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THE

MISERICORDS

OF

EXETER CATHEDRAL

BY

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EXETER
JAMES G. COMMIN
1920

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THE MISERICORDS OF EXETER CATHEDRAL.

THE carvings on misericords show us the secular aspect of the mediæval mind, and this gives them a special fascination, but their interest does not rest only on the subjects, the handiwork of the artist deserves study. In the later ages of misericords there was a tendency to disregard beauty and finish so long as a story was told; this is not so at Exeter, where, with very few exceptions, the carvings are boldly designed and admirably worked.

Before considering them in detail, it may be as well to say a little about the evolution of the misericord.

In the primitive church people stood to pray, with the arms extended, as is shown by the "Orantes" in the catacombs of Rome. Later, it became the custom to kneel, but sitting was never permitted, participants in the service had to stand or kneel throughout. In the tenth century, stalls were placed in the choirs of cathedrals and monastic and collegiate churches; they were still places for standing, not seats. The word "stall" comes from the Anglo-Saxon, and means a standing place: it retains its primary meaning when applied to a stall in a stable, wherein a horse stands, also when used to designate a booth at a fair or a fancy bazaar, otherwise a "standing."

It is obvious that to stand or kneel all through the numerous daily services was a great physical strain to the aged and infirm, so they were allowed to use crutches, which were placed under the armpits, and afforded some support. However, before very long, seats were placed in the stalls in the form of brackets, which worked on pivots. They were only used during the Epistle and Gradual at Mass, and during the Responses at Vespers; at all other times they were turned back out of the way. Peter de Clugny in 1121, referring to the conduct of

services, says at certain times, "Here the seats are turned up"; so they must have been generally adopted by that date. The occupant of the stall would soon find that the solid edge of the bracket offered some little support; then the device was hit upon of fastening a piece of wood on this edge, at right angles to the bracket, so that when it was turned up another seat was brought to light, narrow, it is true, but a boon to weary bodies. The use of this little ledge as a seat was permitted at times when long periods of standing produced exhaustion, and was looked on as an indulgence to the infirm, so it received the name of misericord—mercy—and was sometimes called a "patience," the word being used in the sense of indulgence, as it is in Shakspeare in such phrases as "by your patience," though the strictly correct name is "sub-sedilia." The term "miserere" was never applied to it; this is inaccurate and ungrammatical, as it is a verb and not a noun. It seems to have been first used by Bishop Milner, early in the nineteenth century, in an account of Winchester Cathedral; it was quoted in some architectural publications, and for a time was commonly used in England; now it has given place to "misericord," the popular term by which it was first known.

From the thirteenth century onwards it became the custom to adorn with carvings the under sides of the seats which would be visible when turned up. In some churches, perhaps in all, the occupant of the stall turned round to kneel, and used the misericord as a desk. Monks and canons are but human; these interesting carvings no doubt gave a little relaxation during a long service.

The Exeter misericords date from the thirteenth century, and are the oldest complete set in England. The Fabric Rolls of the Cathedral were begun by Bishop Bronescombe in 1279, the year before his death; they were continued by Bishop Quivil and his successors up to 1439. They have no entry of the original erection of the misericords, which must have been finished before the record began. Tradition says they were carved during the episcopate of Bishop Bruere (1224—1244). From

the internal evidence of the carvings themselves, that may be taken as the approximate date of most of them, though they could not all have been finished till some time after. With a few exceptions, they appear to have been the work of one hand; the style varies very little, and what divergence there is, is no more than would be accounted for by the passage of time and the growth of new fashions. It seems as if the carver had worked at high pressure for a time, then, either his energy slackened, or from some other cause he worked more intermittently. Some might well have been carved in 1230, and some there are that can hardly be earlier than 1260. Two are later still, as will be shown presently.

The stalls containing the misericords are now in the usual situation, on the north and south sides of the west end of the choir, with return stalls against the screen between the choir and the nave, but it appears that this was not their original position, for there is an entry in the Fabric Rolls, 1309-10, recording that they were moved, as follows:—

> "Custos vitri et stallorum. Stip: mag. John de Glaston ad removand stallos per 14 sept., 52s. 6d."
>
> (Cost of glass and stalls. Payment to Master John of Glaston for 14 weeks removing the stalls, 52s. 6d.)

We are not told whence they were moved, nor where they were placed: perhaps they had been in the nave; in Norman cathedrals the clergy and choir sat in the transepts, and this practice may have been continued in Exeter until the enlarged choir was able to receive them, and the Bishop's Throne had been erected. Mr. Francis Bond, in *Cathedrals of England and Wales*, says definitely that it was so at Exeter, but does not give his authority.

When the stalls were moved in 1309-10, they were probably set up in much the same position as at present, at all events they were there before the restoration of 1870. An account of the misericords by the Rev. J. W. Hewett, published in 1849, gives a numbered list, which shows that each side of the choir had twenty-five stalls, of which six on the north side and four on the south were return stalls against the screen.

The stalls and misericords are mentioned occasionally in the Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. "The stalls retain their misereres, and the seats, which alone can be called genuine, lift up to show the quaint device carved on the other side" (*On the Woodwork of Exeter Cathedral*, by Edward Ashworth, Architect, July 25, 1852). "There are in the Cathedral Choir some stall seats, hidden and rather disguised by seventeenth century additions, but still the carving of the under-side of the moveable seat is good Early English, and supposed to be of Bishop Marshall's time" (*Ancient Woodwork in Devon*," July 8th, 1867.)

On examination it will be noticed that all the misericords have been cut down, and let into a framework of new wood. This process was so ruthlessly followed that seventeen of the carvings were mutilated by having portions cut away. When this was done it is impossible to say. At all events before 1849, for Mr. Hewett speaks of it with regret, adding "This mutilation appears to have been an early one." Here I must join issue with him. The framing must have been done by way of repairs. The edges no doubt had become worn or splintered, and it was decided to tidy them up in this drastic way. It is not at all likely that it would have been done when the stalls were moved in 1309; for one thing, they would be practically new, and not be in need of repair, and also because it was not until later times that the artistic work of a by-gone day was treated with indifference. Mr. Ashworth, in the paper from which I have already quoted, published in 1852, says that the pews at that time in the Choir, which he characterises as "tasteless in the extreme," were probably erected in 1684, the date of the elaborate pulpit. Very likely something was done to the stalls at the same time, for in the same paper the writer speaks of their being hidden and rather disguised by seventeenth century additions, and at that period it would not be at all unlikely that the carvings would be irreverently handled; Gothic art was in disrepute, and the great marvel is that they were allowed to escape with mutilation only.

When the seats were originally made, they had projecting wooden pivots which worked in sockets at the

sides of the stalls, so that they could swing up and down. When they were cut down and inserted in the new frames the same method was adopted, and the pivots were cut with the frames. But later it appears that supplementary hinges were affixed to the misericords.

Each misericord has four nail-holes, which in nearly every instance are taken quite through the thickness of the wood, making scars on the face, and sometimes splitting it, so that new wood has had to be inserted.

I have been fortunate enough to see photographs of all the fifty misericords, taken after they had been removed from the stalls for the restoration of 1870, but before anything had been done to them, and I am permitted to reproduce any of them to illustrate this paper. As would be expected, they show several important points. In these photographs the misericords all have their pivots, and the marks where nails of the hinges scarred the wood are very evident, as they are to-day. In some cases the wood is splintered and broken. The misericord which is now in stall 48 has wooden battens nailed on each side; at present new wood has been inserted. The shelves of No. 23 (Cockatrice), and No. 38 (Merman and Mermaid), have broken edges. All damage of this kind was made good at the restoration.

All the misericords have now lost their pivots. The late Mr. Harry Hems in a letter to the Honorary Secretary of the Exeter Pictorial Record Society, November 4th, 1914, stated that up to the time of the restoration (1870-71), "All had their original wooden pivots in perfect order, fit to work for a few more centuries."

This is not quite accurate; the pivots were not the original ones, but were a part of the modern frames, into which the carvings had been inserted, which Mr. Hems, curiously enough, does not seem to have noticed. Nor does he refer to the supplementary hinges, which, as mentioned above, had produced scars on practically all of them, as shown in the photographs of 1870; they have no connection with the present hinges, and looked just the same then as now.

To return to Mr. Hems's letter. He says that the misericords were taken out and sent to a firm of carvers

in London, presumably to be inserted in the new canopied stalls which the firm had been employed to make. But this was not done; the new stalls were erected, and the misericords left behind in London. Eventually they were sent back, and then it was discovered that in taking the measurements, "allowance had not been made for the projecting pins, part and parcel of each shelf, and upon which, inserted in the division, the seats originally worked up and down. So as they could not possibly be made to go in as they were, these pins, most regretfully, had to be cut off, and the modern hinges were fitted on as now seen."

Nevertheless it may be pointed out that the initial error cannot have been in the measurement; if the stalls would hold the misericords, of course the pivots, which were less than two inches long, could easily have been inserted in the thickness of the wood at the sides of the stalls, if it had been done when the stalls were being put together; but no doubt, if the misericords were put aside and forgotten, as Mr. Hems implies was the case, it would be impossible when they were fixed and finished to slip the pivots into the sockets without taking the stalls to pieces.

Unhappily, Mr. Hems is no longer with us, but it is due to him that his report, as an expert and a contemporary of the restoration, should be recorded.

On three of the misericords there are still visible traces of a device of two concentric circles, but the photographs of 1870 show them on twenty-five; the marks were no doubt sand-papered away at the restoration. The lines are incised, struck by dividers, not always quite accurately, and gouged out afterwards. It is difficult to see what the meaning of the device repeated so many times can be, unless it is the workman's mark.* If so it would show that the carvings were nearly all done by one man, for many of the unmarked ones are clearly by the same hand as others with marks. Of course it is quite possible that

* In *Choir Stalls and their Carvings*, by Miss Emma Phipson, it is mentioned that "at Ludlow some of the seats have a distinguishing mark, an incised cutting of a conventional sprig; no doubt the private mark of the artist."

some of them were so faintly incised that they did not appear in the photographs, and there is now nothing else to go on. Most of the marked carvings are of very great merit, but two or three of the later ones are inferior in design or execution, or both; showing, to my mind, the work of an old man whose invention has staled, and whose skill of hand has forsaken him.

Besides the concentric circles thirteen have in the photographs large Roman figures scratched at the dexter bottom corner; these figures also have now been erased.

In only two cases are the groups of figures complete; in the framing in they have been cut away. One has the letter **M** partly cut away, and there is another device of triangles and straight lines on No. 11.

Before leaving this part of the subject, to avoid bringing up the painful matter seventeen times more, I will enumerate here the carvings that have suffered mutilation by being cut down through the ornament. The numbers are those affixed to the stalls.

1. One third of the large lion mask on the left hand side is cut away vertically, and at the bottom the dragon's leg is pared down, and the tip of the lion's tail cut off.
3. Scroll of right hand terminal cut through, destroying half of the dragon's head and paws. Lower part of central mask gone.
10. One third of dexter terminal is cut away, and the curve of the seat with it. It happens that this seat is different in plan from all the rest, and projects over the terminals.
19. Mask at base cut in half. (Now restored).
22. Three trefoils of each of the two lower groups of leaves were cut away; these have been restored.
26. Tip of the central boss cut off.
27. An inch cut off on each side from the terminal scrolls.
31. Part of mask cut off.
33. Points of leaves on terminals cut away.
37. Two thirds of central boss gone.
38. Tips of lower leaves gone.
44. Lower part of leaf at bottom gone.
45. Large pieces of foliage were cut off, but are restored.

44. Lower central boss cut through. The right hand terminal is a restoration, but its loss was probably through accidental damage.
48. Lower central boss cut through.
49. Central boss and part of the lower leaf of the left-hand terminal were destroyed, and have been restored.
50. Leaf at base cut through.

The order of the misericords by the numbers affixed to the stalls is confusing, as the numbers run from right to left, instead of in the usual way, from left to right. No. 1 is the Dean's stall (Decani), on the south side of the Golden Gates, the numbers then follow to the left, until with No. 21 the Bishop's Throne is reached. Then crossing the floor to the north side, the stall next the doorway from the north aisle is No. 22, and going still to the left the numbers continue till we reach No. 49, the Precentor's stall (Cantori), on the north side of the Golden Gates. In the book by Mr. Hewett already referred to is a numbered list of the misericords as arranged in 1849.* By means of his drawings and wood-cuts and some descriptions in the text I have been able to assign the old numbers to thirty seven out of the fifty; of these, one only is in the same position, that is No. 1, which was then as now in the Dean's stall. It need not be inferred that any particular injury was caused by the re-arrangement, for the old system seems to have been as heterogeneous as the new. The reason no doubt was that the stalls are not all the same size. Putting aside the four end stalls, which are some inches wider than the rest, the width varies from 2 feet 3½ inches to 2 feet 5 inches, so the misericords had to be put where they fitted best. The average width of the misericords is 2 feet 2 inches, the arms of the stalls are about 2½ inches thick.

Stiff Leaf, with head of Bishop (No. 47).

Mr. Hewett's list shows that before 1870 the misericord No. 47, was in the Precentor's stall on the north side of the

* *Twenty Examples selected from the Misereres in the Choir of the Cathedral of St. Peter, Exeter*, from the original drawings of the Rev. John William Hewett, B.A., 1849. (Publisher, Allever Butler, Shoreham.)

Stiff Leaf, with head of Bishop. No. 47.

Effigy of Bishop Bartholomew.

Plate I.

choir. This carving is of different character from all the rest, and seems to demand special prominence, so it must have been the matter of dimension which led to its being ousted from its former position. It would appear that at the restoration the stall was made about four inches wider than before, and the misericord was then too narrow to fill it. This is much to be regretted, for the large piece of carving which is there now is uninteresting in design, and inferior to the rest in execution.

Messrs Howard and Crossley in *English Church Woodwork* (p. 15) remark that the Exeter misericords were probably cut by stone masons. No. 47 bears this out, for the design is very similar to that on the beautiful Purbeck marble tomb of Bishop Marshall, on the north side of the choir, under the screen. He died in 1206.

The tomb displays figures and heads, enclosed in quatrefoils, with Early English foliation round; the misericord has similar features. In the centre of the misericord is a half-length figure of a bearded man, clothed in a loose robe, and holding a scroll in his extended hands. This may be either a prophet or one of the evangelists, as scrolls are given to both. The figure is enclosed in a quatrefoil which breaks into very good stiff-leaf ornament; the leaves are trefoil with sunk lobes. The terminals are large bosses, they may be called side-subjects rather than terminals.

On the dexter boss is the mitred head of a bishop, and I think it is a portrait of Bishop Bartholomew (1159-1184.) He wears a moustache and beard, as in the effigy of Bishop Bartholomew in the Lady Chapel. Moreover, the mitre on the misericord is very similar to that of the monument; unadorned except for a row of circular plaques across the forehead.

Bishop Bartholomew was an Exeter man, and this misericord may have been erected, perhaps by members of his family, to commemorate him. The head is enclosed in a trefoil with more stiff-leaf.

Nearly all of the sinister terminal is a restoration of 1871; it is copied closely from the other, except that the central head is that of a woman with wimple and veil and a pointed cap. It was an egregious error to put

a woman's head to balance that of a bishop, who was of course a celibate, and the boss probably displayed another bishop, for the pointed cap on the women's head is in part original, and what remains looks like the top of a mitre. Perhaps this was a portrait of Bishop Bruere, who was bishop at the time, but I think more probably it was Bishop Marshall. As I said just now there is a strong resemblance between his monument and the misericord, and the artist would have the model ready to his hand, and would naturally be glad to reproduce the head of Bishop Marshall on the boss.

In the effigy the mitre has pendent straps which spring out on each side; perhaps traces of these were left when the boss was broken off, leading the restorer to conclude there had been a veil there.

The restoration of the boss is beautifully done, the join is almost imperceptible, but in the thirteenth century the artist would not have made one boss a replica of the other; there were always divergences, however slight. Above all one regrets the inappropriate introduction of the woman's head: it would have been so simple to copy that of Bishop Marshall from his effigy.

In the carving of misericords the clergy appear to have allowed their craftsmen a free hand. The seats were not essential parts of the church, but concessions to bodily weakness; moreover the carvings are on the under side, on which at all periods of the Middle Ages nothing of an exalted nature was ever placed. This feeling for fit situation appears to have perished in our days, or we should not be pained by seeing the cross and other sacred emblems on floor-tiles and carpets.

In these carvings we see the same spirit that led the artists of illuminated manuscripts to adorn the margins of the most sacred pages with incongruous figures, human and animal, natural and grotesque; but be it noted that in all the Exeter misericords there is nothing repellent, nothing of what in our speech we call vulgar, nothing ludicrous, as is sometimes found in later examples. With the exception of No. 47 they are purely secular in subject, though some convey moral instruction. Most of them

Two Medallions from Rouen Cathedral.

Plate II.

have no definite meaning, but are simply examples of the artist's gay fancy and skill of design.

The subjects may be classed under four heads.

1. Animals, real or fabulous.
2. Incidents from the romances of the day and actual scenes from life.
3. Grotesques and composites, or survivals of classical influence.
4. Foliated ornament.

In addition to these subjects there are some very interesting examples of portraiture on the terminals of the misericords.

There is a persistent and unaccountable legend that Bishop Bruere, Exeter's crusading bishop, brought back patterns of the carvings from the East on his return from the Holy Land. Unaccountable, for the work is pure Gothic. Oriental influence there is, as is shown by the number of hybrid creatures represented, but this influence must have been quite unconsciously felt; it is to be traced in all mediæval decoration, and the Exeter misericords share their characteristics with work of the same date in many French cathedrals and churches: Paris, Amiens, Rouen, Lyons.

Rouen Cathedral has on the porch of Les Libraires one hundred and fifty medallions, and others on the porch of La Calende, about the same date as the Exeter misericords, and they are strikingly similar both in subject and treatment, though of course the Rouen examples are in stone, while the Exeter ones are of wood.

The accompanying drawings from two medallions on le Portail des Libraires will, I think, establish this. No. 1, Plate II., should be compared with Exeter (No. 13) and the small animals in the corners are very similar to those on the terminals of Nos. 2, 3 and 15. No. 2, Plate II., shows a centaur shooting over his shoulder as in misericord No. 17, but instances of similarity of style abound. There are centaurs, sirens in great variety, fantastic hybirds; all, like the Exeter examples, ingeniously designed to fill a contracted space. The quatrefoils measure about one foot each way. There are similar subjects, also in quatrefoils, at Lyons.

To deal with the carvings in numercial order would be confusing and unsatisfactory, so the plan of this paper is, first to speak of the figure subjects, and explain them as far as may be, then to consider those which consist only of ornament, and to compare the styles of design and workmanship, in an attempt to arrive at some sort of chronology. The number of the stall will be given in every case, and by reference to the list each can easily be found if it is wished to examine either the illustration or the work *in situ*.

I.

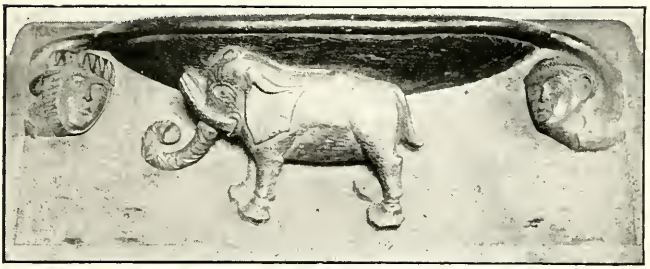
The Elephant (No. 27).

The most renowned of the series is an elephant, which is known far and wide as the Exeter elephant. Bishop Bruere is emphatically credited with having inspired this. It has been stated in print over and over again, even quite recently, that the bishop brought home the design from the Holy Land, he having seen elephants there.

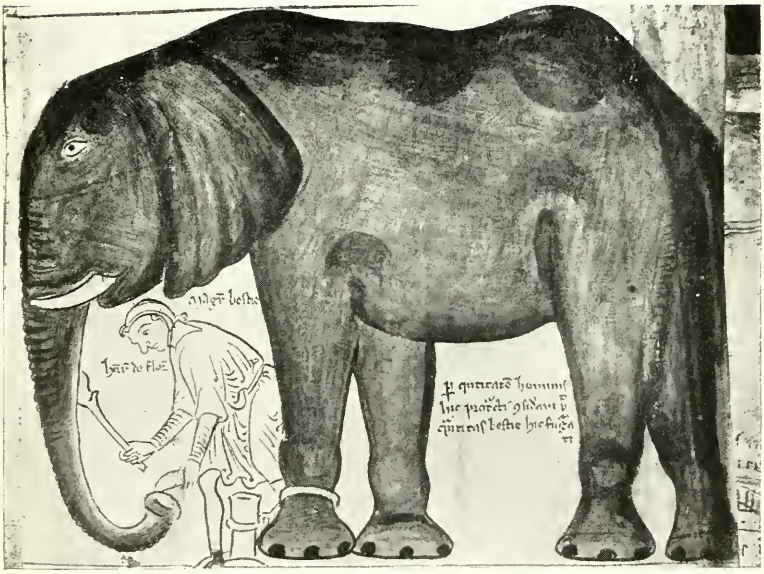
In the *Chronicle of the Crusades* we meet with camels, dromedaries, mules and asses as beasts of burden; we hear of the hunting of lions and antelopes; the Crusaders killed rabbits on the island of Lampedosa. And let it be noted that except the lion, not one of these animals is found on the misericords. But there is no mention of elephants, and there are none in the north of Africa, nor in the varous countries where the Crusaders touched on their way.

It is true that Tasso in his *Jerusalem Delivered* speaks of elephants in the same line as camels; perhaps by association of ideas, perhaps the statement is due to his poetic imagination. Anyhow, he wrote two hundred years later.

But even if Tasso were correct, and the Egyptian army possessed elephants, as he states, they would be war-elephants, and if our misericord had been copied from them it would have borne a howdah, and have been fully caparisoned, as elephants appear in the cathedrals of Ripon and Gloucester, Beverley Minster, Beverley St. Mary and elsewhere. Ours is simply an elephant, with no trappings of any kind. Cheap fun has been poked



Elephant. No. 27.



Elephant, from Drawing by Matthew Paris.

Plate III.

at it on account of alleged inaccuracies in representation; after reading certain printed descriptions one would expect to see a grotesque beast indeed. On this point also a protest must be entered against the journalistic touch. True, the elephant is not perfect, but if the artist had not given it the hind legs of an horse, and if the tusks did not stick upwards quite so much, there would not be much fault to find.

Mediæval workmen often copied the subjects of their carvings from the bestiaries, and several of the Exeter misericords were derived from the illustrations in these books, as will be shewn presently, but the elephant was not one of them. I have examined several bestiaries, and not in a single one is there an elephant that in point of accuracy approaches the Exeter carving, but it is noticeable that the thirteenth century drawings are more nearly correct than those of the fourteenth century. The probable explanation of this is that in 1255 a real live elephant was to be seen in England; Louis IX. of France sent it as a present to our King Henry III. Matthew Paris records its arrival; he states that no such animal had been in England before, and adds that people flocked to see it.* He made drawings of this elephant in two different manuscripts of his history; I give a copy of the drawing from the manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It is a very interesting sketch, obviously from life. Matthew was a very skilful draughtsman, and he has done well here; expression and attitude are wonderfully life-like. The accessories of the subject add to its interest; first, there is the keeper: his name is given in the text of the history as Henry of Florence, and it is written on the background in an abbreviated form, in old English letters, also the addition of "magister bestiæ." The keeper holds a short, thick club, which could give a nasty knock on the

*"Missus est in Angliam quidam elephas quem rex Francorum pro magno munere dedit regi Angliæ cum in partibus esset Gallicanis. Nec credimus alium unquam visum fuisse in Anglia, immo nec etiam in partibus cisalpinus præter illum; unde confluebant populi ad tentæ spectaculum novitatis."—Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (p. 903).

elephant's foot, this appears to be the method of correction in vogue to this day at the hands of elephant mahouts and keepers. The animal is shackled by the ankle to a post that looks somewhat inadequate.

In the margin Matthew Paris has copied the description of an elephant and its characteristics as given in the bestiaries. Most of it has no bearing on the matter now before us, so I only refer to one point.

The bestiaries say that an elephant has no joints in its legs, so that when it wants to rest it cannot lie down, but leans against a tree. In the elephant's absence the hunter saws the tree partially through, then when the huge creature leans against it, down comes the tree, and the elephant with it Not being able to bend his legs he cannot get up again, and falls a prey to the hunter. This statement accounts for the faulty legs in Matthew's drawing, he has not omitted the knees, but has brought them too low, producing the appearance of swollen ankles.

In the matter of the elephant's stiff legs, we find other instances of the vitality of a picturesque legend. Shakspeare in *Troilus and Cressida* makes Ulysses say "The elephant has legs, but none for courtesy, his legs are legs for necessity, not for flexure." (II., 3, 113.)

In the *Spectator* for August 12th, 1712 (No. 455) is a letter in which the following passage occurs:—"On Sunday last one (a preacher) who shall be nameless, reproving several of his congregation for standing at prayers, was pleased to say, "One would think like the elephant you had no knees. Now I myself saw an elephant in Bartholomew Fair kneel down to take on his back the ingenious Mr. William Penkethman."

The displeasure of the writer is natural, for this was in 1712, when most people must have known a good deal about elephants, yet here is the fable still extant. With the same persistence does the story of Bishop Bruere and the elephant from the Holy Land make its appearance in accounts of Exeter misericords.

On comparing the Exeter elephant with the sketch by Matthew Paris, points of resemblance will be noticed. First the protuberance on its back, which certain critics have found so funny, pretending that the artist confused

it with a camel. Not at all; it is simply his attempt to suggest the humped appearance when walking which Matthew Paris has caught so well. Again the critics allege that our elephant has a jointed trunk. Not so; it is wrinkled, like Matthew Paris' elephant, and every other elephant.

There is a sort of crest on our elephant's head which certainly has no business there. I will not attempt to account for it.

The terminals of this misericord are rather interesting: on each side is carved a head; on the sinister that of a man, on the dexter of a lady. The man is a citizen, as is shown by the way his hair is cut straight across his forehead, and evidently a wealthy one, for his wife wears a fashionable and costly headdress and gornet; her hair is in a net. Perhaps he was the donor of the stall.

Although many writers have given accounts of the Bestiaries, it may perhaps be useful to say a little about them. The Physiologus, or Naturalist was a collection of the descriptions of animals and plants, which were adopted from various writers on natural history, especially from Pliny. To the mind of the middle ages, everything in the world was created for instruction in religion; nothing was of importance except as a vehicle for a moral lesson. The object of science was, not to study a thing itself, but to penetrate its inner significance; the naturalist was first of all a theologian.

The plan of the Bestiaries (or Physiologus) is this. First, there is the drawing of an animal, sometimes, fully coloured, sometimes only in outline; then follows the description, copied from Pliny or some other writer, of the animal, with its characteristics. Sometimes the descriptions are fairly correct, and sometimes they are very fantastic; it is all one to the compiler, it is not for him to question their accuracy. His work is to find in the Bible passages wherein the animal is mentioned; then to harmonise these passages with the description, and apply the whole to some point of Christian doctrine, adding as many moral reflections as possible. Many of the subjects are derived from classical mythology, these also are made to accentuate Christian dogmas.

These books were translated into nearly every language of the Christian world, and were wonderfully popular. Everybody knew their contents, so that it was sufficient to see a carving of a beast or bird to understand at once what point of doctrine it was intended to convey. Their vogue lasted a thousand years, from the fifth century to the fifteenth, and during all that time they remained practically the same, one scribe copying another with scarcely any variation. A good many still survive.

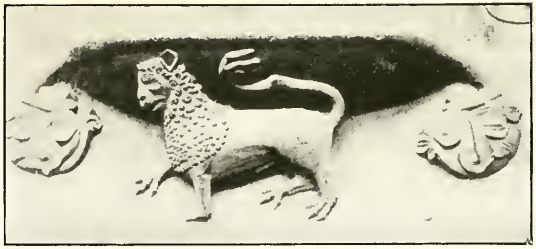
In the "Exeter Book," that treasure of the Cathedral Library, are poetical accounts of the phœnix, the panther and the whale in Anglo-Saxon; they are very striking compositions, possessing real beauty of style. They are not illustrated.

The Lion (No. 35).

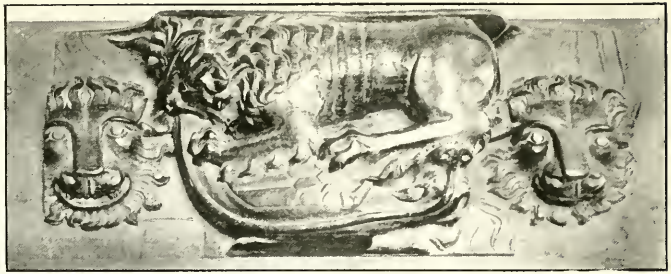
All the bestiaries give full descriptions of the king of beasts, and this may have been copied from one, but hitherto I have not come across a drawing in a bestiary which much resembles it. It is the conventional lion of ecclesiastical art, except that it has dragon's feet instead of paws. This feature may have been accidental, I have seen it in other cases, or it may have been suggested by a passage in a homily of St. Augustine, in which, speaking of our adversary the devil, he says, "He is lion and dragon in one, impetuous as the lion, and insidious as the dragon, raging openly like the former, and lying in wait secretly like the latter." (Homily xxxiv).

Most likely it had no symbolical interpretation, and was only intended for ornament. It may have been copied from an Oriental fabric; Bishop Bruere brought some from Bagdad, it is just the kind of lion that is seen to this day in eastern stuffs, and the stiff curliness of the mane suggests that it was derived from some kind of textile rather than from a drawn or painted pattern. It is still more probable that it was an heraldic lion from a banner, seen in the Holy Land or elsewhere.

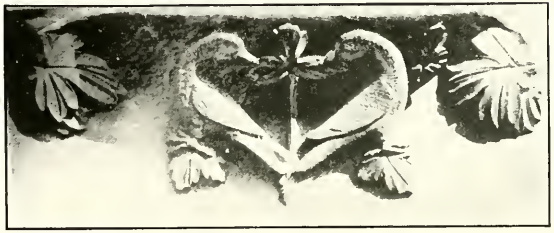
The original photograph from which the illustration is derived was taken in 1870, before the restoration. It will be noticed that the edge of the shelf is worked by the chisel, and has the subtle charm of handwork. This



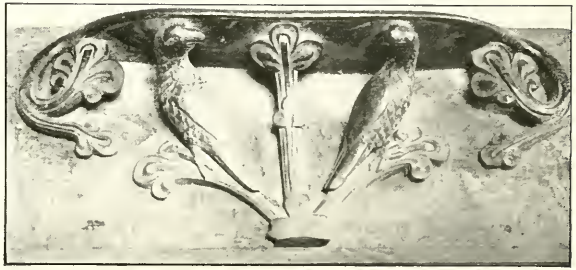
Lion. No. 35.



Lion and Dragon in combat. No. 1.



Doves. No. 41.



Parrots. No. 44.

Plate IV.

is now lost; the edge has been shaped on the lathe into a round moulding, and sand-papered to the utmost.

Lion and Dragon in Combat (No. 1).

A lion in combat with a dragon of rather indeterminate type; the lion is a lean, hungry beast with its ribs showing, quite different from the sleek creature on No. 5.

Honorius d'Autun says the lion is antichrist, and the dragon the devil, and refers to Psalm xci., 13: "The young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." Associated in this way, possibly the lion and dragon symbolize the evil principle in its strongest form.

This misericord is of a different type from all the rest; I think it may be assigned to the fourteenth century, but there will be more to say about it later, when considering the evidence of date. Here it need only be noticed that the group is disproportionately large, and to accommodate it, the edge of the shelf is made so thin as to be hardly perceptible when turned up, but this example has been egregiously cut down, and it is not fair to condemn it; the proportions may originally have been more satisfactory.

There are no terminals, but large lion-masks appear as supporters. A large piece has been cut off from the dexter one.

Pair of Doves (No. 41).

On both Nos. 41 and 44 is a pair of birds facing one another, with a central ornament between them. This arrangement was no doubt in the first place derived from a classical original, but as regards our misericords probably the direct source was an illustrated bestiary, as it was a favourite subject in these works.

In ecclesiastical art there are instances of similar groups wherein the central object is a goblet or dish. These have been interpreted, no doubt correctly, as referring to the Holy Eucharist, and on that account, without reflecting that it would be entirely out of place and inappropriate, it has sometimes been stated that our misericords have the same signification. This must be emphatically denied. Not one of the misericords has any direct religious bearing; moreover,

in the two in question the central device is a leaf, and there is nothing that can possibly suggest a chalice.

Therefore we may be permitted to adopt an interpretation which is assigned to the dove in bestiaries. It exemplifies conjugal love, and especially inculcates the duty of a widow to refuse to marry a second time. The admonition does not seem to apply to widowers.

An Old-English bestiary (which has been printed by the Early English Text Society) has a quite poetical passage about the turtle dove, saying how "faithfully she holdeth love all her life time."

"If she once hath a mate
She never will leave him afterwards.
Women be admonished by her life
I will advise you.
By her mate she sits at night,
By day she goeth and flieth (by him).
But if her mate were dead
And she were a widow,
Then she flieth and fareth alone,
No other will she more,
But goeth alone and sitteth alone
And waiteth for her old love,
And keepeth him in her heart night and day
As if he were still alive."

The signification appended is:

"Christ is our soul's spouse,
Love we Him with might,
And let us never go from Him."

Nevertheless this moral was not often applied. The design was nearly always used to symbolize conjugal love, and was often used, as perhaps it was here, as a memorial to a departed husband or wife.

In St. Michael's Church, Heavitree, Exeter, is a floor slab in memory of Thomas Gorges and Rose his wife. She had died a few months after him. The epitaph has been often quoted, but I will give just the two opening lines, because they show that the pretty fancy of the faithful turtle dove still survived in 1671:

"The louing turtell having lost her mate
Begged she might enter ere they shut the gate."

Pair of Parrots (No. 44).

The birds on No. 44 have hooked beaks, but they certainly are not hawks, because hawks have exceptionally long wings, and these are exceptionally short; they appear to be parrots. Mr. G. C. Druce, F.S.A., in the *Antiquary* (vol. x., new series, p. 301) refers to a misericord in the cathedral of Wells, which represents a pair of parrots standing on a branch. The parrot is described and pictured in many bestiaries, as a rule without any symbolical interpretation, but Mr. Druce has found the symbolism in a French bestiary in the Arsenal Library, Paris. This is to the effect that the plumage of the parrot is not "fast colour," and that if it gets wet its brilliant tints will wash out. Therefore, if it is inclined to rain, a wise parrot will take shelter in the wood, and thus preserve its beauty.

The application is that a wise man will not unnecessarily expose himself to temptation.

