of the WHOLE COMMUNITY‡ should be had. The assumption of the right to

* Selden.

† Burnet.

‡ Lay Patrons have, in some cases, advantages over Ecclesiastical. The one is a species of individual property, whilst the other belongs to a community. Benefices in Ecclesiastical Patronage depend upon a Church, not an individual member of it. Lay Patronage is acquired by the terms of the donation made to the Church by the Founder; Ecclesiastical quite differently. Much Lay Patronage became Ecclesiastical, by the Lay Patrons making it over to Cathedrals. Cathedrals, by this means, enjoy a great many lordships with patronages annexed to them. But these patronages entirely changed their nature, when the lords or founders made them over; they became the Cathedral's property, and no longer that of individuals. Patronage is a *real* right, as belonging to the Church to which it is annexed, but not a *personal* right.

Canons presenting by turns to benefices that become vacant in their week, or the time allotted in the dividend made among themselves, has been sadly prejudicial to the rights of the Church. A Dean and Chapter form but one body, and ought never to present separately to benefices.—*Simon, Eccl. Benef.*

present by turns, has given occasion to agreements and transactions among themselves, which are quite disgraceful. In the disposal of livings belonging to communities, no regard is to be paid to nephews and kindred. If benefices be disposed of by turns, a partial regard will always be given to family and friends."

One of the Residentiaries of St. Paul's, who has not been in the Cathedral much above six years, has already taken three benefices, and has just taken another of 1550*l.* a year,* whilst the Sub-Dean, who has served in the church twenty-six years,† has a living of only 180*l.* a year.‡

* So that his net annual income from the Cathedral, according to the Ecclesiastical Return, is—

From the Patrimony . . .	£2,262	5	0
From the Patronage . . .	1,550	0	0
Total . . .	3,812	5	0

† Erratum : for *twenty-six* read *twenty-two*.

‡ The living held by the Sub-dean is that of Willesdon. Population 2000. Willesdon was a grant to the Cathedral, from King Athelstan (vid. Extract from Charter); and the Church is one of the appendent Churches of St. Paul's. When the Vicarage was erected and endowed, which might have been at or before the time of the Parochial Settlement (the Vicarages of Feversham and Middleton were erected in the reign of the Conqueror), the Rectory or Parsonage was appropriated to the Cathedral. There are about 3845 Benefices, says Godolphin, appropriated to Bishops, Cathedrals, and Colleges, or impropriated to private persons, as formerly belonging to Abbeys. The revenues derived by the Dean and Chapter from Willesdon, are very considerable, notwithstanding the Vicarage is so small. When these appropriations took place

There are, at present, only ten * St. Paul's livings among the twelve Minor Canons, and all

it was the Bishop's especial care to see that the Vicarages were amply endowed, and all needful provision made for the spiritual wants of the parishioners. But there was always too much compounding in these cases between the Cathedrals and the Parochial Ministers. The form of appropriations was "Ecclesia de Willesdon cum decimis Ecclesiæ S. Pauli, *et ibidem Deo servientibus.*"—See *Appropriations Ingulphus Hist.*

The Parochial Settlement was decreed about 1200, by an Epistle of Pope Innocent III. directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury.—Vide *Selden & Coke's Institutes.*

Appropriate Churches are never possessed *pleno jure*; there is always implied that a competent revenue be allowed to a Vicar or Curate.—*Selden.*

In all appropriations of Churches there ever was, and ought to be, an establishment of sufficient maintenance for the Vicar and his successors; pro sustentatione sua congrua.—*Godolphin. 15 Richd. II. 4 Hen. IV.*

If a Vicarage so fall into decay that the same is not sufficient competently to maintain a Vicar, the Bishop may judiciously compel the Parson to enlarge the Vicarage.—*Rolls 2. 337. Degge.*

If a Vicarage fall into such decay, that of itself it is not sufficient to maintain a Vicar, it ought to be reunited to the Parsonage.—*31 H. VI. 14 a. 40 E. III.; 28, b. Degge.*

By a statute of Henry IV. the Ordinary had a discretionary power given him to see that a Vicarage is convenably endowed.

