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ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES

OF

LONDON AND ITS SUBURBS

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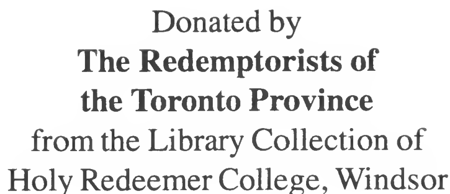

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ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES

OF

London and its Suburbs.

BY

ALEXANDER WOOD, M.A. OXON.
OF THE SOMERSET ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

'O, who the ruine sees, whom wonder doth not fill
With our great fathers' pompe, devotion, and their skill.'

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TO

GENERAL T. L. KANE,

OF KANE, PENNSYLVANIA,

These Pages

ARE DEDICATED IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF

MUCH THOUGHTFUL KINDNESS.

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PREFACE.

The pages here presented to the reader demand little by way of preface. A work exclusively devoted to the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Metropolis has long been a desideratum. But when we proposed to ourselves to supply this deficiency, many difficulties presented themselves.

It is simply impossible for a writer who has only his leisure time to devote to historical inquiries to compete with those who have their whole time at command. At first sight it may appear that it is merely a question of time — that the work is done slowly in the one case, quickly in the other. But it is not so. If a man has turned his efforts to attain mastery over any one subject, he has probably crippled them when he would address himself to another, though his natural taste for it may be keen and strong as ever. His thoughts do not run, his words do not flow. What is interesting to him he fails to make interesting to a reader. He can

but state what, under other circumstances, he might have enforced and illustrated; his range is narrower; he can but catch here and there at the system that should have been the basis of the whole. He sees too minutely objects in the foreground, whilst the distance is obscure; he misses the bearing of a fact, or, on the other hand, mistakes the exception for the rule. He is now over-cautious, now over-bold.

So sensible have we been of these disadvantages, that the hesitation we felt has been a serious impediment to the progress of the work. We would present it to the reader as architectural and antiquarian only. History is cognisant of the past and the present; our task is concerned with the past alone. Of what the present is, we cannot be but sensible; and in turning our thoughts to the subject of antiquities we may find the consolation the Roman historian* thought to extract from the pages of history — freedom 'from the sight of the evils our age these many years has seen,' and from the 'care that, if insufficient to divert the writer's mind from truth, may yet serve to fill it with anxiety.' To no reflecting historian can this be the 'reward of his labour;' to the antiquarian and architectural

* Livy, liber i. 4.

writer it may. He has to do merely with the remnants of history, with the drift of time. As Bacon says:* 'Antiquitates, seu historiarum reliquiæ, sunt tanquam tabulæ naufragii, cum, deficiente et fere submersa rerum memoria, nihilominus homines industrii et sagaces, pertinaci quadam et scrupulosa diligentia, ex genealogiis, fastis, titulis, monumentis, numismatibus, nominibus propriis et stylis, verborum etymologiis, proverbiis, traditionibus, archivis, et instrumentis tam publicis quam privatis, historiarum fragmentis, librorum neutiquam historicorum locis dispersis: ex his, inquam, omnibus vel aliquibus, nonnulla a temporis diluvio eripiunt et conservant.'

* *De Augmentis Scientiæ*, lib. ii. c. 6.

ITINERARY.

FIRST WALK.

Holborn, Holborn-viaduct, Giltspur-street, West Smithfield, Smithfield-bar, St. John's-lane, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell-close, Great Aylesbury-street, St. John's-street, Great Sutton-street, Whitecross-street, Charterhouse-square, Aldersgate-street, Fore-street, London-wall, Winchester-street, Austin Friars, Old Broad-street, Wormwood-street, Bishopsgate-street, Spital-square, Cornhill, Leadenhall-street, Billiter-street, Hart-street, Crutched Friars, Seething-lane, Great Tower-street. (Pages 1-60.)

SECOND WALK.

Great Tower-hill, Postern-row, Little Tower-hill, Upper East Smithfield, Nightingale-lane, Burr-street, Lower East Smithfield, St. Katharine's Wharf, Lower Thames-street, London-bridge, Tooley-street, Bermondsey-street, Magdalen-street, College-street, Crucifix-street, returning by London-bridge. (Pages 61-99.)

THIRD WALK.

Upper Thames-street, Dowgate, Walbrook, Bucklersbury, Soper-lane, Queen-street, Cheapside, St. Martin's-le-Grand, Aldersgate-street. (Pages 100-126.)

FOURTH WALK.

Newgate, Old Bailey, Ludgate-hill, St. Paul's-churchyard, Watling-street, Bread-street, Cannon-street, Trinity-lane, Fish-street, Knightrider's-street, St. Andrew's-hill, Earl-street, Chatham-place. (Pages 127-181.)

FIFTH WALK.

Fleet-street, the Strand, Charing-cross, Spring-gardens, St. James's-park, Whitehall. (Pages 182-215.)

SIXTH WALK.

Westminster, and by Westminster-bridge to Lambeth. (Pages 216-270.)

SEVENTH WALK.

The River—by Chelsea, Fulham, Hammersmith, Chiswick, Barnes, Mortlake, Brentford, Isleworth, Richmond, Twickenham, Teddington, Kingston, Hampton-court, returning by Kensington. (Pages 271-315.)

EIGHTH WALK.

Tyburn, Duke-street, Manchester-square, Manchester-street, George-street, Charles-street, Spanish-place, Marylebone, High-street, York-gate, Regent's-park [St. John's-wood-road, Maida-hill-road, Edgware-road, Kilburn,* Verulam-place, Hall-place, Circus-road, St. John's-wood-terrace, Avenue-road], Primrose-hill, Gloucester-road, Mornington-road, Hampstead-road, Harrington-square, Charles-street, Clarendon-square, Phœnix-street, Church-row, Old St. Pancras-churchyard, Pancras-street, King's-cross [Pentonville-road, High-street (Islington*), Holloway-road, Crouch-end], Hornsey, Finchley, Highgate, Upper Holloway, Hampstead, Hampstead-road, Tottenham-court-road, St. Giles's-in-the-fields, High-street (St. Giles's), Lincoln's-inn-fields, Holborn, Castle-street (Holborn). (Pages 316-365.)

NINTH WALK.

Stepney, Old-road, World's-end, Bow-common (by the side of Regent's-canal), Mile-end-road, Bow-road, Poplar (accessible by rail from Bow), Bromley (on the Tilbury line), Hackney (by rail from Bow), Mare-street, Cambridge-heath-road, Bethnal-green-road, Bishopsgate-street, Old-street. (Pages 366-382.)

* We are bound to mention Kilburn Priory, but the site is not worth a visit. Nor is there anything to be seen at Islington; so that the best way is to go from King's-cross to Finsbury-park, and visit Hornsey, &c., from there.

EXTRACT FROM FITZSTEPHEN'S DESCRIPTION OF LONDON.

Amongst the noble Cities of the World, honoured by Fame, the City of London is the one principal Seat of the Kingdom of England, whose Renown is spread abroad very far; but she transporteth her Wares and Commodities much farther, and advanceth her Head so much the higher. Happy she is in the Wholesomeness of the Air, in the Christian Religion, her Munition also and Strength, the Nature of her Situation, the Honour of her Citizens, the Chastity of her Matrons. . . . . . There is in the Church of St. Paul a Bishop's See, it was formerly a Metropolitan, and as it is thought, shall recover the said Dignity again, if the Citizens shall return back into the Island; except, perhaps, the Archiepiscopal Title of St. Thomas the Martyr, and his bodily Presence, do perpetuate this Honour to Canterbury, where now his Reliques are. But seeing St. Thomas hath graced both these Cities, namely, London with his Birth, and Canterbury with his Death; one Place may alledge more against the other, in Respect of that Saint, with the Accession of Holiness. Now, concerning the Worship of God in the Christian Faith: There are in London and in the Suburbs 13 greater Conventual Churches, besides 126 lesser Parish Churches. . . . . It hath on the East Part a Tower Palatine, very large and very strong; whose Court and Walls rise up from a deep Foundation: the Morter is tempered with the Blood of Beasts. On the West are two Castles well fenced. The Wall of the City is high and great, continued with seven Gates, which are made double, and on the North distinguished with Turrets by Spaces. Likewise on the South, London hath been enclosed with Walls and Towers, but the large River of Thames, well stored with Fish, and in which the Tide ebbs and flows, by continuance of Time, hath washed, worn away, and cast down those Walls. Farther, above in the West Part, the King's Palace is eminently seated upon the same River; an incomparable Building, having a Wall before it, and some Bulwarks: It is two Miles from the City, continued with a Suburb full of People.

Everywhere without the Houses of the Suburbs, the Citizens have Gardens and Orchards planted with Trees,

large, beautiful, and one joyning to another. . . . . . On the North Side are Fields for Pasture, and open Meadows, very pleasant; among which the River Waters do flow. . . . Very near lieth a large Forest, in which are Woody Groves of wild Beasts. . . . . . There are also about London, on the North of the Suburbs, choice Fountains of Water, sweet, wholesome, and clear, streaming forth among the glistening Pebble Stones: In this Number, Holywell, Clerkenwell, and Saint Clement's Well, are of most Note. . . . . Without one of the Gates is a certain Field, plain both in Name and Situation [Smithfield]. . . . . I think there is no City that hath more approved Customs, for frequenting the Churches, for honouring God's Ordinances, observing of Holidays, giving Alms, entertaining Strangers, Confirmation of Contracts, making up and celebrating of Marriages, setting out of Feasts, welcoming the Guests; and, moreover, in Funeral Rites, and Burying of the Dead.

Moreover almost all Bishops, Abbots, and Noblemen of England, are, as it were, Citizens and Freemen of London. There they have fair Dwellings. . . . . London, instead of common Interludes belonging to the Theatres, hath Plays of a more holy Subject; Representations of those Miracles which the holy Confessors wrought, or of the Sufferings wherein the glorious Constancy of Martyrs did appear . . . . in the Times of Christianity, it brought forth the noble Emperor Constantine, who gave the City of Rome and all the Imperial Arms to God, and to St. Peter, and Silvester the Pope, whose Stirrup he refused not to hold, and pleased rather to be called, Defender of the Holy Roman Church, than Emperor any more. And lest the Peace of our Lord the Pope should suffer any Disturbance, by the Noise of secular Affairs, he left the City, and bestowed it on the Pope, and founded the City of Constantinople for his own Habitation. London also in these latter Times hath brought forth famous and magnificent Princes: Maud the Empress, King Henry the Third, and Thomas the Archbishop, a glorious Martyr of Christ, than whom no Man was more innocent, or more devoted to the general Good of the Latin World.

ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF LONDON.

First Walk.

FROM HOLBORN TO ALL HALLOWS BARKING.

> 'For first I frayned the freres, and they me full tolden,
> That all the fruyt of the fayth was in her foure orders,
> And the cofres of Christendom, and the keie bothen
> And the lock of byleve lyeth locken in her hondes.'

On our ecclesiological survey of London we shall start from Holborn, which the eminent reviver of Gothic architecture, Pugin, has chosen as the site on which one would best stand to form an estimate of the ancient ecclesiastical glory of the metropolis :

'Where we now behold the city of London, with its narrow lanes, lined with lofty warehouses and gloomy stores, leading down to the banks of the muddy Thames, whose waters are blackened with foul discharges from gas-works and soap-boilers, while the

air is darkened with the dense smoke of chimneys rising high above the parish steeples, which mark the site of some ancient church destroyed in the great conflagration, it is difficult to realise even the existence of those venerable and beautiful fabrics where the citizens of London assembled in daily worship. . . This great and ancient city was inferior to none in noble religious buildings; and in the sixteenth century the traveller who approached London from the west, by the way called "Oldbourne," and arriving at the brow of the steep hill, must have had a most splendid prospect before him.