Comparison of the illustration with the pre-restoration one of the doves, will show how the edge of the shelf was modernized and spoilt in the operations of 1871.

Two Fish (No. 36).

No. 36 displays two fish, erect on their tails, one each side of a stiff leaf ornament. This has portrait heads on the terminals, a man and a woman. Probably, therefore, it was a private gift; if the portraits had not been there it would have seemed appropriate from the Fishmongers Guild. Of course the donor may have been a fishmonger. There is another theory, suggested by Mr. Francis Bond,* namely that the work was presented by a man named Pike, who had his portrait and that of his wife carved on the terminals, while in the centre was a rebus on their name: two pikes. The suggestion is attractive, but it appears that the rebus as an ecclesiastical ornament had not come into vogue at the date of the carving.

The woman wears a hood and wimple; this mode arose in the middle of the thirteenth century, and is still worn by nuns. The man wears a hood of the pattern which was attached to a cloak, made from a folded piece of cloth.

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* *Wood Carvings in English Churches*, I. Misericords, p. 199.

Two Hands (No. 42).

No. 42 does not come into any classification, but it seems to be the fellow to No. 36, so I put it here.

It consists of two hands and arms holding up the shelf, both beautifully modelled. The hands are bare, the arms have tight sleeves to the wrist. The arms rise from a stiff-leaf scroll, and between them is an upright stem breaking into leaves at the top; the terminals are good stiff-leaf. Both they and the central stem closely resemble those of No. 37. The upper leaf of the sinister terminal is a restoration.

It is conceivable that this carving was a gift from the Glovers Guild.

Centaur (No. 17).

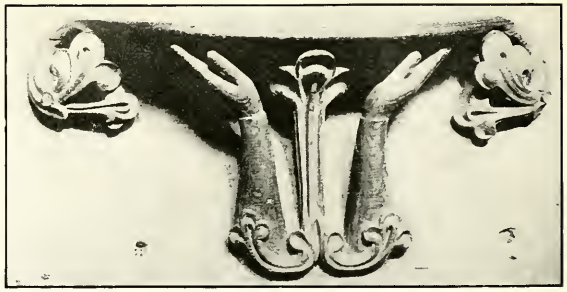
The foregoing are the only representations of real animals on the Exeter misericords, but there are fabulous animals, which in the Middle Ages were quite as real to the mind of the people, and which appeared side by side with actual animals in the illustrated bestiaries. One of these was the centaur.

The classical conception of the centaur was a creature half man, half horse; the bestiary accounts were derived from an oriental source. It is called the ono-centaur in contradistinction to the classical homo-centaur, and is half man and half ass. A centaur with the tail of an ass appears at Rouen, but as a rule it assumes the classical form, half man, half horse, and it is so at Exeter.

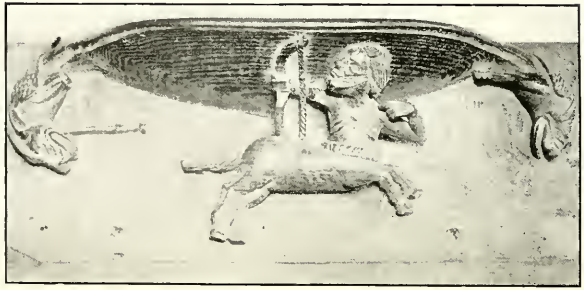
There are two examples, male and female respectively. The passion for symmetry led to the practice of representing all sorts of creatures as of both sexes.

The interpretations of the centaur are rather contradictory; this is not unusual in bestiaries. The writers want to draw so many morals, and are so ingenious in finding analogies, that they do not perceive incongruities, and lose themselves in the bewildering maze of their own dissertations. In its main features the centaur symbolizes the contest between the flesh and the spirit. The bestiaries mention that it is found in India, and is constantly engaged in contest with savage men, dragons, and other fearsome beasts. According to this reading the centaur represents the soul, "which is peaceable and dislikes war, loving his Creator." If the centaur is

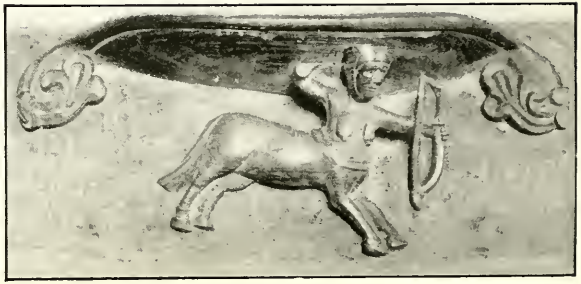
Two Fish. No. 36.



Two Hands. No. 42.



Centaur. No. 17.



Female Centaur. No. 9.

Plate V.

fighting with a lion or dragon, it represents the soul which battles with the flesh and overcomes it.

This centaur is a virtuous creature. His arrow has pierced the neck of a dog on the terminal. Following the Hebrew misconception of the dog, in medieval times it was regarded as an incarnation of the evil principle, in conformity with the assertion "For without are dogs" (Revelation xxii, 15), and many other derogatory allusions in the Scriptures.

This is the only case wherein the terminal is connected in any way with the main subject.

Female Centaur (No 9).

But there is another side to the centaur's character. He symbolizes a deceitful man or a traitor; *one who seems in front to be good, but is evil behind.* Hugo de Saint Victoire says centaurs are like double-tongued men, and quotes the passage in II. Tim. iii., 5, "having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." I hesitate to suggest that the female centaur is meant to present this aspect of the creature, though it must be admitted that the medieval craftsman who wanted to exhibit evil propensities often embodied them in female form. However, in this case it is not possible to say. If there had been anything at which the centauress aimed her arrow it would make clear whether she were good or evil, but very probably it has no symbolical intention at all, but was simply used as a suitable design. At Rouen Cathedral there are many representations of centaurs. On the *Portail des Libraires* alone there are five (three male and two female), and these certainly have no hidden symbolical meaning, but serve to fill a quatrefoil neatly.

Our centauress is very carefully carved. The twisting of the bow string is clearly shown. The bow is partly broken away; the right forearm also is lost.

The Mermaid (No. 25).

In Keltic, Norman, and Medieval art the siren was a favourite subject. It was a survival of classical legend, but was introduced in bestiaries as well as the centaur, the satyr and other interesting mythological conceptions.

Sirens in their classical aspect had the same function as the valkyries of Scandinavia. They carried the souls of the

departed to Hades, and were often sculptured on tombs and cinerary urns.

Three kinds of sirens are mentioned in the bestiaries. Some were half woman and half bird, some half woman half fish, while Philippe de Thaun's conception combines all three creatures. The favourite representation, and the one with which we ourselves are most familiar, was the fish siren, or mermaid. No. 25 gives us one of the approved pattern. The upper part of a woman, merging, under a girdle of seaweed, into a very handsome fish; her left hand grasps a fish. The right hand is broken away, but undoubtedly it held originaliy a second fish. The slight roughness produced by the chisel can be seen, and still more distinctly be felt, at the spot where the other head formerly was, and the outline of the fork of the tail, exactly opposite that of the existing fish, is perfectly visible, even in a photograph.

I have inserted a drawing copied from a bestiary, dated 1240, in the British Museum (Sloane MS., 3544), because the resemblance to our mermaid is very strong, and would have been even stronger if she had retained both her fishes. It cannot be doubted that in very many cases designs for carving were found in illustrated manuscripts, religious and secular, and the likeness of the two mermaids proves it.

The bestiary account was adopted from Pliny. The fable we all know: that by her sweet singing the mermaid lures sailors to their destruction. The moral is: "Thus the devil deceives those who listen to his seductive voice, luring them on to destruction, and when he has rendered their souls insensible by the pleasures of the world he falls on them and kills them."

A fish represents a Christian, or the soul of a Christian. Tertullian says: "At baptism we are spiritually born in water like the fish." Therefore a fish in the hand of a siren signifies the soul in the grip of earthly passions.

The *Old-English Bestiary* speaks of the mermaid's song (I have ventured to modernize the spelling):—

"Merry she singeth, this mermaid,
And hath many voices,
Many and shrill,
But they are all ill.
Shipmen forget their steering
For her singing.
They slumber and sleep,
And awake too late.
The ships sink through the treachery,
And never come up again."

Although this account is to the same effect as that of the Latin prose bestiaries, the moral is different, and indeed rather unexpected. The mermaid is to symbolize a deceitful *man.*

"He speaks divinely,
But wicked are his deeds.
His deeds are all different
To what he speaks with his mouth.
Double is he of mind,
He swears by the rood,
By the sun and the moon.
And he speaks falsely
With the speech and the song.
They by deceit will destroy
Thy property with treachery,
Thy soul with lying."

Chaucer speaks of the mermaid's song, referring to the bestiary descriptions:

"And Chanticlere so free
'Gan singen like the mermayde in the sea;
For Physiologus sayeth sikerly
How that they singen well and merrily."
(*Nun Priest's Tale*, 451).

Mermaid and Merman (No. 38).

The compilers of bestiaries liked to introduce passages of Scripture into their descriptions. Often these were not from the Vulgate but from a translation of the Septuagint. In the account of the siren some bestiaries quote Isaiah xiii., 21. Where the Vulgate has *ostriches*, and the authorized English

version *owls*, the Septuagint has *sirens*, and the passage is as follows: "Sirens and satyrs shall dance there, and centaurs and demons shall dwell in their houses." Moreover, sirens are introduced in the Vulgate also, in verse 22, taking the place of dragons in the Authorised Version.

No. 38 appears to be an illustration of the Septuagint rendering of Isaiah xiii., 21. A merman and a mermaid, facing one another, are beating a tabor with their hands; beneath the tabor is a satyr's head. In medieval art the head was sufficient to represent the whole body. This convention was very useful, especially in a limited space, and where the figures were necessarily on one plane.

It need hardly be pointed out that the artists of the Middle Ages represented a scene exactly as it would take place at the date at which it was carved; people danced to the tabor at merrymakings, therefore sirens and satyrs would do the same thing. Jumping, tumbling, posturing, and a great deal more were all included in the word "dance." In the light of the passage from Isaiah quoted above it would seem that we are intended to see here the satyr dancing to the sound of the tabor.

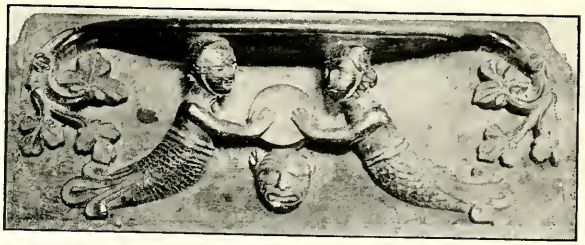
It has been suggested to me more than once that the instrument in question is not a tabor, but a drum, as being much deeper than a tabor. So it is, but it is simply continued to the background to supply a stay to make it firm and substantial. The extension is roughly cut, it tapers towards the back, forming a truncated cone, and there are no lacings. We are only meant to view it from the front, and from the front it is a tabor.

The face of the satyr, except for the goat's ears, is the wide-mouthed, coarse-featured rustic who was a devoted frequenter of fairs.

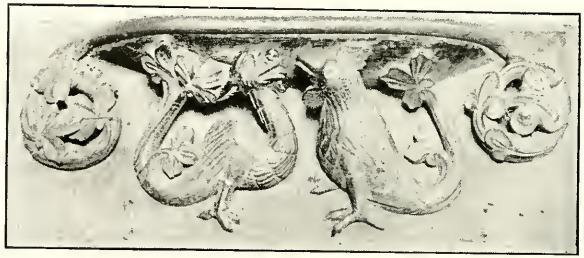
Mr. G. C. Druce, F.S.A., has stated that the head is that of a drowned sailor, over whose destruction the sea-people are rejoicing. One hesitates to differ from such a competent authority, but it is without doubt the head of satyr, not of sailor.

The merman wears a close cap fastened under the chin. This cap was of white linen; Planché compares it to a child's nightcap. It made its appearance in the middle of the thirteenth century, and was seen upon the heads of

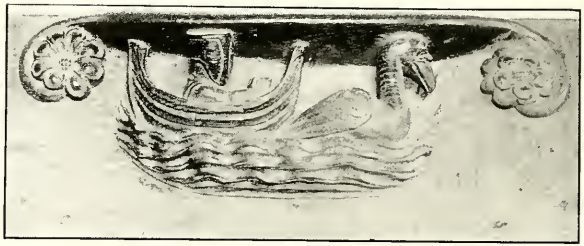
Mermaid. No. 25.



Merman and Mermaid. No. 38.



Cockatrice. No. 23.



Knight of the Swan. No. 18.

Plate VI.

every class in the kingdom. (Planché's *History of Costume*, p. 67.)

The mermaid's head-dress seems to be formed on a frame. This also is fastened under the chin by an elaborate "bridle."

The terminals of this misericord are natural maple leaves, indicating date 1260-70.

The Cockatrice (No. 23).

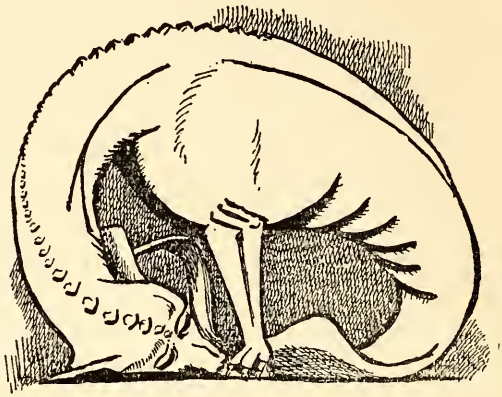
This represents the legend of the basilisk or cockatrice, which the bestiaries give as follows:—When a cock is seven years old it lays an egg; this egg is brooded on and hatched by a toad or serpent. The creature which is produced has the head, neck, and breast of a cock, while the rest of the body is like a serpent. It hides as soon as it can, for if a man sees it before it sees man it will die, but if it sees man first the man will die. It is the king of all serpents, and its gaze is so venomous that it kills all birds who fly past it.

The subject on our misericord seems rather involved. Although the cock has foliation instead of a tail it is not a serpent's tail, so perhaps it is not the cockatrice but the seven years' old cock which has laid the egg whence the cockatrice or basilisk facing it was hatched. Or, if we take it that the foliation is really a serpent's tail and that the creature with the cock's body is a cockatrice, the one facing it may be an asp or adder. It is not quite one's idea of an asp, but that is nothing if it stood for one, and there is a medieval description of the creature with which it corresponds very well.

In the twelfth century Honorius d'Autun produced a collection of sermons for the principal festivals of the year, called the *Speculum Ecclesiæ*: it is in a sort of rude verse, which made it very popular, so that its use was continued in the thirteenth century. All these sermons dealt with the truths of the Christian faith by means of symbolism, and referred repeatedly to the animals of the bestiaries.

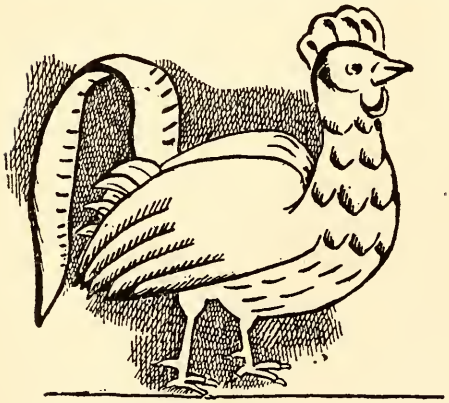
The sermon for Palm Sunday is on the verse taken from Psalm xci., "Thou shalt walk upon the adder and the basilisk, thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon." Honorius explains that this refers to our Lord, triumphant over His enemies; the lion, he says, is antichrist, the dragon the devil, the adder is sin, the basilisk death. He has a good deal to say about the adder; it is a kind of dragon which may be

charmed by songs, so to protect itself against the voice of the charmer it lays one ear against the ground and stops the other with its tail.



In the central doorway of Amiens Cathedral* is the figure of our Lord which goes by the name of "le beau Dieu d'Amiens." He stands on a lion and a dragon, and a little below, on each side appear the basilisk and the adder, thus amply illustrating the passage from Psalm xci. quoted above.

The adder is stopping its ears in the way mentioned in the sermon. The creature on our misericord has stopped its left ear by pressing it against the under side of the shelf; the right ear, however, is open. In other respects it is very similar to the Amiens example, "a kind of dragon"; and the Amiens basilisk —or cockatrice, the terms are interchangeable—is not unlike our cock, though it has a definite serpent's tail.



I append drawings of these creatures from Amiens for com-

* With feelings of the deepest thankfulness we learn that, as far as is known, Amiens Cathedral with its wonderful sculptures, though it was in deadly peril, has come practically unscathed through the hideous war.

parison with the Exeter misericord, which may fairly be taken to be a symbolical representation of Sin and Death.

This example is interesting in a special way because it shows the overlapping of the Early English and Decorated styles. The sinister terminal is Early English of rather late type, but still retaining its rounded characteristics. The leaves that form the animals' tails are maple leaves of the naturalistic type of the Decorated period, and so is the dexter terminal, though this appears to be a restoration.

According to Rickman and Parker maple leaves were used in Lincoln Cathedral in 1260, and that is no doubt approximately the date of this misericord.

II.

Popular Romances.

The group of subjects from popular romances is not large, but is particularly interesting. No. 18 is an excellent representation of

The Knight of the Swan,

perhaps best known in our day as Lohengrin, the mystic hero of Wagner's opera, but the story was a favourite one in the Middle Ages, and appeared in different forms in different countries. It was originally part of a Norse saga; in the thirteenth century a minnesinger, Wolfram von Eschenbach, put it into the form of a German poem which was incorporated in a series referring to Godfrey de Bouillon who, it was stated, took his descent from the Knight of the Swan.

The story of the poem briefly is as follows:—Elsen, Duchess of Brabant, was a prisoner and in dire straits when a knight arrived in a boat drawn by a swan, delivered her and married her, but forbade his bride to ask his name. Afterwards, he went to the wars, and performed prodigies of valour against the Huns and Saracens. On his return, covered with glory, his wife, exasperated by the gibes of her relations because she did not know her husband's name, broke through his prohibition and demanded it. Instantly the swan again appeared with the boat and took the knight away.

Our carving was probably derived from the German poem. As far as I can learn the story did not appear in

English until the fifteenth century, but the Scandinavian aspect of the legend must not be overlooked. This shows us the swan as a funereal emblem. In Norse mythology, "when a hero becomes an aquatic bird, when he loves a swan, is drawn by it or rides upon it, it means that he is traversing the sea of death, returning to the kingdom of the San Graal." (Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*).

The valkyries, who received heroes after death, had the power of transforming themselves into swans. The goddess Freya, one of whose functions it was to receive the souls of dead maidens, had swan's feet, and to this feature may perhaps be referred the fact that the figures on several of the misericords have webbed feet, but I do not lay stress on this. I have found one example at Rouen of a dragon with webbed feet that has no secondary intention.

The terminals are roses of early English type; these are not found on any other example.

Aristotle (No. 30).

This is one of the composites, but as it illustrates a popular romance it must be included in this section. It represents a man on all fours wearing a crown; the legs are the hind legs of a horse, and the tail is a snake, with the head curving round towards the back. The figure bears a saddle with stirrups placed on a coat of chain mail which reaches to the wrists, but over the body forms a saddle-cloth, rounded off over the hind quarters.

It has often been stated that this carving represents Nebuchadnezzar. Mr. Hewett does so in the paper to which reference has previously been made. I cannot say if the ascription originated with him. It must be granted that in the early days of archæological research a superficial inspection might possibly suggest such an interpretation, but a reference to the passage in Daniel which records Nebuchadnezzar's aberration shows that the figure does not agree with it in a single particular. This is it:—

"He was driven from men and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagle's feathers, and his nails like bird's claws."

I should not have referred to this erroneous ascription had it not happened that it was quoted to me quite recently as an

authoritative statement, so I must say very definitely that it rests on no grounds whatever. The subject of the carving is a medieval story which exists in manuscript accompanied by miniature drawings which place the matter beyond a doubt.

A canon of Rouen Cathedral at the end of the twelfth century wrote a poem called "The Lay of Aristotle," relating how Aristotle, having rebuked his pupil Alexander for his attentions to a fair lady, himself fell a victim to her charms, and allowed her to ride round the garden on his back. Alexander, in ambush, was witness of this equestrian performance, and was enabled to retaliate on his tutor, but Aristotle, quite unabashed, himself proceeded to improve the occasion, observing "How greatly should a young prince mistrust love when he sees how an old philosopher can be ensnared."

This adventure does not appear either in the Latin biographies of Aristotle or in the history of Alexander, so it was evidently not taken seriously; it was just one of those stories in which the Middle Ages took such great delight, wherein sprightly ladies play malicious pranks on undesired admirers. Anyone who has dipped into the "Decameron" or our own "Hundred Merry Tales," whence Beatrice, in "Much Ado about Nothing," was alleged by Benedick to have gained her "good wit," will remember many similar tricks. These stories were used by preachers to point a moral, to wit, that no matter how wise a man may be, an ordinary woman can make a fool of him, therefore the only prudent course is to leave woman severely alone. Aristotle's name was attached to the story so that it should carry more weight.

There are several representations of this lively episode in churches and cathedrals, especially in France. Rouen Cathedral has it three times, no doubt as a compliment to the literary work of her own canon. I have already referred to similarities between the Exeter misericords and certain groups at Rouen, and this appears to be another instance, though at Exeter the lady is absent, principally because there was no room for her, but partly because everyone would understand the reference without her.

Aristotle is shown in the same position on a misericord at Chichester, date about 1330; there also the lady is not represented, on the same grounds as at Exeter. In all the French examples she is triumphantly mounted on the philosopher's

back, and usually plying a formidable whip; and he is always simply a man on hands and knees; so the Exeter example has unusual features to be accounted for.

The appearance of the figure seems to have been suggested by a passage in Revelation ix., 7, 9, 19, *seq.*, referring to creatures arising from the smoke of the bottomless pit: "The shapes of the locusts were like unto horses . . . and on their heads were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men . . . their power is in their tails, for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt."

In illuminated manuscripts different animals are represented with serpents for tails and sometimes demons have them. This point has been exhaustively treated by Mr. G. C. Druce, F.S.A., in "The Amphisbœna and its connections in Ecclesiastical Art," *Archœological Journal*, vol. xvii., 4, pp. 285-317.

Mr. Druce refers to a German manuscript of the fifteenth century (MS. Addl. 19896) where the horses of Revelation just referred to are illustrated, and a commentator has written against them "Caudæ equorum similes serpentibus habentes capita philosophorum doctrinam designant." (The tails of the horses like serpents having heads signify the doctrine of the philosophers). He concludes that "the figure at Exeter, by putting Aristotle in a degrading situation, is intended to express that his doctrine, or such doctrines in general, were held to be devilish in theological circles. The inset inscription about the tails in the miniature in the German manuscript bears this out very strongly. . . . . As far as I know this tail-head on Aristotle at Exeter is unique, and I think the artist must have been influenced by the apocalyptic horses."

The Exeter misericord was carved two hundred years before the note quoted above was made, but the conclusion is sound, because Aristotle was as much disliked by the clergy in the thirteenth century as in the fifteenth.

Another unusual feature in the Exeter misericord is the crown, which is entirely inappropriate to Aristotle. In the example of the subject at Chichester, the philosopher wears a Phrygian cap; at Rouen on *le Portail de la Calende*, thirteenth century, he wears a cap; on the Rouen misericord, which is of the fifteenth century, he has flowing hair and nothing on his

head; at Lyons he has a helmet. As far as I know there is no instance anywhere but at Exeter of a crown on the head. I have not been able to find any suggestion which might help to account for it, and though I venture to offer an interpretation it must be understood that it is only conjectural on my part, and I should welcome an authoritative explanation.

There is no doubt that the face bears a strong likeness to portraits of the reigning king, Henry III., there is one (in *Cotton MS., Nero, D.* 1), probably drawn by Matthew Paris, which might almost have served as a pattern. This drawing is reproduced in the illustrated edition of Green's *Short History of the English People*, vol. i, p. 274. The features on the misericord really bear considerable resemblance to the drawing, and we get the same curled hair, and the same moustache and short beard; the crown too is very similar. There is also a seal of Henry III, to which the likeness is very marked, and also to a corbel in Wells Cathedral which it is held is a portrait of the king. It is illustrated in Colling's *English Mediæval Foliage*, pl. 35, 1.

The figure of saddling and riding a man seems to have obtained in countries all over the world; it is found in popular tales in many languages. The light in which this theme was regarded in the Middle Ages is shown in a sirvente or satirical poem by Bertrand de Born, the celebrated troubadour; it runs thus:—"I make another sirvente against our degenerate barons, for you will never hear me praise them. I have broken more than a thousand spurs upon them without being able to make one of them run or trot . . . . There is not one of them but you might shoe him on four feet without shackles for his legs." (Translation by Thomas Wright.)

The suggestion conveyed in this sirvente is of weakness and effeminacy, added to degrading submission to an inferior.

English ecclesiatics felt the burden of the king's monetary demands, and highly disapproved of his partiality for foreigners, and his habit of giving church preferment to Italian nominees of the Pope. Matthew Paris was much esteemed by the king, and in his turn seems to have rather liked him, but he gives plain expression to his opinion, calling him *regulus mendicans*, a beggar ruler.

It would not be safe to make any direct complaint against the king, but repressed irritation might find a little vent by

using his portrait in such a way. The saddle indicated that he was under the influence of inferiors, but in my view the serpent tail is far more significant than the saddle. "With their tails they do hurt." This would be referred to the king's unworthy favourites.

Nevertheless the figure represents Aristotle; the esoteric reference to the king would be ignored; possibly nobody but the carver and his employer knew anything about the likeness.

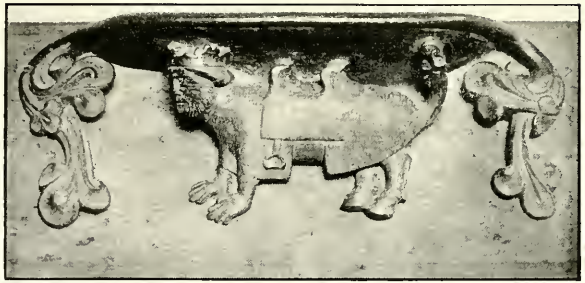
King Herod (No. 43).

This carving is of fifteenth century date, and naturally differs much from its companions. Its inclusion in a series of thirteenth century misericords has been reprobated, as there is a very good one of early date which is not in use. The late Mr. Harry Hems was able to inform us that Sir Gilbert Scott, (then Professor Scott), who had the restoration of the Cathedral in hand in 1871, considered it interesting as showing that another stall was added 200 years after the rest. This argument is not very cogent, because an additional stall would not have been set up in the middle of a row, yet there it is, dropped amongst the thirteenth century carvings, with no indication to the uninstructed eye that it is not of the same date. Still, far be it from me to wish it away, for the subject of the carving is not only interesting, but, in England at all events, very rare.

It represents an episode in the life of King Herod, taken from the "*Legenda Aurea*" (Golden Legend) of Jacobus de Voragine, bishop of Genoa, a remarkable compilation which had a great vogue all through the Middle Ages.

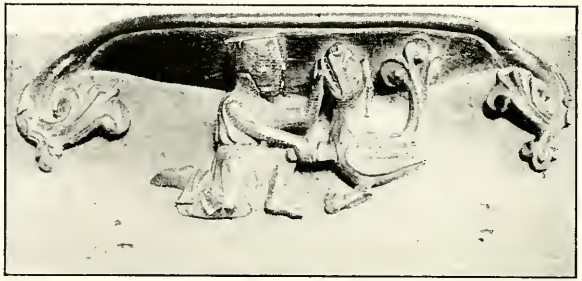
In the *Golden Legend* the history of Herod is given in the section devoted to the Holy Innocents. It states that in his old age he suffered from a terrible malady, and to alleviate it his physicians advised him to take a bath of oil; this he did and was taken out half dead.

This is the incident represented on the misericord. Herod, fully clothed, and wearing a crown of the conventional spiky pattern, is seated in the bath, which though much restricted in size, is unmistakable; his face is contorted with agony, his right fist is clenched, and he is tearing his hair with his left



Aristotle. No. 30.

Herod. No. 43.



Knight stabbing Monster. No. 13.

Knight fighting Dog. No. 11.

Plate VII.

hand. He wears a close-fitting coat fastened with large square studs, and carries a dagger in his belt.

In the left porch of the façade of Amiens Cathedral the same episode appears, but in this case Herod is unclothed, and he is being either put into or lifted out of the bath by two attendants. At Amiens, as elsewhere, it was the practice to place underneath a large and important subject a small composition which had some connection, actual or symbolical, with the group above. In this case the large group is the interview of Herod with the Magi. No doubt the intention was to show that retribution follows on crime, and that Divine anger exacts a penalty for arrogance and ill doing.

Caxton translated and printed the *Golden Legend*, but he omitted the episode of the bath of oil, so the Exeter carving must have been taken either from the Latin version or the French translation,* or possibly from the *Historia Scholastica of Comestor*, which was derived from Josephus, or again, possibly from Josephus direct.†

The carving is not as good as in the thirteenth century misericords, but is not bad in its way. The face is ugly and disproportionately large. The hands also are too large, while the feet are much too small: it has none of the dignity and fine modelling of the early figure subjects. The terminals are square leaf foliage, undulatory, large and obtrusive, of fifteenth century type.

Combats with Monsters (No. 13).

A knight stabbing a monster. There are stories of dragon slayers in all early religions derived from solar myths. They symbolized the death of the winter beneath the vigour of the sun, and were transferred to the channel of Christian ethics

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* . . . . Et cet Hérode avait déjà soixante-quinze ans, et il tomba dans une très-grande maladie, fièvres fortes et pourriture de corps et enflure des pieds, tourments continuels, grosse houx et des vers qui le mangeaient avec grande puanteur, et il était fort tourmenté; et alors, d'apres avis de médecins, il fut mis dans [un bain d'] huile d'où on le tira à moitié mort.

Legende des Innocents, X., M. G. Brunet's translation of *La Légende Dorée*, vol. i, p. 59.

† See Whiston's *Translation of Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews*, vol. I., book xvii., chap. vi., par. 5; and *Wars of the Jews*, vol. ii., book i., chap. xxxiii., par. 5.

and theology by representing them as the victory of Christianity over idolatry. The Anglo-Saxon hero Beowulf slew the dragon Grendel, who was half man and half beast; the Norse hero Sigurd slew the dragon Fafnir. Subjects derived from the Sigurd saga are not rare in Norwegian churches, and there are mutilated remains of some on a cross shaft at Kirk Andreas in the Isle of Man. The carving may represent Sigurd, or it may simply have been intended to illustrate in a general way the conflict between good and evil.

The dragon is a composite, with a dog's head, dragon's wings, and webbed feet. The knight wears a flat-topped helmet of the pattern in vogue during the thirteenth century; he is clad in mail with a surcoat over according to the fashion of that date, and closely resembles the effigies of Knights Templars in the Temple Church, London.

Knight and Dog.

A similar figure of a knight appears on No. 11 in combat with an animal that is probably meant for a dog. The signification of the dog has already been given in the account of the centaur; this group symbolizes the contest between the good and evil principles.

It seems strange that man's faithful friend and companion should receive such a bad character, so that even to this day to call a man "a dog" is to insult him. The reason is that the Scriptures set the standard of opinion, and in both the Old and the New Testaments a dog is always referred to as an object of loathing and contempt. It is only in the apocryphal book of Tobit that he appears as the associate of his master.

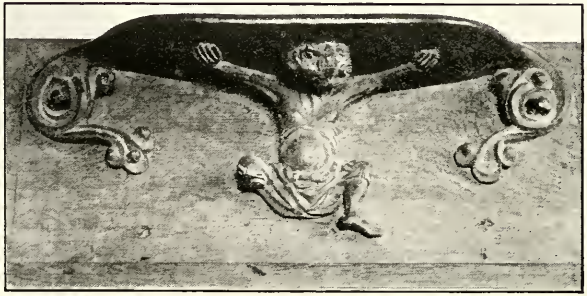
The Jews seem to have been alone in their ungracious attitude. The Avesta and other sacred writings in Persia and India, inculcate the greatest kindness and reverence towards the dog, whose sagacity, vigilance, and fidelity are regarded as the pillars of pastoral society. The Greek poets have many accounts of dogs, none better known or more affecting than the story of Argus, the dog of Ulysses, who was the only creature that recognized him after his long absence.

To return to the carving. The knight has the visor of his helmet down, and is brandishing a sword, part of which is broken away. His shield is of the usual triangular pattern.

There are portraits on the terminals, used in a decorative

Tabor and Pipe Player. No. 15.

Putting the Weight. No. 28.



Strong Man. No. 39.

Grotesque. No. 33.

Plate VIII.

manner so as to fill the scroll. Again they are citizens; the man wears a hood and his wife head-dress and gorget. It may be assumed that these are portraits of the donors.

On the background is the device of concentric circles to which I have already referred. The circles are in diameter two inches and one inch respectively.

Putting the Weight (No. 28).

Of actual scenes from life there are only three examples. No. 28 shows a man "putting the weight." In Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes* it is mentioned that this was a favourite amusement in the twelfth century, "and the attention of the populace was so much engaged by this kind of exercise that they neglected in great measure the practice of archery, which occasioned an edict to be passed in the thirty-ninth year of Edward III., prohibiting the pastimes of throwing stones, wood and iron, and recommending the use of the long bow upon all convenient opportunities." (Book II., Ch. II., s 6).

The figure is very spirited, the poise of the missile is admirably managed. The man wears a long-sleeved frock with a band at the waist. The hair is parted across the top of the head, and the front locks are curled in a style that was favoured a few years ago by the British workman, called, I think, a quiff.

The artist no doubt studied his subject at a holiday merry making.

Tabor and Pipe (No. 15).

At a merry making, too, he found his model for No. 15, a man playing the tabor and pipe. These instruments were great favourites with the populace, though the clergy seem to have disliked them. Dr. Wright alludes to a poem of the thirteenth century which protests against their use, and says that the introduction of the tabor into grand festivals might be looked on as the precursor of antichrist. The author adds that the Blessed Virgin would never consent to hear the tabor. "The old English tabor was suspended from the neck and beaten with a stick held in the right hand while the left fingered a pipe, often being used to accompany the morris dance." (Bekker's Stokes' *Cyclopædia of Music and Musicians.*)

All the above points are very clearly shown in the carving.

The tabor was like a tambourine, but without jingles. The performer wears a hood which has fallen on his shoulders; his hair is cut short on his forehead, but curls at the nape. The terminals are formed of dragon-like creatures.

The Strong Man (No. 39).

We have here another scene from the merry making: an athlete, capable of supporting great weights, with extended arms is holding up the bracket. It is carved with considerable skill; the tense figure and the outstanding muscles show, not an ornamental adjunct, but a man making a supreme physical effort. The upper part of the body is stripped except for a belt; the face is refined and the features carefully finished. The hair is arranged in curled locks. The right leg is broken off below the knee; the other leg is well modelled.

