

# Bishop Lloyd's Palace

A Grade 1 Listed building in the heart of Chester



## HISTORY MONOGRAPH No 2 – BISHOP GEORGE LLOYD: A LIFE



Portrait of George Lloyd

### EARLY LIFE

George Lloyd was born in 1560 to Meredith and Janet Lloyd at Llanelian-yn-Rhos, near to the present day Colwyn. It is in the hills, and is still quite remote, reached by small narrow lanes. It looks over to the sea, and Lloyd's memories must have been of these wide rural expanses with seascapes in the distance.

In the Welsh tradition he would have been made completely aware of his illustrious ancestry: both his parents' families claimed descent from Ednyfed Fychan, the great Welsh warrior. Henry VII had also claimed him as part of his Welsh ancestry.

Lloyd's maternal great-grandfather, Sir Huw Conwy, had been an early supporter of his kinsman, Henry VII. In 1483 he had been entrusted by

Margaret Beaufort to take money to her son in France. He had been at the Battle of Boswell Field. He was knighted by Henry VII in 1486, and held a number of posts of financial trust in his reign,

### View from the village of Llanelian-yn- Rhos



The Chester Civic Trust

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### The remains of Llys Eurn

His grandfather, Huw Conwy, lived in the palatial mansion of Llys Eurn in the hills above present day Rhos. Llys Eurn was reputed to have been the actual seat of Ednyfed Fychan. The family had known great affluence in the years of Henry VII's reign, but this waned in the seventeenth century. Religion was significant in the Conwy family. They were important benefactors to the then Catholic St Trillo, Llandrillo-Yn-Rhos. There is still a plaque here commemorating Sir Huw Conwy's contribution to building works in the church.

We can speculate that George Lloyd was bilingual in his native Welsh and in English. The way his name is transcribed in later documents suggests he spoke English with a fairly strong Welsh accent. He is called 'Floyd' in Cambridge and 'Flood' in Norwich.

Lloyd's eldest brother, Roland, eventually inherited the family lands. His other brothers made their own ways in the world. One brother, Morgan, served as Mayor of Beaumaris. Two brothers moved to Chester to make their fortunes. Both were involved in the cloth trade. David was a draper. His brother, Edward, became a mercer. But it was David, who had a meteoric rise in Chester, becoming a Sheriff in 1579 and Mayor in 1593.

George Lloyd too was to leave his family and this area to move to Chester. This was to be a permanent rupture in his life. He can rarely, if ever, have returned.

### KING'S SCHOOL, CHESTER

Where Lloyd received his early education is not known, but between June 1575 and September 1579 he was a King's Scholar at Chester Cathedral. To be accepted into the school a student had already to have a basic grammatical education. At the foundation of the cathedral Henry VIII had stipulated that it should support a free school of twenty-four pupils, appointed by the Dean and Chapter. The statute read,

*'twenty-four poor and friendless boys to be maintained out of the income of our Church, of good capacity (so far as is possible) and capable of learning....these boys will be maintained at the expense of the Church until they have attained to a moderate knowledge of Latin Grammar and have learned to speak and write Latin, for which purpose they will be given four years.'*

These places were highly prized amongst the influential tradespeople of Chester. In 1623 Bishop Bridgeman warns the Dean and Chapter against taking bribes for places and again clarifies that rich men's sons should not be made scholars. The increasingly influential David Lloyd could have organised this education for his brother. George Lloyd may not have actually come to Chester until his mid-teens when he took up the cathedral place.

Coming to the bustling city of Chester from his remote farming community must have been a shock for George. The busy streets with their timber framed Rows' buildings and the mercantile life of his brother would have been markedly different to his life in Llanellan-yn-Rhos. George remained a King's Scholar at the cathedral for the stipulated four years.

He was sufficiently talented in his studies to attend Jesus College, Cambridge from 1579 to 1582, gaining his B.A. degree. This can be seen as a family investment. The other younger sons were prospering in commerce. Such an education could lead to the Church and even political influence at county or national level. This would be the next great rupture in his short life. It also meant that for the first time he would find himself well removed from family influences

The Lloyds of Chester bestride two social strata. They are minor Welsh nobility, but their upward mobility is within English society. The very anglicised nature of their names shows a family awareness of this. They have to join the growing middling classes to be financially stable, but they are able to place one of their family within an educational context befitting their ancestral origins. This could be of benefit to the family at a later time. Perhaps they would have liked a member of their family yet again of the stature of Sir Huw Connwy.

The choice of Cambridge and Jesus College would have been carefully considered. Cambridge was known to take fewer Welsh students than Oxford. There was a hierarchy of students within the university. Lloyd entered Jesus College as a pensioner. This meant that he would have to finance all his needs: lodgings, food, clothes, his tutor and lectures. It would be an expensive investment.



## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

Cambridge University was more radical in its curriculum than Oxford. An old adage was,

*'Cambridge makes martyrs. Oxford burns them'.* Jesus College, Cambridge, had been a centre of Humanist teaching since 1529. John Fisher, who was later to become Bishop of Rochester and be burnt within weeks of Sir Thomas More, began the new learning here. With Margaret Beaufort he had founded St John's College. Scholasticism had still featured in his teaching with Aquinas continuing to be central.

In the mid-1540s Roger Ascham had formed part of a group here renowned for its study of the great Greek and Roman writers. Ascham was to go on to be a tutor to the young Elizabeth I, creating the tone of her intellectual development.

Thomas Cromwell had been Chancellor of Cambridge. Thomas Cranmer was at Jesus College. There was a strong Calvinist tradition here.

This went into even more radical ground. In 1570 Thomas Cartwright was dismissed from the Chair of Divinity for supporting the equality of ministers elected by their congregations rather than the office of bishops. Robert Browne, influenced by Cartwright, went even further. Browne felt reform in the Church of England was impossible and that congregations needed to secede from it. For a time he lived in the Cambridge area. In 1581 he moved to Norwich to set up a Brownist church there.

In this questioning theological climate George Lloyd graduated in 1582. He gained his MA at Magdalene in 1586. This was a most important academic achievement for it was the gateway to professional degrees and gave the student the 'ius docendi ubique' that is the right to lecture and teach at any European university. At some point he must have decided his profession was to be that of a cleric for he obtained his BD and DD at Magdalene within the following eleven years. It took on average twenty years from entering university as a student to finishing with a DD. This was the time it took George Lloyd.

There were things in Cambridge that would have linked Lloyd back to his Welsh roots. The armorial decorations both outside St John's and inside King's College Chapel would be a reminder to Lloyd of the joint connections of his family and the Tudors to Ednyfed Fychan and to Margaret Beaufort. It could have been this Beaufort connection, which drew the Lloyds to Cambridge.

After gaining his MA he spent some time as a Fellow at Magdalene. There were advantages in this, and he would have financial remuneration.



**The exterior of St John's College. Margaret Beaufort is in a high niche. Her portcullis device can be seen as well as the Tudor rose**



**Inside King's College Chapel, the fleur de lys and Tudor rose can be seen. The Beaufort portcullis can be partially seen to the right of the photograph**

## LIFE IN NORWICH

He is next recorded being ordained as a curate for the church of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich by Bishop Scrambler of Norwich in January 1591. This position would be confirmed again in 1592, 1594 and 1596. Norwich was the second largest city in



**Plaque of parish priests, St Peter Mancroft, he appears as 1595, George Flood**

England at the time. It had been involved in the cloth trade, but there had been a decline in its fortunes earlier in the century. In 1565 the town's fortunes had been reversed by an influx of thirty households of Flemish weavers, who introduced 'new draperies' into the town's economy. By 1583 there were 4,500 of these 'strangers' in the city. Most of them were Calvinist and fleeing from persecution in their own lands. They assimilated fairly well into the city.

Norwich is some distance from Cambridge, but does give far easier accessibility than Chester for someone who is both working and doing an advanced degree. London is a lot nearer to Cambridge than Norwich. For a cleric, a move to Norwich would be done with some consideration, and George Lloyd with his Cambridge education and experience would be quite aware of the religious situation there.

Norwich has been dubbed at this time, '*a self-contained East Anglican Geneva*'. William Burton dedicated his translation of Erasmus' 'Seven Dialogues' to the corporation of Norwich saying it '*maintained the schooles of prophets among them*' and here was '*a great meeting of learned and faithfull pastors*'.

St Peter Mancroft was a large and grand parish church in the market place of Norwich. It stands on the crest of a hill above the city's river and old port. The town's Guildhall stands in the same area. The church is similar now to how it would have been in the time of George Lloyd. It has an architectural unity, because it was principally built within thirty years in the mid-fifteenth century. John Wesley in his diary captures this beauty,

*'I scarce remember ever to have seen a more beautiful parish church; the more so because its beauty results not from foreign ornament, but from the very fine form and structure of it. It is very large and of uncommon height, and the sides are almost all window; so that it has an awful and venerable look and at the same time surprisingly cheerful'*

It is also significant, because here Lloyd was working in a church reflecting merchant interests and power. Like St Mary's in Nantwich it was built principally with Guild money. The vicars were (and still are) appointed by the congregation. This would continue to link him with the concerns of civic and corporation members. He was already well acquainted with these through his brothers, and this was the class with which he was to continue to be associated throughout his life.

Even though the congregation elected him to his position, '*that old and true election, which was accustomed to be made by congregations,*' as Thomas Cartwright said, the bishop had to confirm his appointment. Bishop Scrambler had also been at Jesus College, Cambridge where he too had been influenced by its Calvinism. He had put in place a diocesan commission test for prospective incumbents involving literacy, knowledge of the scriptures and Latin.

Scrambler also used Calvin's 'Institutes' as the basis for the theology of those serving within the bishopric. How he differed from Cartwright was that he saw the Church of England as Calvinist in doctrine, but with bishops. Cartwright wished to reform the Church of England to one Calvinist in doctrine, but without bishops. Brownists saw no hope in changing the Church of England and wished to function outside of it.

Lloyd's theology at this time can only be judged obliquely. He must have passed Scrambler's diocesan test, especially as he had an MA and was studying for a BD. A court case from 1591, shortly after Lloyd's appointment, may throw more light on his ministry. A Miles Willan, shoemaker, was brought before the magistrate for praising Thomas Ensner and stating of John More and George Lloyd that 'they do not teach the truth but teach men's traditions and fancies'.