'To the right, the parish church of St. Andrew, rising most picturesquely from the steep declivity, and surrounded by elms, with its massive tower, decorated nave, and still later chancel. On the left, the extensive buildings of Ely House—its great gateway, embattled walls, lofty chapel and refectory, and numerous other lodgings and offices, surrounded by pleasant gardens, as yet unalienated from the ancient see after which it was called—must have presented a most venerable and ecclesiastical appearance. Further in the same direction might be perceived the gilded spire of St. John's Church of Jerusalem, and the Norman towers of St. Bartholomew's Priory. Immediately below was the Fleet river, with its bridge, and the masts of the various craft moored along the quays. At the summit of the opposite hill, the lofty tower of St. Sepul-

chre's, which, though greatly deteriorated in beauty, still remains. In the same line, and over the embattled parapets of the New Gate, the noble church of the Greyfriars, inferior in extent only to the cathedral of St. Paul, whose gigantic spire, the highest in the world, rose majestically from the centre of a cruciform church nearly seven hundred feet in length, and whose grand line of high roof and pinnacled buttresses stood high above the group of gabled houses, and even the towers of the neighbouring churches. If we terminate the panorama with the arched lantern of St. Mary-le-Bow, the old tower of St. Michael, Cornhill, and a great number of lesser steeples, we shall have a faint idea of the ecclesiastical beauty of ancient London.'

We shall confine our attention for the most part to the structures that—marred and defaced it may be—are yet genuine survivors of the gigantic catastrophe that laid London low. If the holy and beautiful houses that were once the chief ornaments of the city have, in many instances, been burned with fire, those that yet remain are well worthy of the earnest attention of the ecclesiologist.

Holborn (the bourne in the hole or hollow) derives its name from a stream that, rising at Holborn-bars—close by Brook-street—ran down to Holborn-bridge, a stone structure that spanned the Fleet.

The original establishments of the Templars and

of the Dominicans were in Holborn. The Templars came to England about the beginning of Stephen's reign, and founded the *Old Temple* on the site of the present *Southampton Buildings*. When some old houses were removed on this site a century ago, the remains of the Templar church were discovered. It was circular and built of Caen stone.

The Dominicans' or Blackfriars' house was near Lincoln's-inn. The community resided here fifty-five years, till in 1276 Gregory Roksley, Mayor, assigned them a piece of ground in the ward of Castle Baynard.

Gray's-inn, or the Manor of Portpoole, four messuages, four gardens, the site of a windmill, eight acres of land, ten shillings of free rent, and the advowson of the chantry of Portpoole, were sold by Lord Gray of Wilton to Hugh Denny, his heirs and assigns, in 1505. The manor then passed into the hands of the prior and convent of East Sheen, in Surrey, who leased it to law-students. This lease was renewed, when, at the dissolution, Gray's-inn passed into the possession of the Crown.

St. Andrew's, Holborn, was sufficiently far west to escape the fire, but has been rebuilt by Wren. As the lower part of the tower still remains from the former structure, we shall include this church in our survey. The date of the foundation of the church is uncertain. In 1297 it was given by Gladerinus, a priest, to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, on con-

dition that the abbot and monks of St. Saviour's, at Bermondsey, should hold it of them. The church contained four altars, if not more. The steeple was commenced in 1446, but not completed until 1468, in which space of time the north and south aisles were rebuilt. The tower reached the height of one hundred and ten feet; recapped and set off with pine-apples at the corners, its Gothic origin is not yet wholly obscured. It may be classed with that of St. Clement Danes in the Strand, a church, like St. Andrew's, too far west to be injured by the fire, though subsequently rebuilt.*

The locality through which we are passing suggests to memory the following narrative of the days of the persecution of Catholics. Thomas Holford, or Acton, a Catholic priest, who had already made a hairbreadth escape, was apprehended in Cheshire in 1587; and, after confinement there, was carried by two pursuivants to London. Here he was kept at the Bell or the Exchequer Inn in Holborn, it is not certain which. He thus effected his escape: he rose at five o'clock in the morning, pulled a yellow stocking over one of his legs, wearing his white boot hose on

* St. Andrew's, Holborn, 2d of Elizabeth: 'In the first and second year of her Majestie's reign, all the altars and superstitious things set up in Queen Marie's days, were now again (to God's glory) pulled down' (Nicholl, *Lond. Red.* vol. ii. 187). 1st Edward VI.: '36*s.* were received from brass taken from the tombs.'

the other, and so attired walked up and down his apartment. His keepers had been drinking hard the night before ; but one of them now looked up, and seeing the prisoner so employed, fell asleep again. The priest descended to the hall, where he encountered the tapster, whose inquiries he succeeded in diverting, and went by the Conduit in Holborn to Gray's-inn-fields. Here he divested himself of his stocking and boot hose. Between ten and eleven at night he found his way to Mr. Davis, a priest, some eight miles from London. The wayfarer was famished with hunger, whilst his feet and legs were torn by briers and streaming with blood. The family with whom Mr. Davis was residing showed all needful hospitality.

It were well that the narrative ended here; but we learn that in the following year (1588) Mr. Holford came to London to buy clothes, when his steps were dogged by Hodgkins, the pursuivant, who apprehended him at his tailor's. He had just said Mass at Mr. Swithin Wells', near St. Andrew's, Holborn. He was executed on the 28th August at Clerkenwell.

There is a sequel to this chronicle of blood. Mr. Edmund Genings, a priest, agreed with Mr. Polydore Plasden, who had been a fellow-collegian of his at Rheims, that they should say Matins together on the octave of All Saints, and afterwards celebrate at Mr. Swithin Wells' house. Mr. Genings had proceeded as far as the consecration, Mr. Plasden and Mr. White,

another priest, assisting him, when Topcliffe, the well-known priest-catcher, and other officers burst in. Mr. Genings was taken in his vestments, and with the rest, some ten in number, carried to Newgate. Mr. Wells, who had not been present, was imprisoned on his venturing to expostulate with Justice Yonge. All were sentenced to be executed at Tyburn, with the exception of Mr. Wells and Mr. Genings, who were to suffer in Gray's-inn-fields before Mr. Wells' door. Mrs. Wells was reprieved, to her sorrow, and died in prison. At the scaffold, Mr. Genings, like St. Andrew, joyfully saluted the gibbet prepared for him. His sufferings were great, as the rope was cut immediately; and as he was dismembered he cried out, 'O, it smarts!' Mr. Wells answered, 'Alas, sweet soul, thy pain is great indeed, but almost past; pray for me now, most holy saint, that mine may come.' When it came to his turn he urged Topcliffe to use dispatch, adding, 'I pray God make you of a Saul a Paul, of a persecutor a Catholic professor.' At the date of these occurrences, Gray's-inn-fields still had the character the name indicates.*

Crossing the street from St. Andrew's and proceeding a little further east, we come to *Ely Chapel, Ely-place, Holborn,* the sole remaining relic of the town residence of the Bishop of Ely. It was founded

* These narratives will be found in Challoner's *Missionary Priests.*

by the Bishop John de Kirkely, who died at the close of the thirteenth century, and was added to by his successor, William de Luda, who furnished three chaplains for the service of this chapel, dedicated to St. Etheldreda, the patroness of Ely. John de Hotham made further additions in 1336; and Thomas de Arundel rebuilt the whole in 1374, with the exception of the chapel. The last-named added the gate-house. The remains of the palace were swept away towards the end of the last century; the chapel alone remains.

The east front of the chapel—the only part that can be now seen to advantage externally—has a window of six lights. The head is filled with geometric tracery. On each side of this window is a trefoil-headed niche. A trefoiled circle fills the gable. Formerly there were turrets with pinnacles at the angles of this front. The west window, which can only be viewed internally, is of even better design than the eastern. The side windows have lost their tracery. On the south side is a beautiful doorway. There are no buttresses.

John of Gaunt died at Ely-place in 1399. It does not come within our scope to relate the later history of Ely-place, eventful though it is. There is a drawing of Ely-place in Pugin's *Contrasts*. The once rural situation of Ely-place is indicated by the name of Field-lane leading to Saffron-hill, and the vines

that long flourished in this locality have left their name to Vine-street. Yet another fruit flourished at Ely-place:

> '*Gloucester.* When I was last in Holborn,
> I saw good strawberries in your garden there:
> I do beseech you send for some of them.
> *Ely.* Marry, and will, my lord, with all my heart.'*

The Mystery of 'Christ's Passion' was 'performed at Elie House in Holborne, when Gundomar (the Spanish Ambassador) lay there, on Good Friday at night, at which there were thousands present.'† Some of the victims of the 'Fatal Vespers' at Hundsdon House, Blackfriars, were buried in ground belonging to Count Gundomar and used as a place of interment; 'Lady Web was one, the Lady Blackstone's daughter another, and one Mistris Udal a third.'‡

Crossing the Holborn-viaduct, we reach *St. Sepulchre's*, Snow-hill. Though St. Sepulchre's was external to the walls, it fell a victim to the fire, and has been rebuilt, with the exception of the outer walls of the aisles, the tower (since remodelled) and the beautiful porch with its parvise, built by one of the Pophams, Chancellor of Normandy and treasurer of the king's household; the foundation dates from 1100. The church, previous to the fire, was

* Shakespeare, *Richard III.* act iii. scene 4.
† Prynne's *Histriomastix*, p. 117.
‡ From a rare pamphlet in the writer's possession.

wholly of the middle of the fifteenth century. The south porch, groined with bosses, is of two bays, and lighted on the eastern side by two windows of two lights each with perpendicular tracery.

If a restorer could be found to disengage old from new in this porch, he would leave a jewel in the head of this most uncouth church. Conservative restoration would also find an appropriate field for its exercise in the chapel we visited and admired in Ely-place.

St. Sepulchre's belonged to St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield. A brotherhood was established at St. Sepulchre's in honour of the Immaculate Conception, in Richard II.'s time.

On Corpus Christi, May 24th, 1554, the Sacrament was carried about in procession through St. Sepulchre's parish and Smithfield. A man named West, a joiner, it is recorded by Machyn in his *Diary*, tried to snatch the monstrance from the hands of the priest, and drew his dagger in the scuffle that ensued.

Harpsfield, the Archdeacon of London and Bonner's chaplain, imprisoned after Elizabeth's succession for refusing the oath of supremacy, retired to the house of a priest in St. Sepulchre's parish, dying here in 1579.

Giltspur or Knight-riders'-street (names that tell us of mediæval tournaments) brings us to one of the finest buildings on our list—*St. Bartholomew the*

Great, West Smithfield. But we must delay for a moment. As we pass beneath the western wall of *Christ's Hospital,* we may recall the history of the religious house that formerly occupied this site (the market-place of St. Nicholas, Farringdon Within). The Grey Friars dates from Christmas 1220, when it was founded by John Ewen, a mercer, a lay brother of the order, Brother Henry de Cervise being appointed guardian. In 1306 the church was rebuilt on a larger scale, and dedicated to St. Francis; Margaret, daughter of Philip the Hardy, second Queen of Edward I.; Philippa, Queen of Edward III.; and Elizabeth, the Queen-mother, contributing largely to the expense. There were chapels of our Lady, the Holy Apostles, and All Saints. Gilbert de Wyke, John Latmestre, Walter de Burgo, and Matthew Gayton were among those who entered the fraternity. The nave was rebuilt by John de Bretagne, Duke of Richmond, who also provided the hangings and vestments, and a gold chalice for the high altar. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, gave twenty great beams for the roof from his forest at Tunbridge. This church was inferior in extent to St. Paul's Cathedral alone of metropolitan churches. It was 300 feet in length, 89 in breadth, and 64 feet 2 inches from the ground to the roof. The ceiling of the church was painted. The Lord Mayor, William Walleys, built a large portion of the earlier church.

The chapter-house, dormitory, refectory, infirmary, and original library were built by William Porter, George Bokesley, Bartholomew de Castello, Peter de Haliland, and Roger Bond.