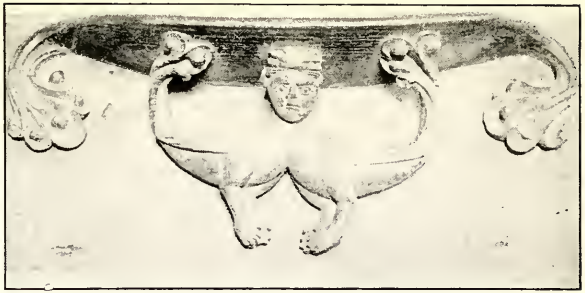
III.

Grotesques and Composites.

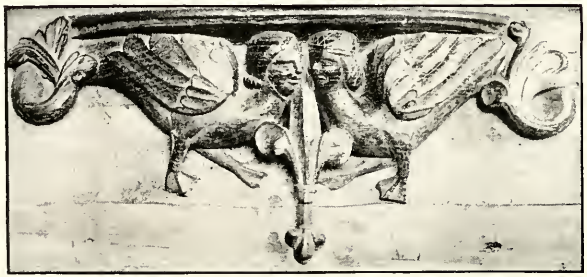
Some of the composites have been included in the foregoing groups; in a series of this kind styles of design are bound to overlap, and the medieval artists found such a fascination in evolving hybrids that they could with difficulty, so it seems, resist the temptation to introduce some incongruous feature, even if they had copied an animal correctly up to a certain point. These appear to have been tolerated by the clergy as a rule, but St. Bernard addressed a very strong protest to the Abbot of St. Thierry, demanding for what purpose monstrosities were placed in the cloisters before the eyes of the brethren, such as apes, lions, centaurs. He continues, "Sometimes you may see many bodies under one head, at others many heads to one body. Here is seen the tail of a serpent attached to the body of a quadruped, there the head of a quadruped on the body of a fish."

St. Bernard's objection seems not to have had much effect. Possibly it was only intended to apply to his own order. In French cathedrals and churches composites appear in countless numbers; and, as I mentioned above, our misericords bear a strong likeness to them.

Grotesque. No. 7.



Grotesque. No. 32.



Composite. No. 4.

Composite. No. 6.

Plate IX.

Grotesque (No. 7).

A bird with a human head. In general aspect and bearing it suggests a wren, but its tail is finished by stiff-leaf foliage. The head is draped with something that would have been relatively about the size, on a human head, of a large handkerchief. The face has a good tempered, whimsical expression. It stands on a branch, a good example of stiff-leaf foliage, and has terminals of the same style. Similar composites, birds with human or animals' heads, are found at Notre Dame, Paris.

Grotesque (No. 32).

An amplification of No. 7; for though it has one human head it has two birds' bodies, each with a foliated lizard's tail, and it stands on human hands instead of feet. If either body is covered up, the head will serve quite satisfactorily for the other. There is no attempt to suggest feathers on the bodies, but, as the shape is rather that of a duck, the smooth effect may have been intentional. Possibly the foliated tails were added to fill the space and balance the design.

Grotesque (No. 33).

A similar conception, though it is more fantastic. A mask or head has wings sprouting from the temples; from the crown of the head spring two stems which develop into dragons' wings folded over a spiral tail; each half has two webbed feet, all placed at different angles, so as to break up the formality of the design. (The illustration is on page viii.)

Composite (No. 4).

Two birds facing one another; the feet are webbed, and except that the necks are too short they look like swans. They may have conveyed a funereal signification, like the swan of No. 18. There is a Romanesque air about this group, though the human heads, which appear to be portraits —perhaps of departed friends—are purely Gothic in feeling. According to the invariable practice in representing pairs of creatures on our misericords, one is male and the other female. The male wears a closely fitting cap like that of the merman, No. 38; it comes to the nape of the neck, showing the hair below. The female has the hair in a net or coif, held

in place by a fillet across the forehead and round the head, while a broader fillet joined to it at right angles goes across the top of the head.

Composite (No. 6).

Another pair of birds with human heads. There is no funereal suggestion here; I take it to symbolise the bliss of a newly married couple, as they rather resemble turtle doves in their attitude, and not only have human heads, but human hands, which are clasped in a quite affecting manner.

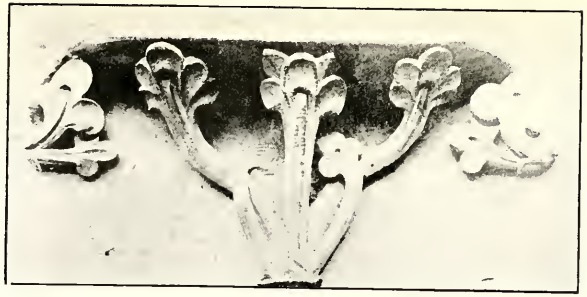
The male wears a flat round cap which covers the top of the head only; the female has a draped veil.

IV.

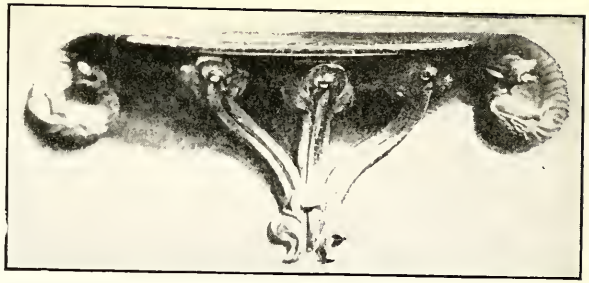
Foliated Ornament.

Twenty-five of the misericords, half of the entire number, are composed of foliated ornament; they form a particularly interesting series, which begins with early stiff-leaf ornament, and by gradual modification reaches the representation of natural leaves.

The term "stiff-leaf foliage" is rather misleading, because the stiffness is in the stems, and not in the leaves, but however it is named, or misnamed, the ornament is the most purely artistic that has ever been devised. In its earlier form, as might be expected, it carries some reminiscence of Romanesque or late Norman decoration, but this is soon discarded, and a style evolved which is intensely English. In the foregoing pages it has been shown that many of the figure subjects of the misericords resemble contemporary work in France, but with regard to the ornamental foliage it is not so. English stiff-leaf foliage is a distinct type, and has very little in common with French art. The forms are based on natural principles; the stems are always the basis of the design; in early work rather formal, yet always graceful and satisfying; later they curve and swirl about in the most wonderful lines, and the leaves follow them, producing effects of marvellous beauty. The ornament however is purely conventional, and it is not much good to try to identify it with any plant in particular. With the idea of placing it on a religious oundation some ingenious writers in the last century held

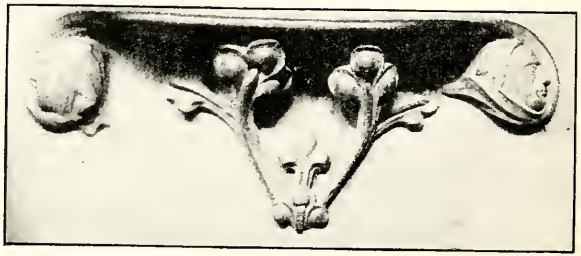


Stiff Leaf. No. 37.



Stiff Leaf. No. 2.

Stiff Leaf. No. 50.



Stiff Leaf. No. 8.

Plate X.

that the typical leaf was modelled on the water avens, *Herba Benedicta;* but it is no more like that than any other trefoil leaf. Really the natural object it most resembles is the unopened frond of the bracken, which having just forced its way through the soil is tightly curled up at the top of its stiff stem.

It was the observation of Viollet le Duc, which has been endorsed by many other writers, that Gothic ornament at its rise suggested the unopened buds and leaves of early spring; as time went on the buds and leaves gradually opened, and towards the end of the thirteenth century we find whole branches of fully expanded leaves. This process appears so clearly in the Exeter misericords that by its means the chronology can be roughly fixed, and by the aid of the illustrations I ought to be able to make the matter plain.

Stiff Leaf (No. 37).

This is typical early stiff-leaf, retaining a suggestion of Romanesque work, and is probably the earliest of the carvings. It has a central thick stem with a fillet, terminating in a cinquefoil leaf. On each side is a bold stiff leaf reaching as high as the central one, and below should have been two smaller trefoil leaves, but one is broken off. The fine stems spring from what was once a boss, but, as mentioned before, it has been mutilated at that point. The stems are angular, large and filleted, and the leaves have raised lobes which die away into sunk grooves. This distinguishing characteristic of early stiff-leaf work produces an excellent play of light and shade. The terminals consist of trefoil leaves curling gracefully towards the centre.

Stiff Leaf (No. 2).

Similar in style to No. 37. The central stem is threaded into a trefoil leaf which is used as a boss; on each side is a leaf on a long broad stem. The terminals are dragonesque creatures, finely carved, the bodies quaintly grooved in spirals, a feature which seems faintly reminiscent of Romanesque style. The trefoil leaf at the base is abraded, and looks as though at some time it had been subject to constant friction.

Stiff Leaf (No. 50).

This is of the same type, but an advance on the foregoing two both in design and execution. The main leaves of the side sprays are nearly as large as the central one, and each has two secondary leaves of smaller size. The terminals take the form of birds flying upwards; this is the only instance of birds on the terminals. The base of the ornament is mutilated in the same way as No. 37. This fine piece of work has been ousted from the Cathedral, but happily is preserved in the Chapter Library. Perhaps some day will see it reinstated. The illustration shows it before the restoration.

Stiff Leaf (No. 8).

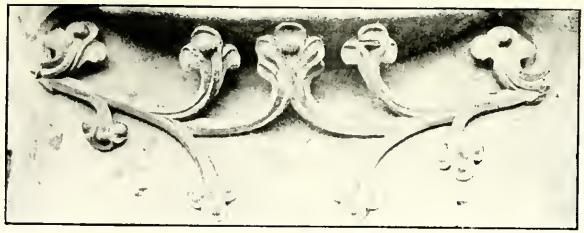
Another stiff-leaf trefoil design; this time the smallest leaf is in the centre; the flanking leaves are boldly designed with raised lobes, and small secondary leaves, grooved, and with much less relief. The terminals are portrait heads facing outwards. The lady wears a hood and whimple, and has a pleasant face; the man also wears a hood; his face is very grim; no wonder his wife looks the other way. Both these heads are very lifelike.

Stiff Leaf (No. 16).

This is a very good example of the value of the bold stiff stem. The arrangement differs from all the rest, in which we find a central design with detached terminals. Here the composition starts from the terminals, and two sprays flowing towards the centre combine in a classical or Romanesque anthemion. The design is pleasing, and the workmanship excellent.

Stiff Leaf (No. 26).

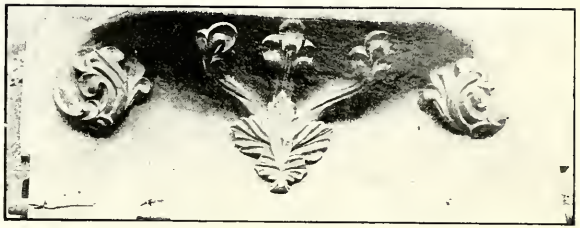
The central boss is formed of four trefoil leaves with one pendent leaf. This boss is placed at the junction of two lateral sprays of three trefoils with grooves and raised lobes. The terminals are also of trefoils. The general effect of the carving is good, though the lines of the composition are not as happy as in most of the others.



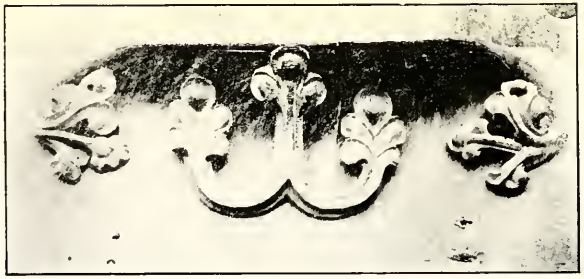
Stiff Leaf. No. 16.

Stiff Leaf. No. 26.

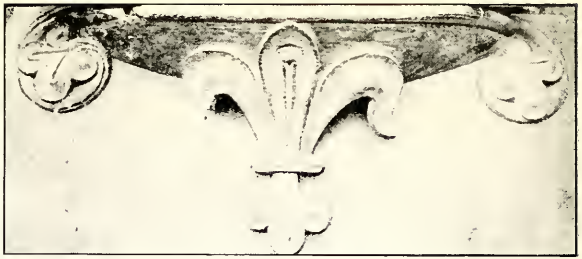
Stiff Leaf. No. 10.



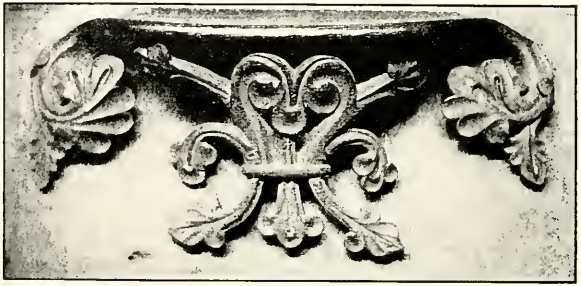
Stiff Leaf. No. 20.



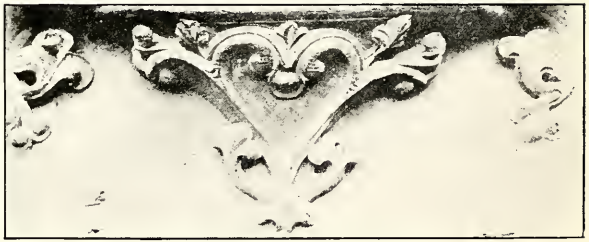
Stiff Leaf. No. 34.



Fleur-de-Lis. No. 29.



Foliated Stems. No. 12.



Stiff Leaf. No. 24.

Plate XII.

Stiff Leaf (No. 10).

Still the trefoil, but this is a more elaborate conception. The central group of three trefoils is reduced in size, and the lower boss, instead of being an accessory, as in most cases, is the principal feature. It consists of trefoil leaves admirably arranged to form a circle. The actual design is very similar to the terminals of No. 45, but the workmanship is better. The terminals are volutes with trefoils filling the curves; that on the dexter side is on a larger scale than its companion, and has lost about 1½ inches of its width—cut off when it was put into its new frame.

Stiff Leaf (No. 20).

This was evidently worked on at two periods; the central device is three stiff leaves, resembling on a larger scale those of No. 10; but at the junction of the stems are two natural maple leaves, one overlapping the other, which might well be found in the Decorated period. The terminals, too, though of Early English type, are much later than the centre. The photograph—pre-restoration—was taken on rather a small scale, so that the illustration is able to show both wooden pivots, and that a piece was cut out from the front edge.

Stiff Leaf (No. 34).

Rather a weak design. A central stiff leaf, of which the stem divides into two loops, each ending in a leaf of five lobes. This is the first departure from the trefoil, and indicates a later date than those that have gone before, but the terminals, which in design are much better than the central device, are still the trefoil, with raised lobes.

Fleur-de-Lis (No. 29).

A very unambitious design, different from any other. A fleur-de-lis eight inches long, with terminals of one leaf of four sub-divisions each, well placed on a scroll; the leaves are grooved, with slightly raised lobes. The central petal of the fleur-de-lis is grooved, and above the groove is a deep curved hollow, pierced right through. The flower is encircled by a band with a rather irregular fillet. The fleur-de-lis was a favourite feature of Early English art; we have met with it before as the centre of No. 4.

Foliated Stems (No. 12).

The central design is of foliated stems held together by a band. It is of a composite character, combining stiff leaf with classical or Romanesque features. The terminals are graceful, and consist of leaves with several lobes, which instead of being raised as heretofore are sunk, indicating that the work was executed towards the close of the Early English period. This example is rather like one at Hemingborough, Yorks, which is illustrated in *English Church Woodwork* (Howard and Crossley, p. 188), and in *Misericords* (Francis Bond, p. 203), but the Hemingborough misericord though simpler is more effective, as it is designed on bolder lines.

Stiff Leaf (No. 24).

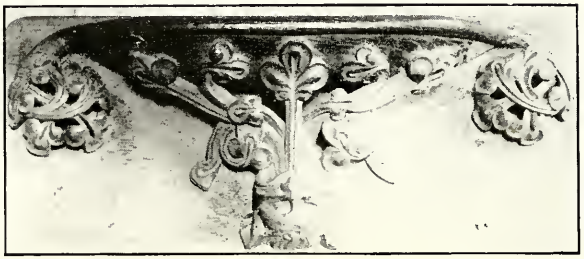
Here again, though all the parts are of Early English type, they are arranged in such a fashion as to convey a classical impression. The main stems form a heart-shaped panel, united at the top by a circular boss. From these stems spring leaf sprays. The dexter terminal is of earlier type than all the rest of the carving; it is of trefoil with raised lobes, and retains the roundness of early work. The sinister terminal is also of trefoil, but the lobes are pointed instead of round. It looks as though both had been roughed out at the same time, but one only was finished; later the other was worked on, perhaps after a considerable interval, perhaps simply by another workman of the new school, who wanted to move with the times. The central design is of intermediate type.

Stiff Leaf (No. 46).

A very fine example of stiff-leaf ornament. Composition and technique are both excellent. The trefoil appears throughout; the lobes are only slightly raised, but a grand effect of light and shade is produced by the very skilful undercutting. The design is symmetrical without being formal, and the trefoils which compose the terminals spread in a fan-like way, with the peculiar swirl which was developed in such an admirable way a little later. Part of the sinister terminal is a restoration.

Stiff Leaf. No. 46.

Stiff Leaf. No. 45.

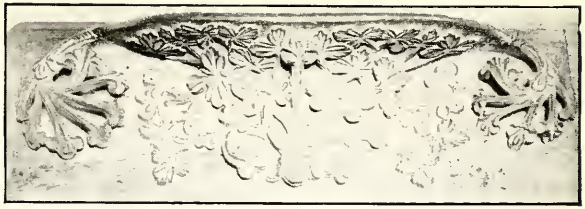


Stiff Leaf. No. 19.

Stiff Leaf. No. 14.

Plate XIII.

Dragon with Trefoil. No. 22.



Stiff Leaf. No. 21.

Stiff Leaf. No. 48.

Foliage. No. 40.

Plate XIV.

Stiff Leaf (No. 45).

Still the trefoil motive; but the execution falls a little short of those already described, and the lines of the main design are less harmonious. The terminals are a graceful circular arrangement, with the leaves very well placed, but they have very slight relief. Originally there may have been a mask at the base, as in No. 19, which it resembles in line though not in detail.

Stiff Leaf (No. 19).

The central design is an expansion of No. 45, and is evidently from the same hand; it is interesting to compare the two and note the advance, and in particular to see how sadly No. 45 suffers from being deprived of its mask. No. 19 retains it—though part of it is a restoration—a satyr's head inverted with good stiff-leaf foliage springing from it. It is well undercut, but it must be mentioned that both terminals are restorations.

Stiff Leaf (No. 14).

A flowing spray of trefoil springing from an animal's mouth. It is very fine work, undercut and beautifully finished, but the composition is of inartistic shape, and the design is almost too delicate so that it is rather ineffective. The terminals are trefoil leaves with grooves and depressions, much like those of No. 37.

Dragon with Trefoil (No. 22).

In the sixteen examples previously studied the designs have been of foliage only, except for an occasional mask as a boss; here we have a variation. In the centre is a dragon with two bodies attached to one head; there are only two legs, one to each body; the feet are cloven hoofs. This is the only example in which this feature occurs. The tails break into foliation, bunches of trefoil, but each bunch has one vine leaf; the dexter terminal has some maple leaves combined with trefoil; the sinister terminal is all trefoil. It is the first appearance in the misericords of the maple and vine leaves which were so much used in the Decorated period. This is a particularly handsome and effective composition; it appears to be an amplification of No. 33. Part of the ornament had

been cut through, as already mentioned, and the lower trefoil leaves are restorations. It is very skilfully done, and would scarcely be perceived. This is a case where restoration seems not only justified but essential.

There is a misericord of the thirteenth century at Christchurch Priory which is very similar in style, though in that example there are two complete dragons interlaced, instead of one composite grotesque. An illustration of that misericord appears in Mr. Francis Bond's book on *Misericords*, p. 203.

Stiff Leaf (No. 21).

Nearly all the Exeter misericords have a particularly admirable feature, in that the ornament is constructive; at the lowest point it joins the background, and gradually slopes upwards and outwards, reaching the outer edge of the shelf, which it actually supports, thereby fulfilling its allotted function.

In No. 21 this scientific construction is abandoned, and we get a beautiful specimen of "applied ornament." It is the largest and most elaborate of the foliage designs, and admirably worked, but instead of being composed on an incline it is all on one plane; slightly and evenly raised from the background, and with no part projecting except the central stem. The composition is excellently balanced and the ground well covered; the foliage sprays are varied and graceful; some of them are trefoil, and some naturalistic strawberry leaves. More sprays are carved on the concave under side of the seat, and all the details are beautifully finished.

The terminals are very fine; each is a boss of stiff leaf radiating from one point, the leaves expanding like a fan. The two upper leaves of the dexter terminal are original; the rest of the terminal is a restoration. Both are much undercut, so that in contrast the principal design, good as it is, appears rather flat. There is a central mask, which represents a hound's head with pendent ears.

Stiff Leaf (No. 48).

A very beautiful example, and of a distinct and advanced type. It is rather of the style of some of the exquisite capitals in Wells Cathedral. There is nothing else at Exeter that is at all like it.

The central flower is a conventional arum. The surrounding leaves are varied and graceful, and the technique is excellent. The terminals are well designed, but are not undercut. The stems connecting the terminals with the seat are carved all the way, producing a very rich effect, which is increased by a row of fluted leaves which form a beading all along the under side of the shelf.

At the risk of appearing hypercritical, this example, fine as it is, does not appeal to me as much as many of the simpler designs, because of its shape, which is stiff and tight, lacking the flowing lines of the earlier work; so that in spite of the beauty of the individual parts, to my own taste it yields the palm to No. 46, which in general composition and perfect balance is admirable.

Foliage (No. 40).

Here re-appears the classical note in the anthemion, which forms the basis of the design; from it spring two stems, terminating in two laburnum leaves, carved after nature. The design as a whole is poor; the shape is ungraceful; it is also askew, and the anthemion slants decidedly to the left. The terminals however are good, Early English of late type.

Ornament (No. 31).

This is a very remarkable one. At the first glance it might easily be taken for work of the Renaissance period; nevertheless, the main features, the scrolls immediately under the shelf, and the leaves finishing the terminals, are Early English. The terminals themselves are classical masks. On each side of the design are laburnum leaves on stems, with classical fir cones, and the still more surprising addition of twisted cords ending in knots. Altogether it has a very Italian air; even the Early English parts have a classical suggestion.

In the last four examples it will have been noticed that although the conventional method of Early English art has in the main been adhered to, yet natural representation has begun to creep in. Parker says that so gradual was the change from Early English to Decorated that it is impossible to draw the line where one style ceases and the other begins.

I hope I am not making too bold an assertion, but it seems to me that in this wonderful series of misericords the dividing line can be discerned. We now come to three which have no Early English feature at all.

Strawberry Leaves (No. 5).

Natural strawberry leaves in a weak design; the leaves radiate from the top, and a separate leaf is used in an unmeaning way to hide the junction of the stems. The feebleness of the main design is partially atoned for by the terminals, which are graceful, with leaves cleverly arranged in circles. The whole group is in very low relief, and it is not particularly well carved. This is the one which should have found seclusion in the Library, instead of the exceptionally good No. 50.

Foliage (No. 49).

Evidently by the same hand as No. 5; the design is pleasing, though the execution is not particularly good; the terminals are better than the central design. Although aiming at natural representation the leaves are not done well enough for one to be quite sure about the species; the main design and the sinister terminal appear to be strawberry leaves, and the dexter terminal to be maple, but possibly they are all maple, and the improved workmanship of the dexter terminal shows what the rest ought to have been.

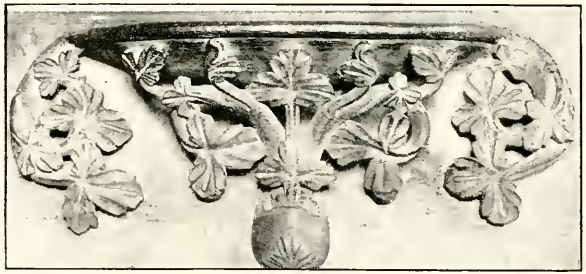
It is a pity this inferior work should be in such an important position, in the Precentor's stall, which before the restoration of 1871 contained the fine piece of work now in No. 47. I have referred to this point before (p. 9).

Oak Leaves (No 3).

Here we have the favourite Decorated subject of oak leaves and acorns springing from a satyr's mask, one branch from each ear, and one from a ring in the middle of the forehead. The terminals are dragonesque creatures curled up amongst oak leaves, carved with great delicacy and precision. This undoubted feature of the Decorated period leads to the opinion that it is the latest of the misericords, except Nos. 1 and 43, which are not of the thirteenth century at all, as mentioned above.

Ornament. No. 31.

Strawberry Leaves. No. 5.



Foliage. No. 49.

Oak Leaves. No. 3.

Plate XV.

The fifty misericords have now been passed in review. Anyone who has been patient enough to read as far as this will, I think, have been struck by the great variety in the subjects, whether figure or ornament. On the other hand, there are also to be noted various points of resemblance, some of which have already been mentioned. Much more could be done in this respect; without doubt an expert would be able to sort them out and assign each to the approximate date. I am a very long way from being an expert, still there are a few points to which I should like to draw attention, premising that my remarks do not claim to be authoritative, but only suggestive.

Naturally any repetition would be more likely to occur in the terminals. By using the word "repetition" it is by no means implied that two examples are replicas, only that in composition and the general arrangement of parts they follow the same model, and lead to the conclusion that they emanated from the same brain.

As to the terminals then: we find the simplest form, a single trefoil leaf, on No. 7, *Grotesque* (plate ix.), and No. 25, *Mermaid* (plate vi.); both these have raised lobes. No. 16, *Stiff Leaf* (plate xi.), has the same trefoil leaf, but as the ornament springs from it the resemblance is somewhat disguised. No. 9, *Female Centaur* (plate v.), also has a trefoil leaf, but the lobes are grooved, showing a rather later date, and there is a hint of a secondary leaf on the stem. A developed second leaf is added on Nos. 37 (plate x.), 6 (plate ix), and six others. A striking variation appears in Nos. 30, *Aristotle*, and 11, *Knight and Dog* (plate vii.), where the lower leaf falls almost vertically. Though in the case of No. 11 there is a portrait head instead of the upper leaf, the lines of the composition are almost identical. No. 25, *Mermaid*, starts in the same way, but has a third central leaf.

The terminals of No. 35, *Lion* (plate iv.), are very like those of No. 26, *Early English Ornament* (plate xi.), and in later work No. 22 (plate xiv.) may be compared with No. 46 (plate xiii.); No. 10 (plate xi.) with No. 45 (plate xiii.); No. 19 (plate xiii.) with No. 48 (plate xiv.) Examination of the illustrations will disclose other points of interest other than resemblance, some of which, I hope, have been shown in the earlier part of this paper.

A study of the terminals is useful in another way, namely, as a help in chronology. Amongst the earliest must be placed those which have raised lobes on the trefoil leaves. This feature is found in Romsey Abbey of date 1220, and does not appear to have been used much after 1240, so such examples may be considered to fall between these two dates. Amongst these are two of the figure subjects, No. 7 (plate ix.), a *Grotesque*, and No. 28 (plate viii.), *Putting the Weight*.

But the terminals of most of the figure subjects, though of Early English character, have a tendency to greater flatness. This is perceived on comparing No. 30, *Aristotle*, or No. 25, *Mermaid*, with the two to which I have just referred. The terminals are beautiful, and considerably undercut, but the individual leaves are in lower relief. This would point to a later date, 1250 and onwards.

A comparison between Nos. 44 and 41 (plate iv.) is instructive; on each is carved a pair of birds facing one another. No. 44 is of Early English type throughout; birds, central ornament, leaves, terminals. No. 41 is very similar in arrangement, but is at least twenty years later; the curled up Early English leaves have disappeared, and their place is taken by the natural maple leaves of Decorated period, with a strawberry leaf on the central ornament. The date would appear to be about 1270.

The same comparison may be made with regard to Nos. 25 and 38 (plate vi.), on both of which are mermaids. No. 25, the single mermaid with the fish, has terminals of Early English foliage; No. 38 is classical or Italian in composition, though the figures terminate in Early English foliage. The terminals consist of bunches of naturalistic maple leaves of Decorated style, but it is to be noticed that they follow the same curves as the Early English terminals of No. 25. This was the model, as the earlier pair of birds was the model for the later pair, but the treatment was modified to meet the taste of the day.

It has been mentioned that No. 1, *Combat of Lion and Dragon*, (plate iv.), is of a different type from the rest, and later in date. The same subject appears on a misericord in Chester Cathedral; its approximate date is given as 1390; there is another at Carlisle, 1401, and another later still at Manchester, which records prove to have been erected in 1508.

The Exeter example is simpler in composition and treatment, and appears to be earlier than any of them. It is not easy to assign even an approximate date to the group, but the masks which form the supporters are of fourteenth century character, and on that basis I have formed an hypothesis.

On page 3 I have referred to an entry in the fabric rolls of 1309-10, which mentions that the stalls had been moved. I suggest that at that time there were only forty-eight misericords; that in the new position another was required, and this, a combat between a lion and a dragon, was made, possibly for the Dean's stall, where it is now.

As to No. 43 (plate vii.), which is a century later still, it would be idle to conjecture why it was added. It can never have been intended to accord with the rest, for the seat is angular, as usual in the fifteenth century, instead of having the simple curve of the thirteenth century examples.

The strongest feeling it inspires is of hearty thankfulness that at the time it was erected it was not thought necessary to discard the original misericords, as happened at Westminster Abbey, where all but one of a set of thirteenth century misericords were turned out in 1509 and replaced by more elaborate designs.

Happily the Exeter misericords have been preserved; the oldest and most interesting set in England. Let us hope that their vicissitudes are now over, and that they will continue to be regarded with pride and delight by our successors in the centuries to come.

Grateful acknowledgments are offered to Mr. Alan D. Tremlett, Mr. Albert W. Searley, and Miss Edith K. Prideaux, who have generously supplied nearly all the photographs of misericords from which the illustrations have been made.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Misericord Carvings at one time called "Baberies."—Page 2.

The late Sir William St. John Hope found in the Rolls of accounts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, that the carvings adorning the misericords were called "baberies." In the *New English Dictionary* the word "babery" is defined as "grotesque ornamentation in architecture and books; grotesque absurdity." Examples of its use are given,

as from Chaucer's *House of Fame*: "Many subtyl compassynges, as babeuwryes and pynnacles, ymages and tabernacles." From Sidney's *Arcadia*, "Trim books in velvet dight, with golden leaves and painted baberies," and from other writers, but there is no example referring to the carvings of misericords.

The Windsor accounts give the specific names of all portions of the stall-work; Sir W. Hope sent a note embodying the whole to Mr. Fred H. Crossley, who inserted it in his account of "Medieval Stall-work in Lancashire." Although my paper deals only with misericords, this note is of so much value and interest that, with Mr. Crossley's cordial permission, I quote it here.

Sir William St. John Hope writes: "The accounts for the making and setting up of the existing stall-work in the choir of St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle are the only accounts hitherto found that specify the different sections of the woodwork. The quatrefoil openings for ventilation under the lower ranks of stalls are called *catirs*. The divisions between the stalls are *counters*, and stand upon blocks or feet called the *bacis de les countrez*. Resting upon the fronts of the counters are the *covertrees*, with their carved capitals, being the pillars or shafts that support the canopies over the stalls. The wainscoting behind the stalls, under the canopies, form the *entercloses*, and have plinths along the bottom called the *bacis super les countrez*, and towards the aisles are finished off along the top by carved *trails* and *crests*. The groined under-sides of the canopies are *vowtis* or *vaults*, and the carvings under the misericords or folding seats are the *babrias* or *baberies*, a term used by Chaucer and other writers to describe any childish conceit. The tall uprights with carved heads forming the ends of the desk are *popeys*, and the small shafts in front of them carrying pulpits with images of prophets, etc., are also called *covertrees*." (See Hope's *Windsor Castle*, ii., 429-432.)

In the *New English Dictionary* it is suggested that the word "babery" was perhaps originally a corruption of *babeoynrie*, *baboonery*. *Baban*, *baboue*, and similar forms, in old French signified a grimace; "faire la baboue à," means "to make mouths at." In modern French "babouiner" is "to play the buffoon."

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THE

HOUSE OF STUART

AND THE

CARY FAMILY,

JAMES II.

AND

TORRE ABBEY

BY

HUGH R. WATKIN

EXETER
JAMES G. COMMIN
1920

THE

House of Stuart and the Cary Family. James II. and Torre Abbey.

(See D.C.N.Q. Vol. XII. p. 349.)

By HUGH R. WATKIN.

There are at Torre Abbey portraits in miniature of King James II. and his Queen, Mary of Modena, of which, through the kindness of the owner, Captain Lionel Cary, R.N., we are able to produce a photograph. They have a direct connection with the visit of the second Duke of Ormond to Brixham, on 23rd October, 1715, as noted in *D. & C. N. & Q.*, ix., p. 13, par. 10, and are among the many records witnessing to the loyalty of generations of the Cary family.

The portraits are painted on a piece of ivory or bone $2\frac{5}{8}$ by $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches, the miniatures themselves being contained in ovals $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. An endorsement reads "James 2 & his Queen." Each bust is in a scarlet robe trimmed with ermine. The Queen is depicted in a blue dress, décolletée, with a simple necklace.

The inscription, recently placed on the frame which now mounts the miniatures, unfortunately attributes the gift to Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, whereas it was his father, the Old Pretender, son of James II., who sent the Duke of Ormond to Torbay in 1715.

The size and appearance of the miniatures strongly suggest the decoration of the lid of a snuff-box. The habit of snuff-taking was brought to this country in 1702 and soon became general. Snuff-boxes of most elaborate make were frequently given as souvenirs, as witness the large number in some collections. The silver box, in which tradition says the portraits were enclosed, was not improbably intended for snuff, the strip of ivory being placed *inside* the lid so that the owner could make known his sympathy to the Stuart cause by the customary interchange of courtesy, without speaking an incriminating word.

The loyalty of the Cary family, owners of Cockington for some 279 years [*c.* 1375-1654] and of Torre Abbey for 258 years [1662-1920], is well illustrated during the reign of the House of Stuart. When James I. ascended the

throne in 1603 Sir George Cary, knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1597,* was raised from the post of Treasurer to be Lord Deputy of Ireland, which he held for a year and then retired to Cockington. A chronological statement of the acquisition and arrangements made for the disposal of his estates will explain how the Cary family lost Cockington in the Royal cause.