Willan had placed himself in a difficulty, because Thomas Ensner was an Elder in the radical Brownist church. The head of this congregation was William Hunt, who was at the time in prison in Norwich. He had been an Anglican priest in Chattisham, but had been deprived of his living in 1587. Since then his congregation had been meeting at Trowse in the home of Mr Serlesbye, who was the local vicar.

Ensner must have been impressive, because John More was noted for his inspiring sermons. He had been dubbed the 'Apostle of Norwich'. He was the minister at St Andrew's Church in Norwich, and was



known to preach daily and three or four times every Sunday. More was reaching the end of his career, and would die the following year. Lloyd, in the first year of his ministry, was being coupled with More. He must have already made his preaching presence felt in the town.

Preaching is born from the Reformation. It was regarded as essential that people should hear regular sermons and ministers should preach frequently. More felt it kept the faith 'lively' and that *'whoever doth not believe is damned and none can believe without a preacher'*.

What More's *'traditions and men's fancies'* were is not clear. He worked within the Church of England, but wished to rid it of its bishops. Lloyd may be placed with More here, because of his strength of preaching alone. Yet it is possible that at this stage in his career he is also of More's theological views. He clearly is not a Brownist.

George met Anne Wilkenson in Norwich and they married in May 1594 at St George, Colegate, Norwich. This was a parish at the northerly side of the River Wensum, traditionally associated with cloth merchants. The church lies near to the old port. It is only a short walk down the hill from St Peter Mancroft towards the port. Little is known of his wife. Her father was a John Wilkenson. In 1582 he was a sheriff of Norwich. Her mother is said to be Cicely Bacon. Their wedding took place in 1557.

Cicely was the daughter of Henry Bacon. His half-timbered Tudor mansion stands next to St George Colegate. Bacon's House is now a Grade II\* Listed Building. Bacon was a worsted merchant. He was an important civic dignitary. He was a sheriff in 1548, the year in which his house was built. He was twice Mayor of Norwich in 1557 and 1566. Whether Lloyd discussed the marriage with his brother is not known. Like his brother's marriage Lloyd's marriage links him to the major local figures of the merchant class. As a Welsh stranger to the city he must have been sufficiently impressive to marry into the upper echelons of Norwich's civic dignitaries.

The marriage is made after George had gained his BD, when he was thirty four. Anne's christening is recorded in 1570, and she was to out-live her husband by about thirty years..

George Lloyd's family remained in Norwich until at least 1597. The christening of his eldest son, David, is recorded at St George, Colegate, in this year. However 1596 to 1597 are years of huge change in his life and these changes occur very quickly. They seem especially surprising, because he has spent seven years in one post, as curate at St Peter Mancroft. As can be seen in the illustration on the previous page, the records of St Peter Mancroft differ from the Church of England records in that they have him actually ordained as the parish priest in 1595.

## BACK TO CHESTER

In 1596 he gained his DD. He was thirty-six years old. He was now highly qualified in his chosen profession. In the same year he became Divinity Lecturer at Chester Cathedral. This was a fairly new post in the cathedral. It formed part of the 1582 Leicester Award.

*'To a divinity lecturer reeding twice weekly for the space of ten weeks together in every quarter of the yeare.....£4.'*

In 1596 he was also presented to the Rectory of Llanrwst by Lord Keeper Thomas Egerton.

This all seems extremely abrupt. He has not lived in Chester since 1579, nearly twenty years previously, when he left for Cambridge. His return suggests that there had been contact with his family in Chester and North Wales. There were vacations when he was at Cambridge and 'carriers' would take communications from the university around the country. He had named his eldest son 'David', suggesting a loving remembrance of his brother in Chester. His third son had been given the name 'Edward', which was also that of his other brother, who had lived in Chester.

We can only speculate on the frequency of visits or communication between Norfolk and Cheshire. The travel time would have been large. Yet David must have been trying assiduously to acquire a good position for him in Chester.

The timing does seem related to his finishing his studies. Had he always intended to return to his home area; has he become homesick; are his family obligations being called in or have circumstances changed in Norwich or Chester.

Certainly his later behaviour in Chester suggest a more worldly cleric with a wife and young family, and less a zealous single young preacher burning to keep men's souls safe.

His wife now has to leave her roots and move to Chester. She calls her second son 'John' probably in remembrance of her father in Norwich.

The move also would have been another dislocation for him even though he was returning to Chester. His actual time living in Chester had been far less than his time in the east of England,

There was a very flexible situation in Chester at that time. Bishop Bellot died in June 1596. The bishopric of Chester was vacant. Bellot was not finally to be replaced until July 1597. His replacement was the Bishop of Bangor, Richard Vaughan. This actually left open Bangor, another bishopric in the area. It is possible that the family saw opportunities in this situation.

Earlier it was pointed out that he was appointed to the rectory of Llanrwst in 1596. Llanrwst was a

remote parish east of the River Conwy. This could only be a post of convenience for him. It was a sinecure with another vicar appointed to minister to the parish. Lloyd was a highly erudite urban cleric, such a rural outpost would not be to his taste or advantage. It is unknown if he ever even visited here, although it is within the region of his family's lands.

Llanrwst had been in the gift of Queen Elizabeth and had been obtained for him by Lord Keeper Egerton. Thomas Egerton was a local man, who had a meteoric career in the law, during the reign of Elizabeth. Egerton's purchase of Tatton Park in 1598 illustrates his desire to keep his local roots. He frequently stayed at Doddington Hall, his local home.

In 1593 Elizabeth I added to his other high ranking roles that of Chamberlain of Chester. He retained this position until 1604, early into the reign of James I. Egerton was an actual presence in Chester during this time. He built himself a house on what had been White Friar's land between Whitefriars and Commonhall Street. The Chester commentator William Webb complained,

*'In 1597 the Whitefreeres steeple, curiously wrought, was taken downe and a fair house builte by Sir Thomas Egerton, knight, Lord Keeper.'* Webb was worried because of the landmark status this steeple of St Martin's had for shipping. Webb also reflects modern heritage concerns when he writes, *'this curious spire steeple might have stood for grace to the citie, had not private benefit, the devourer of antiquity, pulled it down with the church, and erected a house for more commodity....'*

What is interesting here is that Egerton did not retain a cipher in Chester, but was sometime present here. Egerton gained this post the year that David Lloyd was mayor of the city. He would have been acquainted with the local notables, and it is likely that his brother's influence also obtained for him this position in Wales.

Family circumstances had changed also with David Lloyd. During his time in Chester he had not only become rich enough to be part of the ruling corporation, but also had become embedded within the influential families of the city. His first wife was Alice from the Goodman family, who had been local notables for many years. Her father had been mayor when David was Sheriff. When she died, he married a second Alice, who was much younger than himself. She was equally well connected to those important in the city's governance, coming from the Bavant and Barmvill families. Bavant was an ironmonger and merchant, who had been mayor in 1581. He was also involved in importing and exporting from the town. Some support may have been needed in the family during these final years of the sixteenth century, as David Lloyd was to die in 1600.

Although George did not directly gain from the changes in the bishoprics, he did find himself at an advantage with the translation of Richard Vaughan from Bangor to Chester. Vaughan was also Welsh, coming from Nyffryn in Caernarvonshire. His family also claimed their ancestry from Ednyfed Fychan.

Vaughan was only ten years older than Lloyd, and they were both at Cambridge in the 1580s. Vaughan had left after gaining his DD in 1589. He worked as rector in a number of parishes before becoming chaplain to John Aylmer, Bishop of London. Aylmer was a Calvinist, who had been in exile on the continent during Mary's reign. Vaughan himself was an active Calvinist. He had been involved in 1595 in preparing the Lambeth Articles on that thorny but central Calvinist doctrine of predestination.

He became Bishop of Bangor in 1595 on Bishop Bellot's translation from Bangor to Chester. Nearly a year after Bellot's death Vaughan followed him in becoming Bishop of Chester. That Vaughan and Lloyd had a commonality can be seen in that Vaughan's second ordination in Chester was Lloyd as Rector to Heswall. This was a position in Vaughan's own remit.

He was appointed Rector of Heswall in 1597. This seems to be when the whole family moved to the area. He could now offer them a permanent home in the Chester area. This was a position which he retained until around 1613. Heswall becomes important to his family life. It seems likely that however peripatetic George's life was, Anne and the children were based primarily in Heswall. The church records show references to his children from throughout his expanding career:

*'9th October 1599 John Lloyd, filius Docter Lloid (baptised)*

*1 May 1604 Edward Lloid (baptised)*

*19 June 1607 Henry Lloid, sonne to the Right Reverend Father in God George Byshope of Cester (buried)'*

The parish was some distance from Chester on the Wirral. It was not populous. Camden in his *'Magna Britannia'* from 1586 writes of it *'owing more to the sea than the soil. The land was rock and heathland.'* The church sat above the Dee Estuary with views over to Wales. Lloyd could watch the shipping sailing along the Dee to New Key, present day Parkgate, and Chester. It was a return to rural and watery roots after living for over twenty years in towns.

We can only speculate as to his feelings about leaving a parish where he was chosen by the congregation to this new worldly pluralism: from the company of saints to mammon.

## View over the Dee from Heswall Church



### BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN

Two years later in 1599, already Rector of Heswall and Llanrwst, as well as Reader in Divinity at the cathedral, George Lloyd gained his first bishopric. In January 1599 George Lloyd was appointed Bishop of Sodor and Man. It was not a lucrative living. He himself writes of *'the smallness of the Bishopricke'*.

It had originally been a bishopric of the Soderenses, the southern islands of Scotland with the Isle of Man as the most southerly. These islands had once been suffragan to Trondheim in Norway, but this power had waned in the fourteenth century with the 'Sodor' islands coming under the influence of Iona, and the Bishops of Man being directly appointed by the Pope and then the Lords of Man. From 1542 the bishopric was part of the Province of York.

The congregations were chiefly Manx speakers, living at subsistence level and working the land and the sea. The principal town was Castletown in the south east, dominated by Castle Rushen. Its cathedral was over high mountains at Peel in the west, and its bishop's palace about twenty miles north from Peel at Bishops court.