Cathedrals are to pay for the support of Parochial Churches.

"Ubi Ecclesia, in alterius Ecclesiæ Parocchia, possessionem aliquam habet, vel quippiam quod decimari debeat, ibi Ecclesia Ecclesiæ decimam reddere debet, si illud justè possidere desiderat *Majores Minoribus.*"

* The Living of Hutton has just been given to the junior Minor Canon—singularly enough, on the very day the letter appeared in the *Times*, with his signature to it, condemnatory of this pamphlet.

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of them are of very small value. Two of the Minor Canons, who have been five and six years in the Cathedral, have none at all, notwithstanding the livings of Tillingham, Heybridge, Kingsbury, Charing, Egerton, Yearly, Wickham St. Paul, Walden St. Paul, St. Helen, Bishopsgate, Lambourne, Caddington, Kensworth, and St. Bennett, Fenchurch Street, *have all been given to persons unconnected with the Cathedral, within a very short time.** The consequence is, that the Minor Canons are compelled to seek curacies, or occasional duty, to obtain a subsistence. It is not possible they could live as clergymen, and find themselves residences, with 70*l.* a year, or even with an additional 100*l.*, which is all they derive from small country livings, after the curates and necessary expenses are paid. The Minor Canons, as we have said, were formerly selected out of the most meritorious of the inferior clergy of the Cathedral, when the establishment contained twelve Minor Canons, thirty Vicars in holy orders, and forty Chantry Priests: they were consequently next in rank to the Dean and Chapter. *That they have, therefore, a right to a liberal provision out of the resources of the Cathedral, in one way or the other, there can*

* Dr. Bowles, in his pamphlet, speaks of a Prebendary having an opportunity once in ten years of giving a beloved son a living.

not be a question. It is neither justice nor equity, that those who “bear the heat and burden of the day,” should not be requited. It is neither right nor equitable that they should depend upon a *casual subsistence, *where the provision in patrimony and patronage is on that ample scale that we find it in the Cathedral. Justa distributio, is all they ask for ; justa distributio, is all they desire.*

In the Bill now before Parliament,† it is proposed to annul the Minor Canons’ Charter—to dissolve their Corporation—to deprive them of their right to elect Members to fill up the vacancies in their body, and to transfer it to the Dean and Chapter. *It is proposed, in short, to abrogate all the rights and privileges they enjoy in their corporate capacity, without making them any compensation in return.*

* Monies collected at the doors of the Cathedral, &c.

† The Parliament hath power to take Church temporalities, if misemployed, not in exclusive right, but to deal with them for the service of God and the benefit of the Church. Henry VIII., in his speech to Parliament, states that he has them in trust for the Clergy.—*Spelman.*

Church property has been defined in common law to be an Ecclesiastical inheritance, and due only to Ecclesiastical persons. The Parliament is to regulate how, or in what proportions it shall be given to the Clergy, but has no right to alienate it for other purposes.—*Hughes’s Parsons’ Law. Dege.*

All Church property is—quoad sustentationem Cleri vel Ministrorum Dei—given and consecrated *Deo et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ* ; and what is thus dedicated to God and his service cannot be taken from its proper use and end.—*Selden.*

In the Fourth Report, there was a clause (Prop. 42) which did secure to them a compensation, but this clause has been so modified in the present Bill as to render it entirely nugatory, as far as the *present* Minor Canons are concerned. The livings belonging to the Cathedral, after being refused by the Members of Chapter, were to be offered to the Minor Canons, before any of them were given to strangers. But this provision is now to be suspended, until every existing Member of the Chapter ceases to be such by death or otherwise. A mere *reversionary interest*, which may never benefit the present race of Minor Canons at all, and most probably will not benefit those who have already passed the best portion of their lives in the service of the Cathedral, is to be given for all the rights and privileges of which they are to be immediately deprived.