CARY OF COCKINGTON.

George Cary of Cockington, born 1540-1, succeeded his father, Thomas Cary, who died 27th March, 1567, and held Cockington for fifty years, dying s.p. 19th February, 1617. Thomas Cary had bought in 1544 the manor of North Lew from his elder brother, John Cary of Okehampton, which he leased to John's sons, Robert and Richard on 6th March, three weeks before his death in 1567. Thomas Cary had further increased his estate in North Lew by purchase from Robert Goslynge, draper of London, and an arrangement was arrived at on the 7th April, only a week after the burial of Thomas Cary in Tor Church, whereby George Cary, his heir, apparently leased to his cousins, Robert and Richard, the manors of Grendell and Salterton: this seems to have been in reality in exchange for "the manor of Milltowne commonly called North Lew."

1568, November 28th: The tithes of the Manors of Cockyngtone and Shylstone *alias* Chylstone were placed by George Cary, esquire, in the care of the following trustees:— Sir William Cordeth, justice; Richard Weston, justice; John Southcott, Robert Cary, Richard Beyneth and George Southcott, esquires.

1578: George Cary purchased the Westhill estate in St. Marychurch.

1581, April 4th: Sir William Courtenay and George Cary of Cockington farmed the rectory of Paington and chapel of Marldon, which two days later Sir William released entirely to George Cary.

1581, June 21st: Wilmota, dau. of John Giffard of Yeo, first wife of George Cary, died; by whom he had two sons and three daughters, according to the memorial brass in Tormohun

*Morgan, *Sphere of Gentry*

church: his eldest son George was killed in Ireland in 1586 and the younger son Thomas also died without issue.

1581, September 25th: Richard Reynell, esquire, Robert Cary of Bradford, and Thomas Cary, gents., presented to the rectory of Ashwater.

1582, April 26th: Sir Robert Denys, knight, and Thomas Carewe of Haccombe, esquire, were ordered to assist Sir William Cordeth in obtaining the tithes of Torre and Torewood from Richarde Gill and Thomas Ridgeway.

1584, May 4th: The possession of North Lew was the subject of some dissension between the Okehampton and Cary branches of the family ever since the purchase in 1544 by Thomas Cary. An engrossment, dated as above, arranged for the settlement of this manor in trust, by George Cary of Cockington and Lancelot Cary of Okehampton. The document is of interest, although not executed, because it records the succession of George Cary: the remainder reading to "George his son, Richard, John, Gregory and Arthur his brothers, with remainder to Launcelot Cary and Richard, brother of Launcelot, and finally to the heirs of George Cary." John (of Dudley, as he was afterwards known) is placed in genealogy after Gregory, whereas this deed suggests he was the older brother. For some reason the fifth brother of George Cary, Robert Cary of Bradford is not mentioned. Most likely, being the youngest son, he had been provided for by his father with a life tenancy of Bradford.

1585, July 8th: There was some difference in account between the owner of Torre Abbey at this period and the squire of Cockington. In the Mallock collection is a writ, issued under the Great Seal, to Sir Robert Denys, Edward Drewe, esquire, and William Kirkham, esquire, by Sir Roger Manwood at Westminster and signed for the Commons by Fanshawe, with a list of questions to be asked of witnesses as to the amount of tithes payable by Sir Edward Seymour, knight, to George Cary, esquire, Her Majesty's farmer of the rectory and parsonage of Tormoham and Cockington.

1586, October 28th: George Cary signed a deed of entail, appointing as trustees:—Sir Francis Walsingham, knight, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary and Privy Counsellor; Sir Edmond Anderson, knight, Lord Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Court of Common Pleas; William Peryam, another

Justice of Common Pleas; John Popham, esquire, Attorney-General; Edward Drewe and John Hole, esquires, conveying his Manors of Cockington, Chilston, Ashwater, Northlew, Bradford, Meethe and Goodley in co. Devon, and the advowsons of the churches of Asshwater, Bradfford, Meeth and Goodley; also his lands in Morthooe, Crediton, *alias* Kirton, Yeo, Parkeham, Littleham, Whilborowe, Trew St. James,* Woolston or Yeolston Emlett, Smalcombe, Holleighe, Estradworthy, Hookewaye, Hethford or Hegfers, Escott, Blackgrove, Yedcombe, Seriamute or Seriannte, Bowood or Borowe, Yeo, Bradworthy, and Abotesham or Abattsham in Devon, upon trust to the issue of George Carye and in default to the issue of his, the donor's, brothers, namely, Richard, John, Gregorie and Arthur.

The signatures of all the trustees are appended; the seals of only George Cary, John Popham, Edward Drewe, and John Hole remain.

Of the above large possessions, which were considerably increased by George Cary before his death, at the end of the seventeenth century on the fall of the House of Stuart, only Ashwater, Northlew, Bradford and Monksmeath manors remained in the family.

1595, November 14th: Thomas Forde, of Ilsington, sold to George Cary, of Cockington, the manor of St. Marychurch.

1598: Probably in March, upon his appointment as Treasurer of Ireland, in the place of Sir Henry Wallop, George Cary was knighted.

1601, March 24th: The tithes of the rectory and church of Torremohame and the chapel of Cokkyngton were settled upon Jane Carye during life and then upon Anne Carye, daughters of Sir George. The genealogical table of the family places Anne as the eldest; the above record suggests this to be a mistake. Daughters of such a wealthy man, they seem to have been singularly unfortunate. Jane died unmarried, and Ann, who married Sir Richard Edgcumbe, had no children.

1605, August 5th: Two years after the accession of James I., Robert Cary, of Bradford, gent., and Dorothy his

*Mr. Robert Dymond brackets this as being in Somerset, but it is more likely Trewe St. Jacobi. See *D. & C. N. & Q.*, vol. i., p. 151.

wife sold their interest in Bradford capital mansion, barton and demesne, with all dues to the manor, the church house adjoining the churchyard, Bradford corn mills with suit of grinding, etc., to Sir George Cary of Cockington, knight, for £2,000.

1606, September 10th: Sir George Cary and Richard Reynell of London, esquire, bought from Sir Thomas Prideaux of Nutwell and Johane his wife the manor of Coffinswell, except the mansion house and certain fields, but including two tenements called Aller and Holbeame Meadow, for the sum of £1,800.

1606, September 1st: Sir George Cary as "fermor of the manor of Preston" leased a close called Under Yolland.

1606, October 7th: James I., through Sir Oliver Cromwell, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, granted to George Bingley of London, gentleman, and to William Blake, scrivener, six rectories and churches, the first of which is Torremohame and the chapel of Cokkington, valued at £30 os. 2¾d. In 1585 and also in 1601 Sir George Cary certainly held these tithes, although he had experienced difficulty in collecting them. His daughter Ann, upon whom the reversion of this lay rectorship was settled in 1601, did not die until January, 1625. The confiscation, if such it was, does not denote solicitude for the Cary family on the part of King James I.

1607, November 28th: Francis Bidston, gent., and Thomas Poyntington, gent., were appointed trustees of Cockington, Chilston and North Lew in place of Richard Beyneth, esquire, and Richard Waltham, esquire.

1608, May 20th: Upon the occasion of Sir George Cary's second marriage to Letitia, dau. of Robert, first Earl of Warwick and Holland,* who had no issue by Sir George, and afterwards married in 1617 Sir Arthur Lake, baronet, the manor of Stokenham was conveyed in fee by Thomas Amerideth of Townstall, esquire, his son Edward and his brother Lewes, gents., to three trustees for Letitia, namely, the Rt. Hon. Robert, Lord Rich, baron of Leeze, co. Essex;

*A title which became extinct by the death of Edward Rich on the 7th September, 1759.

Richard Waltham, esquire;* and Richard Reynell, of Ford esquire†; consideration £5,600.

1609. February 2-10: Sir John Gilbert and Alice his wife transferred to Sir George Carie, for £80, their right in 50 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture, and 40 acres of furze and bracken in Stantor, Paynton and Marledon.‡

1610, October 3rd: Sir William Kirkham of Blackdon,§ knight, conveyed to Richard Reynell of Ford, esquire, and Tristram Stephens, of Northlew, gent., the tenement called Stantor in Marldon. Consideration £300 paid by Sir George Cary, of Cockington, knight.

1609, October 20th: Sir George Cary conveyed to the following trustees:—Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Castell, co. Devon, bart. (by the name of Edward Seymour, esq.); Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, knight; Sir Thomas Denys of Holcombe Burnell, knight; Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Castle, knight; Sir Thomas Reynell of West Ogwell, knight; Sir Edward Giles of Bowden, knight; William Bastard of Gerston; Richard Reynell of Ford; Richard Waltham of Kenn, esquires; John Bingley of Westminster, esquire; and Tristram Stephens of Northlew, gent., all his manors, lordships, rectories, advowsons, lands, etc., therein mentioned, i.e. the manors of Cockington and Chilston, Marychurch, Coffinswell, Northlew, Ashwater, Bradford,‖ Abbotsham,‖ Meath,‖ Crediton, Galliard, Goodley,‖ Northam, Frithelstock, and Feniton; the rectory of Tormohun and Cockington; the advowsons of Ashwater, Meeth,‖ Goodley‖

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*Recorder of Exeter, lived at Trehill in Kenn; he was one of the trustees of Sir George Cary.

†Mentioned in Sir George Cary's will as "my cosen."

‡The farmhouse of Stantor in the parish of Marldon. In 1446, Oct. 25th, in the chapel of the palace at Chuddelegh Otho Gylbard did homage to Bishop Edmund Lacy for lands in Stantorre within the Bishop's manor of Peyngton.

§Blagdon Barton in Collaton S. Mary.

‖Received in marriage with Wilmota Giffard. See *Trans D. Assoc.*, xxxiii., p. 182. Other manors unidentified in the above are Stockleigh Frauncis, East Cadworthy, Bradworthey, Mollande, Yeo, Smalecombe and Sergeantsborough.

and Feniton; and also all his manors, lands, etc., in the parishes, villages, towns, etc., of Stantor, Paington, Marldon, Whilborough, Kingscarswell, Dalton,‖ Hookway,‖ Yea,‖ Trew St. James,‖ † Woolfardisworthy,‖ ‡ Yeadcombe,‖ § Puddington,‖ East Worlington, South Emlett,‖ St. Mary Down, Holleigh,‖ Buckland Brewer, Cockmaton,‖ Bideford, Parkham,‖ Alwington,‖ Littleham,‖ Morthoe,‖ Parnacott,‖ §§ Pyworthy,‖ Hethford,‖ Eastcott,‖ Blackgrove,‖ Mounhouse, Lifton, Tophill, Radford, Overlarkworthy, Bridgewotton, Salterton, Goveshayes, Woodbury, Sowton *alias* Clist Fenizon, and Honiton's Clist in co. Devon; the manor of Stockland, co. Dorset; a messuage, etc., in Wellington, co. Somerset; and all other in England except the mansion called Allington House, in Holborn, London, to the use of his nephew, George Cary, for life.

The decision to make a nephew his heir was thus come to by Sir George Cary some eighteen months after his second marriage. Of his five brothers, the eldest, Richard, described as of the Inner Temple, does not appear to have married, and died 25th May, 1621; the second brother, according to the deed of 1584, was John; the genealogical records of the family place him as younger than Gregory. Richard, it is stated, was born *circa* 1545, and if John of Dudley, as he was known, was 70 years of age in the 19 Jas. I., he must have been born about 1551. There were four sisters of the marriage who may have intervened, and nothing is known of Gregory's age to substantiate his claim to being the third son of Thomas Cary. In any case Gregory, who married Joan, dau. of John Cooke of Thorne, is only known to have had one daughter, the wife of Robert Buxton, and on the evidence of the order of the

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‖ Received in marriage with Wilmota Giffard. See *Trans. D. Assoc.*, xxxiii., p. 182. Other manors unidentified in the above are Stockleigh Frauncis, East Cadworthy, Bradworthey, Mollande, Yeo, Smalecombe and Sergeantsborough.

† Mr. Robert Dymond, *Cary of Cockington, Torre Abbey and Follaton*, p. 40, suggests Taunton, but, if in any other county than Devon, it would have been entered separately and the county named.

‡ Near Crediton.

§ Probably Yeolhone or Yowlestone in Puddington.

§§ Luacott *alias* Parnacott in Pyworthy. See *Trans. D. Assoc.*, xxxiii., p. 183.

brothers' names given in the deeds of 1584 and 1586 should be regarded as the fourth son of Thomas Cary.

John Cary of Dudley, Staffordshire, it is thought, first obtained the appointment of Ranger of the Chase of Pensnett about the year 1576, through the influence of "Lord Henry Carye of Hundsedon, Lorde Chamberlayne to the Queen's Majestie," as he is described as one of the trustees to the will of Edward Lord Dudley, who was buried in St. Margaret's Church Westminster, 12 August, 1586; and which Lord Dudley, owner of Pensnett Chase, was doubtless the cause of John Cary migrating to Staffordshire. John Cary of Dudley had five sons the natural heirs to their uncle's possessions in Devon as, of the other brothers of Sir George Cary, Arthur, the fourth, probably died young and Robert of Bradford seems to have been provided for.[1]

The inheritance and large acquisitions of real estate of the wealthy Sir George Cary, largely due, it is said, to the collection of revenue and the control of public funds as Lord Treasurer and subsequently Lord Deputy of Ireland, (1598-1604), were willed in 1609 to the son of his brother John. Why, of the five sons John, Edward, Thomas, George and Dudley, the fourth boy George was chosen to be thus

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[1]Although considered to have been the fifth brother of Sir George Cary, perhaps because he is not mentioned in the deeds of 1584 and 1586, this seems open to doubt. Although married and credited with five children, according to the registers of Bradford he was buried there 22 April, 1610, seven years before Sir George himself and eleven years before the next brother, Richard. His eldest son Robert was baptized on the 15th May, 1572; and another son, Thomas, and Katherine, one of his daughters, were buried in 1581; whereas the oldest son of John of Dudley was baptized 6 May, 1576, George, the first chosen heir was baptized at Dudley 6 April, 1586, and was consequently about 23 years of age when the deed of 1609 was drawn up. Robert Cary of Bradford should certainly not have been excluded from mention in 1584 and 1586, unless for some goed reason; and it seems more probable that he was either an adopted son of Thomas Cary, or had perhaps married against his father's or brother's wish. The wife of Robert Cary was Dorothy; the family name is unknown; she survived her husband and is mentioned in 1616 as Dorothy Cary of Bradford, widow, giving a bond for £1000 to Edward Cary of *Cockington*, esquire [*Trans. Devon Assoc.*, vol. xxxiii., p, 186]. Edward Cary was never of *Cockington*.

endowed, in preference to his brothers, we can only conjecture. John the eldest settled at Long Melford in Suffolk and was buried there 9 November, 1639; he had nine children, but is not even mentioned in his uncle's will; the second son, Edward, accompanied his uncle, Sir George Cary, to Ireland, where he appears to have been given the estate of Dongarvon, co. Waterford, by which title he was known. Acting as principal secretary to his uncle, in view of the fact that he subsequently inherited, it seems strange that he should have been passed by in 1609 for the benefit of the fourth nephew George. It is unfortunate that the registry of birth or baptism of Edward has not been preserved, as one would naturally suspect that George was the elder son. The third son Thomas was also ignored by his uncle; he was buried at Dudley, 14 October, 1640, and his widow, Martha, daughter of William Stewart of Rowley, was buried at Oldswinford, 12 June, 1658; they had a numerous descent. The fifth son of John Cary, named after the family home, Dudley Cary, came to Cockington and settled at Livermead, possibly after the death of his uncle, as he is not mentioned in his will, even among the small legacies.

The first indication in the records which have come down to us that Sir George Cary had changed his mind as to the appointment of his future heir is in

1612, January 20th: By deed it was provided that within three months after his decease, the trustees of Sir George Cary should convey the manor of Stokenham to the use of Lady Letitia, his wife, in augmentation of her dowry, with remainder to Edward Cary, his nephew, son of his brother John.*

1612, September 14th: A deed is endorsed in the handwriting of the knight, as follows:—"A Reuocation of certaine lands contayned in my first conveyance." Reciting the

*Writing about 1675, Sir George Cary of Torre Abbey, great nephew of Sir George Cary of Cockington, left a note "Mr. Edward Cary was the second nephew to that Sir George Cary long since deceased; he [Sir George] was three years Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and three years after that Lord Deputy of Ireland; and this Mr. Edward Cary was then principall Secretary unto his uncle Sir George Cary." It is perhaps on this evidence that Mr. Dymond places Edward as third born after another Edward who died in infancy.

conveyance to Trustees for George Cary, dated 1609, October 20th, the deed concludes:—"For and in respecte of the disobedyent, unrulye and disorderlye caryage of George Cary, gent., his nephew, unto whom the aforesaid premises by way of remaynder are by the said recited deed lymitted and appointed, and for and in respecte of his idle and unthriftie courses all which have given unto the said Sir George Cary great doubte and fear that hee the said George Cary his nephew (if he bee not otherwise restrayned) will in time consume, mispend and wast that great estate which hee, the said George Cary, meerely out of former love and affection hath conferred upon him; for the preventing whereof in parte and as much as lyeth in the said Sir George Cary, and to the intent that he the said Sir G. Cary may be the better enabled to advance and preserve Edward Cary and Dudley Cary, gents., two other of his nephewes, the said Sir G. Cary doth in the presence of Sir Robert Riche of Wallington, co. Norfolk, knight, Nathaniel Riche of Leeze, co. Essex, esquire; Richard Savery of Willing; John Fowell of Totnes; Robert Savery of Willing, co. Devon, esquires; and Christopher Brooking of Totnes, merchant,* revoke the uses of the recited deed except as to the manors of Cockington and S. Marychurch." Sealed with the Cary arms and quarterings.

The estate of Cockington, confiscated from Sir John Cary by Richard II. in 1388, (or more correctly by the Duke of Gloucester, his uncle, acting in the King's name), and in reality, for loyalty to what he believed to be his sovereign's cause, was restored to his son Robert Cary by act of Parliament on the 1st December, 1418.† Thus Cockington had been the home of the Cary family

*In 1601 Sir George Cary tried to persuade the Mayor and burgesses of Totnes to return as Member of Parliament Mr. Thomas Weston living in Mugwell [now Monkwell] Street London and then described as "agent" for Sir George. The request was not complied with. Windeatt. *Totnes Mayors*, p. 51.

The inclusion of the two Saverys, of Willing in Rattery, as trustees is of interest, as the whole family was very zealous on the side of the Commons against King Charles and held important trusts under the Commonwealth. Cotton, *Antiquities of Totnes*, p. 68.

Christopher Brooking was Mayor of Totnes in 1614.

†The original deed of restitution, a beautiful specimen of penmanship, is among the muniments at Cockington Court.

for 194 years and it seems strange that Sir George Cary should have settled the ancestral manor upon his wayward nephew, George, whom he otherwise disinherited, especially if he were not an older son of John Cary of Dudley than Edward. It is certainly a fact that the birth or baptism of Edward, as already mentioned, is not recorded at Dudley, the earliest being that of John in 1576, followed by George in 1586, but it is quite possible that Edward was born and baptized elsewhere. Both Edward and his wife (buried June, 1654) lived eleven years after the interment of George Cary at Cockington, on the 23rd July, 1643, and, if not on account of being the elder nephew, and to that extent heir-at-law, it seems unaccountable, that Sir George should have given his father's home, with all its associations, and where he himself lived and died, to one whom he regarded as a dissolute wastrel.* George Cary does not seem to have been quite as bad as the deed of 1612 depicts him, as he married (about the same time as the act of disinheritance which may have been the cause), Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy. This knight was one of the trustees of the deed of revocation and was therefore a party to the impoverishment of his own son-in-law. Eight sons and three daughters were born and brought up at Cockington; the youngest, Bridget, being baptized at Cockington, 20 January, 1629, whereas the eldest, Sir Henry Cary, who succeeded his father, was born in 1613.

It is noteworthy that Dudley Cary, youngest son of John Cary of Dudley, who according to the deed of re-

*Captain L. Cary, of Torre Abbey, suggests that, if George was really the fourth son of John Cary and was preferred by his uncle as heir rather than his older brothers John and Edward, it may have been because John and Edward were avowed Roman Catholics. Dr. Oliver, *Collections Illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion*, p. 20, writes: "When the Cary family returned to the faith of their forefathers, I cannot determine; but I incline to the opinion that, in the early part of King James I's reign, Sir Edward Cary was reconciled." In this connection it would be interesting to know whether John Cary of Dudley, the father, and John Cary of Long Melford, the eldest brother of Edward, also adhered to the Roman Catholic faith; certainly George remained a Protestant.

vocation was to benefit together with the new heir Edward, is found 10th January, 1653, holding by grant of Sir Henry Cary, knight (his disinherited nephew) a tenement, including a house, at Livermead, Cockington. This was only eighteen months before the sale of Cockington. Dudley seems nevertheless to have been left out of his uncle's consideration, as it is not apparent that he inherited anything, his name not being mentioned in Sir George Cary's will. By his first wife Dorothy, buried at Cockington 11th September, 1634, he had three sons; by his second wife Anne he had three sons and two daughters. Throughout the Stuart period and the troubles of the Civil War there were numerous Carys living in Cockington.

Sir George Cary, having made his final will 7th August, 1614,* died s.p. at Cockington, 19 Feb., 1617, and is buried in the chancel of the church. His nephew Edward, and his [Edward's] son George, are specially remembered; a cousin, William Cary, receives a piece of plate; but Richard is the only one of five brothers mentioned; a lawyer of the Inner Temple, he was in receipt of an annuity of £65, which is augmented to £200. His brother Robert predeceased Sir George and was buried at Bradford, 22 April, 1610. It is not known if Gregory and Arthur were then living, but John of Dudley, father of the two beneficiaries George and Edward, was living in 1621.

From the year of Sir Walter Raleigh's last fateful expedition in 1617 until nearly a year after the outbreak of the Civil War and the raising of the royal standard at Nottingham, i.e. until 23rd July, 1643, George Cary with his numerous family seems to have lived quietly at Cockington. In that fateful year he died and the responsibilities fell heavily on his son Henry. The sympathies of the Carys of Cockington were wholly on the side of the King, and from the *Royalist Composition Papers* we learn that a servant in the employ of Sir Henry Cary deposed that, on the 15th June, 1646, the knight's mother [Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Edward Seymour] and the following brothers and sisters of Sir Henry Cary were all living with him at Cockington Court, namely:— Robert, Edward, John, Theodore, George, Walter, James,

**Cary Collectanea*, Torre Abbey. See *Trans. D. Assoc.*, vi., p. 289.

Francis, Elizabeth and Bridget. Sir Henry Cary himself had been married some five years [*circa* 1641], and already had three sons and one daughter, Richard, the third son, having been baptized at Cockington on the 27 April in the same year, 1646, so that there were at least seventeen members of the family gathered under the roof of Cockington Court in the year King Charles surrendered to the Scots. Sir Henry Cary's direct implication as a Royalist was of brief duration but cost him his all. Created High Sheriff of Devon in 1643,* he was knighted by King Charles on the 27 July, 1644, and defended Kingswear Castle against the Parliamentary forces in the early part of 1646. On the fall of Dartmouth, as "delinquent against the Parliament," he sent in a petition pleading that, being very young at the time of the troubles, he was persuaded to take up arms for the King. On the 24th December, 1647, the *Journals of the House of Commons* record that Sir Henry Carey of Cockington, co. Devon, knight, was found in arms against the Parliament and surrendered upon the Articles of Exeter; the fine assessed is calculated as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Estate in fee in old rents per annum -	285	5	8
In demesne per annum - - -	326	13	4
For 800 years £10 per annum.			
Out of which issues for one life per annum	400	0	0
Which leaves the fine calculated at a tenth	1,985	0	0
Resolved that this House doth accept the sum of - - - -	1,985	0	0

"An ordnance for granting a pardon for his delinquency and for taking off the sequestration of his estate was this day read, and upon the question being put was passed and ordered to be read to the Lords for their concurrence." The burden must have weighed very heavily upon Sir Henry Cary with the large number of dependents upon him, and five years later, on 29 April, 1651, he again was obliged to petition Parliament that, notwithstanding that he had paid the fine and received pardon and restoration of his estate, by an

*Although the official list is blank for 1642 and 43 Mr. R. Mallock (*Cockington before the Restoration*), says 1626, on the authority of Burke (*Commoners of Great Britain*, vol. ii.), *but* Sir Henry was then only 13 years old.

order of 8 April, 1651, his estate had been re-secured and his rents stayed, he himself being ignorant of any charge against him. An order is inscribed thereon, dated 26th June, 1651 :— "The Commissioners in the country are to give the heads of the charge, and certify what they know about the matter."

The *Royalist Composition Papers* show that many depositions were taken, doubtless with a view to prove the complicity of Sir Edward Cary of Stantor, knight, and other members of the family in the Royalist cause. Under the prevalent accusation of recusancy or refusal to embrace the tenets of the Puritans, the Cary family underwent much persecution. Sir Edward Cary's estate was sequestrated on the 20 May, 1646, on the ground that he was a Papist. Under the circumstances he could not have assisted his less endowed nephew, Sir Henry, to pay the fine of £1,985. The enquiry ordered in 1651 was protracted, with endless certificates and depositions, as long as the unfortunate owner of Cockington remained in this country. On the 16th June, 1652, his first wife Amy, daughter of Sir James Bagge, of Saltram, was buried at Cockington, and Sir Henry was left with five young children, the eldest, Edward, only just ten years old. He must have married again soon after, and we have fortunately been able to recover the name of the brave woman who thus shared the Royalist's misfortune. Among the *Mallock Collectanea* is the deed of sale of the estate of Cockington on the 10th July, 1654, by Henry Cary, son of George Cary of Cockington, esquire, late knight, and Mary his wife, to Roger Mallacke of Hevytree, Devon, esquire. The conveyance is witnessed by Thomas Cary, doubtless the younger son of Sir Edward Cary of Stantor, who had died the preceding month, i.e. 14th June, 1654, leaving his eldest son, George Cary, as heir. The second wife of Sir Henry Cary has hitherto escaped the notice of genealogists. In the chancel of Marystow Church on a marble slab is the following record :—

Here lyeth the Honorable Mary daughter of the Right Honorable Edward Lord Chichester, Baron of Belfast, Viscount Carrickfergus, first wife of Thomas Wise, esquire, of Sydenham ; second of John Harris of Radford, esquire, and third of Sir Henry Cary, knight. She died 27th May, 1657.

There is a portrait of this lady by Cornelius Jansen, doubtless painted during her first husband's lifetime, in the old mansion of Sydenham, Marystow. Her first husband had sat in Parliament for many years and died during session, being buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster, 26 May, 1641; her second husband, married less than five months after, was an ardent Cavalier, held the rank of Major-General in the King's forces and died some time before 22 February, 1653. Mary Chichester married Sir Henry Cary before 20th October, 1653, only a twelvemonth or so before the sale of Cockington. Sir Henry Cary, subsequent to the loss of his ancestral home, is supposed to have emigrated to America. It seems more likely that for the next three years, at all events, he retired with his wife to Sydenham where she died 27 May, 1657, and where, according to Lady Radford, she had been residing for some time.*

John Prince, who lived at Berry Pomeroy from 1681 to 1723, and doubtless wrote from information gathered at Cockington, tells us that "when the royal cause fell in this kingdom, Sir Henry Cary was forced to travel beyond the seas, into foreign countries; who coming back into England, (having at length sold all he had) was reduced to great necessities; insomuch, before he died, which was near about the return of King Charles II. (1660) he was obliged for his bread, to the charity of well-disposed gentlemen." As the worthy author of *The Worthies of Devon* was vicar of Totnes from 1675-81 he must have spoken with many who knew Sir Henry Cary. The fact that John Prince does not record the date and place of burial suggests that Sir Henry Cary did not spend his last days in the neighbourhood of Cockington: it is much to be hoped that some parish register will one day reveal where this unfortunate victim of devotion to his King lies buried. His eldest son Edward was but 15 years of age when in 1657 the five children were again bereft of a mother's care. It seems improbable that Sir Henry took his young family to America, although the one daughter, Grace, was two years senior of Edward. Mr. R. Mallock suggests that the children of Sir Henry Cary

**Trans. D. Assoc.*, xli., p. 145. Lady Radford, *The Wyses and Tremaynes of Sydenham.*

remained in Virginia* and that some his descendants are said to have distinguished themselves in the American Civil War;† but Mr. Henry Grosvenor Cary of Boston,‡ traces the descent of the American branches of the family from three early emigrants:—"John, who came in 1634, and settled at Plymouth; James, who came in 1635, settling at Charlestown, now Chelsea, after a short stay at Plymouth; and Miles, who came over in 1640, and settled in Virginia." John and James are considered to have been sons of William Cary, Mayor of Bristol in 1611. The origin of Miles Cary is also known;§ but certainly no Cary of that name occurs in the Cockington records. If Mr. Mallock was justified in the belief that Sir Henry Cary visited Virginia, it would most probably have been between June, 1657, and his death about the year 1665; and the visit may have been owing to the fact that some relation was already settled there, but, having regard to his loyalty

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*Dr. Oliver, *Biography of Exonians*, No. 48, says that "Sir Henry Cary emigrated to Virginia." No evidence can be found for such a statement and it was this doubtless misled Mr. R. Mallock. It is not known what became of Sir Henry Cary's children.

†*Cockington before the Restoration*, p. 25.

‡*The Cary Family in America*, pub. 1907.

§*The Virginia Carys*, by F. H., privately printed 1919, p. 34; Colonel Miles Cary was baptized at All Saints' Church, Bristol, 30 January, 1623; emigrated to Virginia about 1645; died June, 1667. Carys were established in Bristol early in the fourteenth century, and on the 18th June, 1699, Edward Cary, of Torr Abbey, acknowledged them to be his kinsmen, and in a written notice to the Earl Marshal, at the request of Mr. John Cary, of Bristol, and Mr. John Cary, of London. merchants, "consents and desires" that they may be permitted to use "the Paternal Coat-Armour" of his family, with the proper differences and distinctions.

The author of the above careful work of research has found no possible relations of Sir Henry Cary in America other than Colonel Theodore Cary, fourth brother, buried 1683 in Spanish Town, Jamaica, and Francis, eighth and youngest brother, born 1628 (p. 142), who is tentatively identified as having accompanied his "cousin" Colonel Henry Norwood, to Virginia in 1649.

According to the Visitation of 1699 Miles Cary was a son of John Cary, of Bristol, and Alice Hobson his wife; probably from the Hobson family the name of Miles, which became general among the American Carys, was adopted.

and the patriotism of his second wife, it seems more probable that Sir Henry crossed the channel to offer his service to the exiled Charles II. Completely impoverished, restitution of the Stuart monarchy could have been his only hope, and he may have returned with the King in 1660 and died elsewhere than in the county of Devon. Had John Prince known the circumstances of his death we may well believe he would have recorded every detail. Robert, a younger brother of Sir Henry, born in 1615, studied at Oxford and was presented to the rectory of Portlemouth. At the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, perhaps as some slight recognition of the sacrifices made by his family, he was appointed Archdeacon of Exeter on the 8th July, 1662, but of a retiring nature he soon resigned and returned to Portlemouth where he was buried in the church, 9th September, 1688. If Sir Henry Cary sought the refuge of his brother's house we should expect to find, in monument or register, some record of his death and burial; but there is nothing at Portlemouth.

A correspondent in *Notes & Queries* has kindly drawn my attention to the Calendars of State Papers (Domestic) in which several references occur.

1660, September 12th: Sir Henry Carey and four others granted a certificate in favour of Captain George Carey, who applied for the additional place of sixth Searcher in the Customs. This George is doubtless the fifth brother of Sir Henry. He had served during the late wars, and since the Restoration had been in the Life Guards. Owing to the reduction of that corps he was deprived of employment.

1661, January 1st: A certificate by the Earl of Northampton was annexed to a petition, by Jane, widow of Captain John Cary, for a warrant for a Baronetcy. The honour had been promised to her late husband, who was killed at Lichfield in the service of the late King. The said Jane had only a daughter. This probably refers to John, third brother of Sir Henry Cary, who was aged three months in 1620. The only other John Cary to whom this could possibly refer, would be John, eldest son of John Cary of Long Melford, who died 1639, a grandson of John Cary of Dudley; but as he was born about 1600-1605, it was probably the younger man to whom the entry refers.

1663, August: Sir Henry Carey petitioned King Charles II.

that, having lost his whole estate, in spite of former appeals, he has as yet received nothing from the King's privy seal for £1,000 charged on some persons in Hertfordshire. He begs that a letter be sent to Sir William Courtney, Bart., of Powderham and three others to examine how the estate was sold, hoping thereby to obtain some relief from the purchasers. Also he begs for a warrant for £1,000 from the privy purse, instead of the privy seal for £1,000 delivered up to Sir Robert Long.

Apparently in answer to the above a note occurs:—

1663, August 15th: Privy seal dormant for £200 to Sir Henry Carey as the King's free gift.

1664, January 22nd: From Exeter, Sir Harry Carey writes to Secretary Bennet asking for a second commission, the first being returned.

1664, January 29th: Sir Harry Carey repeats his request to Secretary Bennet for the renewal of the commission for six months, with Sir Edward Seymour, Bart., of Berry added to the number, and a warrant for a messenger to attend the commission.

1664, March 10th: A commission is addressed to Sir William Courtney, Bart., of Powderham, and five others, to examine the value of the estate of Sir Henry Carey and what it was sold for, and to report thereon, Sir Henry having been compelled to sell his estate at under value, as he contracted vast debts in the King's service.

Both letters of the 22nd and 29th January, 1664, are dated from Exeter. The finding of the Commission would be interesting reading, but it is not among the State Domestic Papers as calendared. The record is valuable as indicating the last place where we know Sir Henry Cary to have been as the only other record proves that he died before 27th Feb. 1666, and left a widow, his third wife, named Martha.