Protestantism appeared to have accepted in the island. There was no protest when the third Earl of Derby dissolved the powerful Rushen Abbey, Bemaken Friary and St Bridget's Nunnery. Yet there was no Bible or prayer book in Manx until after Lloyd's tenure in the island. As late as 1594, when Stanley influence was temporarily suspended, legislation was being passed to ban catholic rituals. Neither did the clergy marry here until 1610.

Camden writes in his 'Magna Britannia' from 1586 that *'the people are wonderful religious and all of*

*them zealously conformable to the Church of England'*. He had acquired his information from the island's then bishop, Meyrick.

Just under a hundred years later the newly appointed Bishop Barrow in 1663 writes disparagingly of the religious situation in the island,

*'I found at my coming that the people were for the most part loose and vicious in their lives. . . and which I suppose the cause of this disorder, without any true sense of religion...for they had no means of instruction or of being acquainted with the very principles of Christianity.'*

Since 1405 the Stanley family had been 'kings' and then 'lords' of Man, paying two falcons as tribute to the monarch in London at their coronation. It was usual for the Stanleys to appoint the island's bishop. However at the time of Lloyd's appointment Queen Elizabeth I was acting as protectoress of the island.

The fifth Earl of Derby, Fernando Stanley, had died in 1594. He had written a will a few days before his death bequeathing all the Stanley lands to his daughters. Dissent had arisen to the legality of this land transaction and whether his daughters could become Lords of Man.

Elizabeth was acting as 'protectoress' to the island till such time as the Stanleys decided who would take control of it.

Fernando's brother, William, did immediately become the Sixth Earl of Derby. Between Fernando's death and 1608 the fate of the lands was kept in abeyance. A huge picaresque narrative surrounds these years: William fought a duel in Spain; went around Italy disguised as a monk; fought a tiger in Egypt; was imprisoned in Turkey and heard of the

disputed Stanley estates from a physician in Moscow. This is not the case. From the death of his brother until the majority of his youngest niece in 1608 William Stanley was aware of this familial situation even though he was to spend many years away from England.

In spite of the disadvantages of the appointment it was a position which George Lloyd had actively sought. He writes of his time in London attempting to acquire the post as having,

*'my purse emptied with long sute there'*. From the phraseology here it suggests that the money was his, and not from his brother. From where he acquired this income is not known. It could have been from inheritances – to him or to his wife.

He was thirty nine when he received this appointment in 1599, and it was an extremely valuable promotion for his career prospects. It enhanced the status of the Lloyd family. It must have been a huge fillip to his family's belief and investment in him.

It was a personal coup. There was no overt career structure within the church. It was becoming increasingly necessary to have a DD to achieve such a highly placed post. Having worked as a rector or vicar also seems important.

Richard Vaughan made the jump after being Chaplain to the Bishop of London. Many first worked as a cathedral Dean.

John Piers was made Dean of Chester in 1567, and subsequently became Bishop of Rochester and later Archbishop of York. William Barlow became Dean of Chester in 1603 and afterwards Bishop of Rochester and then Lincoln. He was followed in the Deanship by Henry Parry in 1605, who subsequently became Bishop of Rochester, then Gloucester and finally Worcester.

George Lloyd had at this point gained a DD, but had only worked as a rector. He was also frequently in the cathedral working. However his own comments, given earlier, about his empty purse because of his suits in Elizabeth's court give a possible key to his success. He persistently and consistently must have cultivated those likely to further his career. Travel, hospitality, correspondence and gifts were the key to remaining in the centre of the public sphere.

David Lloyd also would have had a great part to play in this success. It is highly likely that Egerton was not only the source of the Llanrwst appointment, but George Lloyd's contact at Elizabeth I's court in London where he spent so much gaining his first bishopric. Lloyd's life had been in provincial towns. Although he would have met young members of noble families in Cambridge, it could not have prepared him for survival in Elizabeth's court. He needed a champion, who could help him negotiate the protocols.

It was through his brother and his brother's circle that this Norfolk cleric would have met the Chamberlain of Chester. Egerton was also in Chester in November 1599, when the previous Bishop of Sodor and Man died. Egerton's eldest son had died on campaign in Ireland. He was buried in Doddington, but there was a solemnisation at the cathedral, followed by a meal in the Bishop's Palace.

Egerton had a further connection with the Isle of Man. He was well acquainted with the Stanleys. He called the fourth Earl of Derby 'a loving friend'. He had been the legal advisor to Fernando's widow, Alice Spencer, during the initial explorations as to the legality of Fernando's will. He had led the group of law lords, who had decided that the Isle of Man could be bequeathed to 'Heirs general' and not only 'Heirs Male'. In 1600 he married Alice Spencer. He did have an interest and influence in the outcome of the appointment of a new bishop here. George Lloyd was a known quantity.

Bishop Meyrick of Sodor and Man died in Yorkshire in November 1599. It is a tribute to Lloyd's informants and supporters, as well as his own determination and alacrity, that he had acquired this bishopric by January 1600.

It is unlikely that the new prelate intended to remain Bishop of Sodor and Man for very long. It was his stepping stone to a promotion within England itself.

In 1590 Bishop Meyrick, Lloyd's predecessor in Man, wrote that,

*'I came last summer to Wales; having been the year afore in Man, as I am commonly between both, not of my own choice or will, but things are so. Neither hath any Bishop, my predecessor, been otherwise these hundred years.'*

Meyrick did actually spend time on the island. He made a contribution to Camden's *Britannia* about the contemporary situation there. His description of the religious situation was given earlier.

There is actually only one record as to Lloyd's having been on the island. In 1603 he was present at a Consistory Court where several offenders against the spiritual law received punishment. He probably was in attendance there more frequently, but he certainly was not resident there as his children's births in Heswall show. The Norfolk divine was vanishing quickly.

He was astute and would have realised that Bishop Vaughan did not intend to stay in Chester. Vaughan would have retained contacts in London from when he was Chaplain to his 'cousin' the Bishop of London. All would have realised that the reign of Elizabeth I was quickly reaching its end. She had been born September 1533. She had been crowned in 1559, a year before Lloyd's birth. Lloyd was undoubtedly an Elizabethan. Yet for new men, such as George Lloyd, it would be more difficult to penetrate



the queen's circle. It had been developing for so long, and had its own accretions.

A new monarch would be a new start. There would be places for new men. It was becoming increasingly likely that the new king would be James VI of Scotland. For Calvinists, such as Vaughan and Lloyd, this was a particularly welcome prospect. James was also a declared Calvinist.

Once he had become a Bishop, Lloyd would need somewhere quite impressive from where he could conduct his business in Chester. There would be a steady stream of visitors from there reporting to him on reaching Chester. Here would also be his embarkation point to the island.

Such a house would be needed to receive others dignitaries: local, from London or elsewhere in the country. He, no doubt, would wish to keep up his relationship with Bishop Vaughan. It would still be a private house, but located in Chester for convenience. His palace proper was in the Isle of Man. The situation also needed some discretion, as there was already a Bishop's Palace and bishop in Chester in the cathedral precincts.

Watergate Street was a fashionable part of town. Trading and artisan homes and shops were near to the town's cross outside St Peter's Church. The road led down to the town's quays. There was no cloth hall in Chester, and so drapers had to work from their own premises. Neither was there any specific area associated with drapers' businesses. From where David Lloyd worked and lived is not known. The more gentrified homes were beginning to be a little distant from the cross.

In the 1590s there had been a flurry of buying former monastic property from those who had originally invested in them. These gave new space to develop in the city for residences. Peter Warburton had built what was to be known as Stanley Palace towards the end of Watergate Street on what had been land of the grey friars. Lord Egerton lived behind Watergate Street, near to Stanley Palace on white friars' land. Edmund Gamull acquired in 1591 a building quite a distance down Bridge Street. It had originally been owned by a nunnery. There was also a move to renovate and improve existing properties. One of the houses renovated during this period was what is now known as Bishop Lloyd's Palace. It was a one gabled Row's house, but was extended upwards to a dizzying and jettied three storeys above Rows' level. Finely carved at attic level this would be one of the most impressive buildings in the town.

George Lloyd's arms, which he was entitled to use from 1600 to the end of his time as Bishop of Sodor and Man, are outside Watergate Street on this house. The house is called 'Chester House' in early documents. The house could certainly be regarded



**Panel on Bishop Lloyd's Palace, showing George Lloyd's arms as Bishop of Sodor and Man.**

as Bishop Lloyd's house when in Chester. Here he could be contacted and probably frequently stayed.

The plaque tells us more about the town's networks of power. It was this that contributed heavily to Lloyd's success. His bishop's arms are central showing the importance given to this. They can be seen as the Lloyd presence in the higher echelons of power in the town.

At the top right hand side is the coat of arms of the Merchant Adventurers or mere merchants in Chester. This small group of richer citizens were involved in importing and exporting in the town. This wasn't just littoral trade, but European exchanges. They held somewhat aloof from other guilds in the town. Egerton had been involved with the Adventurers from the start of his legal career. In Chester it would certainly include the Lloyds, the Gamulls and the Bravant family. We can also suppose that this building served a number of purposes and it was here that the mere merchants met and could be contacted.

To the left at the bottom are the Stanley coat of arms. In this instance it is the cipher of Egerton's presence, as well as the Stanley connection to the Isle of Man. At the bottom right are the arms of the Goodman family. Their significance is not known. The family had been an influential one in the city. David Lloyd's first wife had been Alice Goodman. They obviously hold some significance in relation to this building. We can only speculate that they were in some way connected to its ownership. There is no documentary evidence.

The arms of England and Wales are in the upper left hand corner proclaiming Elizabeth I's reign.

This power base was coming to an end. David Lloyd died in 1600. His will shows his many contacts and affluence. '*Landes and tentments*' are bequeathed to his immediate family. It is assumed that it is known where these plots (with or without buildings) are. A number of small but generous bequests are

made. One is to '*my landlord Thomas Egerton ...*' and his third wife, the widow of Fernando Stanley. Lloyd also asks that his wife could continue to lease the lands from Egerton.

His brother is dead. Egerton will soon cease to be involved so closely with Chester. George Lloyd will have to make new networks and alliances to advance further.