Moreover, new Members, as they come into the Chapter, are to share the patronage with the old, and be allowed to carry on and perpetuate the system of nepotism as long as any of the old Members remain. These new Members will stand between the Minor Canons and their just expectations. Future Minor Canons will be provided for, but the present ones are entirely neglected. *The compensation clause is reserved for those who shall hereafter be appointed by the Dean and Chapter, and who will not have suffered any deprivation.* Will Parliament sanction

such partial legislation as this? If it be necessary to take from the Minor Canons their rights and privileges, the compensation clause should remain as it was in the Fourth Report. Deans and Chapters cannot reasonably object to this. In many of the Cathedrals in England, the Minor Canons are preferred before strangers. In all other corporate bodies, such as Colleges, &c. the Members have this preference given them; and, as part of the COMMUNITY* of St. Paul's, the Minor Canons, under any circumstances, should succeed to the livings before strangers.

Resting, therefore, on their Chartered Rights, and on the principles of equity and justice, the Minor Canons submit their case to the consideration of the individual members of the legislature; most respectfully but earnestly soliciting, that a Clause to the following effect be inserted in the "Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill" now before Parliament; *viz.*—

That the present Minor Canons, as soon as conveniently may be, shall receive an annual stipend out of the Patrimony of their Church, not less than what is provided by this Bill for FUTURE Minor Canons :—

And that upon the Vacancy of any Benefice in the Patronage of a Chapter, the Dean and Chapter

* See page 43.

*shall present thereto either one of their own Body, or one of the present Minor Canons in preference to persons unconnected with the Cathedral notwithstanding any provision in this Act to the contrary.**

* About the year 1794, the Dean and Chapter of Winchester came nobly forward, and made a statute that no Livings should be given to persons unconnected with that Cathedral before they had been first offered to the Minor Canons.

SUPPLEMENT.

HENRY VIII. made no new statutes for cathedrals of the old foundation; nor, that I am aware of, have any ever been made since, which evidently shews that the existing ones were intended to be in force. When the ecclesiastical commissioners, in the reign of Henry VIII., visited collegiate churches, cathedrals, &c. and inspected their writings and papers, their inquiries were directed as to whether they had any private, peculiar, and local statutes, and how they were observed? “Statuta illa localia, et alia quotquot habent, exhibeant.” “Whether all and singular the revenues and profits of this house were converted and employed to the behove and use thereof, and of the brethren, and according to the founder’s mind and giver. The dean and prebendaries resident shall take especial care that the statutes and laudable customs of their church (not being contrary to the word of God and prerogative royal, the statutes of this realm being in force concerning the ecclesiastical order), and all the constitutions, according to the statutes and customs of the same church, be diligently observed.”

“Prescription regulates only in the absence of local statutes, otherwise it must be traced back to the 1st of Richard I. (1189) to be good; and customs to be allowed by common law must have begun before that time.” “The canon law comes into operation with cathedral bodies

only where *local statutes* have left any point undetermined or doubtful. No canons are in force which are contrary or repugnant to the laws, statutes, and customs of the realm."

Provincial canons were made a statute in the 25th Henry VIII. (Degge.)

The canon law speaks of the residentiary appointed by the local statutes.

Between the years 1776 and 1785 a transcript was made of the statutes of St. Paul's for the then Bishop of London, when the librarian of the British Museum, Mr. Ayscough, and the present Librarian of Sion College, were employed to investigate its correctness. Some time afterwards Bishop Porteus sent for one of these gentlemen, and consulted him about them. Whether this is the same as the Dugdale Collection it is easy to ascertain.

And lastly, in the present Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Library of St. Paul's, there is a reference to "Statuta Ecclesiæ S. Pauli, MSS. 1784, at the Chapter House." So recent a copy as this might be consulted with advantage.

Whether these statutes are now in full force or not, one thing is certain, viz. that they carry with them the strongest evidence of the fact, that the emoluments of the Cathedral were never intended to be arbitrarily at the disposal of the Dean and Residentiaries.

THE END.

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