Who was Martha Cary, where were they married, and where eventually did Sir Henry Cary and his third wife die and were buried? The Register of Exeter Cathedral for Baptisms, Marriages and Burials is well preserved for this period, and has been ably transcribed by Mr. W. U. Reynell-Upham and Mr. H. Tapley-Soper, F.S.A. and printed by the Devon & Cornwall Record Society. There are only eight interments recorded in 1664, six in 1665. In 1666 Mrs. Dorathy

Cary was buried 25th May; and on 21st July, William the s. of Doc^r. George Cary (sometime Archdeacon of Exetter.) This entry illustrates the confusion between the names Cary and Carewe. In the list of Archdeacons of Exeter, George *Carewe* was installed 30th January 1556, resigned 1569 on a pension of £20 per annum. Robert *Cary*, LL.D., a younger brother of Sir Henry Cary, as stated above, was Archdeacon of Exeter for a short time in 1662. He had four sons and four daughters all baptized at Cockington, but no son named William. It seems well-nigh impossible that William, buried in 1666, can have been the son of Archdeacon George Carewe, superannuated in 1569. Robert Cary was certainly D^r. of Laws and, as he was not succeeded in the Archdeaconry until 18th January 1665, it is clear that *George* Cary in the Register should read "William the s. of Doc^r. *Robert* Cary," and that William was another son, hitherto unrecorded, probably born and baptized at Portlemouth, not recorded in the Registries of Cockington or Exeter Cathedral, and whose death and burial at Exeter synchronises with the resignation of the Archdeaconry and the return of Robert Cary to Portlemouth. It is not apparent who was the M^rs. Dorathy Cary buried in 1666: the wife of Archdeacon Robert was named Ann. It is noteworthy that the resignation and retirement of Archdeacon Robert in 1665, which according to the entry, "sometime Archdecon," may have taken place just before 21st July, also synchronises with the approximate date of the death of Sir Henry Cary, and as he writes from Exeter in 1664 and, from general account, was in absolute want, Sir Henry was doubtless staying with his brother the Archdeacon Robert. If Sir Henry died in Exeter, where was he buried? The influence of his brother would have insured interment in the Cathedral precincts, if desired, but there is no such record and an explanation is probably to be found in the query:—Who was Martha, third wife of Sir Henry Cary and of whom the following is, so far, the only mention at present known?

1666, February 18th [according to Mr. Stuart Moore's abstract, *Dartmoor Preservation Assoc.* vol. I., p. 77; according to *Calendar of State Papers*, which prints a less complete abstract, the date of the agreement is February 27th.] A contract was made between the Earl of Southampton and Lord Ashley on behalf of the King and Sir Gervase Lucas, Bart; Dame

Martha Carey, widow, relict of Sir Henry Carey, dec$^{d.}$ Sir Henry Chicheley, Knight; Col. Richard Garrett; Col. William Stewart; Col. John Marsh; Col. Paul Smith; and Col. William Dean; wherein the King declared his pleasure that Sir Gervase Lucas and his partners are to be enabled to treat with those owning rights of pasture, etc., on Dartmoor, to reclaim portions of the waste. The King issues the commissions at the expense of Sir Gervase and his partners. A portion of the land recovered is to be allotted to the King's use, which he contracts to let on lease for fifty years at one-fourth of the clear yearly value; the rest of the land is to be allotted to the owners and commoners to be held in free socage without rent. The agreement to be in force for three years and no longer. The sign manual was affixed to the above agreement on the 14th September, 1666, but further result of this royal concession has not been traced.

From the names of the grantees it may be deduced that the above was one of possibly many means adopted by Charles II. to satisfy the expectations of those who, like Sir Henry Cary, had sacrificed their property and risked their lives to support the House of Stuart.

CARY OF STANTOR AND TORRE ABBEY.

We now turn to the history of the heir to the many possessions of Sir George Cary of Cockington.—Edward Cary of Dongarvon, co. Waterford; of Bradford, co. Devon; of Exeter; of Stantor, according to his successive titles.

The first title is mentioned in Sir George Cary's will, 7th August, 1614, and, although the actual date of grant is not recorded, it was probably previous to the Lord Deputy's departure from Ireland in 1604. As was frequently the custom, the spiritual possessions in Dongarvon were retained by the donor, and only on his death Sir George bequeathed "his leasehold rectory, parsonage and sheaf of Dongarvon" to Edward and his son George, "subject to the annual payment of £150, at Allington House, to his widow for her life." The income from this estate must have been considerable.

The title "of Bradford" has much puzzled writers to explain. Bradford, it will be noted above, was the first

Miniature Portraits, on ivory or bone, of King James II. and his Queen, Mary of Modena.
In possession of Captain Lionel Cary, R.N., of Torre Abbey.
Photograph by Hugh R. Watkin.

The Children of Charles I.
From an oil painting, measuring 4 ft. 9 ins. by 4 ft., at Torre Abbey, reputed to have been given to the Cary family by that king, and described as having been painted by Henry Stone (d.1653).
Photograph by Hugh R. Watkin.

property acquired by Sir George Cary on his return from Ireland, the date of conveyance being 5th August, 1605. Robert Cary of Bradford, who seems to have held a life tenancy from his brother Sir George, was already very ill when on the 13th July, 1609, he made his will, having apparently little to bestow, beyond £10 a year to his son Robert, and that only for four years. The same year, 1609, October 20th, Sir George willed in favour of his nephew George, when Bradford is included. On the 22nd April, 1610, Robert Carey, gent., was buried at Bradford, and it seems probable that the manor house was then given to Edward Cary. Twice in documents is the title given him, and in the same year, i.e. January 12-13th, 1618; when Edward Cary of Bradford, Devon, esquire, as executor of his uncle, Sir George Cary, leases to Edward Cholwich of Harberton, gent., the manor of Northlew; and again on November 20th, 1618, the trustees convey to Edward Cary of Bradford, esquire, the manor of Stokenham. Tuckett [*Devonshire Pedigrees*, p. 143] gives him the title "of Bradford."

Although Stantor Barton was finally acquired 3rd October, 1610, by Sir George Cary, there seems to be no evidence that Edward Cary took up residence there before 1624-25. In fact an indenture,* dated 1625, exists between John Newton and others and Thomas Cary, son of Edward Cary of *Bradford*, co. Devon, and a deed is known, dated 1624, by which *John Cary, gent.*, conveys Stantor. Robert Cary of Bradford had no son or brother named Edward, and the Thomas mentioned is undoubtedly the second son of Sir Edward Cary of Stantor. The John Cary of 1624 can be none other than Edward Cary's father, John of Dudley; as Edward's elder brother, John of Long Melford, co. Suffolk, married and settled there, bringing up a large family of ten children, he was probably well provided for as the eldest son, and did not benefit under the will of his wealthy uncle, Sir George of Cockington.

Although no lease is now known, it seems almost certain from other evidence that Sir George, probably soon after purchase in 1610, gave Stantor Barton as a residence for his next brother Richard, known as of the Inner Temple;

* Robert Dymond *Cary of Cockington, Tor Abbey and Follaton*, p. 25.

because on his death, 25th May, 1621, his estates were inherited by John Cary, esquire [of Dudley], his brother and next heir, who was then 70 years of age, and we find three years later, as stated above, John Cary in 1624 conveyed Stantor, but in the abstract of deed it is unfortunately not stated to whom. In 1621, June 17th, John Cary, esquire, applied for a special license, under the King's hand, to take over his brother's responsibilities as trustee to the Cary estates, but it was not until 3rd May, 1622, that the Inquisition was held at Exeter Castle concerning the estate of Richard Cary, esquire, deceased. On 16th March, 1624, in a lease of Under Yolland close to Peter and Stephen Dyer of Paington, Edward Cary is described as "of the Cytie and county of Exon." He had then no doubt left Bradford and was living in Exeter for a short time,*† as already on the 26th July, 1626, we find that Edward Cary of Stantor, esquire, and George his son and heir apparent, assigned to Sir John King, knight, the manor of Stokenham; the manor and advowson of Ashwater, Devon; and the rectory and sheaf of Dongarvon, co. Waterford; provided that the said George Cary should ratify the same within one month after coming of age.

We do not know for what particular reason or where Edward Cary was knighted by Charles I. Dr. Oliver says "about the year 1625 he received the honour of knighthood in Ireland." The deed of 1626 and the evidence of 1627 refute this supposition. But 27th December, 1627, the manor roll of Ashwater describes the lord thereof as Edward Cary, *esquire*, and on 7th April 1628, he is styled Sir Edward Cary, *knight*. Between these dates the celebrated third Parliament had assembled on the 17th March, 1628, when the Petition of Right was presented, and it was doubtless for some personal

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* This city residence was retained, as, in a petition sent in the year before his death, Sir Edward Cary of Stantor, knight, states that he had a house and goods therein in the city of Exeter in 1646.

† The Revd. Dr. George Oliver, writing in the *Exeter Flying Post* under *Biography of Exonians*, No. 9, says :—"The subject of this memoir is styled in a pedigree which was approved of by Richard Manson, Portcullis Pursuivant of Arms, 12th Sept., 1719, Edward Cary of Exeter. He was probably born in this city." There is nothing to support this last supposition. Titles were adopted from place of residence rather than of birth.

obligation that the knighthood was conferred. Four and a half years later George, son of Sir Edward Cary, was knighted by Charles I. at Greenwich on the 3rd July, 1632; "by the importunities of the late Lord Francis, Earle of Rutland, whose niece he married," as a note in the recipient's handwriting written about 1675 records.

On the 16th March, 1629, Sir Edward Cary was convicted of recusancy and, on 1st October, 1630, an Inquisition was held in the parish of St. Thomas near Exeter to certify what possessions were subject to sequestration or fine. The High Sheriff returns that Sir Edward Cary was then seized of and in the manors of:—St. Mary Church, Coffinswell, Northlewe, Ashwater, Bradford, Abbotesham, Stockley *alias* Meeth, and Goodley, also of:—

An estate called			East Kimber	of 90 acres.
,,	,,	,,	Middlelake	,, 41 ,,
,,	,,	,,	Monehouse	,, 91 ,,
,,	,,	,,	Dobles Thorne	,, 53 ,,
,,	,,	,,	Gaston or Gason	,, 55 ,,
,,	,,	in	Yeo in Allington	,, 70 ,,
,,	,,	,,	Cockington	,, 53 ,,
,,	,,	,,	Aishenage or Alverdiscott	,, 6 ,,
,,	,,	,,	Westland, Cherybere and Delton	,, 27 ,,
,,	,,	,,	Parvacott, Thornedon and Peworthy	,, 97 ,,
,,	,,	,,	Instowe and Bradworthy	,, 12 ,,
,,	,,	at	Westweeke and Blondehouse within the parishes of Lamerton and Broadwoodwiger	,, 120 ,,

and a third part of a cottage in Bedyford. By letters patent 24th June, 1634, Charles I. pardoned Sir Edward Cary and released his sequestration but granted the above estates in trust to Thomas Risden and Christopher Maynard, gents., to hold the same from Lady-day, 1632, during the complete term of 41 years, by payment to the Crown of the yearly rent of £136 13s. 4d. Sir Edward Cary and his wife were to be unmolested by summons, etc., and to be allowed religious liberty. Thus was religious conviction made an excuse for

extortion. Monetary consideration perforce played a considerable part in the acts of the Stuart monarchs and on 25th February, 1631, there is a record, in the *Mallack Collectanea*, that King Charles I. farmed the tithe of Cockington, which had been confiscated by King James from George Carye, esquire, to John Sotherton, esquire, and Sir Nathanuell Riche, knight. Apparently payments were very much in arrear, but by virtue of an Act of Pardon and Oblivion dated 24th February, 1651, they were discharged of their accumulated debt.

It was probably soon after this release that the tithes passed to Sir Edward Cary of Stantor, because he filed two bills in Chancery addressed :—"To the Right Hon'ble, the Lords Commissioners for y^e^ custody of y^e^ Greate Seale of England" against Upton, Drew, and others, tenants of lands at Shiphay in St. Marychurch, formerly belonging to Torre Abbey, who, taking advantage of the suspension of the Ecclesiastical Courts, had refused to pay tithes. Plantiff being deprived of other means of redress appeals to Chancery. Mention is made in the petition of calves worth 20s. each ; 150 lambs worth £37 10s ; 200 fleeces of wool worth £30.

In 1654, on June 14th and 19th respectively, as recorded on a slab in the chancel floor of Marldon Church, Sir Edward Cary, aged 80, and Margeria his wife, aged 85, died. Their deaths occurred less than a month before the sale of Cockington on July 10th by his nephew Henry to Roger Mallacke, and the last years of their lives must have been rendered unhappy by the religious persecution of the time. We learn, from a deposition in 1654, that Sir Edward Cary's estate had been sequestrated for Papacy on 20th May, 1646, and that he had a daughter by a former wife.

1655, January 18th: Ordered that Christopher Maynard be discharged of sequestration of lands purchased by him of Thomas Cary, now under sequestration for recusancy of Sir Edward Cary, deceased.

1655, February 25th: Petition of Sir Wm. Courtenay, Wm. Kirkham and Christopher Maynard, for sequestration to be discharged on lands in Devon, made over to them by Sir George Cary, for payment of debts, etc., two thirds whereof are sequestered for recusancy of his late father, Sir Edward Cary. Ordered.

No record has been recovered of the first marriage of Sir Edward Cary which probably did not take place in Devon. Genealogy attributes a daughter, by the second marriage with Margaret Blackhurst, named Ann, who married Sir George Southcott, of Bliborough, co. Lincoln, bart. A George Southcott, esquire, is last of six trustees mentioned in 1568 with Sir William Cordeth, Richard Weston, Justice of the Queen's Bench, John Southcott, esquire, Robert Cary, esquire, and Richard Beyneth, esquire. This deed in the *Mallacke Collectanea*, witnesses to the early intercourse between the Cary and Southcott families and partly explains the marriage of Sir Edward's daughter Ann. It is perhaps worthy of comment that no daughter is mentioned in the will of Sir Edward Cary of Marldon, dated 14th June and proved 26th September, 1654; although the names of his sons Sir George and Thomas; his grandchild Benedict; his *cousin* Francis Southcote; James Blackhurst (his brother-in-law); his sister Jane William (*rectius* sister-in-law); also his brother John Cary and John's son Edward occur: the will is witnessed by Francis Southcote (cousin), Lucie Cary (probably Lucy Hayne, wife of his younger son Thomas), and Edward Cary (probably the second brother of his nephew Sir Henry Cary of Cockington, born in 1615 and consequently *æt.* 39 at the date of will). The absence of any mention of daughters, other than the deposition in 1654, which attributes a daughter to the first wife, strongly suggests that this was Ann, the wife of Sir George Southcott, that she was possibly not living in 1654, and that Sir Edward had no daughter by his second wife.

On the death of Sir Edward Cary his second son remained in the family home and became known as Thomas Cary of Stantor. His youngest daughter Mary was buried at Marldon, 11th February, 1657, and this is the last record we have of the Carys of Stantor Barton. We do not know where Thomas or his only son John are buried. If they remained at Stantor, as the burial of the daughter three years later suggests, it was only as tenants of Roger Mallacke, and apparently Sir Edward Cary, although owner of such large estates, was only a tenant of the owner of Cockington Court, as the deed of sale, dated 10th July, 1654, by Henry Cary, late knight, to Roger Mallacke included "Stauntor *alias* Stontor sometime in the

possession of Sir George Cary knight deceased." It is difficult to-day to understand that the heir to the greater portion of the estate of the wealthy Lord Treasurer of Ireland chose to live in what could never have been a pretentious dwelling at Stantor Barton. It may have been that, a desire to live as near as possible to his brother George whom he had displaced as their uncle's chief heir, reasons of health, or perhaps the high tension of political feeling at the time caused the members of this royalist family to cling together: certainly his firm adhesion to the old faith may have been the cause of his leaving the city residence at Exeter for the greater seclusion of a country farmhouse. Unfortunately the home of the Carys at Stantor was destroyed by fire, on 20th September, 1865, and probably little remains to-day as they knew it. The *Torquay Directory* of 27th Sept., 1865, says "the arms [of the Cary family] are visible over the chimney piece in the kitchen." It seems certain that the eldest son, Sir George Cary of Newparke, co. Southampton, and later of Torre Abbey, as he was known, married and left the family home at Stantor before the severance of the Cary family from Cockington. He married three times: firstly Anne, daughter of Sir Charles Manners, knight, whom he must have married some time previous to 1642; she was buried at Cockington, 24 October, 1653. Mr. Robert Dymond* seems to have misconstrued the deposition, dated 5th Dec., 1654, of Sir George Cary of Newparke, co. Southampton, knight, who had a daughter and two sons by his first wife: i.e. Cecilia, who was under 12 when the deposition was made; Edward; and George, "younger son of deponent." A small scrap of paper among the muniments at Torre Abbey gives the dates of birth of some of Sir George Cary's children. Mr. Robert Dymond gives Edward Cary, heir and successor to Torre Abbey, as the eldest son by the third wife whereas everything points to his having been the elder son of his first wife Anne. Cecilia was born *circa* 1642 and the youngest, George, was born 16th March, 1653. Mr. Dymond places him as second son of Elizabeth Wells, the *third* wife, whereas Sir George Cary's *first* wife

See D.C.N.Q. vol xi. p. 218.

* *Cary of Cockington, Tor Abbey and Follaton*, p. 25.

only died seven months *after* he was born, i.e. 24th October, 1653.*

It was undoubtedly on the occasion of the second marriage of Sir George Cary that, on 1st July, 1654, a fortnight after his father was buried at Marldon, he demised in trust to Sir W. Courtenay, knight, William Kirkham, esquire, and Christopher Maynard,† the manor of Aishwater and other manors to pay his father's debts, and to raise £1000 each for Cecilia his daughter, and George the younger son of deponent. His elder son is not mentioned by name but would undoubtedly be Edward, the heir-at-law and subsequent successor to his estate. Such provision for younger children was customary upon the contraction of a second marriage.

Sir George Cary is said to have married secondly a daughter of —— Browne, esquire, of Hants, who must have died s.p. very soon afterwards; for already 1655-6 he must have married his third wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thos. Wells, esquire, of Brambridge, Hants, by whom Sir George Cary had five sons and four daughters, viz:—Francis, Christopher, John, Charles, and Norbert; Elizabeth, Frances, Margery, and Constance. Of these two families by the first and third wives, in an Indenture dated 1st May, 1681, only Edward, John, Charles and Norbert; Frances, Margery and Constance are mentioned. The youngest, Constance, was born 27th August, 1673, and her mother was buried in Tormohun church 3rd January, 1697.

On 14th November, 1657, three weeks before the third son John was born on 7th December, 1657, the deed of trust dated 1654 is surrendered, and another, providing for £500 for every other child thereafter born, in addition to £1000 to Cecilia and George by the first marriage, is granted. Sir George Cary was then described as of Newparke, co, Southampton, and probably for the reason that he was living so far away he

*If the registry of Anne Cary buried at Cockington on this date really refers to Sir George Cary's first wife. Considering that he was of Stantor, not of Cockington, and that his father and mother were buried at Marldon it is unlikely; but, for the same reason, it is equally unlikely to refer to the only other known Anne, namely, the daughter of Sir Edward Cary.

† Thrice Mayor of Totnes 1632, 1648 and 1658, died 29th March 1669. E. Windeatt, *Totnes Mayors*, pp. 74, 87 and 90.

assigned, on the 17th November, to Christopher Maynard of Totnes, the leases under which he held the rectories of St. Marychurch and Paington so long as he, Sir George, or his brother Thomas should live.

On 29th December, 1662, after some eight and a half years absence from the district, Sir George Cary bought the mansion-house, site, and demesnes of the late dissolved monastery of Torre, from John Stowell, esquire, of Parke, in Bovey Tracy. Title is established by citing the former occupants of the Abbey, i.e. Sir Hugh Pollard, knight; Sir Edward Seymour, Lord Seymour; the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Londonderry; Sir Robert Parkhurst, knight, then in 1662 all deceased; Sir Robert Parkhurst, son of the latter, and lastly the said John Stowell.

This evidence of the improved condition of the position of Sir George Cary, occurring some two years and nine months after the Restoration of the House of Stuart in the person of Charles II., was doubtless due to the recovery by the cavalier of some, if not all, of his father's estates. His third wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wells of Brambridge, known to-day as Brambridge House, in the parish of Twyford, 3 miles south of Winchester,* had been married some seven years, and probably the two younger sons Charles and Norbert, and certainly the three youngest daughters, Frances, Margery, and Constance, were born at Torre Abbey.

Neweparke, Hants, from which Sir George Cary took his first title, was probably a grant from the Crown, as the following note, in the *Calendar of State Papers* [Domestic, 1664-5, p. 179], suggests. From the date it appears that Sir George retained his appointment at least two years after the purchase of Torre Abbey.

1665, January 26th: "Sir George Carre, Keeper of the New Park, New Forest, Hampshire, and John Gwin, petitioned for a grant for the sale of the alder and yew-trees in that forest. The petition was referred to Lord Treasurer Southampton." Perhaps portions of the New Forest were thus farmed to those to whom the House of Stuart were indebted, just as an attempt was made in 1666 [see p. 19] to

*It was in the private chapel of this house that the marriage of Mrs. Fitzherbert to George IV., when Prince of Wales, is alleged to have taken place.

bestow the waste lands of Dartmoor upon the widow of Sir Henry Cary and other faithful adherents of Charles I.

Mr. G. Eyre Matcham of Newhouse, Redlynch, on the Wiltshire border of the New Forest, to whom I applied, kindly informs me that "New Park" is one of the Crown Lodges in the New Forest, about one and a half miles from Brockenhurst on the Lyndhurst side. Perhaps Sir George Cary was what is now known as "Deputy Surveyor," but the King's House at Lyndhurst was always thought to be that official's residence.

We know little of Sir George Cary of Torre Abbey, subsequent to his purchase in 1662 of the ruined house of the Premonstratensian Canons. The tithes of parishes in the country were apparently much sought after for investment. Whatever other losses he and his father incurred under the rule of the Commonwealth, Sir George Cary seems to have retained the lease of the tithes of St. Marychurch and Paington [as then spelt]. On 10th December, 1664, we find that the Dean and Chapter of Exeter leased the tithes of St. Marychurch to Sir George for his life and the lives of his two sons Edward and George. Considerable appropriation of tithes by the Crown had been in vogue since the days of the Reformation, and this lease probably marks the restitution of rights to the Dean and Chapter which the Canons of Exeter had enjoyed since the grant of Bishop Robert Chichester, 15th August, 1148. Possibly the Dean and Chapter had re-purchased their rights, for on 29th September, 1664, Rawlyn Mallacke, esquire, of Cockington Court, purchased, for £120, from Jacob Winston, gent., John Southcott, gent., and Elizabeth his wife, and William Palmer, gent., the vicarage of Cockington and Tormoham with all tithes, oblations and profits. How the vendors acquired the churches is not apparent. We learn from the Mallack Collection that, in February, 1631, King Charles I. farmed Cockington, which had been confiscated from George Carye, esquire, by King James, to John Sotherton, and Nathaniell Riche, knight, for ten shillings yearly. In 1653, the accumulation of arrears of this rent had reached £70, but by Act of Exemption, dated 24th February, 1651, they are considered discharged of the obligation. Whatever the value of the tithes of Cockington and Tormoham at this period, those of St. Marychurch, which embraced also the present

parishes of Kingskerswell and Coffinswell, were of considerable financial importance. On the 13th February, 1665, Sir George Cary appointed attornies to receive *seizin* of the tithes of St. Marychurch, which deed is witnessed by John Cary. The latter must be his cousin, born in 1620, the third brother of Sir Henry Cary of Cockington. So numerous were the descendants of the many branches of the family at this time that it is not surprising that a Cary Society exists in America to-day. Besides the five children of Sir Henry Cary, the eight children of his eldest brother, and the eight children of Dudley Cary of Livermead were all baptized or buried at Cockington. The family of Sir George Cary of Torre Abbey comprised twelve children.

A deed, dated 2nd May, 1674, is endorsed by Sir George Cary, "The counter of my security to my brother Southcote in order to the Rectory of St. Marychurch." John Southcote is described as of Buckland Toutsaints, gent., and is probably identical with the part owner, in 1664, of the vicarage of Cockington and Torre: the families were allied in interests, and doubtless by marriage, throughout the period covered by the House of Stuart [see under date 1568]: his "brother" should properly refer to Sir George Southcott of Bliborough, co. Lincoln, bart., who married Ann, the only sister of Sir George Cary; the term "brother" is apparently extended to his sister's brother-in-law.

Among the muniments of Torre Abbey is a paper (already noted, p. 26), referring to his ancestry, in the handwriting of Sir George Cary written about the year 1675, which states "Mr. Edward Cary [of Stantor] was *second* nephew unto Sir George Cary [of Cockington], long since deceased and reputed ever to have been the father of the present Sir George Cary." The bracketted comments and the emphasized *second* are introduced by me to point the contention [see p. 13] that George of Cockington was not, as genealogists have hitherto stated, a younger son than Edward of John Cary of Dudley.

On 15th April, 1678, Sir George Cary, first Cary of Torre Abbey, made his will, devising to his wife and sons Edward and George his manors, etc., for discharge of debts and raising £5,000 for his daughters Elizabeth, Frances,

Margery, and Constance, and his four younger sons Christopher, John, Charles, and Norbert.

On 27th May, 1678, Sir George Cary, knight, died and was buried in the chancel of Tormohun Church. Aged approximately 68, the place and date of his birth or baptism would be interesting to ascertain. We have no evidence that his father ever lived at Dongarvon; he may have been born there, as his parents probably did not move to Bradford until after 22nd April, 1610, when Robert Cary of Bradford died. Dame Elizabeth, third wife and widow of Sir George Cary, survived her husband nearly 19 years. Her name occurs on the 5th December, 1678, with Edward Cary, as leasing Tremlynch* in St. Marychurch to R. Sprague. On 21st March, 1679, the trust for £5,000 mentioned above was transferred to others. On the 3rd January, 1697, Dame Elizabeth Cary was buried at Tormohun.

The story of the landing of William, Prince of Orange, on the 5th November, 1688, at Brixham, followed by the abdication and flight of James II. from London to France, the next month, is well known. Two descriptions of what happened at Torre Abbey have come down to us. Dr. Oliver† gives an extract from the diary of the Rev. John Whittie, one of the chaplains of the Prince of Orange:—

"5th November, 1688, we all rode at anchor in Torbay. There is a fair house belonging to one Mr. Cary, a very rigid Papist, who entertained a priest in his house. This priest going to recreate himself on the leads on the top thereof,‡ he happened to cast his eyes towards the sea, and spying the fleet at a distance, withal being purblind in his eyes, as well as blinded by Satan in his mind, he presently concludes that it was the French navy (because he saw divers white flags) come to land the sons of Belial, which should cut off the children of God, or as they call us, hereticks. And being transported with joy, he hastened to inform his own disciples of the house, and forthwith they sang 'Te Deum.'

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*This, it is thought, must be the present day "Trumlands," N.W. of the parish church.

†*Collections Illust. Hist. of Catholic Religion*, p. 21.

‡ A secret Chapel was arranged under the roof, over the Abbat's quarters, which was not disused until 1779, when the Guest Hall of the Abbey was converted into a Chapel as it remains to-day. The present spacious dining-room, or "banquetting-hall" as it was then called, was constructed with high vaulted ceiling, converting what had been two storeys into one and thereby destroying the hidden Chapel.

And because false reports were spread abroad that the people of this house had shot several of the Prince of Orange's soldiers, and thereupon they had burnt down this house, I must inform the candid reader that there was nothing at all in it. For our people did not give them one reviling word, nor they us. Some lodged there, while we were in the bay." [*Diary of the Rev. John Whittie*, p. 36].

The story must have been very generally known at the time to have reached the chaplain's ears, as another version is recorded [*Harleian Misc.*, vol. i., p. 449, quoted by Octavian Blewitt, *Panorama of Torquay*, p. 26]. Both accounts witness to the spirit of toleration which probably contributed to the peaceable appropriation by the Prince of Orange of the throne of the Stuarts. Not improbably from these days date the children's song-games of which the Rev. Edwin S. Chalk has recorded an instance [*D. & C. N. & Q.*, xi., p. 50, par. 56]. The other description is as follows:—

"Nor shall it be forgotten that there was a priest and some others upon a watch tower (at Tor Abbey) when we arrived at Torbay, to dis cover what our fleet was; and discovering white flags on some of our men-of-war, the ignorant priest concluded we were French, which they had so long expected with great impatience; and having laid up great provisions for their entertainment, the priest ordered all to the Chapel to sing Te Deum for the arrival of their forces. But being soon undeceived on our landing, we found the benefit of their provisions; and instead of *Votre serviteur*, *Monsieur*, they were entertained with *Yeen Mynheer, can ye Dutch spraken?* Upon which they all ran away from the house, but the Lady Cary and a few old servants."

From this account we may judge that Edward Cary left the Abbey. His eldest son George was only four years old and the well known religious principles of the family would mark the owner of Torre Abbey as an adherent of King James. It seems almost extraordinary that, when local feeling and religious sentiment were so aroused by the sudden and unexpected arrival of such an expedition in Torbay, no damage was done by partizans of the Protestant cause in the neighbourhood. The terrible lesson of 1685, as a result of the battle of Sedgemoor and the revengeful visitation of Judge Jefferies, must have imbued the minds of West-country people with a caution which doubtless held them aloof from active interference for or against the new cause. The *Exeter Flying Post*, No. 710, records:—

"The Prince, on Monday, 5th November, sent a Captain M. to

search Tor Abbey, and so all other houses belonging to Papists, for horses and arms."

The military advisers of the Prince of Orange seem to have been content with this precaution, news of which, as the notice particularly mentions Tor Abbey, may have been carried to Exeter by Edward Cary himself.

The accession of William of Orange, the real revolution of social and religious thought, the culmination of national discontent at the mis-rule of the House of Stuart, and finally the defeat of the Roman Catholic hope in Ireland must have well nigh extinguished the newly-founded sect of Jacobites. But a smouldering spark was left in the presence of the son, born to King James by Queen Mary of Modena, 10th June, 1688, in the very year of his flight from England. Received by Louis XIV., and brought up at the French Court, James Francis Edward Stuart, known as the "Old Pretender," was acknowledged by the French King, on the death of his father in 1701, as James III. of England.

In 1690 the objectless destruction of Teignmouth by the French fleet on behalf of James II. must have gone far to estrange feeling in the West from the Stuart cause.

We know nothing of Edward Cary and his family from the landing of the Prince of Orange in 1688 until the year 1700, when circumstances doubtless dictated some provision being made for his young family.

On 8th April, 1700, Edward Cary, of Torr Abbey, who had married in January, 1681, Mary, second daughter of Richard Pelson of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and granddaughter, through her mother, of the first Earl of Anglesea, appointed as his trustee Thomas Windham, of Tale,* co. Devon.

The record of the possessions is interesting as showing which of all the estates owned by the Lord Treasurer, as mentioned in the deed of entail in 1586 [p. 3], were retained by his descendant in 1700. They are as follows:—The manors of Coffinswell, *alias* Well Coffin; Bradford and lands in Pyworthy; the mansion house, etc., of Torr Abbey; the manors of Monksmeath, St. Marychurch, Ashwater, North

*In Payhembury, formerly a possession of Ford Abbey. A memorial to Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Windham and wife of James Welsh, esquire, dated 1650, is in the parish church of Alverdiscott.

Lew, and Milltowne; the manor of Stokenham; the rectories and parsonages of Painton and St. Marychurch with all appurtenances. The moiety of properties in Melsham [Melksham] and Chipnam [Chippenham], in Wiltshire; and in Stafford and Wickham, in Leicestershire; and in the city of Westminster. The deed is signed and sealed by Edward Cary and witnessed by Eli Henneage; John Walpool; Wm. Bayly.

A second deed, dated the following day, 9th April, 1700, mentions his wife Mary, one of the daughters and co-heirs of the Countess of Sussex, deceased, and his sons George (heir apparent), Edward, John, William, and Francis,* conveys all the estates in trust to Thomas Windham, esquire, of Tale, Devon, to provide the said Edward Cary with the sum of £2,000 yearly out of the estate.

Was it that Edward Cary was contemplating some risk? Perhaps his adherence to the Stuart cause carried him across the water on a special mission, in preparation for which, and providing for all eventualities, the above arrangement of his affairs was made. The Jacobite affection was smouldering, fostered by the asylum offered at the French court to every disaffected refugee. Such a fugitive was James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde. Having held the post of Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the land forces in Great Britain, from 1711 until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, he was made Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle. The accession of George I., on the 1st of August, 1714, brought about a change in the Duke of Ormonde's fortune, and he was impeached of high treason on the 21st June, 1715, and escaped to France, where he became an ardent supporter of the Pretender.

Although the Duke of Ormonde's visit to Brixham is not dated until 23rd October, 1715, a letter, among others found at Torre Abbey and printed by Mr. Robert Dymond,† is of historic interest as illustrating conditions of life in Devon in the same year, 1715.

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*Another son Thomas, who had probably died, aud his four daughters Ann, Mary, Winifred, and Elizabeth are not mentioned.

†*Cary of Cockington, Tor Abbey and Follaton*, p. 34.

John Cary [third son, died s.p.; bur. at Tormohun 16th Feb., 1750], at Torre Abbey to his father Edward Cary, then in London :—

Torr, April ye 3rd, 1715.

Honored Sir,—Yours, with the speech, I received on Lady-day, for which I return you ten thousand thanks, and cannot express the joy and gladness to hear that you and my brother are so well after a long and tedious journey, which I am sure has been a great fatigue to you. I was yesterday at Sir Thos. Carewe's* where Lady Carewe asked very kindly for you and my brother,† and her ladyship drank your health in a glass of wine, as did all the rest of the company. And I heard that there was a highwayman that robbed on Hall down [Haldon], and has robbed a man of Newton of ten pounds, but we do not hear that he hath robbed anyone else. This day came into Torbay five or six Swedish men-of-war, among which one has a white flag.‡ So will not further enlarge, having no more news to write you, so conclude myself your dutiful son and servant to command,

JOHN CARY.

All my brothers and sisters and myself tender our duty to you and our service to our uncle§ and brother and all the rest of our family in London.

Honoured Sir, I desire if you please that you will bring me down a long Wig, which I shall take as a mighty token of your blessing.

This minute my sisters received yours and my brother's letters, for which they return many thanks.

In 1715 James, son of James II. of England, known as the "Old Pretender," having reached the age of 27, encouraged by the disaffection on the accession of George I., and the desertion to his cause of such men as the Duke of Ormonde, resolved to make a determined attempt to recover the Crown of England. On the 3rd September the Stuart standard was set up at Braemar and Castletown in Scotland, and the Duke of Ormonde was sent to Devonshire to arouse the sympathy of the West of England. After cruising about, harassed by British gun boats, and

*Sir Thomas Carew of Haccombe was the fourth Baronet, son of Sir Henry Carew second Bart., and his third wife Gratiana, dau. of Thomas Darrell of Trewornan, co. Cornwall; he was a minor in 1695 and therefore was not 40 years old in 1715. Lady Carew, mentioned in the above letter, was Dorothy, dau. and co-heir of Peter West, of Tiverton Castle.

†This would refer to his eldest brother George, then aged 31, doubtless also absent from home in London. See *p.s.*

‡This may have been the reason for writing the letter. In view of what happened later in the year, were the ships really Swedish and what did the white flag signify? It was a white flag deceived the priest in 1688.