## JAMES I OF ENGLAND

Towards the end of 1602 when Elizabeth's godson, Sir John Harrington, came to court, he was shocked by her '*show of human infirmity*'. Those looking to the future had adopted their own plans. Sir Robert Cecil was finishing his organisation to place James VI decisively and quickly on the English throne. Early in 1603 he already had placed certain strategic persons, such as Sir Thomas Chaloner, in the Holyrood court.

When the queen died in March 1603 the putative king was already being informed as to whom were her strongest statesmen. Chaloner's correspondence with Sir Thomas Egerton shows that he was being recommended to the new king. Lloyd's interests with the next monarch might also rely again on Egerton's intervention. However this time there was a second lobby in Lloyd's favour, the voracity of the group of highly placed Calvinist churchmen. Lloyd, as Bishop of Sodor and Man, was one of these.

That James was actively interested in religious matters was already widely known. On his progress from Scotland to London he was met by a delegation of religious reformers, who presented him with the so called Millenary Petition. Besides requesting the removal of residual Roman Catholic symbolic practices, such as the sign of the cross at baptism, it particularly requested that the pluralism in the holding of religious offices be stopped. This would have an effect on the income of the bishops.

George Lloyd was not only a bishop, but the incumbent of one parish at this time. Heswall rectory was his family home. This applied to other bishops too. Richard Vaughan depended on supplementing his family income from his parish in Bangor-on-Dee. However Llanrwst records show that Peter Sharpe had become rector here in 1601. There does seem to have been some jiggery-pokery in this. Sharpe had been part of the Chapter at the cathedral since 1588; Sharpe had been Rector at Heswall immediately prior to Lloyd. Dr Lloyd had obviously now resigned from one other position. Sharpe gained the parish of Dodelston and Llanrwst; Lloyd gained Heswall.

James used well practised delaying tactics with these petitioners. He later convened the 1604 Hampton Court Conference to hear and discuss such grievances. Little was to come of them. In fact quietly within his reign was growing a movement to

retain such practices and deny the basic tenets of Calvinism. Lloyd would be dead before the effects of this Arminianism would change the face of the Jacobean church.

James brought to London his two sons, Henry and Charles. Henry was the hope of the future. He was seven years old at the time of his father's ascension to the English throne and had been carefully brought up by the Earl of Mar in the Calvinist tradition. Such was the influence that Chaloner had on James that he was given charge of the prince's household in England. He continued the religious education begun by Mar. The Chaplains in Henry's household were all fiercely Calvinist, as their later histories were to show. The observances in Henry's household were frequent and highly regulated both for him and his staff.

Thomas Egerton prospered as well under the rule of James as he did with Elizabeth. In 1603 he was made Baron Ellesmere and was Lord Chancellor. At his death he was the first Viscount Brackley. He only kept the post of Chamberlain of Chester until 1604. His relationship with Lloyd would have gradually waned.

James I brought with him courtiers from Scotland. They too had judgements to make and new alliances to forge with the English grandees. One of these was Sir Peter Young. He had been the king's tutor and remained his trusted counsellor. Much later in the king's reign he was put in charge of the household of the king's younger son, Charles.

George Lloyd must have spent some time at court during the early stages of James' reign, because he and Young forged an alliance. That this was possible shows the London circles in which he was now moving. The only material still extant, written by Lloyd, is a series of letters between these two men. A later one in 1605 shows Lloyd at his most erudite, giving Young examples from ancient Roman history of rulers being led astray by new malign friends. He quotes at length from Roman poets. All their correspondence is in Latin.

The earlier letters from 1604 show Lloyd working at obtaining preferment. John Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had died in February 1604. The obvious successor was the Bishop of London, Richard Bancroft, who had been supporting the ailing Whitgift for a number of years. This would vacate the London bishopric. Both he and Richard Vaughan were seeing opportunities arising.

The first letter to Young from June 1604 shows Lloyd is in London and is working on an assignment to revise any crude mistakes in the catalogue of British chronology in which the Royal family's genealogy has been inserted. The Stuarts wanted a clear lineage to be shown reaching back to Henry VII, as well as Edmund Tudor and his wife Margaret Beaufort. This was to give genealogical legitimacy

to their rule. That Lloyd acquired this post probably shows that he was already known to be interested and knowledgeable in the subject of royal genealogy. The House of Conwy is serving in yet another royal court.

By July Lloyd is becoming almost embarrassingly effusive. He writes that he 'recalls with rapture their converse in London and prizes his love above anything'. He then requests that Young keeps 'his memory fresh in the king's heart and mind'

Young's son, Patrick, is intending to train as a cleric. Young has obviously asked Lloyd if he would undertake to prepare him for his entrance to Oxford by having him in his household in Chester. Quite overtly in his next July letter Lloyd says that he *as Bishop of Chester* would admit Patrick into his household. Young sends Patrick anyway to Chester in August, and pointedly says that Patrick will be useful to Lloyd reading to him *in his Sodor Library* to spare his eyesight.

Young does reassure Lloyd that the king had proclaimed to his court his favour towards both him and Richard Vaughan. He also advises him, 'to woo urgently all those versed in this sort of business, not neglecting the populace and to make sure all who prevail meet with the king'

This suggests that both Bishops Lloyd and Vaughan had already preached in front of the king. This is further supported by a comment about Lloyd, which Sir John Harrington wrote to James' elder son, Henry. He reminds him that he has, 'heard him Preach often'.

This comment is made just after Lloyd's appointment to Bishop of Chester. It shows he has been making himself highly visible in James' London court. Lloyd is obviously able to negotiate the newly forming protocols of the Stuart court. This new life would also be proving expensive. He will be having to fund his London life style.

The king enjoyed sermons almost as much as he did hunting. On arriving in England he would have been delighted to hear his bishops preach for him.

Bancroft was eventually made Archbishop of Canterbury, but not until October 1604. It was a difficult decision. Bancroft's work in the preceding years had made him the obvious choice, but he was not an orthodox Calvinist. This had been clearly shown earlier in the year at the Hampton Court Conference. Others were considered. 'Divers worthy men were named in the vacancy' noted Sir John Harrington. It is interesting to see that after Bancroft's death in 1610, James did appoint a noted Calvinist as his successor, George Abbot.

Bancroft was consecrated on the fourth of December 1603. Events then moved quickly. Richard Vaughan was nominated Bishop of London on the eighth of December, and consecrated on the twen-

tieth. George Lloyd was consecrated Bishop of Chester in the January of 1605. He was in his forty-fifth year.

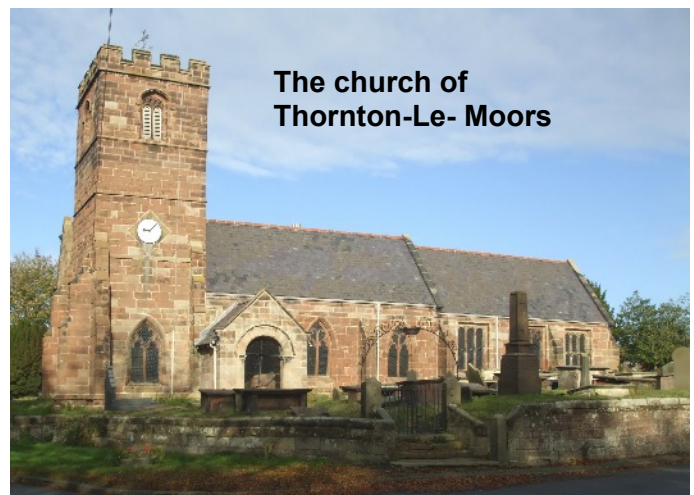
## BISHOP OF CHESTER

It was sixty years since the new bishopric in Chester had been founded and the Benedictine Abbey had become a cathedral. George Lloyd was its eighth bishop. When Lloyd had been a King's Scholar here, the bishop had been Bishop Downham. He was the first Chester bishop of Elizabeth I's reign. He had described it as, 'the least income that any man in my calling has in this realm.' It was known to be a poorly endowed and sprawling bishopric. It stretched from Hawarden in Flintshire to the River Derwent in Cumberland. It included Cheshire, Lancashire, parts of Westmorland and of Yorkshire and Cumberland.

To augment his income Lloyd continued to hold the parish of Heswall where his family life seems to have centred. Two years after his appointment as Bishop of Chester in 1607 he also became the minister of St Mary's, Thornton-le-Moors, which was in his own remit. Most of the present day church is how it would have been in Lloyd's time. It stands in the reclaimed low-lying plain near to the River Gow, as it flows into the Mersey Estuary. Lloyd ceased to be the rector at Heswall in 1613, and then the family used the rectory at Thornton as their country family home.

He also was the rector at St Dunawd's Church in Bangor-on-Dee. This too was in his remit as Bishop of Chester, and Richard Vaughan had also been minister here. It did not come under the auspices of St Asaph's until 1849. Confusingly the place is also called Bangor-Is-Y-Coed, Bangor-Coed and Bangor Monachorum with Overton. The last name recalls the fact that there had been an abbey here.

Lloyd continued with this pluralism throughout his career after leaving Norwich. He needed sufficient income for his dignity as a bishop and for his growing family. Neither of the bishoprics he had obtained was adequately endowed for him.



**The church of  
Thornton-Le-Moors**



The Chester diocese was difficult to oversee. In the church, as constituted by Elizabeth I, the bishop's influence was strongest nearer to his residence. He and his Chancellor would need to ride miles to reach and oversee the lands in upland Lancashire and Cumberland. In both these counties the parishes were sparse and agricultural. The largest centres were Lancaster, Manchester, Liverpool, Wigan, Bolton and Preston. Lloyd would rely heavily on local JPs and rectors to be watchful over the religion and morals in his diocese.

### **The Religious Situation in the Diocese: Papists, Witches and Puritans**

Since 1579 ordinations and appointments in the diocese had been overseen by Calvinist bishops, suggesting a vetting for suitability would have occurred. In 1605 many parishes still did not have a vicar. This was through poverty, unsuitability of candidates or no candidates. St John's, St Peter's and St Mary's in Chester had no incumbent. The situation was similar in other parts of the county. Weaverham, Sandbach and Knutsford had no minister at that time

James I's demand that clerics subscribe to the 1604 Canons had caused little loss. The figures on the Church of England Database show this was marginal. No cleric in the diocese was deprived of his living, but there are a few unexplained 'resignations' in 1604 and 1605. John Paget, who was probably rector of Nantwich and a zealous Calvinist, left the city at this time. He was described as being much loved in the city. He pursued a celebrated career as a divine in the Netherlands. Thomas Cooper, vicar of Great Budworth, also left his benefice.