The mendicant orders were honourably distinguished by their zeal for literature. Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, says of them in his *Philobiblion* :* 'When, indeed, we happened to turn aside to the towns and places where the aforesaid mendicants had convents, we were not slack in visiting their chests and other repositories of books; for there, amid the deepest poverty, we found the most exalted riches treasured up; there, in their satchels and caskets, we discovered not only the crumbs that had fallen from the Master's table for the little dogs, but, indeed, the shew-bread without leaven, the bread of angels containing all that is delectable.' The celebrated Mayor, Richard Whittington, our London Canynge, rebuilt the library in 1429, and supplied it with desks and seats for students. This library was 129 feet in length, by 31 in breadth. It was wainscoted all about, and had 'twenty-eight desks and twenty-eight settles of wainscot.' Whittington gave 400*l.* for books, and for the 'writing out of Brother Doctor de Lyra's works in two volumes, to be chained there, one hundred marks.'

The Earl of Richmond, the Countess of Pem-

* Cit. John Hill Burton, *The Book-Hunter, &c.* p. 190.

broke, the Lady Margaret Segrave, the Countess of Norfolk, and many others were among the benefactors. William Taylor, shoemaker to King Henry III., supplied the Greyfriars with means for supplying the convent with 'water-course and conduit-head.'

In the church were buried four queens: the above-named Margaret, wife of Edward I.; Isabel, wife of Edward II. (a great benefactor), Joan of the Tower, his daughter, wife of David Bruce, King of Scotland; and Isabel, wife of Sir William Fitzwarren, at one time Queen of the Isle of Man. Beside these were buried four duchesses, four countesses, one duke, two earls, eight barons, thirty-five knights, and other persons of distinction.

In the choir were nine tombs of alabaster and marble with iron rails, one high tomb in the nave was coped with iron, and there were 140 gravestones of marble inlaid with brass effigies.

The Priory was dissolved in 1538, and granted by Henry VIII. to his Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley, from whose hands it passed into those of the Corporation of London. Brother John Chapman, the guardian, and twenty-five friars were expelled. Henry VIII. made the Greyfriars a store for French prizes, and sold or destroyed the monuments, but, 'touched with remorse,' restored the church to worship. The church perished in the fire of 1666. The nave occupied the site of the present playground of Christ's

Hospital, the choir that of Christ Church, Newgate-street. With the present parish of Christ Church are consolidated those of St. Nicholas in the shambles and St. Ewen in Newgate-market. There are some scanty remains of the cloister of this one of the earliest and the most important Franciscan house in England. A sketch shows two-light perpendicular windows, with buttresses between and deep arches below. The site of the Greyfriars has, we believe, been purchased by a railway company.*

It will be remembered that the Franciscans, Cordeliers, or Grey Friars, owe their origin to St. Francis of Assisi in Umbria—'*Tutto Serafico in ardore,*' as Dante describes him. Their founder's choice of holy poverty as his bride determined the character of the order. Wherever they settled—at London, at York, at Lynn, at Bristol, at Oxford, at Warwick—the Franciscans reared their monastery in the lower parts of the towns, or herded with the unprotected multitude outside the city-walls. Their London house was situated among the slaughter-houses of the quarter. 'There,' says Stow, 'is Stinking-lane so called, or Chick-lane, *at the east end of the Grey Friars' Church*, and there is the Butchers' Hall.'†

* There are interesting notices of the Greyfriars in *St. Francis and the Franciscans* (Burns and Oates).

† Cf. Dr. Pauli's *Pictures of Old England;* chapter on the mendicant orders.

> 'He was not yet much distant from his rising,
> When his good influence 'gan to bless the earth.
> A dame to whom none openeth pleasure's gate,
> More than to death, was, 'gainst his father's will,
> His stripling choice: and he did make her his
> Before the spiritual court, by nuptial bonds,
> And in his father's sight: from day to day,
> Then loved her more devoutly. She, bereaved
> Of her first husband, slighted and obscure,
> Thousand and hundred years and more, remain'd
> Without a single suitor till he came.
> . . . . . . Not to deal
> Thus closely with thee longer, take at large
> The lover's titles, Poverty and Francis.
> . . . . . . The season come, that he,
> Who to such good had destined him, was pleased
> T' advance him to the meed, which he had earn'd
> By his self-humbling, to his brotherhood,
> As their just heritage, he gave in charge
> His dearest lady; and enjoin'd their love
> And faith to her.'*

Bossuet makes Francis thus address his bride: 'My dear Poverty, low as is thine extraction according to human judgment, I esteem thee as my Master hath wedded thee.' A happy repetition of the thought of Dante.

In the Franciscan as in the Dominican order (besides the professed friars and nuns) was a Tertiary or third order of penitence, including persons of both sexes and of all ranks of life. Queen Katharine, the consort of Henry VIII. (a penitent of Friar Forest), was a Franciscan Tertiary. John

* Cary's *Dante:* Paradise, canto xi.

Genings, the younger brother of the Father Genings mentioned above, was the restorer of the Franciscan province. He received the seal from Father Stanney. The community, first assembled at Gravelines, was transferred to Douay, where the Convent of St. Bonaventure was established. In 1629, Father Genings became provincial, and in the following year the first chapter was held at Brussels.

St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield, was founded by Rahere, minstrel to Henry I., who was the first canon and prior. Repenting the sins of his early life, Rahere went on pilgrimage to Rome. He was there attacked by sickness, and under its influence made a vow that, if he recovered, he should found a hospital for the sick poor. On his return to England, it is related that St. Bartholomew appeared to him in a vision, and bid him build a church in Smithfield. Rahere had to obtain the royal consent, as the spot thus pointed out was the king's market. The site of the church was a marsh, for the most part covered by water, save where the common gallows stood. The Elms in Smithfield continued to be a place of execution for some centuries after the erection of the Austin canons' house. Rahere used his popular manner and powers of persuasion to the best effect, and the church arose, in spite of all difficulties, by contributions supplied by all classes of the people. The king granted the priory many privileges. The Cottonian

MS. relates that numerous miracles were wrought in the monastery during Rahere's life, and that even after the holy founder's death the blind had their sight restored and the sick were made whole by a visit to the place.

Matthew Paris gives a singular account of a conflict between the Archbishop of Canterbury with his attendants and the sub-prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's, who denied the archbishop's right to visit their church. This occurred a hundred years after the foundation. 'Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his visitation came to this priory, when, being received with procession in the most solemn wise, he said that he passed not upon the honour, but came to visit them. To whom the canons answered, that they, having a learned bishop, ought not, in contempt of him, to be visited by any other; which answer so much offended the archbishop, that he forthwith fell upon the subprior, and smote him on the face, saying, "Indeed, indeed! doth it become you English traitors so to answer?" Thus raging (with oaths not to be recited), he rent into pieces the rich cope of the sub-prior, and trod it under his feet, and thrust him against a pillar of the chancel with such violence that he had almost killed him. But the canons, seeing their sub-prior thus almost slain, came and plucked off the archbishop with such force, that they overthrew him back-

wards, whereby they might see he was armed and prepared to fight. The archbishop's men, seeing their master down, being all strangers and their master's countrymen, born at Provence, fell upon the canons, beat them, tore them, and trod them under foot. At length the canons, getting away as well as they could, ran, bloody and miry, rent, and torn, to the Bishop of London, to complain; who bade them go to the king at Westminster and tell him thereof; whereupon four of them went thither; the rest were not able, they were so sore hurt, But when they came to Westminster, the king would neither hear nor see them. In the mean season the whole city was in an uproar, and ready to have rung the common bell, and to have hewed the archbishop into small pieces; who was secretly crept to Lambeth, where they sought him, and, not knowing him by sight, said to themselves, "Where is that ruffian, that cruel smiter? He is no winner of souls, but an exacter of money, whom neither God nor any lawful or free election did bring to this promotion; but the king did unlawfully intrude him; being unlearned, a stranger born, &c."'

Literary disputations were held in the churchyard of St. Bartholomew's, which was also the scene of a cloth fair of world-wide reputation. A court of 'Pie-powder' was held for the speedy settlement of the disputes that arose during the 'fair.' The

monastery was suppressed in the thirteenth year of Henry VIII. The bells were sold to St. Sepulchre's and the church demolished, with the exception of the remaining fragment, termed in the grant to Sir Richard Rich 'that part of the said church of the late said monastery or priory which remains raised and built.' During Queen Mary's reign, St. Bartholomew's was endowed for 'Black Friars,' who began to rebuild the nave. They were ejected in the first year of Elizabeth, who made a second grant of the church and monastery to the same Sir Richard, then Lord Rich, ancestor of the Earls of Warwick and Holland. Canonbury, Islington, was the canons' country house, and remained in their hands till the dissolution. Prior Bolton's rebus—a bolt or arrow for the cross-bow, and tun—appears on the 'old monastic tower' and park walls at Canonbury. Prior Bolton is considered by some to have been the architect of Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster.

The Austin or Black Canons, who, as we have seen, were the first occupants of St. Bartholomew's, came to England in the reign of Henry I. Their order was founded in the pontificate of Alexander II. In England they had 170 houses as important as they were numerous. We have only to mention Gisborough, Bolton, Bridlington, Newstead, Kenilworth, Bristol, and Walsingham to convey a

lively impression of the dignity and splendour of the order. Their costume—from which their name was derived—was a black cassock with cloak or hood.

At the entrance to what is now the churchyard, formerly the nave of St. Bartholomew's, is a very rich first-pointed doorway, with four shafts on either side and three rows of dog-tooth moulding. Nothing now remains of the monastic buildings, though beautiful fragments of the cloisters existed as late as 1815. *Middlesex-passage* led under one compartment.

The choir has six bays with a triforium, a clerestory, and an apse, round which the aisles are continued in an ambulatory.

There is a brick tower of the seventeenth century at the west end of the south aisle. The four grand arches that supported the great lantern remain. Opening into each transept a large arch springs from clustered columns; that which formerly led into the nave, and that opening to the choir, spring from sculptured corbels. The arches east and west are circular, the north and south are pointed. The lantern resting on these arches was oblong, and pointed arches are employed north and south as of narrower span. This incidental use of the pointed arch is interesting. A signal instance of such intermixture occurs at Kelso in Scotland,* and in the round of the

* See Billings' *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland.*

Temple Church. In the spandrels of these arches are lozenge-shaped panels containing ornaments similar to the Greek acanthus. A chapel stood to the east of the south transept, which gave access to it. Norman remains of the south transept are seen in Whichelow's sketch (1803). Whichelow also gives a sketch of the ruins of the monastery.

Entering the choir, we find it separated from its aisles by two piers and a series of pillars. These have the usual cushion-shaped caps. The arches are adorned by the billet moulding, carried in some instances along the cap of the columns underneath till it meets the descending moulding of the next arch. The arches of the triforium include the entire bay, and are subdivided into four smaller arches resting on engaged shafts. These are equal in height, and the vacant space between them and the enclosing arch is left plain. The clerestory has recessed pointed-headed windows. Vaulting shafts are carried through the clerestory and triforium. The present roof (of timber) is divided into compartments by a tie-beam and king-post. The aisles have plain quadripartite vaulting. The east end was till lately partitioned off as a charnel-house. J. T. Smith in his etching of 1810 shows part of the apse with fine Norman work with Roman vaulting. The east end of St. Bartholomew's bore the traditional name of 'Purgatory.' The partition, now removed, between this and the

rest of the church, probably erected, in part at least, by Prior Bolton, was found some forty years ago to be painted in water-colours of a bright red, spotted with black stars. May we conjecture these last to have been of tarnished metal? Falstaff says (*Henry IV.* part ii. sc. 1), 'A pretty slight drollery, or the story of the Prodigal, or the German hunting in water-work, is worth a thousand of these bed-hangings and these fly-bitten tapestries.' A chamber in the palace at Winchester was painted green with gold stars.* We are probably near the mark in supposing that Prior Bolton built, as was common in his age, an altar-screen (or reredos), subsequently extended so as to cut off the ambulatory from the aisles, and that when the ancient burial-ground of the priory was disturbed, its contents were thrown into this place. *Valeat quantum.* At the east end of the south aisle is the old vestry, similar in character to the aisles, and probably of the same early date. One of the openings of the triforium is occupied by a bay or oriel. It communicated with the priory to the south, so that the prior could unobserved watch his monks in choir. It bears Bolton's rebus. Bolton was prior from 1506 till 1532. But enough has been said 'of Prior Bolton, with his bolt and ton.'†

To the north of the choir is the monument of Rahere, with the simple inscription: 'Hic jacet

* Cf. Godwin's *Churches of London.* † Ben Jonson.