§Doubtless George, eldest of five brothers of Edward Cary, who is described as "of St.Giles-in-the-Fields, London," and was living in 1728 *s.p.*

probably waiting for good news, on the 23rd October his vessel put into Brixham,* but meeting with scant encouragement the Duke returned whence he came.

The failure of the Duke of Ormonde's enterprise in the West seems to have been largely due to misplaced confidence in a certain Colonel Maclean, who turned informant to the English Government.† The plan was to seize Plymouth, Exeter and Bristol, but adequate measures were taken by the Government, of which Ormond could have known little; for, previous to his visit on the 23rd October, John Anstis, M.P. for Launceston, was arrested on 22nd September; Sir Richard Vyvian of Trelowarren, M.P. for Cornwall, on the 6th of October; Mr. James Paynter, of Trelassick near Hayle, on the 7th October; Mr. Francis Basset, of Tehidy, and Mr. John Pollard on 22nd October; Thomas Bishop, Henry Darr, Richard Whitford and John Angora were also associated with James Paynter. Sir William Carew, M.P. for Cornwall, Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Castle, Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, and Sir Copplestone Warwick Bampfield were all placed under detention, but the representatives of the Cary and Chichester families, as far as we know, escaped molestation.

It is thought that Ormond was deliberately lured by the information, sent through Maclean, that the Plymouth garrison was ready to hand over the town. In any case the authorities changed the governor and soldiers quartered in the citadel, and Ormond escaped the trap. On leaving Brixham the *Betty*, a small vessel of 140 tons approximate burden, put into Teignmouth, where, under pretence of selling wine, the Duke obtained information of Maclean's treachery. The captain of the *Betty*, known by the name of Grand Mason, then took her to Fowey, where, according to a letter from Lieutenant Rowley to Mr. Burchett, dated at Havre de Grace, 22nd November, 1715, the Duke of Ormond was landed. He must have soon recognized the hopelessness of the venture and returned to St. Malo, where the Pretender awaited the result. Although accompanied by only some

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*See *D. & C. N. & Q.*, vol. ix., p. 15.

†See *Trans. D. Assoc.*, vol. xxviii., p. 257: *Jacobite Days in the West*, by Paul Q. Karkeek.

twenty officers and five-and-twenty men of a regiment known as Nugents, the *Betty* was supposed to have had 5,000 arms on board, and so long was the vessel in returning to Normandy that, in the *Exeter Post Boy* of Nov. 12th and 14th, a rumour was reported that she had foundered with all on board. According to the *Memoires of the Duke of Berwick*, half brother of the Chevalier de St. George, the Duke of Ormond made a second attempt to reach England, but did not dare to disembark. Meanwhile Lord Lansdowne and Sir William Wyndham had also been arrested, and all hope by the Jacobites of a rising in the West was abandoned.

The Old Pretender landed at Peterhead on 25th December, but, on the speedy suppression of the rebellion, escaped again to France in February, 1716.

Whether the Duke of Ormonde himself landed at Brixham on the 23rd October, 1715, is very doubtful. He may have secretly received certain adherents or was at least able to send emissaries to various influential families in the county. According to an account in Burke's *Commoners of Great Britain*, vol. ii., pub. in 1835 :—

"When the Duke of Ormond appeared off Torr Bay he assured the [Cary] family on the part of his royal master, the Chevalier, of that Prince's recognition of their great services, and of his wish to grant them high honours and honourable indemnification, in pledge of which he had sent them his father King James the Second's picture, with that of his mother, the Queen, enclosed in a silver box. This memorial is now [in 1835] preserved at Follaton House.

[A footnote adds] It has been asserted, and not without probability, that the miniatures of James II. and his Queen, which are in the possession of some families to this day, were given as assurances, or more properly speaking, as royal bonds for monies lent and estates alienated in the service of the royal house of Stuart."

The above information is supplemented by a document left by the late Miss Edith Cary, in which it is stated that, Camilla, granddaughter of Edward Cary of Follaton [who purchased Follaton in 1788 and was a grandson of Edward Cary of Torre Abbey who received the miniatures in 1715] :—

"always kept, with the above portraits in her casket, a small paper in the handwriting of her father [Mr. George Stanley Cary], relating how, years ago, visiting a lady at Bath, a Miss Hudson, she had shewn him, in her possession, similar portraits of King James II. and his Queen contained in a silver box with an etching upon the lid of *a little man*,

the facsimile of the box which had formerly enclosed the royal portraits in his possession, but which box had disappeared at Follaton, since which time the royal portraits had found careful preservation in Mrs. Stanley Cary's casket, afterwards her daughter Camilla's. The paper, describing Mr. Stanley Cary's visit to Miss Hudson, said that *these royal portraits were given as pledges from the House of Stuart for large sums of money when the King should come to his own again*, something like £10,000 for the King and £5,000 for the Queen, as far as I can remember, in the absence of the paper referred to."

Miss Edith Cary adds the information that Edward Cary, who purchased Follaton, was a very gifted man, the only brother of George Cary of Torr Abbey who died in 1805. Previous to his marriage, Edward Cary lived many years at Torre Abbey with his brother, and there planned the conversion of the Guest Hall of the Abbey into a chapel, and the alteration to the ceiling of the "banquetting-hall" already mentioned.

The miniatures were only removed temporarily for safety to Follaton and of late years returned to Torre Abbey. It is hoped by means of this notice to trace the small silver box in which the portraits were enclosed and also to learn of the existence, in these counties and elsewhere, of similar mementoes of the visit of the Duke of Ormonde to Torbay in 1715. It is quite possible that, if not unknown at the time, it may have escaped record that he touched at other ports in Devon and Cornwall. Certainly two sets of these miniatures were known; there were doubtless others, although their purport has long since been forgotten.

In 1888 a collection of portraits and relics of the house of Stuart was exhibited in the New Gallery, Regent Street. Has any reader access to a catalogue of the exhibits and were there included, among the objects then loaned, miniatures of the last of the Stuart Kings and his Queen similar to those at Torre Abbey and which we are now able to show to readers of *D. & C. N. & Q.* through the kindness of Captain Lionel Cary, R.N., owner of Torre Abbey?

The oil painting (see illustration) of the children of Charles I. reputed to have been given to the Cary family by that monarch, hangs in the dining-room at Torre Abbey. An old catalogue of pictures formerly at the Abbey describes this painting as by Stone. Henry Stone, who died in 1653, was the eldest son of a Devonian, Nicholas Stone, mason,

statuary and architect, born at Woodbury, near Exeter, in 1586 and said to be the son of a quarryman. Henry Stone, after apprenticeship, went to Holland, France and Italy to study art, and returned in 1642. After his father's death Henry and his youngest brother carried on the business of mason and statuary in Long Acre, but he was, however, chiefly known as a painter and acquired note as one of the most successful copyists of the works of Vandyck (*D.N.B.*) He also copied Italian pictures with success. He is usually known as "Old Stone," to distinguish him from his younger brothers. He inherited his father's house and died at Long Acre on 24th August, 1653, being buried on the 27th August near his father in the church of St. Martin-in-Fields. His portrait was painted by Sir Peter Lely. Nicholas Stone, the father, was made master-mason to James I., and in April, 1626, he received a patent from Charles I. as master-mason and architect at Windsor Castle. Doubtless from that time considerable facility was afforded his eldest son for copying the works of Vandyck, and it may have been before his visit to the Continent, i.e. about the year 1640, that the painting was made, probably under the direct supervision of Anthony Vandyke himself, who died in London in 1641. The picture was in all likelihood given to Sir George Cary who, knighted in 1632, probably spent the last seventeen troubled years of the reign in the service of Charles I.

INDEX.

Gatehouse, Cornworthy Priory.

The Priory for Nuns of St. Mary, Cornworthy, Devon.

NUNNERIES IN DEVON.

Of thirty-eight religious houses recorded in the Monasticon of the county of Devon, only three were founded for nuns, namely, Polsloe, Canonsleigh and Cornworthy Priories.

This proportion is not perhaps unusually small, as out of the total of thirty-three Abbeys owned by the Premonstratensian Order in this country only two were apportioned to Canonesses.

The earliest foundation for nuns in the county was undoubtedly Polsloe, founded for Benedictines in honor of St. Catherine shortly before the year 1160 by William Briwer, chief ranger to Henry II. of the forest of La Bere, and grandfather of William Briwer, the famous judge and founder of the Abbeys of Torre and Dunkeswell. (*Trans. Devon Assoc.*vol. l., p. 126).

Sometime between the enthronement of Bishop Richard Toclyve, of Winchester, in 1171, and the death of Bishop Bartholomew, of Exeter, 15th Dec., 1184, Henry II. granted a charter to the church of St. Katerina without Exeter, confirming to the nuns possession of the manor of Wipledetona (Whipton), which William de Tracy gave them, and that land near the same manor which Henry de Pomeria gave them. The charter granted at Winchester is undated, but was copied by Sir William Pole and included among his abstracts of early deeds, the transcription of which is being undertaken for the Devon and Cornwall Record Society. A similar confirmation was granted by King John in 1201 (*Trans. Devon Assoc.* vol. xxii., p. 313) and included in the

Charter Rolls. No mention is made in either deed of the founder or foundation gifts but the recovery of Henry II.'s confirmation 1171-1184 helps to establish the early date of foundation.

The value of Polsloe Priory was returned, at its dissolution on 19 Feb. 1538, as £164 8s. 11¼d. net.

Canonsleigh Priory was founded between 1161-1173 (Oliver's *Monasticon*, p. 224, footnote) by Walter de Claville, originally for Canons, but was transferred about 1284 to Canonesses, the first Abbess being appointed by Bp. Quivil, on 28 Oct. of that year ; but only after considerable opposition from the Prior, who appealed to Archbishop Peckham, and the Archbishop to the King, but without effect. (*Reg. Bp. Bronescombe*, p. 391). Of the Order of S. Augustine, the community recognized Plympton Priory as the mother house. The annual income was estimated, at the surrender on 16 Feb., 1539, at £197 3s. 1d.

By comparison, Cornworthy was quite the poorest of the three nunneries, being worth at the dissolution of monasteries only £63 2s. 10d.

As there was no house for nuns in Cornwall, Cornworthy enjoyed the distinction of being the farthest west of all nunneries in the country, a position of isolation and difficulty.

FOUNDATION OF CORNWORTHY PRIORY.

The date of foundation and the donor of the site of Cornworthy Priory are nowhere definitely recorded, but there can be no doubt that it was founded by someone of the lords of the Honour or Tenement of Totnes, or by a widow or heir, for some commemorative purpose.

The customary sources of information are conjectural and at variance, thus :—

Westcote in 1630 writes : " Here the Edgcombs erected a nunnery." (*View of Devonshire*, p. 420).

Sir William Pole, who died in 1635, says : " Cornworthy was a pryory founded by the Lords of Totenays." (*Collections towards a description of the County of Devon*, pub. in 1791, p. 292).

Risdon, who died in 1640, and was indebted for much information to Sir William Pole, seems to have combined the above two views. He says: "Cornworthy. This belonged to the priory there built, founded by the ancestors of the Edgcombes. . . . . Allelegh and Torisen did also belong unto that priory which the ancient lords of Totnes gave unto it." (*Survey of Devon*: edition 1811, p. 167).

Dr. George Oliver, writing in 1820 (*Historic Collections relating to the Monasteries in Devon* p. 116), says: "I am not able to satisfy myself concerning the founder of this priory. The foundation has been assigned to the Edgcumbe family; but I think the arguments are in favour of the Zouches."

Lysons in 1822 write: "Cornworthy is spoken of as a borough in ancient records. At this place was a priory of nuns, of the order of S. Austin, founded, according to Risdon, by an ancestor of the Edgcumbes; according to Sir William Pole (which is more probable) by the lords of Totnes." (*Devon* vol. ii., p. 141).

Lysons add a note: "It was common for persons who possessed the patronage of religious houses, either by grant or descent, to be styled the Founders. Thus Sir Piers Edgcumbe, whose father became possessed of the barony of Totnes, by royal grant, says in a letter still extant: 'By the King's father, by his grant to my father, I am made Founder of the priory of Totnes and the nunnery of Cornworthy.' The barons of Totnes founded the priory of Totnes, and no doubt that of Cornworthy also, at an early period."

R. N. Worth (*History of Devonshire* 1886, p. 266): "Cornworthy contained a house of Austin nuns, which was founded in all probability by the Norman lords of Totnes."

Hugh R. Watkin, writing in 1914 (*Hist. of Totnes Priory and Medieval Town*, p. 818) suggests another origin: "The earliest historical record yet found of Cornworthy Priory is on the 13th July, 1238, when Hawysia, Prioress of Cornworthy, warranted the possession of 1 ploughland (according to *Torre Cart.* 100 acres: *Vict. Hist.* 64 acres) in Aleleghe (Allaleigh) and in Tetefen (Tortisfen, h.d. prob. Venice from *fennes*) to William Pypard against William de la Pomeray and Joan his wife (*Feet of Fines, Devon*, 318).

Prioress Hawysia also, on the 13th October, 1242, defended the right of her community to the advowson of the church of Peter's Marland (Hundred of Shebbear) claimed by George de Arundel. The nunnery may have been founded by Eva, daughter of William (V.) de Braiose, who succeeded her father shortly after 1230 and brought part of the Tenement of Totnes by marriage to her husband William de Cantelupe the younger; but we should expect to find some mention of her foundation in even the few records of the de Cantilupes which have been preserved.

Cornworthy had been granted to the De Braose family, at the division in 1205, at Porchester, by King John, of the Tenement of Totnes, equally between William (III.) de Braose and Henry (II.) de Nonant. If founded subsequently to 1205, of which there seems no doubt, it was established by some member of the de Braose family, or their heirs.

The gift of part of the manor of Cornworthy must have been *a foundation grant*, because, with the exception of a small rent in Lustlegh, it was the sole temporal possession upon which the Priory inmates relied for subsistence. Several religious houses were founded by Margery de Braose in memory of her unfortunate parents and brother, persecuted by the extortionate King John, but she did not inherit Cornworthy.

If William (V) de Braose, father of Eva de Cantilupe, was really hanged in 1230, by Llewellyn, for adultery, there is every reason to think that Cornworthy Priory was founded by his widow, Eva, the daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and niece of Henry Marshall, Bishop of Exeter (1194-1206). The foundation of the Priory and appointment of the first Prioress took place therefore during the bishopric of William Briwer (1224-1244), of whose episcopacy few documentary records remain. This theory finds some confirmation in the fact that the manor of Petersmarland, the advowson of which church was one of the three spiritual possessions of the nunnery, was, according to Lysons, " at an early period in the possession of the family of Marshall." The advowson was doubtless part of the marriage portion of Eva Marshall, which, on her widowhood, reverted to her own right. The grant of Cornworthy would be confirmed by deed and quit-claim of Eva de Cantilupe

and her husband. Not improbably it was the intention of Eva Marshall to retire to the seclusion of the nunnery she thus founded in expiation of William de Braose, lord of Totnes, but her last resting-place is considered to be in Abergavenny church," where she died in 1246 (*Abergavenny Monuments*, p. 70).

PRIORESSES OF CORNWORTHY.

As may readily be imagined, the position of Lady Superior of any one of the three religious houses founded for women would be aspired to by ladies of the more important families in the county, desiring seclusion from the world.

Of Polslo, Dr. Oliver recovered a by no means full list of fifteen Prioresses; of the shorter history of Canon's Leigh Priory only nine Abbesses are known. The dignity of Abbess attached to the latter house doubtless proved an attraction, and we find at the dissolution of Canon's Leigh Priory, among the list of recipients of pensions, many familiar names of well-known Devonshire families. Of Cornworthy Priory, Dr. Oliver gives only eight Prioresses. Three more have fortunately been recovered, and, as the nunneries must have had many interests in common (there is an instance in the year 1416 of one of the nuns of Cornworthy obtaining licence to join the community of Canonsleigh), a parallel chronological list of the Lady Superiors of the three houses, as many as are hitherto known, is here given.

Lady Superiors of the Nunneries of Devon.

Polslo. founded shortly before 1160.	**Cornworthy.** probably between 1231-38.	**Canons Leigh.** converted to Nunnery 1284.
	Hawysia occurs 1238	
Isabella de Brent occurs 1256		
Avelina occurs 1266		
Margaret de Morchard inst. 24 Dec. 1267 occurs 1273	Anastasia occurs 1277	
		Matilda de Tablere inst. 28 Oct. 1284
Margaret de Syndon inst. 15 June, 1308 died 27 June, 1321		Petronilla de Clare occurs 1308 and 12 Jan., 1320
Matilda de Bloyhou inst. 28 Sep., 1321	Johanna de Fysshacre d. early in 1334	Margaret Aucher or Aunger occurs 18 Dec., 1328, and 1334 died 1345
	Mabilla de Bradford inst. 29 April, 1334	
		Juliana Lampre inst. 18 Oct., 1345
Margaret de Wydepole d. 17 April, 1347		
Juliana de Bruton inst. July, 1347		Christina Edewis
		Lucy Warre inst. 1371
	Annima Heynton occurs 1378-9	
Johanna occurs 4 Nov. 1388		
Christina de Seton d. 4 June, 1404	Johanna Lucy occurs 1399 d. 3 Oct. 1411	Mary Beauchamp inst. 3 Dec., 1410 d. 26 Dec., 1449
Matilda Talbot inst. 3 July, 1404 d. 16 Dec., 1438	Eleanor Blake inst. 28 Feb., 1412	Jane Arundell inst. 19 March, 1450
Isabella Burghe inst. 3 Jan., 1439	Margareta Wortheham resigned 28 May, 1461	
	Elianora [trans. incorrectly from Reg. of Bp. George Nevyll by Dr. Oliver as Honora] Vyvian elec. 28 May, 1461 inst. 28 July, 1461 occurs 1463, 1466	

Lady Superiors of the Nunneries of Devon.—(*continued*).

Polslo.	Cornworthy.	Canons Leigh.
Isabella Trewtronk occurs Jan., 1502 d. 10 Jan. 1509		
Cecilia Millaton or Millington inst. 19 Feb., 1509 occurs 30 Dec., 1513	Thomasina Dynham occurs 28 Aug. 1501 resigned late 1519	
Margaret Trowe inst. 13 April, 1530	Avisia Dynham, elec. 26 Jan. 1520 Bp'smandate issued 3 Feb., 1520	Elizabeth Fouhill or Fowell occurs 7 Oct., 1517 surrendered the Priory 16 Feb., 1539
Eleanor Sydnam shortly after inst. surrendered the Priory 19 Feb., 1538		

CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD.

PRIORESS HAWYSIA.

John Tucker, who was parish clerk of Cornworthy for forty years and died in December, 1860, aged seventy-four years, took a great interest in the history of the parish and left a considerable amount of manuscript in the care of the Rev. S. G. Harris, who contributed abstracts to the *Trans. Devon Assoc.* vol. xxv., pp. 470-481. Although little reliance can be placed upon many of his statements, such as that " the Priory of Cornworthy was subject to that of Totnes," and that the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. dates from 1219, etc., John Tucker seems to have been the first to suggest that Cornworthy Priory was founded in 1237. Neither in Tanner (*Notitia Monastica*, p. 96, pub. 1744); in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi., p. 550, pub. 1830; nor in Oliver (*Monasticon Dioec. Exon.* p. 236, pub. 1846) is any record quoted that could point to the year 1237, and it would be interesting to know whence John Tucker derived the foundation for his statement. Although historical evidence shows this date to be possibly correct, it cannot be possible that the Zouch family founded the Priory as stated by Tucker, doubtless following the opinion of Dr. Oliver (*Collections*, p. 116); as Eudo la Zouche only attained an interest in Cornworthy about the year 1286, when he married Milisent, widow of John de Mohaut and sister of Gregory de Cantulupe.

1238, July 13. Hawysia, Prioress of Cornewurth, vouched to warranty William Pypard,[1] and he warranted to her, 1 ploughland in Alelege (Allaleigh) and in Tetefen (Tortysfenne) against William de la Pomeray[2] and Joan, his wife. Recognizance of the great assize was summoned. William and Joan gave a quit-claim to William Pypard for which he paid 40 marks of silver (*D. & C.Record Soc. Devon Fine*, No.318).

By the above we may understand that William de la Pomeray and Joan his wife had been tenants under the previous owner and for the sum of 40 marks paid by the incoming tenant,William Pypard, relinquished their right in the carucate[3] named.

1242, October 13. Hawysia, Prioress of Cornewurthy, was defendant against George de Arundel[4] plaintiff as to the

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1. William Pipard occurs from the year 1199 until 1267 when he died. His wife was Catharine, dau. of Thomas Corbet. He held Little Totnes, Langdon in Wembury, Bagton in West Alvington, Larkbear, Kary, Tetcot, North Bovey, and Charleton, which he received with his wife, whose mother was a sister of Reginald (IV.) de Valletort. (*Totnes Priory and Medieval Town*, p. 896); Southpool and Upton. (*ibidem*, p. 903).

2. According to the genealogy of Valletorta, Joan the wife of William de la Pomeray was a sister of Roger (II.) de Valletort and therefore aunt to the mother of William Pipard's wife, Catharine, dau. of Thomas Corbet. (*ibidem*, p. 731). It seems strange that William de la Pomeray, married to the sister of the lord of Valletort and consequently of the Honour of Harberton, should be holding a de Braiose fee. The Pipards' fees were given to de Braose (*ibidem*, p. 773) and the change in 1238 was brought about by the Prioress, we can well believe, in order that a vassal of de Braose, their founder, should be tenant of the Priory's estate, rather than one allied to what was doubtless regarded as another faction.

3. A carucate at this period, according to the Cartulary of Torre Abbey (folio 90a) was equal to 100 acres.

4. According to a Fine of 1st July, 1238 (*D. & C. Record Society, Devon Fine*, No. 326) George de Arundell was tenant of 3 ferlings, and probably more in Merland. One wonders why this church in the district of Torrington, so far removed from Cornworthy, should have been one of only three churches given to the Priory. It must be because it belonged to the Marshall family and that Eva Marshall was the foundress of Cornworthy Priory.

advowson of the church of Peter Merlaunde[1] (Peters Marland). George acknowledged the claim of the Prioress and quit-claimed to her all right. The Prioress received George and his heirs into all benefits and orisons which henceforth shall be made in her church aforesaid for ever. (*D. & C. Record Society, Devon Fine*, No. 368).

1269. Monday after the festival of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24, therefore Aug. 26), Bp. Bronescombe ordered that the Vicar of Merlande (Peters Marland) shall have the whole church and sanctuary as Vicarage and shall render annually to the Prioress and nuns of Cornworthy ten marcs at the four principle terms of the year and if he is in default in making payment at the stated term he shall retire from the Vicarage.

PRIORESS ANASTASIA.

It is not known when this Prioress was appointed, or whether the following document, found among the deeds of Totnes Priory, was written during her term of office. As new arrangements frequently accompany a change in management it is placed here rather than under the preceding Prioress.

1270, June 24. Agreement was made between the Prior and Convent of Tottonia and the Prioress and Convent of Corneworthi, whereby the former transferred to the latter all their tithes in the parish of Corneworthi, excepting mill tithes as well as uses and customs in the fishery of the parish of Corneworthi, which the aforesaid Prior and Convent were accustomed to have. For all which the Prioress undertakes to pay 14s. sterling every year, at Easter, 7s., and at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 7s., within the conventual church of the Blessed Mary of Tottonia. In case of non-payment the Prioress and Convent and all their goods shall be subject to distraint by the Archdeacon of Tottonia or his officials for the amount of the said 14s. and also half a marc of silver for expenses. Each party appended their seals alternately to this writing cut into two parts. Witnessed by :—William

[1] There is no presentation to this church recorded in the Register of Bp. Walter Bronescombe (1258-1280); and of the succeeding bishopric of Bp. Thomas de Bytton the Register is lost. It is probable that the first nominee by the Priory to the living, in the days of Bp. William Briwere (1224-1244), lived through Bp. Blondy's (1245-1257) episcopate as well as that of Bp. Bronescombe.

de Fissacre, knight; Roger de Prawle, knight; Walerand de Cyrecestre, knight; Walter le Bon; William de Colested; and others. Appended to the parchment tag is a seal of green wax. The upper part of the impression shows a gate-house with belfry and two side crockets; below are two quatrefoil windows with a central niche between. The lower part of the building is defaced. (Watkin, *Totnes Priory* p. 173).

It is worthy of note that the fourth witness, Walter le Bon, was a member of the Guild of Merchants of Totnes, who, in consideration of the grant of a messuage adjoining the gate of Totnes Priory, was received with his wife, Mahaut, in the confraternity and written in the martyrology of the Priory, In the same year as the above deed, *i.e.* in 1270-71, on the 27 February, Walter le Bon and Agatha his wife gave a house and garden in Warland, Totnes, in which to found a chapel in honour of the Holy Ghost and of St. Catherine the Virgin. From the entry of Agatha on the Guild Roll about this time it may be concluded that Walter le Bon had recently married for the second time.

1277. On Monday before the Epiphany, within the precincts of the cemetery of S. Michael of Little Hemeston (Hempston), in the presence of H(enry) de Bolleg, archdeacon of Totnes; Anastasia, Prioress of Cornworthy, met Nicholaus, the Prior of Totnes. The Prioress on behalf of the convent of Cornworthy had undertaken to pay to the Prior of Totnes, for the great tithes of Clauton, Fernhille and Loveworthy in the parish of Clauton, 12s. annually; and for the tithes of Cornworthy 14s. (in 1270 see above). Since no payment had been made for three years, the Prior claimed 76s. The Prioress argued that for any payment from Clauton the vicar of Clauton was responsible. Since, however, this point had been decided in the Court of Canterbury, the Archdeacon ordered that 76s. and 40s. expenses, incurred at the said Court, must be distrained from Cornworthy Priory by the public official of Totnes. (Watkin, *Totnes Priory*, p. 182).

1281-2. In the "Plea of Quo Warranto" by Milisenta de Monte Alto, it is stated that "she also holds the manor of Cornewurth, etc."

1288. At the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. in that year, the church of Merlonde (Peter's Marland), in the deanery of Torrington, was valued at 56*s.* 8*d.*

the church of Corneworthe in the deanery of Totnes was valued at 6*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

the church of Clautone in the deanery of Holsworthy was valued at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

There is no mention of these churches or of institutions of clergy to them in the registers of Bps. Bronescombe (1258-1280), in what is known of the bishoprics of Quivil (1280-1291), of Bytton (1291-1307), or in the register of Bp. Walter de Stapeldon (1307-1326), except the single reference to Peter's Marland in 1269, and as far as can be judged from the itineraries compiled, not one of these bishops ever visited Cornworthy Priory, or any one of their three out-of-the-way churches. On the 19th December, 1319, Bishop Stapeldon was at Ashprington, on his way from Stokenham, where he held an ordination on the 16th, and another at Totnes on the 22nd.

1292, June 10. At Westminster, Roger de Nonaunt appeared as plaintiff against Milisent, dau. of William de Cantilupo, John de Hastynges, Humphrey de Boun, Earl of Harford (Hereford) and Essex, and Matilda, widow of Roger de Mortuo Mari, co-heirs of the inheritance of William, son of Reginald de Breusa, whom Robert de Skobhull had undertaken to warranty in return for the warranty of 1 ploughland in Estecorneworthy. Roger quit-claimed to the co-heirs all his claim and right in 1 messuage in Estecorneworthy; in 2 messuages, 1 ploughland, 4 pounds of rent in Tottenesse and Cornworthy; in the manor of Loddeswall 1 knight's fee with advowson of the church; the whole manor of Totenesse with advowson of the Priory, knight's fees and all other things belonging to the said manor; the whole manor of Upcorneworthy with advowson of the Priory and with all other things belonging to the said manor; as also the port of Dertemuth with all other things belonging to the said port.

For this Milisent, John, Humphrey and Matilda gave to Roger 400 marks of silver. (*D. & C. Record Society, Devon Fine* No. 860).

1300-10. In the first decade of the fourteenth century, according to the testimony of the names appended as witnesses, John Burhed records in his " Compilacio " that an exchange was effected between William la Zouche, lord of Totteneys, and Nicholas de Toukesbury, lord of Hewys, by which the former granted to the latter, among other things, " the tolls, customs, etc., of the Dert, from a place called Blakston next the entry of the port, as far as Blakston, next Corneworthy."

The above point of demarcation is doubtless Blackness Rock, which abuts into the river at Blackness Point and forms the western shore of Dittisham Mill Creek which separates the parish of Cornworthy from Dittisham. It shows that the rights in the Cornworthy waters of the Dart were retained by the lord of Totnes.

PRIORESS JOHANNA DE FYSSHACRE —1334.

The name of this Prioress is given by Dr. Oliver as Jane Fishacre and is the earliest he was able to recover. It was probably for this reason that the learned author of the Monasticon of the diocese attributed the foundation of Cornworthy Priory to the family of la Zouche.

1332, June 21. At Westminster, John Boek and Alianora his wife claimed from Geoffrey Gilbert and Henry de Fychyston 1 messuage and 2 ferlings of land in West Corneworthy. The claim was acknowledged and a perpetual lease granted to John and Alianora with remainder, should they have no heirs, to Isabella, dau. of Alianora (by a previous husband), with remainder, should Isabella die without heir, to Johanna, sister of Isabella, with remainder, should Joan die without heir, to Mabel de Holte and her heirs. (*D. & C. Record Society, Devon Fine No.* 1234).

1333, December 31. Bishop John de Grandisson granted permission to the community to admit within their precincts a respectable female called Alice, wife of John Daumarle, provided she maintained herself without expense or inconvenience to the nuns, kept suitable hours, and was discreet in receiving secular persons. The permission, granted at Crediton on Dec. 31st, was to last until the ensuing Michaelmas (*Reg. Bp. Grandisson*, p. 724).

The above Alicia, as pointed out by the Revd. J. Rawson, is possibly identical with the daughter of the last Sir William Prouz of Gidleigh, knight, widow of Sir Roger de Moeles, who married secondly *Sir* John Daumarle (*D. & C. N. & Q.* xi., par. 165, p. 135). In view of the fact that the name "Johannes Daumarle" is entered twice in the Bishop's register without the title and attribute of knighthood, and also that the reference to Alicia, runs:—"in consideration of the honesty and cleanliness of habits and of life with which the said daughter, Alicia, wife of John Daumarle, *young master* (domicelli) is said to be much adorned" it seems certain that either the widow married a young husband, for the lady Alice de Moeles presented, as widow, to the living of Gidleigh nine years previously, *i.e.* in 1324: or else we are considering another Alice, the wife of a younger generation of Daumarle.

1334, March 24th. At Farndone, Bishop Grandisson issued a commission to Henry Bloyou, canon of Exeter, to act as his deputy in filling the vacancy at Cornworthy Priory, occasioned by the death of Johanna de Fysshacre. (*Reg. Bp. Grandisson*, p. 737).

PRIORESS MABILLA DE BRADFORD.

1334—

1334, April 29th. In the cloister (*deambulatorium*) without the chapel of the episcopal manor at Cliste, Dame Mabilla de Bradeforde, nun of the monastery of Corneworthi, representing herself as the Prioress-elect of the said monastery, appeared in person before the bishop, etc., and as the collation devolved upon him and he found the said Dame Mabilla to be a person suited in all respects to the position, he issued letters committing the Priory to her charge. The letter quotes the monastery of Corneworthy as "*of the order of St. Benedict,*" and also mentions the death of the previous Prioress, Dame Johanna de Fysshacre. (*Reg. Bp. Grandisson*, p. 742).

1334, September 12th. In reply to a letter received from King Edward III. dated at Windsor, August 3rd, Bishop Grandisson sent a list of the alien houses and their benefices in the diocese of Exeter.

Among others, Frater Robertus (de Conka) Prior of Totnes, receives from the church of Corneworthy 1 marc. (*ibidem*, p. 764).

1339, March 19th. Bishop Grandisson addressed a letter to the dean of Haldesworthy (Holsworthy) and to the rector of Pyworthy. The parishioners of Tettecote, except the lord and lady of the manor, were buried at the church of Clautone, which belonged of old to the Prioress and nuns of Corneworthy. The Bishop has heard that a cemetery for the said church or chapel of Tettecote has been dedicated by Richard, Bishop of Waterford, to the prejudice of the said nuns. The Bishop orders that they are to make it known that such was not his intention and that all interments already made are to be taken to the cemetery of Clauton church within forty days under penalty of excommunication, to be buried there. (*ibidem*, p. 898).

There is no mention otherwise in the register of Bp. Grandisson (1331-1369) of the churches of Clauton, Cornworthy or Peter's Marland.

1334, October 27. At York, William, son of Eudo la Zouche and Elizabeth, dau. of William de Ros, of Hamelak, his wife, claimed from Master John la Zouche and William Danet, the castle of Totteneys, and the manors of Totteneys and Cornworthy. The estate was surrendered to the claimants by the trustees with remainder, should they die without heirs of their body, to the heirs of William la Zouche of Haryngworth. (*D. & C. Record Society, Devon Fine* No. 1257).

1346-49. John di Gra (sometimes written Gras), Abbat of Torre, and his Convent granted to the "holy nuns of Corneworthi one quarter of grain to be received annually from their manor of Wolleburghe, to be known as the prebend of the Blessed Mary, to be received half at Christmas and half at Easter." The gift was witnessed by:—Nicholas de Kyrkham, knight, Roger de Cokyngtone, knight, Ralph de Dodiscombe, William de Comptone and Stephen de (L)okkeeate (*Cartulary of Torre Abbey*, folio 70, b).

1366. Robert Heaunton transferred Tidworthy or Tideford to the Prioress and Convent of Cornworthy (*A.D. Inq.* 39, *Edward* III., No. 10 *bis*.).

1368, September 8th. By his will of this date, Bishop Grandisson bequeathed five marks to Cornworthy Priory. He died 15 July, 1369.

PRIORESS ANNIMA HEYNTON.

1374, March 6th. Bp. Brantyngham was required by K. Edward III. to give particulars of the value of all alien benefices in his diocese. The Prior of Totnes, who did not then reside in the Priory, received an annual pension from Cornworthy church of 30s. Cornworthy is not included among the alien Priories. (*Reg. Bp. Brantyngham*, p. 193).

1378-9. This Prioress is mentioned in the Clerical Subsidy Roll of the diocese of Exeter. The Priory was then valued at £16 and taxed 5s. Eight nuns are each taxed 4d. Their names are as follows :—

Sister Soromonda Collaton,
,, Alicia Corbyn,
,, Fyna Tewscomb,
,, Juliana Lucy,
,, Alicia Somerton,
,, Agneta Forteschu.
Juliana p'ston',
Agneta ,,

(*D. & C. Notes and Queries*, vol. iv., p. 276).

1380, May 28th. At Westminster, Walter Wayne of Torton (? Tortysfenne) was granted a pardon of outlawry for not appearing to answer to the Prioress of Cornworthy for a debt of 100 marks. (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 3rd Richard II.).