The only other unexplainable departure in these years was a Robert Watson from Tilston. He is described in the clerical rolls as '*no graduate, but preacher, honest man*'. He was replaced by the highly qualified, Robert King. Whether he was too '*honest*' to subscribe to the 1604 canons or not qualified sufficiently for Bishop Vaughan is not known.

This means that only two or three ministers in the diocese were unable to comply with the canons. The stumbling block was perceived to be subscribing that the Book of Common Prayer '*containeth nothing contrary to the word of God*'. The doctrinal content of the Book of Common Prayer had been deliberately kept wide to encompass a range of belief. This was perceived as too wide by some Calvinists. The figure of non-subscribers in Cheshire has been suggested as 12 and that of 21 in Lancashire. If this was the case, then no action was taken against them: only the '*honest*' ones resigned.

Lancashire was problematic, a place of '*deep irreligion*'. Most recusants were Catholic. The local gentry would support Catholicism in their lands, and provide places to worship in their homes. Catholic

missionary priests would be welcomed, and when wealth allowed their children would be educated abroad. Bishop Chatterton had been under particular pressure from Elizabeth's government to take action against this '*dangerous infection of popery*'. He had worked with the fourth Lord Stanley on this.

But these were pockets of Catholicism scattered throughout Lancashire and Cheshire. The Reformation had also made an impact in Lancashire. Bolton was termed the '*Geneva*' of Lancashire with a James Gosnell leading highly popular lectures here for many years. Manchester and Liverpool were Calvinist centres.

An undercurrent throughout the country was the practice of witchcraft. There was a widespread belief that by being in league with the devil it was possible to influence events on earth. There was a continuous flow of individual charges about this through the Tudor and Stuart courts. White magic, concerned with positive outcomes for others - as in healing, came under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Black magic, concerned with negative outcomes for others - as in curses, came under the auspices of local magistrates and courts.

James I had written a book on the subject, '*Daemonologie*'. A scepticism about it was beginning to grow in Stuart times. This eventually influenced the king himself. In 1615 Thomas Cooper, who had resigned from his Great Budworth living, published '*Mystery of Witchcraft*'. It was actually dedicated to the Mayor and corporation of Chester, and embodied the growing Calvinist response to this phenomenon,

*'Those who are truly elected eyther Satan cannot touch them at all or else his afflictions shall tend to their good'*

In 1612 the largest trial of witches took place in Lancaster in Lloyd's diocese. Ten witches were hanged from this trial, although eight were acquitted. All the offences took place in upland Lancashire. In spite of it happening within his bishopric, Lloyd had no connection with the treatment of the Pendle witches. This illustrates the sheer size of his cure and his dependence on civil authorities for punishments in what was seen as black magic.

In his final extant letter to Sir Peter Young in 1608 Lloyd expresses what he sees as the problems in his diocese. He expresses total exasperation at the hostility of Papists and Puritans. He also says he would only use violence against them as a last resort. What triggered this particular outburst is not known, but his religious problems within the diocese are predictable. The '*old*' religion continues to thrive for which he uses the derogative term '*Papists*'. By using the derogative term '*Puritan*' for Calvinists, seeking to reform the established church further, he could be referring to those still within the church or independent Brownist congregations. His

equal distaste in using 'violence' indicates that he tried to come to accommodations with these two groups.

The Calvinist writer, John White, expresses the frequently held view of the power of sermons to change people's lives,

*'Popish superstition would soon be rooted out there and those locusts soon blown away if the word was effectively preached among them....'*

Good clerics were needed to proselyte: good magistrates to punish. George Lloyd's main concern would have been with the first.

There would be a continuous stream of reports of refusal to attend church and other forms of passive resistance. For example, in 1606, he received this list from Ormskirk of those not attending church: Jane Hesketh, Edward and Bridget Stanley, Elizabeth Gerard, Margaret Hesketh, Gabriel Shaw, Jane Moorcroft, Alice Molyneux, Margaret Burrough, Richard Wolsie and a number of others. All these family names would be known as persistent offenders. The Ormskirk area was a recognised pocket of surviving Catholicism.

In dealing with offences under the law Lloyd seems scrupulous in keeping to its letter. There are a few actual examples of his actions. In 1608 Lloyd had stopped some proceedings against Catholics. He was told to continue, but with moderation and only against the 'obstinate'.

James Anderton of Lostock Hall, Bolton, died in 1613. He not only left his goods, but substantial funds to the Catholic cause. Lloyd inventories his goods and seals them. He is told not to continue, because Anderton was not 'convicted' of Catholicism. The crown never receives this property.

In 1614 the bishop gives a licence for Katherine, the wife of a Liverpool joiner, to be buried in the churchyard of Trinity Church. This was in spite of her being a known recusant. In 1615 the bishop asks for guidance on how to deal with Catholics in his diocese, who are refusing to bring home their children being educated abroad.

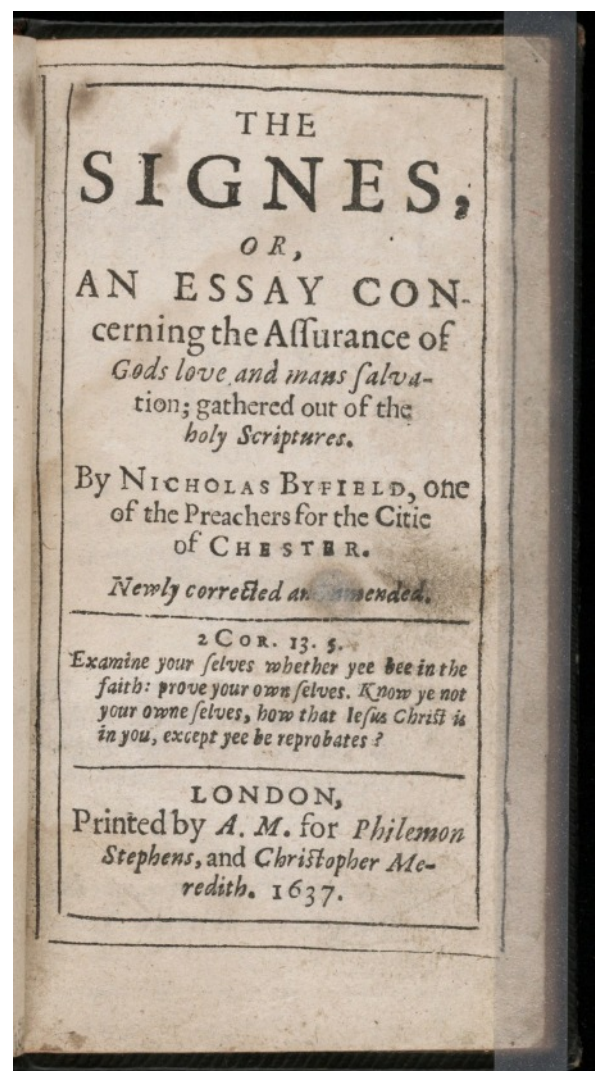
He expressed his irritation at the 'Puritans' to Sir Peter Young, but here he was also accommodating. He had chosen to minister in Norwich as a young man. Here he had seen how Bishop Scrambler had worked with his more radical pastors. He used John More, the Apostle of Norwich, to vet possible candidates for ordination. John White, the Patriarch of Dorchester, has been mentioned earlier. He helped his more radical parishioners to go to Massachusetts.

Lloyd's approach to the ministry of Nicholas Byfield illustrates his compromising approach. Byfield spent four years at Exeter College, Oxford, but did not graduate. He decided to leave Elizabethan Eng-

land and go to Ireland to preach. His embarkation port was Chester where he began to preach. This was when Richard Vaughan was bishop of the diocese. At that time the corporation church of St Peter's did not have a minister, and he was asked to stay and work in the town. He was a most zealous preacher. Later, as the rector in Isleworth, he preached twice on Sundays and expounded on the scriptures twice during the week. We can assume that Chester received a similar diet.

He was an avid Sabbatarianist. In his later career he published many treatise on scripture and the discipline of the Christian life. His 'An Essay concerning the Assurance of God's Love and Man's Salvation Gathered out of the Holy Scriptures' was dedicated to Mrs Jane Ratcliffe of Chester and her spiritual practices.

Jane Ratcliffe was married to John Ratcliffe. He was an important leader within Chester. He was Sheriff of Chester in 1601 when his father was Mayor. He was Mayor himself in 1611. He was a J.P. until his death in 1633. He was Master of the Beerbrewers' Company from 1611 until his death. Later he was to be in charge of the city walls and in 1621 a M.P. This gives a flavour of the type of support Byfield had at corporation level.



Byfield's book, *The Signes*, 1637 reprint

On the cover of the book mentioned above he describes himself as '*one of the preachers for the citie of Chester*'. This suggests that Chester had some renown for its sermons. It was common for preachers to have a circuit of places in which they preached. Under Byfield's influence St Peter's had become a centre for Jacobean preaching. The preachers were paid for by funds from individual guilds, the corporation itself or individual patrons. In fact it was possibly more popular as a place of spiritual regeneration than the cathedral.

The book was first printed in 1614 and he clearly on its cover does not call himself a minister at St Peter's. He refers to himself as '*one of the preachers*'. This is not mere modesty. His first official parish was in Isleworth from March 1615. He may have been the de facto minister at St. Peter's, but he was never appointed.

Lloyd would have been placed under some pressure to appoint Byfield to a parish, and under an equal amount not to appoint him. Byfield was extreme in his zealous admonitions as to how a Christian life should be led. His Sabbatarianism, for example, could and did effect the lives of those in the city, who were not as 'Puritanical' as himself.

Yet neither was Byfield seditious. He writes,

*'Clerics should often teach their hearers their duty to Magistrates and.... Show the power that Princes have to make Lawes'*

Lloyd chose a middle path in the matter. He ordained him into the ministry in 1608, but did not appoint him to a parish. This was also in spite of the fact that Byfield had no formal academic qualifications.