Raherus: primus Canonicus, et primus Prior hujus ecclesiæ.' The prior lies beneath a triple canopy, with an angel at his feet, and attendant monks with open books at his side. This monument is said to have been repaired in the time of Henry VIII. All the figures are coloured. There are small perforated openings behind. To the south of the church was the cloister, some hundred feet square, with the refectory to the north, near the transept of the church. The cloister was of stone, with chalk and rubble between the arches of the groining. There was a smaller cloister, as at the 'Grey Friars;' here occupied by the stables and offices of the prior's lodging.

Enclosed by the modern hospital building is *St. Bartholomew the Less.* Rahere associated with himself Alfune, the builder of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, in erecting a hospital for the sick poor in the immediate vicinity of St. Bartholomew the Great. The remaining church of St. Bartholomew the Less was the chapel of the hospital. The tower and west bays of the aisles remain. There is an altar-tomb of William Markby, of London, gentleman, and Alicia his wife, 1439. There were formerly two brass effigies in the habit of pilgrims,* with an inscription that ran:

* For an account of mediæval pilgrims see Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, vol. i. pp. 432-445; and Cutts' *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, pp. 157-175.

'Behold how ended is
The poor pilgrimage
Of John Shirley, Esquire,
And Margaret his wife,' &c.

The date is 1456. Shirley was a traveller and literary collector. There was a monument to Sir Robert Greuil, who 'Passed—to God Almight' 12th April 1308, ending, 'Jesu for his mercy rejoice him with his grace.' At the entrance is a niche with the figure of an angel bearing a shield; beneath are the arms of Edward the Confessor and of England.

Smithfield, or Smoothfield, is rendered remarkable by many historical occurrences of which it was the scene; for the executions of Wallace on St. Bartholomew's-eve, 1305, for that of the 'gentle Mortimer,' and for the death of Wat Tyler at the hands of Sir William Walworth. 'The king stood towards the east near St. Bartholomew's Priory, and the commons towards the west in form of battle.' Tyler's rebellion is thus mentioned by Spelman in his *History and Fate of Sacrilege*:* 'Though the attempts of rebels and traitors be usually suppressed by the power of the prince; yet that notorious rebel Wat Tyler and his confederates prevailed so against King Richard II., that neither his (the king's) authority nor the power of the kingdom could resist them; inasmuch as they became lords of the City and Tower of Lon-

* Page 165, edition of 1698.

don, and had the king himself so far in their disposition, as they got him to come and go, to do and forebear when and what they required. But after they had spoiled and burnt the Monastery of St. John's of Jerusalem, beheaded the Archbishop of Canterbury, and done some other acts of sacrilege, their fortune quickly changed, and their captain, Wat Tyler, being in the greatest height of his glory (with his army behind him to do what he commanded, and the king fearfully before him, not able to resist), was upon the sudden wounded and surprised by the Mayor of London, his prosperous success overturned, and both he and they (whom an army could not earst subdue) are now by the act of a single man utterly broken and discomfited, and justly brought to their deserved execution.'

In Smithfield Latimer preached at the burning of Friar Forest; and here the bloody scenes under Mary took place. 'Doctor John Forest, a Friar Observant' (that is, a reformed Franciscan), 'was apprehended for that in secret confession he had declared to many of the king's subjects that the king was not supreme head of the Church, &c. Upon this point he was examined, and answered that he took his oath with his outward man, but his inner man never consented thereunto. Then being further accused of divers heretical opinions, he submitted himself to the punishment of the Church. . . But when his abjuration was sent him to

read, he utterly refused it: whereupon he was condemned; and afterwards on a pair of new gallows, set up for that purpose in Smithfield, he was hanged by the middle and armpits, quick, and under the gallows was made a fire, wherewith he was burned and consumed on the 22d day of May 1538. There was a scaffold set by the prisoner, whereon was placed Sir Richard Gresham, Lord Mayor of the City, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Lord Admiral, Lord Privy Seal, and divers others of the council, besides a great number of citizens and others. Also a pulpit was there set, in which Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, preached a sermon confuting the friar's errors and moving him to repentance: but all availed not; so that in the end, when the bishop asked him what state he would die in, the friar with a loud voice answered and said, that if an angel should come down from heaven, and teach him any other doctrine than he had received and believed from his youth, he would not now believe him; and that if his body should be cut inch after inch, or member after member, burnt, hanged, or what pains soever should be done to his body, he would never turn from his old profession; more, he said to the bishop that seven years past he durst not have made such a sermon for his life.

'And so he was hanged and burnt, as afore is shown; and a huge great image named Darvell Gat-

herm [the figure of a saint] having been brought out Wales to this gallows in Smithfield, was there burnt with the said Friar Forest.'*

Leaving Smithfield by Smithfield-bars, and proceeding by St. John's-lane, we reach the gateway of St. John's, Clerkenwell.

Clerkenwell derives its name from one of the three wells that were to be found in the suburbs of the ancient London. The two others were Holywell (fons sacer), Shoreditch, and St. Clement's Well (fons Sancti Clementis). The parish clerks of London used to resort to Clerkenwell, and act scenes from Scripture.

The priory was the great establishment of the 'Knights Hospitallers,' who took up their abode here in 1100.† The founders were Jordan Briset and Muriel, his wife. The church was dedicated in 1185 by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, then present in England on a mission from the Holy See. The high altar was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and two other altars to the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist. The original buildings were burnt. The remaining fragments date from the rebuilding, which was not completed till 1504 by Prior Dowcra. The last prior, Sir William Weston, died of grief on the

* Stow's *Chronicle.*

† For a sketch of the history of the order see the *Knights of St. John* (Burns and Oates).

day of the suppression of the priory, the Ascension, 1540. He was buried in the parish Church of St. James, Clerkenwell. In 1539 fifty-seven surrenders of monastic houses were made; but it was in the following year, as we have seen, that the suppression of St. John's took place. It was by the operation of a special act that the ruin of the priory was effected. In Edward VI.'s time the greater part of the church and the great gilt campanile were blown up by gunpowder, and the materials applied to building the Protector Somerset's house in the Strand. Cardinal Pole enclosed the choir and some side chapels, and Sir Thomas Tresham was appointed prior. Two etchings by Hollar show the church as left by Cardinal Pole. A sketch by Whichelow (1804) shows the gable of the church standing. The interior, from a mezzotint (no date), shows fine late Norman arcades, with caps resembling those in the choir at Ripon. From this and an old facsimile plan, there seems to have been a nave, a single aisle, and elongated choir, and there are indications of a tower at the eastern extremity of the aisle, which was to the north of the nave. Of the church only the east wall and the crypt remain. The latter is middle pointed, with octagonal piers and groined arches.

The gateway is inferior to others of perpendicular date in London. It is groined.

The Prior of St. John's was the first Baron of

England. Prior Dowcra granted a lease of Hampton Court to Cardinal Wolsey.

The nunnery at Clerkenwell (of Benedictine or Black Nuns), on the site of the parish church of *St. James* and the close (fourteen acres in extent), was of much the same date as St. John's Priory. The founder was also Jordan Briset. The church of this, St. Mary's, nunnery, or of the Assumption (Beatæ Mariæ de fonte Clericorum), became parochial at the Reformation, when the monuments were rudely scattered about. The remainder of the nunnery passed into the hands of the Duke of Newcastle, who employed the materials in building a mansion (Albemarle or Newcastle House) to the north of the church. Isabel Sackville, the last prioress, died in the twelfth year of the reign of Elizabeth, aged ninety-one. She was related to the Dorset and Buckhurst families, who provided for her in her old age. She even managed to maintain three of her nuns: Mary Lee, Ann Rivers, and Theresa Shaxton. 'Isabel Sackville was a nun in Clerkenwell Priory in the days of Henry VII. She was then young, beautiful, and devoted in her study of cures for ailing children.' So long, and through so many changes, did the prioress live. We know the list of her predecessors in office from the foundation of the house: Ceciliana, Amergd, Haweisia, Cleonora, Alisia, Cecilia, Margery Whatville, Isabell, Alice Oxeney, Annice Marcy, Denys Bras,

Margery Bray, Joan Lewknor, Joan Fulham, Katharine Braybrooke, Lucy Attewood, Joan Viene, Margaret Bakewell, Agnes de Clifford, Katharine Green, Isabel Hussey, Isabel Sackville. Part of the cloister and the nuns' hall long remained.

By Great Sutton and Whitecross streets we reach the *Charterhouse* (Chartreuse), to the west of the upper end of Aldersgate-street. It derives its name from the twenty-four 'Carthusians' (the prior and convent of the house of the 'Salutation of the Mother of God') established here in 1370 by Sir Walter Manny, Knight of the Garter in the reign of Edward III. The site was a pesthouse field, and was purchased by Sir Walter as early as 1349.

Belonging to the Charterhouse was the 'Pardon Churchyard,' for the interment of felons after execution. They were brought in the 'priory cart' of St. John's, Clerkenwell—a close cart covered with black, with a plain white cross thwarting. In front was a St. John's cross; within was a bell that rang as the cart went on its melancholy errand, to give warning to the passers-by.

Sir Walter had entertained the design of founding a college for a dean and twelve secular priests as early as 1360, and obtained a bull from Clement VI. His design was frustrated by the French wars, in which he bore so prominent a part. Sir Walter was aided in his later foundation for Carthusian

monks by a bequest of Michael de Northbury, Bishop of London.

The Carthusians derived their name from the Chartreux, a wild tract near Grenoble in Dauphiny, whither their founder, St. Bruno, retired. St. Bruno was a native of Cologne, and a canon of Rheims; who, to avoid the corruption he saw around him, fixed his retreat, with the permission of the Bishop of Grenoble, in this barren solitude. To the rule of St. Benedict, enjoining poverty, chastity, obedience, and daily labour, the Carthusians united the observance of an almost perpetual silence, of fasting for eight months out of the twelve, of complete abstinence from flesh-meat, and a seclusion at meal-times from each others' society, save on certain festivals. Study and manual labour were enjoined upon them. 'These holy men,' writes Peter of Clugni to Pope Eugenius, 'feast at the table of wisdom; they are entertained at the banquet of the true Solomon; not in superstitions, not in hypocrisy, not in the leaven of malice and wickedness, but in the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.'

In England the Carthusians had nine houses: Eppworth, in Lincolnshire; Belleval, Notts; Henton and Witham, in Somersetshire; Sheen, in Surrey; Coventry, in Warwickshire; Kingston and Mountgrace, in Yorkshire; and the London Charterhouse.

The last prior before the dissolution, John Hough-

ton, with the Carthusian priors of Axholme and Belleval, Augustine Webster, Robert Lawrence, John Hale (the Vicar of Isleworth), and Richard Reynolds —a Brigetine monk of Syon—were found guilty of high treason, for refusing to acknowledge the king's supremacy; and executed at Tyburn, May 4th, 1535. Influenced by threats, they had in the first instance taken the oath, with the condition that their submission was only so far as was lawful. 'Thus,' says Maurice Chaney, one of the community, 'we were delivered from the belly of this monster, this *immanis ceta*, and began to rejoice like him under the shadow of the gourd of our own houses. But it is better to trust in the Lord than in princes, in whom there is no salvation: God had prepared a worm that smote our gourd, and made it to perish.' The Carthusians were soon informed that their acceptance of the oath with a qualification was a mere evasion. They were tried and condemned. Houghton and the priors were executed in their vestments. 'Such a scene as hanging priests in their vestments was never before known to Englishmen. The faces of these men did not grow pale, their voices did not choke; they declared themselves liege subjects of the king, and obedient children of Holy Church, giving thanks that they were held worthy to suffer for the truth.'*

* Froude's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 359.

The prior's head was set on London-bridge, and one of his limbs over the gateway of the Charterhouse. All the monks were subsequently executed, starved in prison, or dismissed from the house. There were thirty professed fathers, and eighteen lay-brothers.*

In the series of Zurbaran, and in that painted by Vincenzio Carducho for Chartreuse of Paular, there are subjects from the history of the English Carthusian martyrs.