1381. The Prioress of Corneworthy is licenced to celebrate mass in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, on the festival, namely, of that Saint. (*Reg. Bp. Brantyngham*, p. 456).

1384. Richard II. received a grant of a moiety of fifteenths and tenths. In the return rendered : the tithing of Clauton paid 21s. 8d. ; the tithing of Corneworth 18s.

Hurberton paid the high sum of 57s. 0½d. ; Henok only 4s. (*Old Exeter MSS., D. & C. N. & Q.*, vol. iv.).

1384, Friday, April 2nd. The Commissary of William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor Master

Adam de Mottrum visited Cornworthy Priory and notes that the Prioress was there. (Watkin, *Totnes Priory*, p. 293). The official, who appeared in the diocese as an unwelcome Inquisitor, does not give us the name of the Prioress. He probably learnt that no diocesan had ever entered the walls of the Priory since its foundation 150 years previously.

PRIORESS JOAN LUCY,

occurs 1399—died 1412.

The only mention of this ruler of the house of Cornworthy, in the episcopal records, is in the register of Bp. Stafford, on the preference of her successor by the diocesan in 1412, when we are told Joan Lucy had died. (*Reg. Bp. Stafford*, p. 159).

1399. Between 22nd June and 29th September (23rd Richard II), Joan Lucy, Prioress of Cornworthy, granted to John Ford, junior, of Cornworthy, and Margery, his wife, a garden and divers pieces of land in Cornworthy, to hold for life. Appended is a good seal :—" Sigillum Conventui de Cornworthi." (*Collectanea of Dartmouth Corporation*, No. 364).

1404. Henry Brokelond, Canon of Exeter and Rector of Moreton, by will dated 15th January and proved 10th July 1404, left among other legacies :—to the Prioress of Polslo a small chest (*ypent'*) for her use and that of her successors and to the Convents of Polslo, Canonsleigh, and Cornworthy, 6s. 8d. each. (*Reg. Bp. Stafford*, p. 382).

1406. Elizabeth Lercedekne, *née* Talbot, and widow of Warin Lercedekne who died in 1400, by will proved 7th August 1406, left to Dame Alice Werthe de *Corneworthy*, 2 marks sterling (*ibidem*, p. 388).

1407. Isabella Daumarle, whose will is dated 19th June and was proved 11th July, 1407, left sums of money to the poorer of the religious houses in Devon and among others—to Cornworthy Priory 2 marks. (*ibidem*, p. 388).

1409. Sir William Bonevylle, knight, by will proved 24th March, 1409, left 5 marcs to the nuns of Cornworth. (*ibidem*, p. 391).

Gatehouse, Cornworthy Priory.

1411. Simon Grendon, citizen of Exeter, by will dated 30th July and proved 2nd September, 1411, left to the nuns of Polslo and the nuns of Cornworthy in each case 6s. 8d. Canonsleigh Priory is not mentioned. (*Reg. Bp. Stafford*, p. 397).

1411, October 3rd. Prioress Joan Lucy died (*ibidem.* p. 71. and for nearly five months the Convent was without a Prioress.

PRIORESS ELEANORA BLAKE.

1412. On the death of Joan Lucy, the register of Bishop Stafford (p. 159) informs us that," by lapse," namely, as no one came forward to nominate a new Prioress and thus exercise the right of Patron or Founder and as the Sub-Prioress and the Convent had not elected a successor, Bishop Edmund Stafford himself preferred Eleanora Blake as Prioress of Cornworthy on the 28th February (*Reg. Bp. Stafford*, p. 159).

1412, October 7th. Bishop Edmund Stafford issued a mandate against certain persons who interfered with the due payment of offerings at weddings, purifications, and funerals in the parish church of Cornworthy, appropriated to the Priory. The mandate was addressed to the Dean of Totnes, John Andrew, Rector of Alphington, and to Nicholas, chaplain, of Cornworthy church, who were to ascertain the names and descriptions of the malefactors, and cite as many as were found blameworthy to appear before the Bishop at Clyst. (*ibidem*, p. 71).

1412. John Prestecote, by Will made 25th January, about the time of the death of Joan Lucy, and proved 23rd November, left a number of legacies. He not only remembered in his Will the heads of the religious houses, but also the inmates. Polslo Priory he especially favoured, bequeathing " to the Prioress of Polslo, his best silver cup with cover, called *Franceys*, to remain in that House for ever, and be called *Prestecote*, in his memory ; also 10s., and to each nun 2s. ; for his soul and for his two wives : to the Abbess of Canonsleigh, 6s. 8d., and to each nun 12d. : and the like sum to the Prioress and nuns of Cornworthy. To each of the chaplains at Polslo, Canonsleigh, and Cornworthy, at the time of his death, 8d." (*ibidem*, p. 399).

The last bequest is interesting as proof that each Nunnery had to maintain a chaplain. In 1396, Bishop Stafford licensed Christina de Seton, Prioress of Polslo, to appoint a Confessor for her house. (*Reg. Bp. Stafford*, p. 296).

1415. By Will, dated 27th June and proved 31st March, 1416, Thomas Barton, Canon of Exeter, Rector of Ilfracombe etc., among many bequests, which, however, do not include the other Nunneries of Polslo and Canonsleigh, leaves " to the Priory of Cornworthy, on account of its extreme poverty 20s. ; to each nun 12d. to celebrate his exequies, and to every priest there 8d. ; the rest of the 20s. to go to the nuns in common. (*ibidem*, p. 412).

1416, March 14th. Alice Werthe,* a nun of Cornworthy, obtained licence to migrate to Canonsleigh Priory.

1416. By Will, dated 4th April and proved 4th May, Richard Holrygge, Vicar of Brixham, who, judging by his bequests, had little to leave, nevertheless, bequeathed to the nuns of Cornworthy, a silver cup and cover, and to each of them one spoon, and 20s. among them. The total value of his goods is returned at £54 13s. 4d. (*ibidem*, p. 416.)

1416. By Will, proved 13th May, Matilda Latymer, widow of Sir John Hulle, Knight ; who had an only daughter named Elizabeth Hulle, a sister of the Convent of Buckland Minchin in Somerset (to whom she left 100s., a silver cup and beads, as well as 40s. to the Convent), left 40s. to the Sisters of Cornworthy (*ibidem*, p. 416); see also p. 424, the testatrix was three times married as a second wife.

1418. By Will, dated 14th March and proved 11th May, John Ulveston, Vicar of Stokenham, left 3s. 4d. to the Prioress and nuns of Cornworthy. He bequeathed many small legacies to relatives ; among others to Margery, wife of John Smyth of Cornworthy 20s. For the repair of the bridge at Aveton Giffard he left 6s. 8d. ; for Staverton bridge 3s. 4d. ; and for Totnes bridge 3s. 4d (*ibidem*, p. 417).

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*In 1368 Alexander Worth occurs as witness to the will of John Ralegh, of Smalrygge [*Torre Cartulary*, p. 96 *a*], and the same name is found as joint trustee, with John Foncray, for half the manor of Cockington.

1418. By Will, dated 4th June and proved 24th August, Thomas Reymound left 20s. together with the "Liber, Gestorum Karoli, Regis Francie" to the Prioress and Convent of Polslo; to the Prioress and Convent of Cornworthy 20s.; but does not mention Canonsleigh. (*ibidem*, p. 419).

1418. By Will, dated 28th December and proved 23rd January, 1419, Richard Penels, Canon of Exeter, bequeathed to the Prioress of Cornworthy two marks, viz: 13s. 4d. for herself, and 13s. 4d. among the nuns. (*ibidem*, p. 421).

Special episcopal licence was requisite for the chaplain of a nunnery to hear confession of the inmates, as is illustrated in Bishop Lacy's register (*transcription*, p. 430).

1421, March 10. William Chepman, chaplain, is licensed "to hear the confessions of our beloved daughters, Mary Beauchamp, Abbess of Canonlegh *alias* Mynchenleya, and her fellow nuns, to enjoin on them suitable penances and to absolve them even in cases reserved to the Bishop."

1421, November 12. The Prioress and nuns of Cornworthy are licensed to have mass celebrated in the infirmary within the Priory by suitable priests in the presence of any who were too infirm to follow the choir. (*Reg. Bp. Lacy*, p. 456).

1421. In reply to a mandate from Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, to send representatives to a Synod, Bishop Edmund Lacy summoned the heads of the religious houses, named in schedule dated 1st May, to elect two representatives. Of the nunneries, only the "Abbatissa de Legh" is summoned. (*ibidem*, p. 479). In a summons to pay Papal dues in 1424, again the Abbess of Canonsleigh is included but not Polslo or Cornworthy. (*ibidem*, p. 492).

1425, August 18. Bp. Lacy sent a writ to the Abbat of Buckland to collect the moiety of a tenth for the Exchequer, excepting only the nuns of "Canonlegh, Polslo and Corneworthy" and the poor of the Hospital of S. John at the East Gate of Exeter. (*ibidem*, p. 515).

1426, December 17. The Bishop again certifies to the Treasury that the three nunneries and the Hospital of St. John are exempt from taxation. (*ibidem*, p. 555).

1427, August 31st. Roger Bachiler, rector of Churstowe, bequeathed to the nuns of " Cornwode " 6s. 8d. (*Com. Reg. Bp. Lacy*, orig. p. 500).

1433, October 16th. The poor nuns of Canonsleigh, *alias* Mynchenlegh, Polsloe and Cornworthy; the poor Hospital of St. John near the East Gate of Exeter and the benefices of Mewsawe (Meshaw), Bonleigh (Bondleigh), Northleigh and the vicarage of Daulysh (Dawlish) being valued at less than XII marks are exempt from payment of the moiety of one moiety of a tenth. (*Reg. Bp. Lacy*, p. 601).

1439, May 17th. Bishop Lacy granted forty days' Indulgence to those who devoutly say the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation for the soul of the Lady Matilda Talbot, late Prioress of the Priory of Polslo, whose body is buried in the conventual church, and for the souls of all the faithful departed. (*ibidem*, p. 735).

This is the only instance hitherto recorded of such an Indulgence being issued, in reference to one of the nunneries of Devon.

June 11th, in the same year, the Bishop granted special licence to the Abbess of Canonslegh for services to be held in the chapels belonging to the Abbey. (*ibidem*, p. 737).

1440, August 11th. The following entry illustrates perhaps consideration for infirm nuns unable to attend service in the Abbey church. Bishop Lacy granted to the ladies, Joan Bytton and Alice Boys, Canonesses of the Abbey of Canonleigh, licence for divine service in any suitable place within the said Abbey. (*ibidem*, p. 774).

1442, November 16th. On the supplication of the Prioress and nuns of Corneworthy, proprietresses of the parish church of Corneworthy, Bishop Lacy issued a mandate to compel Stephanus Cower not to allow any unworthy person to use the parish church of Corneworthy. (Watkin, *T. P. and M. T.*, p. 381). No institution of Stephen Cower to Cornworthy or any other church can be found, and yet, from the prefix " dominus " in the register, he was presumably in holy orders and was employing, it may be inferred from the above, some

other priest to whom the nuns raised objection, to conduct the services in the parish church; or was it the use of the church for miracle plays and such entertainments that the nuns deprecated?

1447, January 5th. On the petition of Bishop Lacy the nuns of Corneworthy were again excused from paying tithes on account of their poverty. (*Com. Reg. Bp. Lacy*).

1447, October 29th. At Chudd (Chudleigh), Bishop Lacy addressed letters of compulsion to the Dean of Totton and to Ricardus Derby to warn and cite Galfridus Aissherigg, chaplain, not serving any cure, to undertake the care of the church of Corneworthy, annexed to the Priory of Corneworthy (Watkin, *T. P. and M. T.* p. 389). From the above and the entry under the year 1442 there were apparently difficulties in finding a suitable incumbent for the parish of Cornworthy. As the institutions are not recorded as having been made by the Bishop of Exeter, perhaps the appointment was for some reason exempt from episcopal control. For example, a curious position was created in the diocese on the 7th January, 1496, when Bishop Richard Redmayne was translated from the See of Asaph to that of Exeter, at the same time that he held, as Abbat of Shap, the position of Commissary of the Abbat of Prémontré and visitor of the Premonstratensian Order in this country. When therefore, in November 1497, it was his duty to visit the Abbey of Torre he took care to regularize his position by declaring that he visited the monastery "not by virtue of any authority, nor in virtue of his dignity as Bishop of Exeter, because he had no lawful right on that account" (*Collectanea Anglo Premonstratensia*, vol. ii., p. vii.); but as Visitant Abbat of the Premonstratensians in England.

PRIORESS MARGARETA WORTHEHAM.

?—28 May, 1461.

1455, September 18th. Bishop Edmund Lacy died. There is no record during his episcopate of a successor to Prioress Eleanora Blake, and we have no clue as to the date when Margareta Wortheham was appointed. If Bishop Lacy's

register is complete then we must conclude that Margareta Wortheham was appointed by Bishop George Nevyll, who succeeded 10th April, 1456, and was translated to York 19th January, 1465.

PRIORESS HONORA OR ELIANORA VYVYAN.

28 May, 1461—

1461, May 28th. On the free resignation of Margareta Wortheham, Honora Vyvyan, Sub-Prioress of Cornworthy Priory, was elected Prioress by her sister nuns, Margareta Wortheham, Sibilla Germyn, Cristina Awde and Thomasia Dynham ; in solemn conclave held, " as has of old been the custom," in the Chapter-house of the Priory, and in the presence of the notary Andreas Chalvedon.

July 28th. The election of the Prioress Honora Vyvyan was duly confirmed by Dean Henricus Webber, acting in the absence of Bishop George Nevyll. (Watkin, *T.P. and M.T.* p. 433; *Reg. Bp. George Nevyll*).

1463, Michaelmas. Elianora, Prioress of Cornworthy, was with others distrained to do homage at the court of Willelmus la Zouche, Knight, for the lands which they held of the castle of Totteneys. And again in 1464 (Watkin, *T.P. & M.T.* pp. 1083, 1084).

1466, Monday before Pentecost. At a Court held at Totnes, Alionora, Prioress of Corneworthy, is in mercy because she was not present versus Willelmus Whithed in a plea of detention by surety of Willelmus Rawe and Ricardus Kent (*Totnes Court Roll*, M. 44, Watkin, *T.P. & M.T.* p. 461).

PRIORESS THOMASINA DYNHAM.

—1519.

1472-75. *A case is cited between John Bernehouse and Johane his wife, executrix of Lawrence Knight, proctor of *Dame Isabel*, late prioress of the convent of Cornworthy, Devon, versus Dame Thomasyn Dynham, prioress of Cornworthy,

*This note kindly furnished by Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup points to yet another prioress of whom hitherto nothing has been known. Contributed after the publication of the list on p. 6, Isabel, as this prioress must for the present be known is the twelfth ruler of Cornworthy whose name has been recovered from records.

concerning professional expenses in suits concerning the parsonage and tithes of Aysshpryngton (*Early Chancery Proceedings*, No. 48516).

1501, August 28th. This prioress obtained a reduction of tithes, due from her house to Totnes Priory, by arbitration of Bp. Ricardus Redmayne of Exeter; from 26s. annually to 13s. One copy of the original agreement was found among the charters of Totnes Priory in the collection of Major W. G. Hole.

The parchment measures twenty-four inches wide and is the deed mentioned in Oliver's *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis* fo. 240, as being set forth in full in *Bp. Redmayne's Register*, fo. 35-36.

A translation and description is given as follows (Watkin, *T.P. & M.T.*, pp. 496-498).

" To all the sons of mother church, etc., Ricardus, bishop of Exeter, greeting, etc. We make known by the present that the matter of contention arisen long ago between :— Johannes Redmayn, Prior of the Priory of the monks of Tottonia and of the Convent of the order of Saint Benedict of the same place on the one part, and the Lady Thomasina, Prioress of the nuns of the Priory of Corneworthy and the Convent of the order of Saint Augustine of the same place on the other part; of our diocese, concerning a certain annual pension of 26s. which the said Prior, by reason of certain agreements concerning certain tithes within the bounds of the parish churches of Clauton and Corneworthy, claimed from the Prioress and Convent of Cornworthy; the aforesaid parties are agreed as follows :—that the Lady Thomasina Prioress, etc., shall have all tithes within the bounds of the parish churches of Corneworthy and Clauton; except the tithes of a certain mill, together with the uses and customs in the fishery within the parish of Corneworthy; which tithes and uses the aforesaid Prior, etc., are accustomed to have of old. And the aforesaid Lady Thomasina, etc., pays to the aforesaid Johannes Redmayne, etc., a certain annual pension of 13s. at two terms, namely, at the Purification of the Blessed Mary 6s. 6d., and on the festival of Saint Peter, called " in chains," another 6s. 6d.

If the said pension remains unpaid for two months, the Prioress, etc., shall pay a fine of 40d. and 6s. 8d. for every month overdue.

Whilst the aforesaid Johannes Redmayn, Prior, etc., made a certain relaxation of their title in these words :—

We, Johannes Redmayn, Prior, etc., in our chapterhouse assembled, remit by these presents all right, etc., to the tithes within the bounds of the parishes of Clauton and Corneworthy ; and the pension of 26s. which we have claimed from the aforesaid Prioress, etc. ; and we cannot claim other than a pension of 13s., etc., etc.

In faith and witness of all which we, as well as the parties aforesaid, have appended our seals.

Dated at Exonia in our palace under our seal, the 15th day of the month of June Anno Domini, 1501.*

And of our translation the sixth :

And we, Thomasina Dynham, Prioress, etc., in our chapterhouse assembled, etc., have unaminously granted the above agreement between us and the aforesaid Johannes Redmayn, etc., etc.

In witness of which we have appended our seal. Dated in our chapter-house 28th day of August, A.D. 1501, and in the sixth year of the translation of the reverend father.

And we, Johannes Redmayn, Prior, etc., in our chapterhouse assembled, etc., undertake to abide by the tenor of

i.e. 15th June, 1501. Bishop Richard Redmayne was translated from St. Asaph to Exeter, 7th January, 1496, and hence to Ely in September, 1501. The above agreement was accomplished therefore only three months before he left the bishopric. He was Visitor-General of the Premonstratensian Order in this country for the long period of 37 years. The only house of the Order in the diocese of Exeter was Torre Abbey, which was exempt from episcopal control. Bishop Redmayne, after his translation to Exeter, visited Torre Abbey on 30th November, 1497 and again on 7 August, 1500, but, as above mentioned, on each occasion protested that he did not come as bishop of the diocese. As far as is known when Bishop Cecil visited Torre Abbey on the 7th September, 1920, on the occasion of the Mayflower Tercentenary Celebration, in company with several American bishops, it was only the third occasion in 724 years, and His Lordship is only the second bishop of the diocese who has ever entered the gates of Torre Abbey.

Gatehouse, Cornworthy Priory. From N.E.

these presents. In witness of which we have appended our conventual seal. Dated in our chapter-house 28th day of August, A.D. 1501.

Appended are three parchment tags with fairly well preserved seals.

The first, oval, about 3½ inches by 2¼ inches, is the seal of Richard Redmayne, Bishop of Exeter,as depicted in Oliver's *Bishops and Cathedral of Exeter*, No. 13.

The second, small oval, 1¾ inches by 1¼ inches, the seal of Cornworthy Priory, is rather a bad impression and depicts what is probably intended to be a gate-house, surmounted by a belfry or superstructure of five uprights, with crocketted points at each end.

The third impression has been a very good one, but unfortunately has lost the lower part. It is oval, about 3¼ inches by 2 inches, and is the same as the imperfect drawing in Oliver's *Monasticon*; the representation is that of a female figure seated, holding up a rod in the right hand, in the left a book. In front, to dexter, stands a girl receiving instruction; the background is a lattice or network, and the whole is placed under a canopy with central dome. (The figures are supposed to represent St. Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read). The inscription around the seal reads: *S. Prioris Et. Conventus. Sancte. Marie. De. Totonia.*

PRIORESS AVISIA DYNHAM.

26 Jan., 1520—

1520, January 26th. On the resignation of Thomasia Dynham, Prioress of Cornworthy, Avisia Dynham, Sub-Prioress and President of the Chapter of the said house, addressed Bp. Johannes Veysey to allow the election of a Prioress. On the 3rd February the Bishop, at Crediton, instructed Master Ricardus Tollet, Doctor of Laws, to enquire into the election of Avisia Dynham. (*Reg. Bp. Johannes Veysey*, Watkin, *T.P. & M.T.*, p. 561).

1521, January 19th. John Veysey, Bishop of Exeter addressed the following mandate to this Prioress dated from Chudleigh (*Reg. Bp. Johannes Veysey* 2 Reg., fo. 7; Oliver, *Devonshire Collections*, p. 117).

" John by God's permission, Bishop of Excet, to owre wel belovyd Systers in Criste, the Priores and covent of Corneworthy, salutying in o Lord Ihu. For as much we enterly desyre to purge the slaunder that hath ensued yn yo House by trasgression of Religion, We have sende youe certyn o ordinas accordinge to the Lawys of Holy Church yn Engleshe, the rather by you to be understond and kept as here after folowynge shall evydently apere. Ffurst we commaunde youe Prioress in vertu of Obedience to see Divine Serves in due tyme, place and forme by the hoole covent, except age, sykenes or other lawfull evydent cawse lett, be devoutly withowte vayne corcacon celebrate accordynge to yo nombre, as yn other devoute places of yor religion it is observed and kept. Fforthermore nyghtly ye Priores with all the Covent to rest in one Dorter, all severall chambers and backedores utterly excluded. Also in the Frat' togeders take y repast attendyng to yor contemplative lectour there to be redde. Also that ye use no pompos apparell; but such as ys used in the sadde Houses of yr Religion. Also we inhibette youe to receve Sugeners withowte or speciall licence, commaundynge youe Priores in vertue of obedience to remove from yor house withyn a moneth after the recepcon hereoff all the servauntes nott necessary for the place, and also Bryton and his wyffe for consideracons reasonable which we shall disclose unto youe hereaft. Alway ye and the covent havynge in yor remembrance the thre substancialls of yor Religion which ye have professed. Ffyrst obedience, forsakynge yr awnwe ylle. Secunde, chastite, for the violacon whereoff withoute great repentance and bye m'cy of God, is sorrow ppetuall. The thyrde, abdicacon of Propete, forsakynge the worldle solicitude. Ffro the bett conservacon whereoff; and that ye Priores may the rather give yselffe to contemplacon and religious conversacon. We utterly inhibet youe to intermeddle yn yor awne persone with any uttwarde husbandre, wandrynge yn the fylds and other prophane places irreligiously oute of the Priorie and that all such exteriour besynes be done by some discreet virtuouse man that can and woll diligely and polytyckly do the same. Thes premisses with all other rulis and observaunces of yor Religion accordyng

to ye nombre, we commaunde youe Priores under the payne of the lawe to be effectually kepte, opynly published, redde and declared that ye and yor Systers too herynge them, may observe the same to the confusyon of a goostly enymye the Devyll, salvacon of ye sawles, honor of Religion and owre excuse before God. God encrease youe with hys vertue and hys grace. Wryten the place, day of the month, and yere above sayd."

1523. The Prioress of Cornworthy owed homage and fealty at the Court Leet of Great Totton for Tydworthy, Alleluy and West corneworthy (*Trans. Devon Assoc.* vol. xvi., p. 175).

1535, January 30th. Henry VIII issued a mandate at Westminster for valuation to be returned to the Treasury of all ecclesiastical possessions spiritual and temporal known as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus Henry* VIII.

The return rendered for Cornworthy Priory (p. 266) was as follows :—

" The Priory or Abbey of Corneworthy in the deanery of Totton' and in the diocese of Exon' in the county of Devon."

Certificate made of the value of all manors, lands, tenements, rectories, tithes and other emoluments within the realm of England while Avisia was Prioress of the Blessed Mary of Corneworthy aforesaid."

SPIRITUAL POSSESSIONS.

Corneworthy.—*The Rectory there is valued annually :—	
for great tithes	IIl. IIs. 2d.
for wool and lambs	40s.
for all other tithes and oblations belonging to the said Rectory	79s. 4d.
From which is paid to the Prior of Totnes and his successors annually for a certain annual pension	13s.
and to the Archdeacon of Totton' and his successors for annual visitation	5s.
and for synod-due	2s. 5d.
and for visitation to the aforesaid	

ibidem, p. 817.

Bishop and his successors annually 20d.
Nett income 16l. 8s. 5d.
(In 1288 valued at 6l. 13s. 4d.)

Claweton.*—The Rectory there is valued annually together with great tithes and all other tithes and oblations belonging to the said rectory as shown by indenture of Johannes Haddon the elder for the term of five years 14l. 13s. 4d.
for sanctuary land as shown by indenture to Antonius Blakedon for the term of his life 66s. 8d.
From which is paid to the aforesaid Archdeacon and his successors annually 5s.
and for synod-due 2s. 5d.
and for visitation to the aforesaid bishop and his successors annually 20d.
Nett income 17l. 10s. 11d.
(In 1288 the value was 6l. 13s. 4d.)

Marlond.—The Rectory there is valued annually together with great tithes and all other tithes and oblations belonging to the said rectory as shown by indenture of Johannes Magge for the term of seven years 4l. 13s. 4d.
From which is paid to the Archdeacon and his successors for visitation annually 5s.
and for synod-due 2s. 5d.
and for visitation to the aforesaid bishop and his successors annually 20d.
Nett income 4l. 4s. 3d.
Total of all spiritual possessions of the aforesaid Priory 38l. 3s. 7d.

TEMPORAL POSSESSIONS OF THE SAID PRIORY.

Manor of Corneworthy.
Rents of assize of free and copyhold tenants annually 13l. 17s. 2d
and from barton lands there annually 12l.

*For a description of Clawton church and the history of the manor see *Totnes Priory and Medieval Town*, pp. 787 and 788.

and from land taxes together with perquisites of court and other profits average 9d.
Nett income 25l. 17s. 11d.

Lustlegh.
Rents there for certain parcells of land :—
from Johannes Caselegh 6s. 8d.
from Johannes Dover 8s.
Nett income 14s. 8d.
Sum of all temporal possessions 26l. 12s. 7d.
Sum of all possessions spiritual and temporal 64l. 16s. 2d.
From which is paid
to Johannes Adams seneschal there for his annual fee 6s. 8d.
to Johannes Peny receiver ,, ,, ,, 26s. 8d.
Nett amount 63l. 2s. 10d.
Tithe 6l. 6s. 3½d.

1536, March 25th. The following letter with postscript from Sir Peter Edgcumbe, or Sir Piers Eggcombe as the name was sometimes written, addressed to Secretary Sir Thomas Cromwell, illustrates, in the language of the day, the anxiety felt at the contemplated abolition of the monastical system in this country. Sir Peter Edgcumbe had been Sheriff of Devon in 1529, and the carefully worded references to the approaching suppression and the suggestion that he might be of service is most diplomatically expressed.

"After my most harty recommendacyons with lyke thancks ffor your goodness to me att tymes shewyd, and thus ys to advertysse yow that here ys moche comunycacyon and bruts that all abbays, pryorys and nunrys under the cler yerly valew off CC*li* shall be suppressyd nottwtstondynge hyt ys nott as yett in these parties uponly knowen the occacyon off suppressyon nor who shall take most benyffyte therby nor to whate usse hyt shall rest at lengthe. But trew hyt ys that I am by the Kynggs ffather by hys graunt to my poar ffather made to hym and hys issue male, founder of the pryory of Tottenes and the nunrye of Cornworthye in Devonsshyr and every off them be under the valew of CC*li*. And as to Tottenes the pryor ther ys a man off goode vertuus conversacyon and a good viander and I can do lesse w^t^ my truthe

and dewty but to advertysse yow off that I know trew in this causse hartely beseechynge yow so to advertyse the Kynggs highnes and that I in my most umbyll maner beseche hys grace to order me in thys cause as onne that will juberd lyff and goods to do hys grace trew service and hartely besseche Allmyghty God longge to presserve hys most nobyll perssonn and yow so to serve hyss highness. Ffro my poar howsse the day of Annuncyacyon of our Lady

Your awn P. EGGECOMBE.*

M^r. Secretary in case hyt be sso that the Kynggs pleass^r maye be by your meanys so good that the prior of Tottenes maye enjoye the spirituall promocyons and hyt wyll be no better ffor hym and hys brederen to leve on, and I to have the temporal possessyons on parte theroff the sunner ffor concyderacyons that I am ffounder off bothe howssys, I promysse yow by this my writynge to concyder your favor and sute as I trust to please yow, and yff ye thinck my sute not ressonabyll I refferre me and my cause only to your order under the Kynggs hyghnes above all others lyvynge and so I trust yow; and herein I hartely praye yow to know ywr pleass^r. (*Cotton MSS. Cleopatra* E. *IV.*, page 258).

1537, March 21st. Thos Vowell of Corneworthy purchased the house and lands of the former priory of Cornworthy in the County of Devon, suppressed under the authority of Parliament; with all the houses, edifices, offices, stables, dove-cots and orchards which were in the hands of the former Prioress at the time of the dissolution. For an annual rent of £6 13s. 6d. to be paid at the two terms, *i.e.* on the festivals of St. Mary the Virgin and of the Archangel Michel. (*Aug. Book* 209, f. 57).

*This Sir Piers Edgecombe was the son of Sir Richard Edgecombe and Joan, daughter of Thomas Tremayne of Colacomb. Born about the year 1472, he was first made Sheriff of Devon in 1495 and served in the expedition against France in 1513, where he was knighted. His father had been Sheriff in 1487. Sir Piers Edgecombe married Jane, daughter and heir of Stephen Durnford of East Stonehouse. In 1536 he was appointed one of the three commissioners to make the *valor ecclesiasticus* for Henry VIII. in Cornwall. The above letter had little or no influence on the disposal of Cornworthy Priory, and its last patron, Sir Piers, died 14 August, 1539.

1538, July. The lease of the site of Cornworthy Priory for the annual rent of £6 13s. 6d. was confirmed to Thomas Vowell of Cornworthy.

Cornworthy Rectory was leased to David Martyn. (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*; vol. 13, pt. 1).

1560. Bishop Tamer records that the site of Cornworthy Priory, etc., was granted in the 2nd Elizabeth (17 Nov., 1559—16 Nov., 1560) to Edward Harris and John Williams (*Notitia* p. 96). John Prince says "was purchased by William, the father of Sir Thomas Harris" (*Worthies of Devon*, p. 469). According to Sir William Pole (*Collectanea*, p. 292) the Priory property passed to Sir Thomas Harris, sergeant-at-law and son of Edward Harris Esquire and at the time when *The Description of Devonshire* was written (1604-1635) was then in possession of the grandson, Sir Edward Harris.

The original grantee, Edward Harris, the first of the family to settle in Cornworthy, was the son of Walter Harris of Monmouthshire. Edward Harris married twice and was buried at Cornworthy the 10th April, 1592.

Sir Thomas Harris, Knight, of Cornworthy, sergeant-at-law, was M.P. for Okehampton in 1585; for Bossiney in the parish of Tintagel in 1593 and 1597; for Truro in 1601. He married 27 December, 1573 M^rs. Elizabeth Pomraye described as "daughter-in-law of M^r. Edward Harrys." and was buried at Cornworthy 25th May, 1610, in the chancel of Cornworthy parish church where his monument is to be seen. He was knighted by King James I. at his coronation in 1603. Sir Edward Harris, Knight, of Cornworthy was christened at Cornworthy 13th December, 1575. He became Lord Chief Justice of Munster in Ireland. In 1635 his name is discontinued in the parish books and he died (according to Vivian's *Visitations*) 21 Aug., 1638.

His son and heir Thomas Harris* of Cornworthy, baptized 18 June, 1598 at Ugborough, was buried at Cornworthy 22 June, 1665. The statement that only three daughters survived Sir Edward Harris is not sustained by Vivian who mentions

*The arms of Harris of Cornworthy, not to be confused with Harris of Radford and Harris of Hayne, were *Sa., an antelope salient Arg. armed and crined Or.*

yet another son, Edmund, and only one daughter, Elizabeth.

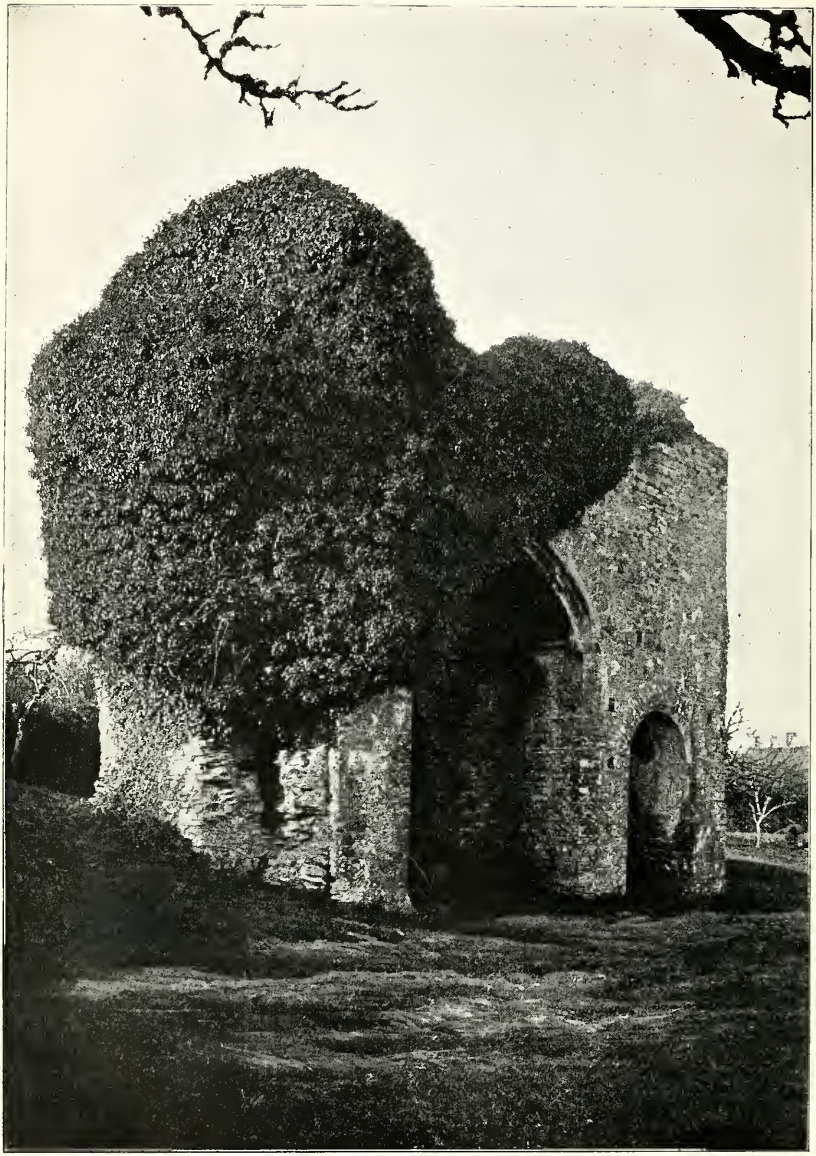
In 1765, Court Prior, including the ground upon which the Priory stood, and the impropriate tithes were in possession of Francis Basset esquire.