## Ordinations

As a bishop of such a large diocese one of Lloyd's principal tasks was ordination and appointment. In 1605, 1606 and 1607 he did approximately 20 of these. In 1608 this shot up to 118 and about 113 in 1609. In 1610, 1611 and 1613 it went back to approximately 20. In 1612 and 1614 only a handful were done. In the first six months of 1615 there were approximately 15.

His preference would have been for educated episcopal Calvinists. His first appointment was to the parish of Swettenham, and it was a Cambridge man, Thomas Ashall. No doubt this would have been his preferred model for all his appointments. There were, however, numerous parishes where the appointments were through patrons. Such appointments were frequently within a family. Henry Paget took over from his father in Middelham. The Ellis family were Ormskirk choices. The Molyneux family were associated with Walton.

Sometimes he suffered outright opposition to his choices. Early in his ministry he tried to appoint

Hugh Holland to the parish of Nantwich, which had its own independent corporation patronage. This caused a furore,

*'....the gentellmen with the rest of the town would not suffer him to be here in that they Bishoppe had not titell or rightte to place any Mynister amongst us....'*

Instead John Bradwell was appointed.

Hugh Holland seems to be a protégé of Lloyd's and his gradual promotions can be seen throughout Lloyd's episcopacy. In 1605 he is appointed a Deacon in the Cathedral and also the rector at Wistaston. In 1610 he is made vicar at Eastham. When Lloyd resigns the parish of Heswall in 1613, Holland is appointed there. Another of Lloyd's protégés was Thomas Dod, a Cambridge man. His time at Jesus College overlapped with Lloyd's. His career actually stretched until he was nearly eighty, but with Lloyd he was a Prebendary of the cathedral, Archdeacon of Richmond and minister at Astbury.

His most renowned appointment was probably Geoffrey King to the parish of Lancaster. He was a Cambridge academic, who was a Hebrew scholar. In the translation of the King James Bible he was responsible for the first twelve books of the Old Testament. In William Jellbrand at Warrington he appointed a most respected Calvinist divine.

During his episcopacy he did make a deprivation. Technically this was not for any overt religious reason, but simony. Samuel Hankinson had been appointed to the parish of Aughton under Bishop Vaughan in 1602. The parish was under the patronage of Gabriel Hesketh at this time. His wife has been mentioned earlier as a Catholic recusant reported to the bishop in 1606 for non-attendance at church. It would appear that Hankinson who had the mastership of Halsall School, and Cuthbert Halsall, had asked Hesketh whether he could also have the living of the church at Aughton. This was no doubt to augment the man's income.

The request was exposed as involving money and Hankinson was removed in 1607. Lloyd worked with the king on this. Nicholas Banastre was appointed to the parish, and remained there until his death in 1646. The affair did linger on. It was brought up again in Chester Consistory Court as late as 1613. Many years later in the mid seventeenth century Alex Bagueley, another Hesketh appointment to Aughton, was to be removed for simony.

George Lloyd also recognised that certain towns had expanded and needed extra clergy. Macclesfield was growing as a market town, and only had the one parish church during Lloyd's episcopacy. Under licence from the king two ministers were appointed from 1606. One was to be 'the Minister' or 'King's Preacher' and nominated by the Mayor.



The second was to be the 'Curate' and in the first place was nominated by the Vicar of Prestbury.

### **Lloyd's own Ministry**

The only contemporary comment we have on George Lloyd's ministration as a bishop dates from his transition from Bishop of Sodor and Man to Chester. It is from John Harrington of Kelston. He was a witty, learned and inventive man. He created the first flushing toilet, although this did not become popular in his lifetime. He was a committed Calvinist and chosen by Thomas Chaloner to be one of the tutors to the king's elder son, Henry.

Henry was the future hope of England to many of his subjects. Sir Thomas Chaloner had created a household, which was abreast with artistic developments on the continent, but which continued to be strictly Calvinist.

Henry matured quickly and was aware of his status and significance as future king. In 1610 he was made Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. With James' reign followed by Henry's the Calvinist clergy hoped for sufficient stability for the doctrines of the Anglican Church to be made less ambiguous, and Calvinist principles to become more intrusive in people's lives.



**The young Prince Henry with Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex by Robert Peake, 1605**

Harrington annotated Doctor Goodwin's 'Catalogue of English Bishops' for Henry. It was a mixture of his own edifying comments on bishops, whom he had known, and an attempt to keep it up to date. As in Cambridge and Norwich Lloyd's name becomes 'Flood'. He says that the prince has often heard Lloyd preach '*and very well.*' In later years the prince was to declare his own preference for preachers as those whose attitude was '*Sir, you must hear me diligently: you must have care to observe what I say.*' This may have been Lloyd's approach, but the style of preaching within the King's household tended to be more worldly and discursive. What we do gather is that George Lloyd preached well. This is very significant in Jacobean religious life

Only information on one of his public addresses has survived. There are still some notes on the sermon given at St Mary's on the Hill in 1613 at the funeral of the family friend, Thomas Gamull.

Harrington also gives an indication of the approach expected of Lloyd in his diocese. Harrington is the wit, who famously penned the lines,

*'Treason doth never prosper, what's the reason?  
Why if it prosper, none doth call it treason.'*

In his tribute to Lloyd he tries to be as witty, punning on his name 'Flood'. He discusses how Cheshire is famous for milk and salt. Here he jests, comparing the county to the Promised Land, flowing with milk and honey. He wishes that Lloyd will bring spiritual blessings to the county, but 'by irrigation rather than by inundation of this Flood shall they increase in them.'

He also makes reference to the problems of Catholicism in Ireland, and its repercussions in Cheshire. The significance here is that Harrington is expecting a more tentative approach to the difficulties in the diocese and not a strident one. This is the approach taken by Lloyd, as shown in the previous paragraphs.

James I described him as '*the Beauty of Holiness*' when he died. Comments at such times can be more effusive.

### **LIFE IN CHESTER**

#### **Family Life**

Little is known of George Lloyd's family circumstances. As said earlier he married Anne Wilkenson in Norwich in 1594. They had six children, who lived to adulthood. The birthdates of the boys are known: David (1597, Norwich), John (1599, Heswall) and Edward (1604, Heswall). Anne is the eldest in the family and was born in Norwich. Alice (1601) and Mary (1608) were both born in Heswall. David, Anne and Mary appear to have married. Only the girls seem to have had any children.

His wife died over thirty years after his death. She did not remarry. In her will she asked for,

*'My bodie to be buried in the Quier of the Cathetherall Church of Chester where my loueing husband George Lloyd....was interred.'*

We can only infer how his children were educated and brought up. The only one of his children about whom there is much information is Anne. This is through American documentation of her life there. She married Thomas Yale in 1612 when she was in her mid-teens. He was the eldest son of David Yale, who had been employed within the cathedral since George Lloyd was a King's Scholar. From 1582 until 1608 he was Chancellor of the Cathedral. From 1607 he was Vicar General to Lloyd.

David Yale died young in 1619. Anne did have children with David. The eldest was also called David. He was the father of Elihu Yale, who was to donate money to a newly founded American university, which was named after him.

Anne was to marry again to Theophilus Eaton. He was a rich London merchant, whose father, Richard Eaton, had been vicar of Great Budworth from 1604 until his death in 1616. Anne and Theophilus with their children and her mother-in-law went with others to Massachusetts to create a Calvinist utopia. This indicates that Lloyd's family were brought up to be deeply committed to their religious beliefs.

This was the Calvinist ideal. The father heading the family, and embedding covenantal bonds amongst the siblings and with his wife. It was a microcosm of society with the male as the leader. It was seen as his role to create the family into a basic religious unit. The unit would read, catechise, pray and discuss together. All would have a thorough grounding in the Bible and reflecting upon it. Anne Eaton's behaviour seems to reinforce this as being her background in the Lloyd family.

Eventually the Eatons were involved in setting up a theocracy in New Haven near to Boston. Their minister was Samuel Davenport. Theophilus held the position of Governor of the community. Anne's behaviour is documented, because she was excommunicated and put under virtual house arrest in this community of Saints. She had been influenced by the arguments of the Baptists and refused to countenance infant baptism. During the hearing against her it was stated that she had been educated in both Greek and Latin. This would have been quite remarkable in a woman of her time, and does show the education the Lloyd children received.

A variety of charges were brought against her and she argued with cogency and biblical knowledge against them. Once more giving a possible indication of her early upbringing. She was forced to live in a modicum of seclusion in her house after this. As a woman she would have no access to her hus-

band's large financial resources. Her son David went to live in Boston, because he found New Haven too restrictive. Here he became a successful merchant. Elihu was born in Boston, but he was brought back to England. David had found Boston had become too religiously restrictive as well.

When her husband died Anne inherited a third of his money, as well other money he had bequeathed to her. She was able to leave New Haven and return to England. The City of God had become a Hell. She finally lived in London. Her own religious beliefs appear far more radical than those of her father and first father-in-law

Her life showed great resourcefulness and bravery, as well as a devotion to what she believed in. They also suggest that time was spent on education in the family in spite of the fact of her father's frequent absences. The education the children received may have been wide ranging, but the only recorded son attending university was their second son, John. He was admitted to Pembroke College, Cambridge in 1618 as a paying pensioner.

David Lloyd had died in 1600, and Lloyd's other brother Roland died in 1609. He was buried in the cathedral.

There has been some suggestion that Anne Lloyd's brother, Henry Wilkinson, came to live in the Chester area. A document is cited giving him the living of Shotwick until the death of the Lloyd's eldest son, David. It was said to have been endorsed by the Dean and Chapter, who held the living of Shotwick.

George Lloyd never ordained nor appointed a Henry Wilkinson to a clerical position. He never held the parish of Shotwick. Neither is there any record of a Henry Wilkinson/Wilkenson around these dates in the Church of England Clerical Database. In 1624 the Dean and Chapter discussed this situation, 'It seems that one Henrie Wilkinson pretended to hold a lease from them....'

### **The Gamulls**

David Lloyd's second wife, Alice, did marry again and this did impact on the family. Alice and Anne were of similar ages and were married to husbands somewhat older than themselves. The family were obviously fond of Alice, because their second girl was probably named after her in 1601. At some point she married again into the affluent and influential Gamull family.