The chapel is situated at the end of a small cloister. The ante-chapel and choir probably formed the whole original structure. The common hall, connected with the refectory and cloisters (of late brickwork) of the Carthusian lay-brothers, is late third pointed; fragments of late work in Caen stone and flint exist about the kitchen. The gateway forming the entrance from Charterhouse-square is a third-pointed arch, surmounted by a pent-house supported by lions. It will be remembered that Sir Thomas More was for four years an inmate of the Charterhouse, following the religious life, though not bound by any engagement.†

* For their history see *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, pp. 3-26.

† Mr. Seebohm, in his *Oxford Reformers*, says More turned 'in disgust from the impurity of the cloister' (p. 151). This is Mr. Seebohm's version of Erasmus' statement that More 'preferred chastity as a layman to unchastity as a priest.' He doubted *his own* vocation!

Archdeacon Beydell asked that the Charterhouse might be put to some 'better use, seeing it was in the face of the world.' Henry VIII. granted it, June 12th, 1542, to John Bridges and Thomas Hall, for their joint lives, in consideration of the safe keeping of the king's tents and pavilions, which had been then for some time there. Father Chaney describes with horror the uses to which the church was put. On April 14th, 1555, the Charterhouse was granted to Sir Edward, afterwards Lord North, who turned the convent into a palace, made the chapel a dining-hall, and demolished the greater part of the cloister. His son Roger, Lord North, sold it, May 31, 1565, to the Duke of Norfolk for 2500*l*. The Duke's son Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, sold it in 1611 for 13,000*l*. to Thomas Sutton, the founder of the Charterhouse School.

The Hermitage, at the corner of Monkwell-street, St. James's Chapel, or the 'Hermitage in the Wall,' belonged to the Cistercian House of Garendon, in Leicestershire; a monastery munificently restored in our own day. Two monks were stationed in the London house, and gave its name to the well (Monk-well).

We pass Aldersgate-street, so called from Aldersgate, one of the four northern gates of the City, on our way to *St. Giles's, Cripplegate,* originally founded in 1090, and built by Alfune. St. Giles's was burnt,

with the exception of the tower, in 1545. St. Giles's, Cripplegate, had its 'bos of clere water,' as St. Michael le Quern its conduit. Even in Saxon times beggars resorted to Cripplegate to be healed by relics of St. Edmund.

Willoughby House, in this neighbourhood, was the residence of Baroness Catherine Willoughby D'Eresby, who, in Queen Mary's time, dressed her dog, named by her after Bishop Gardiner, in a rochet. She had to retire abroad with her husband, Thomas Bertie.

Henry V. founded a brotherhood of St. Giles in Whitecross-street. In Redcross-street was the Jews' burial-place. Both of these streets run parallel with Aldersgate-street to the east, without Cripplegate. In Redcross-street was the residence of the mitred Abbot of Ramsay, among the pleasant orchards and gardens in which this quarter abounded.

Where Sion College now stands—in London-wall—was Elsing's Spital or Hospital, founded by William Elsing in 1329: the hospital afterwards became a priory dedicated to St. Mary.

An anchorite lived near the church of *All Hallows, London-wall* (probably in the churchyard, as at St. Margaret's, Westminster).

The reader of the *Morte d'Arthur* will remember several references to anchorites and anchoresses that occur in that volume. Several of our ancient

churches exhibit traces of their occupancy by anchorites. The regulations of the life of female recluses of this kind were prescribed by Bishop Poore's 'Ancien Riewle,' still extant. Recluses made the following profession : 'I, brother (or sister) N., offer and present myself to serve the Divine Goodness in the order of Anchorites, and I promise to remain, according to the rule of that order, in the service of God from henceforth, by the grace of God and the counsel of the Church.' After Mass and Communion, the recluse was conducted to the cell, usually on the north side of the chancel, that was to be his, or her, future home.

At Moorfields heretics were interred.

As we pass along London-wall we may describe its course. The wall of London started from the Tower and ran to Aldgate—the Old Gate. Through Bishopsgate the Bishop of London went to hunt at Stepney. Between Aldgate and Bishopsgate there was an open ditch, two hundred feet broad, without the wall (Houndsditch).* Camomile-street and Wormwood-street are names that indicate the presence of waste land within the city enclosure. London-wall is the continuation of Houndsditch. Here the 'arrant

* New Houndsditch were almshouses for the bed-ridden poor who were visited by devout persons, especially on a Friday. The beds were placed close by the windows. On the window-sills linen cloths were spread, and strings of beads, to show 'that there rested a bed-ridden patient, who could now do nothing but pray.'

fen,' as Pennant calls it, of which Finsbury, Moorfields, Moorgate-street, and Moor-lane remind us, was with the wall itself sufficient protection. Here on the Artillery-ground the bowmen assembled. At the extremity of the fen to the west was the Barbican, that sheltered Aldersgate. In Castle-street, the churchyard of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, and again opposite St. Alphege near Sion College, are considerable remains of the wall that, by Newgate and the Old Bailey, passed to Ludgate, where its western side was protected by the Fleet. Baynard's Castle formed the angle of the wall to the south. Dowgate and Billingsgate were gateways in the wall, that now followed the course of the river, and passed onwards to the Tower.

London, which we now for the first time enter, was a dun, or hill-fortress built on three heights—Tower-hill, Cornhill, and Ludgate-hill.

Carpenters' Hall belongs to a company incorporated in the seventeenth year of Edward IV. At the west end of the hall are four distemper paintings of that age, representing 'Noe building the Ark,' 'Josias ordering the repairs of the Temple,' 'St. Joseph and the Holy Child at work' (the latter is gathering up the chips), and 'Our Lord teaching in the Synagogue;' this last subject is in allusion to the question, if He were not 'the son of the carpenter.'

Austin Friars, on the west side of Old Broad-street, City, next claims our attention. It was founded

by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, called the 'Good,' in 1253, and with its precincts and gardens stretched as far north as London-wall. The church was rebuilt by another Humphrey Bohun, in 1354. The windows and part of the walls and buttresses existing are of this church; but there was a later and unrecorded rebuilding about the end of the fifteenth century. The church of 1354 consisted of nave, aisles, transept, porch, choir, with chapels of SS. John, Mark, James, and Thomas, chapter-house, and cloister. The central spire, 'a most fine spiral steeple, high, tall, and straight,' as Stow describes it, was probably a *flèche*.

The buildings and site were granted in lots to various persons at the dissolution, and finally came into the hands of Lord St. John, afterwards Marquis of Winchester. The church was occupied as a store of captured French prizes. Blackfriars, Henry filled with dried fish, Austin and Grey Friars with wine.

The nave of ten bays is one hundred and fifty feet in length by eighty in breadth; the piers are lofty and clustered. There is no clerestory, and the aisles have separate gables, and are of nearly equal height and breadth. The windows, of flowing tracery, are similar, with the exception of the central west window, which is dissimilar to the rest. It has six lights, whilst the rest have only four. On the south side of the west doorway are two small niches.

The Marquis of Winchester, notwithstanding the earnest request of the mayor and citizens, pulled down the choir and steeple at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and sold the tombs for 100*l*. 'Both that goodly steeple and all that east part of the church have lately been taken down, and houses (for one man's commodity) raised in the place, whereby London hath lost so goodly an ornament, and times hereafter may more talk of it.' The west end of the church was granted to fugitive Protestants, and finally to the Dutch. Austin Friars has been recently restored by Messrs. Ianson and Lightly, architects.

There were buried here, Edmund, brother of Richard II.; Humphrey Bohun, the founder; Richard, Earl of Arundel, beheaded in 1397; the Earl of Oxford, beheaded in 1463; the barons slain at Barnet;* and the Duke of Buckingham, beheaded in 1521.

The order of Austin Friars was established in the middle of the thirteenth century. There existed at that period various small communities, and many hermits and solitaries, whom Pope Innocent IV. formed into an order, under the rule of St. Augustine, the Ermiti Augustini or Austin Friars. They wore a black gown with broad sleeves, with a leather belt, and a black-cloth hood. They had forty-five houses

* After the battle Warwick's body was taken to London, and lay naked three or four days in St. Paul's.

in England—at Breadsall, Atherstone, Lynn, London, and elsewhere.

The image of 'our Lady of Ipswich,' a great object of mediæval devotion, was at the Reformation seized, and brought by sea from Ipswich to London, by Lawrence, an agent of Cromwell. In London, Thacker, Cromwell's steward, took it to his house near Austin Friars and hid it in a cupboard: with the image he obtained two gold necklaces, four crystals, two silver slippers, a gold image of our Lady in a silver tabernacle (probably an offering at the shrine), and a little reliquary of gold and crystal. Soon after the image was burnt at Chelsea.

Bishopsgate derives its name from Erconwald, Bishop of London. Erconwald was the son of Anna, King of the East Angles. Bishopsgate gives its name to one of twenty-six wards of the City of London. The defence of Bishopsgate was intrusted in time of war to the Easterlings, the Germans of the Hanseatic league, in return for the privileges they enjoyed.*

Between Bishopsgate and Moorfields stood the Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlem, founded in 1247 by Stephen Fitz-Mary, Sheriff of London, for a prior,

* A law of Ethelred enacted 'that the Emperor's men, or Easterlings, coming with their ships to Billingsgate, shall be accounted worthy of good laws.' They paid toll at Christmas and Easter, of two gray cloths, one brown cloth, ten pounds of pepper, five pairs of gloves, and two vessels of vinegar.

canons, brethren, and sisters, subject to the visitation of the Bishop of Bethlem. Of a peculiar order, they wore a black habit, with a star on the breast. The houses belonging to this hospital were alienated in 1403.

The church of *St. Botolph, Bishopsgate,* was not injured by the fire, but has been rebuilt. The year after Elizabeth's accession, at Bartholomew-tide, the rood, with the figures of SS. Mary and John, and the church books were burned in the churchyard. The churchyard cross was removed at the same time. This was the date of the general destruction of church furniture in London.

St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate-street Within, is dedicated to the daughter of Ethelbert and Bertha, the first Christian King and Queen of Kent, and wife of Edwin of Northumbria. Robert Kilwardeby held the living in the middle of the fourteenth century. The advowson was vested in the prioress and nuns of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. This church is small, and closely surrounded by houses. It has a small clerestoried nave of four bays, and a narrow south aisle. There is a pent-house over the western door. At the west end of the church is a small tower that formerly supported a shingled spire. The whole is of the fifteenth century.

St. Helen's the Great, to the east of Crosby-square, Bishopsgate, is of very early foundation. It

is dedicated to the mother of Constantine, born, it is said, at Colchester in Essex. In 1010, Alwyne, Bishop of Elmham, a see afterwards transferred to Norwich, removed King Edmund the Martyr's remains from St. Edmundsbury to London, and deposited them in St. Helen's till East Anglia was free from the incursions of the Danes. Another account, however, says that St. Gregory's was the resting-place of the martyr.* It will be remembered that Edmund, who, on his resignation, succeeded Offa as King of East Anglia, was defeated and made prisoner by the Danes, who demanded his apostasy from the Christian faith. On his refusal, he was tied to a tree and shot to death by arrows, November 20th, A.D. 870. St. Edmundsbury received his hallowed remains.† The church of Greensted, in Essex, is supposed to have been erected in 1009, as a temporary resting-place for the body of St. Edmund on its way to London. Its nave is formed of chestnut-trees, arranged as in a stockade, as was the case in the original church at Bury.

* His name is commemorated by one London church, St. Edmund the King, Lombard-street.

† The Abbot Samson, well known to the readers of Mr. Carlyle's *Past and Present*, claimed toll of the London merchants who frequented the fair at Bury, on the plea of Edward the Confessor's grant of such toll to the Monastery. For two years the Londoners withheld their custom from the fair. A compromise was at length agreed to.