About the year 1800 Lord de Dunstanville sold it to John Holditch (Oliver, *Monasticon Dioec. Exon*, p. 236) ; from him it came to Robert Irish and now, 1921, belongs to Edward Windeatt, Esq., J.P., C.A., Mayor of Totnes.

SITE OF CORNWORTHY PRIORY.

The site of Cornworthy Priory is about 275 feet above sea level, an unusual elevation and site for a religious house, the position for such being generally chosen in a valley or near a stream. The presence of a spring which provided a bountiful supply of water was doubtless the reason for the choice, and the water, which no longer finds its way along the well-defined course through the orchard below the Gatehouse, is now confined to a reservoir and conveyed by pipe to the village below ; the road leading from the Priory to Furzehill Cross still bears the name of Water Lane, owing to the natural outflow from the water-bearing strata of rock which rises to the south and south-east and, as evidenced by the springs rising at various spots in the village, including the so-called " Five Wells," may be said in all probability to have been the origin of the settlement of Cornworthy. The usual story of an underground passage, which seems invariably to be attached to all such ruins, is not wanting at Cornworthy, and the writer was shown a spot half-way down the orchard, where the soil had sunk recently to the depth of some two feet ; but, as it adjoins the ancient water-course and similar hollows are to be detected all the way up the hillside, the subsidence is probably due to heavy rain and the decomposition of the shillet beneath.

A spot is pointed out north-east from the Gatehouse where, upon attempting to bury an animal, walls were encountered. This would be a likely spot for the Fawden or Stable, but not for the Priory. The site of former buildings is frequently found converted into an orchard, trees being planted between



Gatehouse, Cornworthy Priory.
From S.E. Corner.

the foundations of the walls. How utterly the former existence of a religious house at Cornworthy must have been forgotten is illustrated by a small work published in 1779, by the Rev^d. William Jones, A.B., entitled :—" A *Complete* History of *All* the Religious Houses in the Counties of Devon and Cornwall before the Dissolution," printed for Smerdon and Underhill. The little booklet comprises only 88 pages and the briefest mention of 27 houses, one of which is *Exeter Cathedral*, but neither Cornworthy nor Canonsleigh find place in the " Complete History."

This omission of Cornworthy Priory in 1779 is the more extraordinary because, about the year 1770, D^r. Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter (1762-1784), President of the Society of Antiquaries, made a collection of notes, upon the antiquities of the county, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford ; of which the following abstract has been contributed by Miss Beatrix Cresswell.

1. Under " Parochial Collections " is the following note :—

" The Priory of Cornworthy is situated about ½ a mile west of ye church. There are at present (*c.* 1770) no other remains of it but a handsome gateway consisting of a larger and a lesser entrance, both arched with stone and adorned with work of the same. On the right hand of the great entrance is a stone staircase which leads to the top of the building. Near the gateway is a barn which bears some marks of antiquity and probably served in that capacity to the Priory. The rest of the site of the Priory is now an orchard. It was bought at the surrender by———Harris, father to Sir Thomas, a man much commended for his pregnant wit and learning. (The latter phrase is obviously culled from Westcote, *View of Devonshire in* 1630).

2. Under " Parochial Returns," presumably sent to Dean Milles in answer to query, is written :—

" Court Prior, commonly called Court Abbey ; only the gate house and an old house, the barn to which is supposed to have been a chapel."

The above description tends to show that, with the exception of the demolition of the barn and the " old house," which possibly refers to the dwelling adjoining the gate-house on the north side, the present condition of the site is much like it appeared 150 years ago. The destruction of the " rooks' nests," as Cromwell described them, was summarily carried out and not left to the hand of time.

Even if no remains above-ground exist to guide the antiquary, bent upon uncovering the foundations which once carried the various buildings comprising a medieval house of religious, certain facts guide infallibly to identification of the customary plan. Firstly: the importance and preponderating size of the Church. Secondly: the invariable direction of the axis of the church west to east. Thirdly: the site of the sacred building, which was always placed on the higher side of the garth according to the slope of the land; sometimes necessitating the secular buildings finding place on the north, more generally on the south side of the church. Fourthly: the water supply was naturally conducted adjacent to the Kitchen. There is little to justify the opinion, occasionally expressed, that the masonry encountered underground, north-east from the Gatehouse, as mentioned above, indicates the site of the conventual buildings; because the natural slope of the ground from west to east would be unsuitable for construction of the church and we may be sure that the spring of good water would be the natural attraction, if it was not already the site of a chapel before the foundation of the Priory. The writer has given the above opinion every consideration, but the fact that the hill on the north side of the site, namely the Gatehouse end, is not water-bearing in that locality seems absolutely to veto any possibility of the Priory having stood on that side of the orchard. The evidence of the record by Dean Milles, of local tradition that the barn is supposed to have been the chapel, which opinion is certainly perpetuated in the large scale Ordnance Survey of 1906, has been substantiated by the brief investigation of the site, made in 1920.

The position of the only remaining building, the Gatehouse, regarded in relation to the existing roads, seems to require explanation. These adjuncts of the old monasteries, used exclusively for secular purposes, were, probably for that very reason, placed invariably out of alignment with and apart from the regular conventual buildings. For some reason also they were seldom placed on the actual confines of the monastical property or at the immediate entrance from the neighbouring

highway from the outer world. Perhaps it was thought that, as regal sanction was necessary for anything in the nature of fortification, the erection of a Gatehouse immediately adjoining the King's highway would have an aggressive appearance which might bring trouble upon the Convent and its inmates. Some such reason must explain why the Gatehouse at Cornworthy was not built some fifty feet further north-west, adjacent to the road from the village surrounding the Priory domain and directly facing the approach of the main road from Cornworthy Cross, which there is no reason for thinking has ever deviated or been altered. As the roadway, then as now, would certainly mark the boundary; there can be no doubt that the building was purposely erected not in apposition to the existing approaches to the Priory; and yet, to anyone from the outer world, the gateway would be the only legitimate means of access. The position is the more curious in that the Gatehouse is of later date than the foundation of the Priory.

Another consideration may have dictated the angle at which the Gatehouse was placed. The entrance undoubtedly led direct into a courtyard in which would be stabling to house the horses belonging to the Priory and also of their guests. A water supply would be most essential and, facing down the valley, it will be noted that the water-course was apparently conducted across the lower side of what was most probably the Fawden-yard.

THE GATEHOUSE OF CORNWORTHY PRIORY.

The one building which has in part survived the general destruction of Cornworthy Priory is a Gatehouse, situated some 140 feet north-west of the outside line of buildings which enclosed the north side of the Garth.

Why it has escaped the destroyer's hand was doubtless due to the fact that such Gatehouses, not forming part of the monastical plan, could be considered beyond the scope of the order to destroy the "rooks' nests"; and being strongly built, and with several good living rooms attached, would be utilised to house the bailiff or caretaker appointed by the new lay-proprietor of the site.

The Gatehouse occupies an area 35 feet N. to S. and 19 ft. 6 ins. W. to E. The well-known example at the Cistercian Abbey of Cleeve stands on 41 ft. by 14 ft. 10 ins; and the Old Gatehouse at Torre Abbey measures some 43 feet by 37 feet, and so is larger than Cornworthy or Cleeve. The orientation of the axis of the entrances is about E.S.E.; about as much to the S. of E. as the church and conventual buildings inclined N. of E.

The Gatehouse at Cornworthy, like that at Torre Abbey, covered two ways; a larger for horses and vehicles on the south side, and a smaller for foot passengers on the north side. Although the walls are built of local stone, the arching of the passages is all formed of granite uprights and ribs. The carriage way has a well-built relieving arch, the height of the supporting granite being eleven feet above the original road. Six granite ribs, springing from corbels projecting from a solid granite wall-rest on either side, are crossed by tie pieces. The third and fourth rib are placed, only about one foot apart, midway to carry the massive gates, which were about ten feet high and opened outwards. The six ribs thus divide the arching into four equal spaces, each of which is divided by cross-ties into panels with carved bosses at the intersections. The designs are much worn but do not appear to have been heraldic, and unfortunately, in their present state of decay, nothing definite can be identified. The panels are formed of the local stone well fitted and comprise an archway of great strength.

The jambs, which formerly carried the gates as well as the granite arch they supported over the gates, have been removed and now form the coping round a pond, adjoining the Court Prior, as the farm house at the bottom of the hill, a hundred feet below, is called.

The foot entrance is on the north side, farthest removed from the Priory, and is six feet wide. The doorway was also situated midway; but the door, 4 ft. 8 ins. wide, unlike the gates, opened inwards, being secured at night by two cross-bars drawn from the north wall and fitting into sockets on the south side. The granite work which supports the roof

of the footway has no relieving arch, but the distance is divided into two bays strongly groined in granite. Unfortunately the jambs of the door have also been removed.

The porter's room adjoined the Gatehouse on the north side but has been entirely removed. The pitch of the gabled roof can be clearly seen scarred on the outside of the north wall, the level of the floor is similarly marked. The room measured 12 feet 6 inches from W. to E. and from a height of 6 feet at the walls rose to 14 feet under the gable roof. How far the porter's lodge extended northwards can only be ascertained by tracing the foundation, as the walls have been entirely removed.

An interesting feature is the squint through the thick Gatehouse wall (3 feet wide narrowing to an oeillet and 14 inches high) by means of which the janitor was able to scrutinise all who came to the gate or passed through the footway.

Over both gateways was situated a dwelling-room which would probably be occupied by the chaplain to the Priory. It was reached by a doorway 2 feet 10 inches wide, the western granite jamb of which has unfortunately been removed, leading to a newelled stairway, three feet wide, of 25 steps in the south-east corner of the block, and in one and a half turns reaches the level over the carriage way, where a door, seven feet high, was hinged on the western jamb, the wall on the eastern side being splayed to allow of free opening.

There is no indication that the space 24 feet 6 inches by 13 feet 6 inches was divided into two rooms, but probably formed only one, lit by one light looking out to the approach on the western side and two windows on the east.

In the north wall was a chimney, four feet from the north-west corner, shewing a recess and rests in the masonry where a large mantel-stone, probably of granite, found place and carried the wall above enclosing the chimney which, on the removal of the support, has fallen down.

The difference in level of the two arches below formed a considerable space under the floor of the room at its northern side. In the Gatehouse at Torre Abbey this was utilised as

a first storey room, the stairway leading on to the upper chamber which extended over the whole span ; here at Cornworthy the difference in level was not sufficient to allow for a room ; but the presence of a narrow loop-hole opening on to the outside or front of the Gatehouse suggests that this space under the floor was used as a ventilated cellar or on occasion as a secret chamber where, unsuspected, anyone in hiding could listen to the conversation by the fireside above. It is said that, when the debris covering the arches was cleared away, pieces of tile were found, supposed to have been used in the floor. It is very doubtful if this upper chamber had a tiled floor but they may have been placed in front of the fire-place.

In the south-west angle of the room, in the thickness of the wall, is a garde-robe with vertical shaft reaching to the ground level.

The angle of the roof, pitching west and east like that of the porter's lodge below, is clearly defined in the north and south walls ; but there is no evidence that a crennelated battlement or other protective work formed a coping to the west and east walls.

Such a strongly built Gatehouse would have served little for protection unless forming part of a high precinct wall. A line of raised ground stretching north and south, inside the existing hedge, possibly indicates the foundations of the enclosing wall on this side but, as in the case of the buildings, not one stone has been left upon another and many of the cottages of Cornworthy must be built of material taken from this site. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the wall would return, in some such form as a semi-circle, to the line of the present road, the natural boundary of the Priory ; unless the Gatehouse gave access only to a courtyard occupying part of the present orchard and extending eastwards down the slope as far as the old water-course, where the horses and cattle of the Priory would be enclosed : this seems to be the true explanation, as the Church and Convent formed quite a separate series of buildings in what is now an adjoining field, marked No. 454 on the Ordnance Map.

PRIORY CHURCH AND CONVENT OF CORNWORTHY.

THE CHURCH.

As already explained, the site of the church must be sought on the highest and most conspicuous portion of the ground; and fortunately what we believe to be the west-end wall of the church still remains and indicates the angle to which the Garth and surrounding buildings were aligned. This opinion, formed after careful consideration of the site, has been subsequently in part confirmed by the record of Dean Milles, in 1770, that "the barn is supposed to have been a chapel"; for old inhabitants still remember a building used as a barn on this spot. The wall has two returns, each 3 feet wide, running eastwards, showing the interior of the building to have been 20 feet wide. The length was more difficult to determine, as nothing on the surface indicated the east wall. The original length of churches was generally proportionate to the width: as 3 or sometimes 4 to 1.

Excavation, at a distance of 60 feet and again at 80 feet from the west end, produced no result; the latter being obviously beyond the building; but at 71 feet 6 inches the S.E. inside corner of the Chancel and the floor level were encountered. The odd measurement was explained by the discovery of a return of 18 inches, 4 feet 6 inches wide, giving the dimensions of a doorway and bringing the inside length of the church to exactly 70 feet. The presence of a doorway at this S.E. corner doubtless indicates a corresponding exit on the north side of the altar; as at St. Stephen's Launceston, which, it is thought, were used for processional purposes; although at Launceston a small building, into which the doorways led until taken down in 1883, was thought by Mr. O. B. Peter to have been a sacristy, where relics and church goods were once stored: it was known locally as "the bone-house." Two much-weathered panels are still to be seen over the doors at St. Stephen's, representing on the north side "Our Lord in Majesty"; over the south door "The Blessed Virgin seated with the Holy Child on her lap." It is impossible to judge now whether such a sacristy found place at the east end of Cornworthy Priory church.

The nature of the foundations and the fragments of masonry witness to the fact that, unlike the Gatehouse of later date, the binding material of the masonry was of poor quality. The mortar seems to have almost wholly perished; not only between the few remaining stones of foundation, but very little is to be noticed in the surface soil. To this inferior quality of the mortar is doubtless due the ease with which the stone has been recovered for other purposes and the consequent almost complete disappearance of the original Priory buildings. In so many old ruins, as at Torre Abbey, and the Bishop's tower and wall at Paignton, the mortar is harder than some of the stone it knits together; whereas in the remaining walls and foundations of the ancient manor-house at Kingskerswell, and also in this instance, at Cornworthy, the binding material crumbles away. At Kingskerswell it was thought to be attributable to the use of sand from the cretaceous Aller Vale pits and, in the case of Cornworthy Priory, the labour of bringing Dart sand some 300 feet up hill may have decided the builders in favour of some less reliable but more easily obtained substitute.

The dimensions of this Priory church merit some notice :— 70 feet long by 20 feet wide, with 3 feet walls: bearing no relationship whatever to that Norse standard, to which so many of our early parish churches were built during the Norman period, and which alone gives a satisfactory explanation of the recurring dimensions of 14 feet; 16 feet 4 inches; 18 feet 8 inches and 21 feet in width with, as already stated, the proportionate length to the width of 3 or 4 to 1; and walls of 2 feet 4 inches or 3 feet 6 inches in thickness, *i.e.* one-third or one-half of the standard *sajene* corresponding to seven Anglo-Saxon feet.

Neither the Gatehouse nor the ground-plan of the church shows any trace of this standard; which absence the date of foundation, *circa* 1237, explains.

The length of the church, 70 feet, may be due to the fact that this was the length of the parish church of Cornworthy, a Norman foundation, showing the customary width of 14 feet. The evolution of the structure of St. Peter's Church is a very

interesting study and it is hardly likely that the original length was more than 42 feet but, by the date of the foundation of the Priory, the nave had probably been prolonged to 70 feet to meet the requirements of the parish, and, although the Nunnery was not founded on a pretentious scale and never well-endowed, the length of the parish church may well have influenced the size of the new sacred edifice and consequently the conventual buildings.

The Priory church does not appear to have had the customary transepts (which were also never part of the parish church), unless a small recess in the bank or hillside to the south, against which the church was placed, may indicate the addition of a small chapel. In 1381 Bishop Brantyngham licensed Prioress Annima Heynton to celebrate mass in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, the whereabouts of which are not stated. Nothing but complete excavation of the slope can show how far back the hillside was quarried to leave the south wall of the church clear, well-ventilated, and drained. The appearance of the ground certainly suggests a small South Transept. A small buttress, 18 inches wide, in the centre of the interior of the west-end wall indicates that, then as now, this part of the building for a short distance upwards was built against the excavated ground or rock. Above the buttress is a window 2 feet 6 inches wide, opening outwards in a rectangular space 3 feet 3 inches wide and 6 feet high ; the appearance of this window and the condition of the upper part of the wall rather suggest that this formed a modern inlet to the barn from the road above, and has been added to the wall below. The floor of the church was at least ten feet below this sill. The only other part of the church of which a trace remains is the return of the north wall from the west wall, showing the masonry to be 3 feet thick and terminating at 5 feet from the end in a doorway 7 feet wide with a buttress on the east side of the entrance, which supports probably occurred at intervals, dividing the total length into six bays.

THE GARTH.

Presuming that Cornworthy Priory was built strictly to the conventional plan of a house for religious, the quadrangle

with surrounding buildings would find place to the north of the church. Very few walls at present are to be seen on the site: a containing wall on the west, supporting the debris between the road and the wall, extending 48 feet and terminating in a gateway 6 feet 6 inches wide. This wall is out of alignment with the west end of what is considered to have been the church, and has probably nothing to do with the original conventual building. It was probably built to enclose a yard on the site of the garth and it seems not unlikely that a great deal of the debris, necessarily formed by the destruction of the Priory buildings, was piled up outside the wall to a level with the road, which runs more or less parallel at a distance of 20 feet from the wall. From the north side of the gateway a low partition wall extends eastwards dividing on the Ordnance Survey, plot No. 476, in which the Gatehouse is situated, from No. 454, which contains the site of the Convent: but again this wall follows no apparent ancient foundation and is certainly not parallel with the north wall of the church, as it should be if it formed any part or even indicates the foundation line of any original portion of the quadrangle. At a distance of 55 feet eastwards this boundary wall connects with and forms the end of a linhay or stable with three doorways opening on to the yard or site of the Garth. Thence the boundary wall goes on down the slope. The linhay appears to have been built at a later date than the boundary wall (which forms part of the north end) and yet is not placed at right-angles to the wall but follows lines at a right-angle to the church. The position of this linhay may have been dictated by a pre-existent building or more probably by foundations in the ground upon which it was convenient to build. The stable, for the above-mentioned reason, measures, in length, 29 feet 6 inches on the west or Garth side and only 28 feet over all at the back: the outside width is 12 feet 3 inches. It is probably not older than the conversion of the church-site into a barn. Beyond the linhay eastwards, the boundary wall extends some 22 feet before reaching the line of what appears to have been the ancient course of the water flowing from the well and conducted across the east end of the church and outside the buildings

on the eastern side of the Garth to the natural position for the Kitchen premises at the north east corner of the quadrangle. This measurement of 20 odd feet, when considered with the alignment of the modern stable; the fact that a similar dimension is to be found, on the western side of the Garth, between the containing wall and the road; and the known width of the church 20 feet, suggest a clue to the original plan of Cornworthy Priory.

CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.

Whether the customary buildings appertaining to a monastery were eventually all built we cannot now say, but the mention of certain rooms such as the "chapter-house," "infirmary," and "dorter," and the fact that in 1378 there were certainly eight nuns resident, besides the Prioress and lay servants, suggest the customary complete establishment.

A few instances occur of the monastical plan not adhering strictly to the rectangular form, such as the Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Agatha, Yorkshire, where an obstruction, such as a river, caused one side of the Garth to be placed askew: but a site with such limitations was seldom chosen, and there is nothing to indicate that such was the case at Cornworthy.

Regard was always observed for the special sanctity of the sacred edifice and where the absence of a transept did not extend the customary embrace to the cloistered quadrangle we should expect, owing to the small dimensions of the church, to find that the buildings devoted to secular purposes would only *join* the north-west and north-east corners of the church, in order to enclose the Garth, but would not be *placed against* the sacred building either to support or be supported.

This probable consideration, with the above-mentioned spaces to be traced on the east and west portions of the site, suggest the ground-plan of Cornworthy Priory to have been as follows:—

The Garth, in accordance with the extreme length of the Conventual church which filled the south side, was 70 feet square, which would place the northern line some 12 feet beyond the boundary wall above-mentioned. The eastern

line of foundation would exactly carry the back wall of the later constructed linhay and the distance from this to the ancient watercourse suggests that the building was not more than 20 feet wide. The Chapter House, mentioned in the Registers of the Bishops of Exeter, would certainly find place on this the eastern side of the Garth and, unless a Sacristy intervened, which is not likely in so small a house, would be the first room adjoining the church. The direction of the watercourse should certainly indicate that the Kitchen found place in the north-east corner of the quadrangle, between which and the Chapter House would probably be found the Day-Room of the Nunnery, with the Dorter extending the whole length of the building overhead.

The Refectory would certainly occupy the north side of the Garth, farthest removed from the church, with the undercroft for cellarage and stores.

The entrance to the Quadrangle we might expect to find passing under the west end of the Refectory, more or less opposite to the entrance to the Church on the south side of the Garth. From the appearance of the ground the roadway led from the Gatehouse to the N.E. corner of the Garth probably forming a drive round, in front of the north side of the Priory buildings.

Whether or not the west side of the cloisters adjoined a building, which would comprise the Guest-chamber and the apartments of the Prioress, is undetermined but quite likely; especially if, being a higher level, the upper rooms rested on solid ground instead of an undercroft. Such an arrangement would certainly complete the plan; and the greater width of the road space, corresponding at this point to the dimension of the conventual site, suggests that the road, as we now see it, is really built over the outside western wall of this series of buildings; and that, in the days of the Priory, either the road went along the field above, or there was never anything but a narrow trackway. Visiting the site in March, 1921, there was ample evidence that the space between the road and the containing wall has been and is still a dumping ground for rubbish from the road, and it seems indisputable that the

hillside was quarried away both to provide material and also site for the buildings on the west side of the Garth.

In the hillside, south-east from the site of the church, is an excavation, some 50 feet in diameter, which may possibly have been made as a reservoir for the water issuing from the hill, and also as a fishpond for the use of the Priory inmates. It is from this rising ground that the best view of the former Nunnery and its surroundings is obtained, as well as a delightful outlook over the whole valley of the lower Dart. The moorland is clearly visible to the north, the English Channel on the south, and between, an expanse of most picturesque country. The site of Cornworthy Priory was well chosen.

POSSESSIONS OF CORNWORTHY PRIORY

In 1088 Judhel of Totnes granted to Totnes Priory half the great tithes, and also one-eighth part of the priest's half of the great tithes; and the whole tithe of all movable things and a quarter of the bread and ale of the altar from the manor of Cornworthy: also the tithe from the mill of Cornworthy. These tithes, excepting the mill tithes, were leased to Cornworthy Priory in 1270. (Watkin, *Totnes Priory*, pp. 6 and 10).

The only land in Cornworthy and neighbourhood originally given to the Priory seems to have been the site of the buildings and ¼ knight's fee in Allelegh (Allaleigh, 2 miles S.W. of Cornworthy) and Tortysfenne (from the plural of the latter syllable "fennes" may be phonetically derived "Venice" and "Venice House" which lie just to the north of Allaleigh).

The tenant of these estates, some little time before 1238, had been William de la Pomeray and Joan, his wife; the mention of the latter in the Fine is suggestive that Pomeray had held it by right of his wife. If the Priory was founded between the years 1230-38 the change of tenancy was most likely due to the transfer of ownership and the desire of Prioress Hawysia to grant the holding to William Pypard.

William Pypard who married Katharine daughter of Thomas Corbet was a considerable land owner, holding 5½ fees, and was lord of Little Totnes from 1199 to 1266 (*T.P. & M.T.* p. 897). He died in 1267, and in 1272 William de Cyrencestre held the lordship of Little Totnes, probably by marriage with

the daughter of Pypard. He did not however inherit Allaleigh and Tortysfenne, as in 1303 the tenant was Nicholas Dauney (*Feud. Aids*, 350).

Nicholas Dauney or de Alneto was lord of the manor of Bailleford, Harberton, probably *h.d.* Belsford, N.W. of Harberton; and in 1303 his holding is described as Wassheborn Durant together with Alelegh and T otenefenne for half a fee In 1346 the Prioress of Corneworth(y) herself held the quarter fee in Allelegh and Tortysfenne, and again in 1428. Judging from the admonition of Bishop John Veysey in 1521, the nuns probably did a great deal of the farm work themselves, of necessity, for their poverty was great.

Tideford. This small manor one mile south by west and in the parish of Cornworthy, after being held by the family of de Tiddeworth or Tydeworth for $\frac{1}{20}$ part of a fee was in 1366 transferred by Robert Heaunton to the Priory of Cornworthy (*A.D. Inq.*, 39 Edw. III., No. 10 *bis*).

It is not mentioned in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1536 by name, but presumably is included in the item " copyhold tenants."

The following item recently recovered from the Collectanea of Sir William Pole (*item* 2047, p. 197) suggests that Robert Heaunton, mentioned above, obtained the position of Prioress of Cornworthy for his relative (? daughter), probably in 1366 when he handed over Tidworthy to the Priory.

1370, May 13. This indenture witnesses that we Emmota de Henton, prioress of Corneworthy, William Fortescu, and Richard Somaister, executors of the will of lord Robert de Henton, chaplain of the monastery of humble nuns of Cornworthy, in the presence of Philip rector of the church of Dupeford (Diptford) and of others have delivered to Thomas Davailes, son and heir of William Davailes, 53 indented charters and other sealed writings referring to the manors of Badiston and Wilgriston (possibly Batson and Woolston assessed with Bolberry in 1316, *Feud. Aids*, p. 379. John Daviles occurs in 1428 as co-holder of Sewer in Marlborough *ibidem*, p. 446).

Lustlegh. The identification of the "certain parcells of land," valued in 1535 at the annual income of 14s. 8d., and held by John Caselegh and John Dover, forms an interesting query which the writer is quite unable to answer. By whom was this one and only temporal possession, other than the manor of Cornworthy, granted to the nuns? Presumably, but not necessarily, by the foundress. After the Statute of Mortmain was passed in 1279, the difficulty for any religious house to acquire land was considerably increased, as permission from the Crown had first to be obtained, and, in this case, it is hardly conceivable that some documentary record would not have been preserved. If it was a foundation grant, how was Eva Marshall, the widow of William (v.) de Braose, in a position to make this gift to Cornworthy Priory? At the period when Cornworthy Priory was founded the manor of Lustleigh appears to have been in the family of Widworthy. In 1285 the manor was in possession of Robert de Dinham, by right of his wife Emma de Wideworth, whose effigies are in the north aisle of Lustleigh church. Thence the manor passed to William Prous and, in 1330, Alice, daughter of Sir William Prouz and widow of Roger de Moeles conveyed the manor to John Damarel and Alice, considered by Sir William Pole to have been her daughter but from other evidence was probably the elderly widow herself (see p. 13).

The de Moeles family certainly owned property in the neighbourhood of Lustleigh (C. Torr, *Wreyland Documents*) and Alice de Moeles (see pp., 12 and 13) may have conferred this estate upon the Priory in 1333.

John Caselegh, in 1437, as pointed out by Mr. Cecil Torr (*ibidem* p. 20), no doubt derived his name from and lived at Caseleigh in the parish of Lustleigh. The same family would probably continue for generations to hold the Priory property, as tenants, so long as they paid the rent, and it is possible that "Caseley farm" may represent part if not all the estate held in 1535 by another John Caseleigh as tenant of the Prioress. To whom did this possession of Cornworthy Priory pass at the dissolution in 1537? Presum-

ably to Thomas Vowell, in the first place, as he is said to have purchased the "house and lands" of Cornworthy Priory (p. 30).

According to Lysons (p. 325) the last owner to hold the manor of Lustleigh undivided (with the exception of the portion given to Cornworthy Priory) was a descendant of Sir John Wadham who obtained the manor temp. Henry V. (21 Mar., 1413—31 Aug., 1422) from William Burleston. By co-heiresses of Wadham and their descendants "two-thirds of the estate were disposed of in lots to the several lessees"; the remaining third was sold by the Hon. Percy Wyndham.* The original possession of Cornworthy Priory must be represented by some small portion of the parish, judging by the value not more than 20 acres, the present title to which it should be possible to trace to the name of Vowell, Harris or Williams rather than to Wadham or Wyndham.

The following supplementary notes have been kindly contributed by Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup which the authors gratefully acknowledge, and hope that the above incomplete account of Cornworthy Priory may be the means of eliciting, in the columns of *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, further information concerning the three ancient Nunneries of Devon.

Polsloe. Margaret de Syndon appears in Stapeldon's register, printed edition p. 316, as de Swyndon.

Isabella Trewtronk is given as Isabella *Trevannak* in Early Chancery Proceeding 35.98 and as *Trevarak* in 110.50. She *may* be identical with *Elizabeth* who appears as prioress in Early Chancery Proceeding 58.180, or this may refer to her predecessor Isabella Burghe; though there is time for an intervening Elizabeth, as this action was brought at some date between 1475-85.

Canonleigh. Alice Parker occurs as Prioress on De Banco Roll No. 882 (Michaelmas 1482).

*Sir John Windham inherited through his mother Florence, third sister of Nicholas Wadham of Edge esquire and wife of John Windham [Pole, *Collections for Devon* p. 14].

In the Exchequer Special Commissions of Enquiry (Elizabeth) 3224 is the return rendered by Bp. William Alley or Allein of Exeter, dated 20th January, 1570, *i.e.* three months before his death, containing 46 entries, from which the following abstracts are made :—

Alicia Bonde, nun of Canonsleigh and pensioner, died at Membury 1st January, 1547.

Agnes Bratton, nun, died 15th July, 1551.

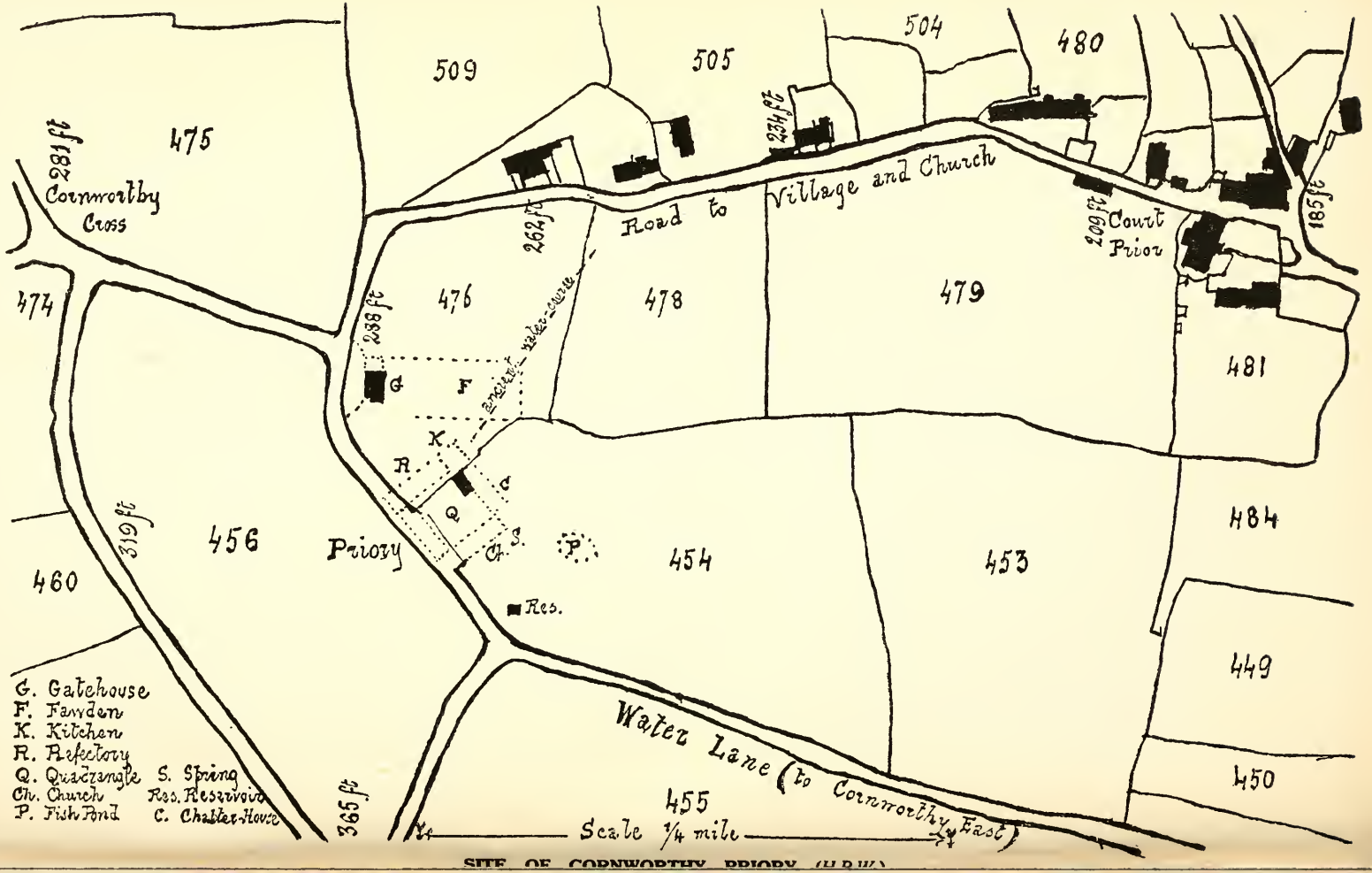
Agnes Pynye, nun, died 12th February, 1559.

(Alice Bonde, Agnes Pery and Agnes Bratton, nuns of Canonsleigh Priory, were each granted £4 pension on the surrender of the house on 16 Feb., 1539. Oliver, *Monasticon Dioc. Exon.*, p. 226).

Maria Pomerye, nun of Polsloe, died after the festival of St. Michael, 1566. (Elsewhere in the return she is said to have died at Cornworthie).

Avicia Worthe, nun of Polsloe, died at the festival of St. Michael, 1566.

(Aleys Worthy was, with the Prioress and 12 other nuns, pensioned on the dissolution of Polsloe Priory on the 20th February, 1539, and received £4 annually ; which sum she was still receiving in 1556. Oliver, *Mon. Dioc. Exon.* p. 168. Maria Pomeroy does not occur among the Polsloe pensioners. The list of the last nuns of Cornworthy is not as yet known).



SITE OF CORNWORTHY PRIORY (H.B.W.)

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