Her husband was Thomas Gamull, the son of Edmund Gamull. He had been a King's Scholar, a graduate of Brasenose College, Oxford, and spent time in London working as a lawyer. Her husband would have been in his early thirties when they married. They must have lived for some of their time in the house created by Edmund during the early 1590s, because their parish was St Mary on the Hill. In 1606 Thomas became the city's Recorder and

M.P. Thomas died in 1613 at the age of 42. George Lloyd was to die two years later. Alice and Ann shared a widowhood for a time.

Alice was left again a very wealthy widow. She had erected a large chest tomb in St Mary's for her husband and the Gamull family. It must be the most striking one of its type in Chester with still vivid colours. There are figures of both Thomas and Alice on it praying. At their feet is their beloved small son Francis, who is reading. On the side of the tomb are three children carrying skulls, showing their early deaths. These are Thomas, Richard and Alice. The inscription is a long one in Latin, probably done by George Lloyd. This is the paraphrase of a final Latin verse,

*'This tomb, dear husband, have I raised for thee,  
Where mixed with thine, my bones may gently  
rest;  
My love in life, with thee in death I'd be,  
'Tis wrong to break the union love has blessed'*



**Francis Gamull, depicted on his father's tomb, St Mary's, Chester**

Francis was seven years' old when his father died. Anne herself was also left with young children when Lloyd died two years later. Edward was eleven and Mary was seven. Both women had also lost young children. In 1606 Anne and George's child, Henry, had died. He had lived for less than a year.

Alice did marry again. She married Edward Whitby. Again this is a very influential man in the city: he was also the city's Recorder and M.P. This was a surprising match. In the early years of the century

there had been much factional infighting between the Gamulls and Whitbys. Nevertheless he gained the Wardenship of Francis, which Alice had automatically lost on her husband's death. Francis was happy enough with his step-father to allow him to be buried in the Gamull vault with his mother and biological father.

The intimacy with the Gamull/ Whitby family continued throughout Anne's life. In her final will she left as much to Francis, *'my loveinge cosen'*, as to her daughter Anne Eaton. Francis had married into the Grosvenor family, and Anne even was the god-mother to one of his daughters. In the same will she writes

*'To my God-daughter Alice Gammell his daughter my best piece of plate, and to my cosen Francis Gammell's eldest daughter my presse'*

This relationship with the Gamulls does seem to influence some of the approaches Lloyd takes to matters within the city. In 1608 Thomas' brother, William was Mayor of the city. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century there had been frequent bouts of plague both nationally and internationally. James I had had to postpone his coronation and much pressing business in 1603, because of it. Chester had permanent cabins outside the city walls near to Gorse Stacks for the isolation of plague victims.

Plague was seen as divine punishment. In the Nantwich Parish Records in 1604 is written,

*'God in his mercy hath withdrawn his punishing hand and hath quenched the spark of contagious infection amongst us, God grant that we by Repentance may prevent further punishment...'*

In that year 430 people had died in the town. In Calvinist terms the plague signified a rupture in the covenant between God and man, which needed to be healed.

In 1603 James I with the Bishop of London had instigated a weekly fast to begin such a healing process. It appeared not to have been efficacious. The chronicle says that *'he fled and many citizens more of the chieftest sort'* But Bishop Jegen's view about such fasts was generally still held,

*'by fasting, prayer and humiliation to assuage Him and restore the covenant.'*

Care was taken to differentiate between such fasting and that of the previous religion where fasting had been associated with specific festivals in the church calendar. The new fasting was related to unpredictable events in human affairs. It was extremely intense in its dietary demands, as well as often including sleep, clothing, sexual activity, pastimes and even sometimes work. Some Calvinist individuals regularly fasted as a spiritual exercise.



Mrs Jane Ratcliffe, who was mentioned earlier, was renowned for her secret fasting.

This level of civic mortification obviously would affect the running of a town and had to emanate from both religious and corporation leaders. In 1608 William Gamull and George Lloyd united to instigate some form of fast in Chester to recreate unison between God and man, and to stop the plague. This time it was a success. The Chester Annals say,

*'The effects of this is worthy the noting: for not one house broke out or any more died of the plague from that day until now at this present: of that we were thankful to our good God'*

The plague did break out again in 1610, but the relationship between the civil and religious authorities did not produce another fast.

Lloyd's duties as bishop involved him in the financial affairs of his diocese. This was not limited to tithes and livings. The River Dee had long been problematic, because of its growing lack of navigability and flooding. In 1607 the national Commissioners of Sewers surveyed the river, and decided it needed to have all obstructions removed to improve it. One of these obstructions was 'the causey' or causeway/weir at the Dee Bridge. Much depended on this. The weir enabled the mills here to work. The Gamull family rented these mills. John Tyrer had also built a water tower into the gate at the Dee Bridge a few years earlier. It utilised the weir. It drew water from the Dee into a cistern at the top of the tower, and then distributed piped water in the town. Because the weir was part of Gamull's mill complex, anyone using Tyrer's water was using Gamull's water.

The Bishop of Asaph and JPs in Flintshire agreed to the causey being removed, but the corporation of Chester did not. A further appeal was placed by them to the Privy Council. Sir Richard Trevor, who had a mill in Boughton as well as one on his Trevalyn estate in Rossett, joined in the furore with others against Chester's stance. The Gamulls were even accused of having highered the weir when mending it earlier in the 1600s.

George Lloyd was actively involved in the campaign, as the church had interests in the Dee. John Tyrer was also a lay-clerk at the cathedral and he and the bishop *'made journeys down Wirral along the waterside'*. This probably also interested him, because the parish of Heswall also adjoined the Dee. Lloyd wrote to Robert Cecil about *'the old subject of Dee-Mills & the causey'* arguing that it gave to Chester bread, cloth, fish, fresh water and other necessities. He argued that navigability was not really a problem as the New Key (at Neston, Parkgate) was serviceable to ships.

Lloyd also petitioned Archbishop Bancroft before the affair was brought again before the Privy Coun-

cil. Chester won the day: although the River Dee itself may have lost it. The weir was not to be removed. It had great antiquity, dating back to the first Earl of Chester, and significance to Chester's wellbeing.

In general the relationship between diocese and the corporation of Chester worsened at this time. It was Lloyd's personal relationship with the Gamulls, which had enabled these successes. There were other corporation factions, with whom Dr Lloyd found more difficulties.

### **More radical Chester elements**

The cathedral was being side-lined in the life of Chester. Prior to the Reformation the corporation formed part of much liturgical ceremony. This was much reduced. Other religious links, such as the Guild Mystery plays, were stopped in 1575. An unpredicted result of the removal of such residual Catholic forms was that the corporation was becoming less connected to the cathedral. As members of the corporation were attracted to more radical forms of Calvinism, these connections loosened further.

The cost of holding posts had become very high. This had favoured the richer members. A limited number of families began to hold sway over the corporation. This was compounded by the growing need for a knowledge of law in some of the posts. Once more this was concomitant with the richer families being able to begin to afford a university education for some of their sons. This may have been one of the courses the Lloyd family had hoped George would take when he went to Cambridge.

This new autonomy was being encapsulated in new forms. Beating the bounds, the celebration of new mayoral appointment and civic regalia took on new importance. Such activities had only civic importance, not religious. Significantly the town had two elected M.P.s since 1543. These traditionally had come from members of the corporation.

The fracas of 1606 in the cathedral is difficult to understand except as the overflow of a growing tension between individuals in the cathedral and the corporation. It involved a prebend of the cathedral *'putting down'* the sword of the mayor's sword bearer. Since the Great Charter of 1506 the Mayor of Chester was entitled to be preceded by a sword bearer carrying the town's ceremonial sword point upwards in any place except in front of royalty. The Charter had been ratified again in 1604 by James I. It is possible that what was offensive to the prebends was the ritual space, upon which the corporation was now seen to be encroaching. By entering through the west door they may have been seen as overstepping their allocated station in the theological scheme of things.

Mayor Littler had entered the cathedral through the west door on the occasion of a funeral. Prebend

Peter Sharpe, whom we have met earlier, had knocked down the sword. Reverend Peter Sharpe had been a prebend in the cathedral since 1588. With over ten year's cathedral and civic experience he must have been aware of the legitimacy of this use of civic regalia. Lloyd supported these action. The corporation took the matter to the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Egerton. He sent two judges to investigate. Much to the corporation's delight they were vindicated

In 1607 another prebend, Roger Ravenscroft, had shut the west door of the cathedral on the funeral of the man, who had carried the sword in the previous funeral. The Mayor had been unable to enter through this ceremonial door. He entered through the south-west door and the body was left in the street until the west doors were eventually opened to admit the corpse. Ravenscroft had been a prebend since 1599. He had also had parishes in Worcestershire until 1605. Coincidentally on Sharpe's death he became minister at Dodleston until his own death in 1635. Like Sharpe he was experienced in cathedral and civic matters. In this instance Lloyd asked the offenders to apologise.

In the Cowper manuscript description of this event Dr Lloyd is described as '*a Gentleman well respected by the City*' He certainly had been. He had always associated with the richer civic leaders. This had been from his early life with his elder brother through to his time in Norwich. The Gamulls had continued to facilitate this relationship.

A very obvious rift had occurred between church and city. If the successful fast in 1608 at the time of the plague had gone some way to mend the rift, then events in 1612 were to open it again. This time it would be two overt attacks and not one based around civic symbolism.

The first in 1612 concerned the then Mayor, John Ratcliffe. His second wife was the pious Jane Ratcliffe. Not only did Byfield celebrate her in his 1614 publication, but John Ley, the vicar of Great Budworth, wrote a published sermon on her death in 1640, '*A Patterne of Piete or the Religious Life and Death of that grave and gracious Matron, Mrs Jane Ratcliffe, Widow and Citizen of Chester.*' Both Jane and John were radical Calvinists.

William Gamull in 1621 somewhat unfairly describes Ratcliffe in this way,

*'a man never employed in any publique affairs, but ever noted for a countenancer of factions and who had been convened before the ordinary for his Non-Conformity.'*

The amount of '*publique affairs*' in which Ratcliffe was involved has been listed earlier. His family were new to the Chester arena. His father had rented buildings in Gorse Stacks for brewing in 1593. Thereafter they had followed the typical for-

mula for civic success: make money, acquire offices and marry well. The third generation, John and Jane's son, would go to Oxford and enter the Inns of Court. This was a similar trajectory to the Gamulls.