In 1180, Ranulph and Robert, his son, granted St. Helen's to the canons of St. Paul's. These gave leave to William Fitzwilliam, a goldsmith, to found a priory of Benedictine nuns, dedicated to the Holy Cross and St. Helen. The priory was much increased by William Basing, Sheriff of London, in 1308. At his visitation in 1493, the state of the convent would appear to have been a cause of some anxiety to Kentwode, Dean of St. Paul's. He recommends that some discreet woman should shut the doors of the cloister, &c.; that the nuns should not give rise to suspicions by repairing to certain portions of the precincts; that they should not dance and revel except at Christmas and other legitimate times of recreation. The buildings of the convent have wholly disappeared. They were granted to Richard Cromwell. The modern St. Helen's-place occupies the site. The modern Leathersellers' Hall is where the refectory stood. An engraving (no date) shows a fine crypt existing under this hall, at right angles to the church, with a central row of columns and vaulting. Another single crypt, finely vaulted in one span on carved corbels, with an early English triplet at the end (between the crypt mentioned above and the church), is shown in a drawing entitled 'Ancient Crypt beneath the Nuns' Hall, part of the Convent of St. Helena, destroyed 1791.' Other sketches, and especially one without date, show extensive remains,

perhaps of the refectory, with lancets, at right angles with the buildings mentioned above, and parallel with the church.

The church is mostly third pointed. It is separated into two nearly equal aisles by columns with pointed arches. At the east end, a transept extends from the south aisle, beyond which, to the east, is the chapel of the Holy Ghost. The arches in the central group differ considerably. The choir consists of two irregular bays. There is no chancel arch. The nave arcade is of lofty clustered piers with drop arches. In the south chapel is a small priest's doorway. The north aisle was appropriated to the nuns. What is known as the 'nuns' grating' remains, and gave a view of the altar from the crypt (infirmary?) beneath the refectory. It is a series of oblique apertures opening to the church through the base of a canopied altar (tomb?). There are examples of a similar arrangement at Burgos Cathedral and at St. Patrice, Rouen. The door remains that gave access from the crypt to the church. A square-headed window placed high may have served the same purpose as Prior Bolton's oriel at St. Bartholomew's, and given the prioress a view of the church. The original stalls, with misereres, remained till lately in this aisle, but have been removed to the parochial choir. There is in St. Helen's a brass of a man and his wife, 1470; of a lady, 1490; Thomas Williams

and his wife, 1495. To the south of the chancel is the altar-tomb of Sir John Crosby, the builder of Crosby Hall, and Agnes his wife. Sir John's effigy has an alderman's cloak over the plate-armour. With him and his wife are buried their three children, John, Margaret, and John. Sir John Crosby was Mayor of the Staple of Calais. He died in 1475.

Crosby-place stands on the site of certain tenements let to the founder by Alice Ashfield, prioress of St. Helen's, for ninety-nine years.

It does not properly fall within the scope of this work to give a description of Crosby Hall. We may mention, however, that it was the dining-apartment of the large mansion known as Crosby-place, built by Sir John Crosby about 1470. At that time the mansion completely enclosed Crosby-square. All that now remains is to the north and west. To the north are two apartments, to the west the great hall. The hall is fifty-five feet in length by about half as much in width. It is forty feet high. It is the finest and an almost unique example of the London domestic architecture of the fifteenth century. The roof is of chestnut. It is elliptical in form. It is divided into oblong compartments by trusses with pendents, three to each truss. The construction may be best explained by saying that from each pendent four half-arches spring. The arches here run from end to end as well as across the hall. The hall is lighted from

the sides, near the ceiling, by twelve simple but very beautiful windows, of two lights each. The semi-octagonal oriel, at the north-west corner, has window-lights on three sides. It is divided horizontally by two transoms. The two north rooms had a similar bay-window, but with a band of solid wall intervening between the upper and lower lights. Both stories of this bay-window were vaulted. Crosby Hall-place is thrice mentioned in Shakespeare's *Richard III.* (act i. sc. 2, act i. sc. 3, and act iii. sc. 1). This frequent mention is readily accounted for by the fact that by an assessment of the fortieth year of Elizabeth, we find Shakespeare to have been an inhabitant of the parish of St. Helen's. Crosby Hall was then in the possession of the Dowager Countess of Pembroke, 'Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother.' On the removal of the neighbouring church of St. Martin Outwich, it is intended to remove to St. Helen's the monuments,* an altar-tomb of the fifteenth century, and an altar of the beginning of the sixteenth, on which the gilding remains, the brasses of John Bohun, rector, 1459, and Nicholas Wotton, rector, 1482. The name 'Outwich' is that of two brothers who endowed the rectory in 1387.

Beyond Bishopsgate, to the east of Norton Folgate, is Spitalfields, the place of sepulture of Roman

* For this information we are indebted to the kindness of the Rector of St. Helen's.

London, and where many cinerary urns have been discovered. Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Hydriotaphia, or Urn Burial,* mentions that many coins were found in the urns discovered at 'Spitalfields by London, which contained the coins of Claudius, Vespasian, Commodus, Antoninus, attended with lachrymatories, lamps, bottles of liquor, and other appurtenances of affectionate superstition.' The fields in this locality belonged to the priory and hospital of St. Mary Spital, founded for canons regular of St. Augustine, by Walter Brune, Sheriff of London, and his wife Rosia, in 1197, to the honour of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, by the name of 'Domus Dei et Beatæ Mariæ, extra Bishopsgate.' It was in the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. Spital-square marks the site.

The priory was famed for its pulpit-cross, where the mayor and aldermen attended on Good Friday and during Easter week. The sermon that prepared the way for Evil May-day* was preached at St. Mary Spital. We read in *Holinshed:* 'There was a broker in London, called John Lincoln, which wrote a bill before Easter, desiring Dr. Standish, at his sermon at St. Mary Spital, the Monday in Easter week, to move the mayor and aldermen to take part with the commonalty against the strangers.

* So at Ghent the fatal fray between the weavers and fullers gave its name to *den quaden Maendag*, or Evil Monday.

The doctor answered, that it became not him to move any such thing in a sermon. From him he departed, and came to a canon in St. Mary Spital, a doctor in divinity, called Doctor Bele, and lamentably declared to him how miserably the common artificers lived, and scarce could get any work. . . . "Well," said the doctor, "I will do for a reformation of this matter as much as a priest may do;" and so received Lincoln's bill, and studied for his purpose. . . . When Easter came, and Doctor Bele should preach the Tuesday in Easter week, he came into the pulpit, and there declared that to him was brought a pitiful bill; . . . then he began, *Cœlum Cœli Domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum;* and upon this text he intreated that this land was given to Englishmen, and as birds would defend their nest, so ought Englishmen to cherish and defend themselves, and to hurt and grieve aliens for the common weal. And upon this text *Pugna pro patria,* he brought in how by God's law it was lawful to fight for their country; and ever he subtly moved the people to rise against the strangers and break the king's peace, nothing regarding the league between princes and the king's honour.' There were 112 beds 'well furnished for the reception of the poor' at the dissolution.

Holywell-street, now High-street, Shoreditch, derived its name from a well, 'sweet, wholesome, and clear,' Stow describes it; to the west of which

stood the priory of the Benedictine Nuns of St. John the Baptist.

Shoreditch has been said to derive its name from the circumstance of Jane Shore's body having been cast into a ditch here. It really owes its designation to Sir John de Soerdich, lord of the manor. The Roman military road, called by the Saxons Eald or Old-street, the highway from Aldersgate to the north-east of England, before the erection of Bishopsgate, ran east to a cross before Soerdich church, whence the high-road ran north to Kingsland, Tottenham, Ware, and Waltham.

Sybilla Newdigate, of the old Warwickshire family of that name, many of whom we find heads of religious houses, was the last prioress of Holywell. Like Catherine Bulkley, the Superior of the nunnery at Godstow in Oxfordshire, the prioress of Holywell endeavoured to oppose the monastic inquisitors. She consequently received no pension, and is supposed by Dr. Whyte to have perished from want. The nuns of Holywell gave protection to young women, who, but for their assistance, might have fallen into a bad way of living in the metropolis.

Near the end of Bishopsgate, towards Leadenhall-street, was a stone building covered with a semi-circular arch, constructed of small pieces of chalk in the shape of bricks, ribbed with stone. It is supposed to have been a chapel.

In Cornhill are the churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Michael.** Stow relates that in the fifteenth year of Henry III., Geoffrey Russel, who was implicated in a murder in St. Paul's churchyard, took refuge in St. Peter's, 'and would not come out to the peace of our lord the king.' In 1243, one of the priests of St. Peter's was murdered by Walkelin, vicar of St. Paul's. The roof of the church and glazing were completed in the reign of King Edward IV. The rectory passed from the Nevils to Sir Richard Whittington and others, who in turn conveyed it, in 1411, to the Lord Mayor and commonalty.† Wren's steeple of St. Michael resembles the old one (1421). The old steeple was, however, of three stories only, instead of four as is the case with the present steeple. The old steeple and the angle turrets all terminated in spires surmounted by crosses. Over the doorway was an ogee canopy. Above this was a window of five lights with a transom, and intersecting tracery in the head. There were two windows of two lights on each face of the belfry stage. These windows were also transomed. Above each was a gable like that

* Stow's *Survey* (Strype), book ii. pp. 138, 143.

† William of Kyngston, in 1375, left by will means to provide two torches 'to serve for the lifting of the Body of Christ every day at the Mass celebrated on his behalf and that of his family at the altar of the Holy Trinity, and to find one lamp perpetually burning every day and night before the High Cross in the Church of St. Peter's.'

over the great west window of York. Around the tower was a battlemented parapet. The corner turrets were of great height. Their staircases were lighted by very numerous windows. The whole composition is curious and highly original, though it must be pronounced defective in point of beauty, which the upper part of Wren's design possesses in an eminent degree.

St. Andrew's Undershaft, Leadenhall-street (1520-1532), derives its name from a May-pole that overtopped the church tower. The parish is united to that of St. Mary the Virgin, 'St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins,' a church formerly situated on the west side of St. Mary-street, now St. Mary Axe, familiar to Dickens's readers as the habitat of the mythic 'Pubsey and Co.'

Bevis Marks was a house belonging to the abbots of Bury.

At St. Augustine Papey, at the north end of St. Mary Axe, was a brotherhood of threescore priests, who were employed in singing dirges at solemn funerals. It was founded in 1430, by William Oliver, William Barnable, and John Stafford, chantry priests in London.

The church of *St. Catherine Cree*, a corruption of Christ Church, stood in the precincts of the Austin canons' priory of the Holy Trinity, Christ Church, Aldgate, founded by Matilda, Queen of Henry I., at

the suggestion of Archbishop Anselm, A.D. 1108. Duke's-place stands on the site of the priory. In 1115 or 1125, it is uncertain which, the barons of London who held the English Cnichten guild or Portsoken (franchise at the gate),* which lay at Aldgate without the walls of the City, and extended to the river, bestowed it upon the church of the Holy Trinity, and themselves assumed the habit. The prior thus became an alderman and wore the alderman's livery, though altered in shape. Stow, in his childhood, saw the prior of his day in this costume. Holy Trinity was the richest priory in England, and was in consequence the first dissolved. It was given by Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Audley. Two gateways and other portions long remained, among them ruins of the south transept of the church. The architecture appears to have been Romanesque. A water-colour by F. Nash shows a double gateway of early fourteenth-century work; the same gateway was etched by J. T. Smith in 1790. The parishes of St. Mary Magdalen, St. Michael, St. Catherine,

* This guild dates from King Edgar's time, when thirteen knights besought of the king possession of land lying waste to the east of the city, with the liberty of a guild for ever. The king granted their request on condition that they should prove victorious in three combats fought in East Smithfield—one, the just or foot combat; the second underground, of what nature we know not; the third, a water-tilt. They were successful in all three. The memory of the Cnichten guild is curiously preserved by 'Nightingale-lane' (Cnichten Guild-land).

and the Trinity were united, and the parishioners of St. Catherine repaired to the conventual church. Subsequently a chapel was built for their convenience in the churchyard of the priory, in which one of the Austin canons said Mass. From 1414 the chapel was maintained by the parishioners. A third-pointed pier is all that remains from the former church. The churchyard was a favourite scene for dramatic exhibitions. Hans Holbein, the painter, who died in the Duke of Norfolk's house in the priory of Christ Church, was buried in St. Catherine's Cree.