It was his '*Non-Conformity*', which was to be the issue with Dr Lloyd. At the beginning of his mayoralty he imposed Sabbatarian restrictions on the town: carriers could not enter Chester on a Sunday and milk nor butter could be sold. He then went further in snubbing the cathedral as a spiritual centre. It was customary for corporation members to attend St Oswald's Church on Sunday mornings and the mornings of Festivals. Evening services would be held at the Guild church of St Peter's.

St. Oswald's Church was in the south transept of the cathedral. Here aldermen would have reserved seating for which the cathedral was paid. St Peter's was at this time where Nicholas Byfield preached and visiting preachers attended. St. Oswald's was also the Ratcliffe family's parish church. Their brewing business had been moved to Abbey Gate. His address was Northgate Street.

Ratcliffe had the Mayor's Pew moved to St Peter's. This would have been unacceptable to Lloyd had John Ratcliffe just been gadding, choosing to attend a church he preferred other than his parish. In fact the removal of the Mayor's Pew clearly indicated the corporation was rejecting the ecclesiastical Calvinism of the state for a more radical form of the religion. Lloyd demanded that the Mayor's Pew should remain in St Oswald's. In this instance he was able to retain the link of church and corporation.

The next mayoralty was that of Robert Whitby. His son, Thomas, became one of the city Sheriffs. Thomas Gamull had resigned his position of Recorder. Robert's other son, Edward, became the city Recorder. As the Recorder was a town M.P., it meant that a Whitby was also representing Chester at Westminster. A small group of families had been involved in the higher corporation offices for many years. But this proliferation of Whitbys in Chester was beginning to be reminiscent of Borgias and Florence.

George Lloyd had appointed Thomas Mallory as cathedral Dean in 1607. His connection with Vaughan had not evaporated on their mutual appointments to new bishoprics. Like Lloyd Mallory was a Cambridge man. He had married Robert Vaughan's daughter, Elizabeth. Lloyd had first appointed him to Archdeacon of Richmond. In 1619 Mallory bought the living of Mobberly and became its minister in 1621. Subsequent Mallorys were also to be appointed to the living.

Both Lloyd and Mallory protested about this Whitby family monopoly of significant offices. Mallory said that they were,

*'swelling toads railing at God's holy priests and trampling the poor underfoot like slaves and villains'*

The Earl of Derby was asked to adjudicate between the factions. It is clear that the rupture between church and corporation has emerged again. Here not only is the church said to be slighted, but Mallo-ry feels it is the only bulwark left to the poor.

## FINAL YEARS

### Thwarted Ambition

Dr Lloyd's contact with the Stuart court and London had continued. His relationship with Thomas Egerton had waned. Egerton ceased being Chamberlain of Chester in the year George Lloyd became bishop. Egerton's judges had supported the corporation in the incident of the sword and west door. In 1607 Lloyd had actively worked against Egerton's request that he remove obstructions on the River Dee.

His own friendship with Richard Vaughan had not ended, and he had his son-in-law, Mallory, working within his diocese.

In 1608 Patrick Young had come again to stay with Lloyd. In 1613 Patrick joins the chapter of cathedral for four years. His greatest fame came from the management of the royal libraries. This was the interest, which he had shown from the beginning of his relationship with Lloyd.

Lloyd writes the final extant letter in his correspondence with Sir Peter Young in 1608. It is as effusive as the earlier ones.

Young is of great value to him in maintaining his prestige in the ears of the king. He is blessed in the possession of the king's unmerited favour and he vows to govern the church to the honour of God with a loyalty that responds to the king's high favour. Under the great James' protection, influenced by the benevolent hand of Young, he feels shielded.

Lenten sermons were not given by James' chaplains but bishops. In 1609 George Lloyd formed part of an august trio of Calvinist preachers. With him in the series of lectures were James Montagu and John King. James Montagu was said to be 'very dear to the king'. He was Bishop of Bath and Wells, then later Bishop of Winchester. John King became Bishop of London, regarded as the most important bishopric in the country after Canterbury and York.

The commemorative panel on Bishop Lloyd's Palace shows the optimism of the time. It celebrates the Stuart dynasty. The IR (Iacobus Rex) clearly places it within the reign of James I. The crowned Order of the Garter is central with its Tudor rose. The fleur de lys and the crowned gate take us back to the decorative armorial features of King's College Chapel. The fleur de lys giving hereditary links to the Plantagenets. The portcullis taking their line to Margaret of Beaufort and the Tudor Welsh links.



**A panel outside Bishop Lloyd's Palace commemorating the Prince of Wales**

It has the stamp of George Lloyd's interests all over it. It even suggests that although he is no longer Bishop of Sodor and Man, he still has some association with this building.

At the bottom are the armorial devices, which both date the panel and are part of Lloyd's optimism for the future. They are the feathers of the Prince of Wales and the shield of the Earl of Chester. Henry, James' elder son, acquired these two titles in 1610. Not only was he the first Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester for over 73 years, but he was the great Calvinist hope for a stable religious settlement in the country. It is possible that they refer to the king's younger son, Charles, who gained these titles in 1616. It is much more likely that it is Henry, who is being celebrated by Chester's bishop. Chester celebrated his accession with a huge masque in the town.

Two years later in 1612 tragedy struck. Nationally it marked the end of Calvinist expectations. Henry died. It was quite unexpected, and the cause was probably typhoid fever. His younger brother, Charles, was an unknown quantity. Certainly his religious allegiances were not to militant Calvinism.

It is highly likely that Dr Lloyd had still hoped for a further promotion. From 1608 to 1613 there were six vacancies: Wells (1608), Ely (1609), Gloucester (1610), Rochester (1610), Worcester (1610) and London (1611). He gained none of them, in spite of James regarding him as 'the Beauty of Holiness'.

### A More Affluent Life

Dr Lloyd would have occupied the Bishop's Palace in the cathedral precincts from his appointment as Bishop of Chester. No longer would he need to advertise his presence with a cartouche, as he had in Watergate Street. This Bishop's Palace would be fairly imposing. His need to receive guests and entertain would be far greater than when he was Bishop of Sodor and Man. As pointed out in the discussion of the Prince of Wales panel Lloyd does seem to have kept some sort of association with what is now called Bishop Lloyd's Palace.



The Chester Bishop's Palace did have disadvantages. The Abbey precincts were definitely a busy and noisy working space both for clerics and others. There was a bakery here. John Ratcliffe had his brewery here. It was described as full of '*noise, filth and smoke*'. There was an alehouse in the abbey gate which was very rowdy. Dr Bridgeman, who was the Bishop of Chester from 1619 to 1644, preferred to live in Wigan. He thought the Chester Bishop's Palace was unhealthy

From 1597 Lloyd and his family had lived in the rectory at Heswall. It would be much quieter than Chester. They could have a more rural and free upbringing. The view across the Dee estuary to the Welsh coastline was also stunning. Life would be healthier and probably cheaper. At the beginning of the seventeenth century plagues were frequent. Those who could, would retreat to country residences. Yet these often could be no safer than in the city. The Heswall records show that 25 died of the plague in 1605. The Lloyd's would have known these people in such a small parish. They would have feared for their young family and themselves.

In 1607 Lloyd became the vicar at Thornton-Le-Moors. The last Lloyd family entry in the Heswall records is from this year. It is the death of his son, Henry. The boy was possibly named after the elder son of James I. Lloyd resigned his appointment at Heswall in 1613. At some point the family left the rectory at Heswall for that at Thornton.

Dr Lloyd had been a pluralist since he left Norwich. In these final years he had held a bishopric and three parishes. From the man, who had complained that '*my purse emptied*' during his pursuit of the bishopric of Sodor and Man, he had become quite affluent.



In 1615 Lloyd bought Pant locyn in Gresford. This was a substantial Welsh rural country property. It had been owned by the influential Welsh dignitary, William Almer.

The house had no connections with the church. It could be seen to show Lloyd's desire to return to his rural Welsh roots. It certainly was a family invest-

ment, ensuring they were independent of the church. Property and land was also a way of storing money and increasing its value. Lloyd, although the youngest son, had come full circle to being a landowner as his father in Llanelian-yn-Rhos.

After his death his wife inherited the property. Anne is involved in a legal tussle with the Trevors of Trevalyn about the property in the 1620s. The family sold it in 1630.

There must have been sufficient money in the Lloyd household for a time, because at some point after he became Bishop of Chester a real luxury was purchased. It was a beautiful piece of provincial artisan portraiture. It is oil on an oak panel. The background is dark, so the bishop's pale features and kind expression shine out to the observer. It is a painting, which has not been greatly influenced by the Renaissance. It lacks depth and vivacity, but it still revealing of this Jacobean divine.

In the left hand corner is his bishop's coat of arms. On one side are the arms of the bishopric of Chester. The other side no longer simply consists of the three horses' heads, which he used as Bishop of Sodor and Man. Instead he is using the full Lloyd family crest, consisting of black rampant lions and chevrons with three mullets (a mullet being a rowel of a spur, looking like a five pointed star/jellyfish). The painting seems not merely to celebrate him a bishop, but also to commemorate him as the last of his brothers. This would place the painting around 1606 after Rowland's death.

The purchase of Pant locyn seems to show that Dr Lloyd had positive hopes for the future. It also shows that he had probably lost any career hopes and was hunkering down in the Chester area.

On the first of August 1615 he died. The illness appears to have been speedy and unexpected.

He was buried within a day in the choir area of the cathedral. A square of alabaster marked the spot with a brass memorial on top. This has long since vanished. The memorial was in Latin and said,

*'An untimely death has shut up in this Tomb the heart of George Lloyd, whose memory is recorded in Chester. By race a Welshman. Educated in Cambridge. A Doctor of Theology and a Leader in Theology. He directed and benefitted the Bishopric of Sodor and Man, presiding over it for a term of five years. Her mother England recalled her son and deemed him worthy to possess the Bishopric of Chester where eleven seasons have passed away – not without storms of trouble. He died lamented and worthy to be lamented in the fifty-fifth year of his life and on the first day of the month of August 1615. Neither was there shame in his life, nor shame in his death.'*

**Karen McKay, 2016.**

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