We read of the 'All Souls' Gild :' 'On All Souls' Day the brethren met for their devotions at the church of the Holy Trinity, as the seven-o'clock bell rang. Thence, with a grave demeanour, they walked to the chapel over the charnel-house in St. Paul's churchyard, telling their beads as they went along, and pouring out their prayeys, *vultu cordiali*, for living and dead.'

A portion of St. Michael's Church, supposed to have been built by the first prior, long existed at the corner of Fenchurch-street, Leadenhall-street,* and Aldgate High-street. It consisted of a roof with decorated groining, built with square bricks, chalk, and

* In 1419 Leadenhall was erected as a *Grenier d'Abondance.* A chapel was erected, and endowments were bestowed for the maintenance of brethren and sisters, and of sixty priests to celebrate Mass every market day.

stone, and supported by two handsome pillars. St. Michael's may possibly have been the crypt of the priory church. An engraving published in 1815 shows an irregular plan.

At *St. Stephen Coleman, Fenchurch-street,* there was a guild of St. Nicholas, which 'the gode men of Coleman-street, in nourishing of love and charity among them, and in help to them that falle into poverte, begon in the yere MCCCLXIX.'

The Minories, parallel to the walls between Aldgate and the Tower, is so called from the Minoresses, a convent of Nuns of the order of St. Clare, founded by Blanche of Navarre, wife of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, in 1293. Sketches dated 1797, after the fire of that year, show extensive ruins of apparently perpendicular character. They are conventual, not those of the church. The building is said to have been constructed of Caen stone and chalk; the timber, oak and chestnut. A late sketch (1803) shows some other unimportant remains. The Minoresses had three other houses in England: Brusyard, Suffolk; Denny and Waterbeck in Cambridgeshire.

St. Olave's, Hart-street, Mark-lane, is one of the churches that escaped the fire, but was much patched in the seventeenth century. There are three churches dedicated to St. Olaf or Olave of Norway, in London.

'On the west side of this portion of the walls,' says Pennant, speaking of Goodman's-fields and the

Minories, 'stood the house of the Crutched or Crossed Friars, *Fratres Sanctæ Crucis.*' Crutched Friars* is at the south-east extremity of Hart-street. Ralph Hosiar and William Sabernes, two citizens, gave the friars a house in 1298. The founders entered the order.

These monks were instituted or reformed in 1169, by Gerard, prior of Sta. Maria di Morello, Bologna. They carried an iron and afterwards a silver cross, and wore a gray changed to a blue robe, with a red cross. There was a house of the order founded at Colchester in 1244. Henry VIII. granted the house to Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, who destroyed it, and built a fine mansion with oak carved-post and plaster work, the interior equally rich. On its site rose at a later day the Navy Office. The refectory was made into a glass-house, the first set up in England.

All Hallows Staining (recently demolished) was one of eight churches of the same dedication in London. The name 'Staining' (from stane or stone) probably indicated that this was the first church built of stone, as distinguished from wood, in the metropolis. The high altar was dedicated to 'All Hallows.'

* Stow's *Survey* (Strype), book ii. p. 74. There were in the Crutched Friars' Church two confraternities of the Dutch who seem to have settled in this neighbourhood; one of the Holy Blood of Wilsuak in Saxony, the other of St. Katharine.

It had carved tabernacle work, drapery of red Bruges satin, with a representation of the Ascension, a silver-gilt crucifix with statues of St. John and the Blessed Virgin. There was another with the same figures, plated with silver, and gilt. The five sacred wounds were indicated by so many precious stones. At the base a piece of crystal was inserted, through which might be read the name 'Jesus.' There was a statue of St. Katharine, before which a lamp was constantly kept burning. The rood-loft bore a great crucifix; on it were twenty-two tapers of great size. The priests were vested in red damask with gold leaves, red velvet embroidered with gold roses, white, green, and crimson satin. We find such entries as these: 'Paid unto Goodman Chafe, broiderer, for making a new mitre for the bishop (the boy-bishop) against St. Nicholas' night, 2*s*. 8*d*.;' 'paid for the lining of a pair of wings, and a crest for an angel on Palm Sunday, 8*d*.'

All Hallows Barking, at the east end of Thames-street, adjoining the Tower, is the most complete mediæval parish church in London. The church belonged to the Benedictine convent of St. Ethelburga, Barking, in Essex, founded in 675 by Erconwald, son of Anna, King of the East Angles, afterwards Bishop of London. Richard I. built a fair chapel here, which was magnificently endowed by several of his successors on the throne. Edward I. placed in this chapel

an image of the Blessed Virgin, who, he said, appeared to him in his sleep, and told him that if he visited her image five times a year and kept the chapel in repair, he should prosper in all his undertakings, and particularly in the conquest of Wales and Scotland. An indulgence of forty days was granted to all who, after true confession, should visit the chapel, to whose lights, repairs, and ornaments they were expected to contribute, and who should there pray for the soul of Richard, whose 'lion heart' lay beneath the high altar. The shrine of 'Our Lady of Barking' was much frequented down to the Reformation. John, Earl of Worcester, obtained a license from King Edward IV. to found a brotherhood for a master and brethren, to whom he gave part possession of the alien priories of Tooting-Beck and Okeburn. The alien priories it will be remembered, were dissolved by statute 2 Henry V. Richard III. rebuilt the King's Chapel, and established a college consisting of a dean and six canons. The college was dissolved in 1548, and its site turned first into a garden and then into a 'storehouse of merchants' goods.' The shrine of 'Our Lady of Barking' must be distinguished from that of 'Our Lady of Graces' by the Tower, Eastminster or New Abbey, founded by Edward III. in 1349, in consequence of a vow he had made during a storm at sea. We are unable to say, however, whether it was to the image of Our Lady

at New Abbey, or at All Hallows Barking, that reference is made by Sir Thomas More, who, speaking of the affability of Henry VIII., says, 'He is so courteous to all, that every one may find somewhat whereby he may imagine that he loves him; even as do the citizens' wives of London, who think that our Lady's image near the Tower doth smile on them as they pray before it.'

William Collis became vicar of All Hallows Barking, in 1387. The vicarage continued in the gift of the lady abbess and nuns of Barking till 1546.

The church consists of three parallel aisles of six bays each, three of them in the chancel, the others in the nave. A west tower of brick was added in the seventeenth century. The pillars and arcades are of different periods; the pillars towards the west, early pointed, or even Romanesque; whilst the arches are late early pointed; both pillars and arches in the chancel are very late third pointed. The windows are all late and poor; the east window has a circle in the head, but is not of earlier date than the rest. There is a shield, with a circular inscription in French to William Tongue, 1400; a brass to John Bacon, merchant of the Staple, and his wife, 1437; between the figures is a heart, inscribed 'Mia,' and scrolls with legends; and another to John Rulche, 1498. This effigy represents a man with long hair and with his hands clasped. He wears a close-fitting gown,

has a pouch at his girdle and a rosary on his arm. To the north of the chancel is a canopied altar-tomb of Purbeck marble, crowned with leaves. The soffit of the canopy has groining and pendents. Above the tomb and below the canopy are two groups of figures, the one a father with three sons, the other a mother with four daughters; from the man's mouth issues a label with the inscription,

> 'Ego resurgam et in carne videbo te Jesum,
> Deum salvatorem meum;'

from the woman's,

> 'Qui Lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fetidum,
> Dona nobis requiem.'

At the south side of the church is a smaller monument of the same material, and a representation of our Lord's Resurrection. Tradition points out the stone of the high altar embedded in the pavement.

From the elevated ridge that, extending south and east from Highbury, formed the eastern boundary of the extensive swamps, a lake in winter, to the north of the city, ran a stream, the Langburn, towards Fenchurch on the west, dividing to the east in streamlets that flowed to the Ratcliffe marshes. Between these branches was situated a cluster of churches, the Minories, Crutched Friars, St. Botolph's before Aldgate, the priory of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary Spital, the church and hospital of St. Katharine, and the abbey of our Lady of Graces.

On the ridge, between the upper course of the Langburn and the Thames, were the churches of St. Peter in the Tower, All Hallows Barking, St. Dunstan's in the East, St. Magnus, London-bridge.

Some of these we have visited; others we shall reach in due time.

Second Walk.

THE TOWER.

> 'Not in vain embodied to the sight,
> Religion finds e'en in the stern retreat
> Of feudal sway her own appropriate seat.'

In Henry VIII.'s reign a royal dockyard was constructed at Deptford, and a large store-house erected. Here, in all probability, the Harry Grace de Dieu was constructed. Her commander, Sir Thomas Spert, Comptroller of the Navy, founded at Deptford, under royal patronage, a guild 'to the honour of the Blessed Trinity and St. Clement' concerning 'the cunning and craft of mariners, and for the increase and augmentation of the ships thereof.' For many years the Trinity Board sat at Deptford, but afterwards removed to Great Tower-street. Henry VIII.'s was a time of great naval activity throughout the British islands, the gallant exploits of Sir Andrew Barton and of Admiral Sir Andrew Wood, of Largo, having roused the valour of the English seamen. In 1511, James IV. of Scotland 'buildit a great schipe called the Micheall, quhilk was ane verrie monstruous great

schip; for this schip tuik so meikle timber, that schoe wasted all the woods in Fife except Falkland Wood.'*

Those who suffered for their adherence to the faith of their fathers on Tower-hill are very numerous, far too numerous for record in a work like this.

The last persons who suffered death on Tower-hill were the Scottish lords, Balmerino and Lovat, for their part in the rising of 1745. Lord Lovat desired the attendance of Mr. Baker, the chaplain of the Sardinian ambassador, and declared that he died in the faith of the Roman Catholic Church; 'that he adhered to the rock upon which Christ built His Church; to St. Peter, and the succession of pastors down from him to the present time; and that he rejected all sects and communities that were rejected by the Church.'† It is a singular and interesting circumstance to remember that the faith Lord Lovat thus confessed he had learnt from the lips of Bossuet.

In the 'White Tower' is what used strangely to be called 'Cæsar's Chapel.' It is dedicated to *St. John the Evangelist.* It is at the south-east corner of the tower, and occupies the height of two stories, the gallery being on a level with the upper apartments, the floor with those beneath. It was built, with the

* Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Chronicle.*

† See Burton's *Life of Lovat*, ad finem.

rest of the 'White Tower,' by Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, in 1078. The chapel terminates in an apse, round which the aisle passes, as does also the gallery. There is no clerestory. The lower arcade is supported by pillars, the upper by piers. The roof of the nave and upper gallery is a half cylinder or wagon vault; the aisle has intersecting groinings, springing on the outer side from pilasters, the intervals between which are recesses to furnish additional space. Henry III. gave directions for the repair and adornment of St. John's. The apse windows were to represent—the central, 'A little Mary holding her child;' two others, 'The Holy Trinity and St. John the Evangelist.' A chaplain received a yearly stipend of fifty shillings for saying Mass at St. John's.

Raymond Lully relates, that in the secret chamber of St. Katharine, in the Tower of London, he performed before Edward I. the experiment of transmuting crystal into adamant, of which the king made little pillars for the tabernacle of God.

The precincts of the Tower contain another chapel of surpassing historical but of little architectural interest, that of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, or St. Peter's Chains. It occupies the site of a more ancient chapel erected, it is conjectured, in the time of Henry I. It was large, and had stalls for the king and queen. A letter of Henry III. commands 'that the figure of Mary with her shrine,' and the images of St. Peter,

St. Nicholas, and St. Katharine, and the beam beyond the altar of St. Peter, and the little cross with its images, be coloured anew with good colours. An image of St. Christopher 'holding and carrying Jesus' was to be made and painted for the church. Also on 'two fair tables,' before their altars, were to be painted 'the stories of the blessed Nicholas and Katharine,' whilst 'two fair cherubim with a cheerful and joyous countenance were to stand on either side of the rood.' There was to be 'a marble font, with pillars well and handsomely wrought.' Behind the church there was from an early period a hermitage, in which a recluse dwelt, supported by the king's charity—'the reclusory or hermitage of St. Peter.' It is elsewhere called, that of St. Eustace. It was in the king's gift, and might be occupied by a member of either sex.

St. Peter's consists of a chancel, nave, south aisle of five bays, and a small bell-tower. Internally, the nave and aisle are separated by five depressed arches springing from clustered columns. 'There is no sadder spot on the earth than that little cemetery. Death is there associated, not, as in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's, with genius and virtue, with public veneration and imperishable renown; not, as in our humblest churches and churchyards, with everything that is most endearing in social and domestic charities; but with whatever is darkest in human nature and in human destiny—with the savage triumph of implaca-

ble enemies, with the inconstancy, the ingratitude, the cowardice of friends, with all the miseries of fallen greatness and of blighted fame. Thither have been carried, through successive ages, by the rude hands of gaolers, without one mourner following, the bleeding relics of men who had been the captains of armies, the leaders of parties, the oracles of senates, and the ornaments of courts. Thither was borne, before the window where Jane Grey was praying, the mangled corpse of Guildford Dudley. Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Protector of the realm, reposes there by the brother whom he murdered. There has mouldered away the headless trunk of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and Cardinal of St. Vitalis, a man worthy to have lived in a better age. . . . Not far off sleep two chiefs of the great house of Howard—Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and Philip, eleventh Earl of Arundel. Here and there, among the thick graves of unquiet and aspiring statesmen, lie more delicate sufferers: Margaret of Salisbury, the last of the proud name of Plantagenet, and those two fair queens who perished by the jealous rage of Henry.'*

Among the illustrious dead buried in St. Peter's are the martyred prelate, Fisher, mentioned above, and Sir Thomas More. There is some doubt about More, as his body is said to have been claimed by his

* Macaulay's *History of England* (Popular Edition), vol. i. p. 297.

daughter Roper, and reinterred in the chancel of old Chelsea Church, where he had caused a vault to be constructed some time previous to his death. But, on the other hand, it is known that Bishop Fisher's body, first buried at All Hallows Barking, was removed by Margaret to lie, according to his request, near her father's.

The Beauchamp Tower probably derives its name from Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, confined here previously to his banishment to the Isle of Man, in 1397. It consists of two stories, reached by a circular staircase and narrow passages. On the left hand, on entering, is the inscription, 'My hope is in Christ,' by Walter Paslew, who may have been of the same family as John Paslew, Abbot of Whalley, in Lancashire, who was apprehended and executed for the part he took in the 'Pilgrimage of Grace.' Over the door of a cell is the name Robart Tidir, beneath which is I.H.S. In the state prison above, to the left, is the name of Marmaduke Neville, to the right of which are the Peverel arms, the name 'Peverel,' a crucifix, and a bleeding heart. A shield bears the inscription in Italian translated thus, 'Since fortune hath chosen that my hope should go to the wind to complain, I wish the time were destroyed; my planet being ever sad and unpropitious. William Tyrrel, 1541.' This was the William Tyrrel who wrote two letters to the Prior of St. John's, Clerkenwell, in

1534. Over the fire-place is the inscription, 'The more suffering for Christ in this world, the more glory with Christ in the next. Thou hast crowned him with honour and glory, O Lord! In memory everlasting He will be just. Arundell, June 22d, 1587.' This is the Earl of Arundell who incurred the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, and died at the age of forty in the Tower, not without suspicion of having been poisoned. It is related, that on one occasion, a 'Protestant standing by the Earl, whilst in time of his recreation he was engraving with his knife ye sign of the Holy Cross in a stone of the wall of his chamber, and seeing him to have hurt his hand a little by the accidental slipping of the knife, said thus: "Your lordship by this may see how soon the Lord doth hinder this unlawfull work you were in hand withall." "Nay rather," answer'd the Earl, "you may mark how quickly the devil hath apply'd himself to frustrate so good an action."' This trivial anecdote is worth mention, as it enables us to see one of the prisoners, and one of those who has left most traces of his presence—for there are three inscriptions by his hand in the Beauchamp Tower—actually at work.* But we must hasten. There are other records of

* Very interesting notices of the Tower will be found in Father Gerard's *Life*, prefixed to his *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*. The anecdote given above will be found in the *Life of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel*, edited by the late Duke of Norfolk, p. 129.

Catholic sufferers, as 'Typping, stand and bere thy cross, for thou art Catholyke, but no worce,' &c.; of 'John Store, Doctor, 1570,' Chancellor of Oxford, executed at Tyburn in that year; of 'Henrye Cockyn, 1574,' the agent of the Bishop of Ross, the constant adherent of Mary of Scotland; of Edmund Poole (Ihs. Dio semin in lachrimis in exiltitiane meter—so it is spelt), great-grandson of George, Duke of Clarence; of 'Thomas Rooper, 1570;' of Thomas Fitzgerald; and of Adam Sedbar, last Abbot of Joveval, executed at Tyburn with the Abbots of Whalley and Jawley, June 1537. There is a rebus of Thomas Abel, chaplain to Catherine of Arragon, and an inscription by Laurence Cooke, Prior of Doncaster; and the name occurs of Inggram Percy, son of Henry, Fifth Earl of Northumberland. The name 'Page' is that of the priest harboured by Mrs. Line.* There are inscriptions by 'John Colleton, Prist,' Vicar-General to the Bishop of Chalcedon, and by 'Eagremond Radclyffe,' son of the Earl of Sussex.

To the east of the Tower stood the collegiate church and hospital of St. Katharine,† founded in 1148 by Maud of Boulogne, the wife of Stephen, for the repose of the souls of her children, Baldwin and Matilda, and for the maintenance of a master, brethren, sisters, and other poor. In 1273, Eleanor,

* See Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, vol. i. p. 395.

† See Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 694.

widow of Henry III., refounded the hospital by her charter, for a master, three brethren, chaplains, three sisters, ten beadswomen, and six poor chorister scholars. The beadswomen were to pray for the souls of the foundress, her progenitors, and of the faithful generally. Philippa, queen of Edward III., was an eminent benefactress. She appointed an additional chaplain, and granted a new charter and statutes. The brethren were to wear 'a strait coat,' and over that a black mantle with 'the sign of the holy Katharine.' Green clothes or those entirely red, or any striped clothes 'as tending to dissoluteness,' were not to be used. The clerks were to have shaven crowns. The curfew-bell was to ring home at night the brethren and sisters. The queen contributed to the rebuilding of the collegiate church in 1340. Here her husband founded a chantry for the repose of her soul. The hospital remains to the present time under queenly patronage. The mastership is a valuable sinecure. Henry VI. granted the hospital a fair, to be held on Tower-hill, for twenty-one successive days annually.

The hospital buildings consisted of a church with chapter-house and cloister, a court-room with residentiary houses for the members of the foundation, a hall, and a schoolroom. The church, originally built in 1148, and enlarged in 1273, was removed in 1340, when the whole—with the exception of the choir—

was rebuilt under the supervision of Thomas de Beckington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, master at the time. William de Erldesby built the choir some thirty years later (1369). The style was middle pointed. There was a nave of nine bays, a choir of eight; the cloisters and chapter-house stood to the south. Numerous chantry chapels surrounded the choir. The church was one hundred and forty feet in length, by sixty feet in breadth. Hollar's etching (1660) shows it fairly perfect. Later engravings (1780) show the fine interior. Both the church and the hospital were demolished in 1825, to make way for St. Katharine's Dock.

On the east side of the choir roodscreen, at St. Katharine's, were four stalls with canopies at either side; other nine stalls faced north and south. Fragments of these have been preserved in the chapel of the modern hospital in the Regent's-park. They were third pointed in style; the most interesting portions of the remaining work are two bench-ends with heads of Edward III. and of Philippa.

The only ancient monument preserved is the tomb of John Holland, Duke of Exeter (1441), whose effigy and those of his two wives rest on an altar-tomb under a rich canopy. The duke was a great benefactor and founded a chantry, and bequeathed 'a cuppe of byrell garnished with gold, perles, and precious stones, to be put in the sacrament.'

An engraving shows the cloisters of wooden posts of very late character, with buildings over, taken down in 1755.

On the hexagonal pulpit are four views of the ancient hospital.

There was at St. Katharine's a 'fraternity of the guild of our glorious Saviour Christ Jesus, and of the Blessed Virgin and Martyr St. Barbara.' The bead-roll runs: 'First ye shall pray especially for the good estate of our sovereign lord and most Christian and excellent prince, King Henry VIII. and Queen Catherine, founders of the said guild and gracious brotherhood, and brother and sister of the same. And for the good estate of the French Queen's Grace, Mary, sister to our said sovereign lord, and sister of the said guild. Also, ye shall pray for the good estate of Thomas Wolsey, of the title of St. Cecilia of Rome, priest cardinal and legatus a latere to our Holy Father the Pope, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England, brother of the said guild. Also, for the good estate of the Duke of Buckingham and my Lady his wife. Also, for the good estate of the Duke of Norfolk and my Lady his wife. The Duke of Suffolk. Also, for my Lord Marquis; for the Earl of Shrewsbury; the Earl of Northumberland; the Earl of Surrey; my Lord Hastings; and for all their Ladies, brethren and sisters of the same. Also, for Sir Richard Chomley, Knt.; Sir William Compton,

Knt.; Sir William Skevington, Knt.; Sir John Digby, Knt., &c. &c.; and for all their Ladies, brethren and sisters of the same, that be alive, and for the souls of them that be dead; and for the masters and wardens of the same guild, and the warden collector of the same. And for the more special grace every man of your charity say a Pater-noster and an Ave. And God save the king, the master, and the wardens, and all the brethren and sisters of the same.'

East of East Smithfield was a Cistercian abbey, founded by Edward III. in 1349.* It was called the 'Abbey of Graces' (or favours). This house was subject to Beaulieu. Edward founded it partly in fulfilment of a vow made during a storm at sea; partly, as is seen in Richard II.'s charter, in gratitude for many graces and deliverances from perils by sea and land, due to the clemency of our Lord Christ, through the intercession of His ever-blessed Mother. It may have been here that the image of our Lady stood, to which Sir Thomas More alludes in the passage mentioned above. In a deed of gift, dated 1376, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, bestowed the manor of Poplar upon the abbey of St. Mary de Graces, near the Tower.

The Cistercians were called 'White Monks' from their dress, a white cassock; over which they wore a

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), v. 717.

black cloak when without the walls of their convent. Cardinal Vitry says of them, 'their fasts are continual, from the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross till Easter; and they exercise hospitality towards the poor with extraordinary charity.'

Retracing our steps, we pass the Tower and reach London-bridge by Thames-street. On the way we catch a glimpse of the mural crown of *St. Dunstan in the East;* a form imitated by Wren from St. Nicholas, Newcastle.* Carter said, 'the church of St. Nicholas has, like St. Dunstan's, a tower; but so lofty, and of such a girth, that, to compare great things with small, our London piece of vanity is but a molehill to the Newcastle mountain.'

The following is a curious notice of an occurrence at St. Dunstan's:

'In the year 1417, and on the afternoon of Easter Sunday, a violent quarrel took place in this church, between the ladies of the Lord Strange and Sir John Trussel, Knt.; which involved the husbands, and at length terminated in a general contest. Several persons were seriously wounded, and an unlucky fishmonger, named Thomas Petwarden, killed. The two great men, who chose a church for their field of battle,

* There are other specimens at St. Giles', Edinburgh, and King's College, Aberdeen. Another example existed—till recently—at Linlithgow, and the Church of Haddington, the 'Lamp of Lothian,' was once similarly crowned.

were seized, and committed to the Poultry Compter; and the Archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated them. On the 21st of April that prelate heard the particulars at St. Magnus' Church; and finding Lord Strange and his lady the aggressors, he cited them to appear before him, the Lord Mayor, and others, on the 1st of May, at St. Paul's, and there submit to penance; which was inflicted by compelling all their servants to march before the rector of St. Dunstan's in their shirts; followed by the lord bareheaded, and the lady barefooted, and Kentwode, Archdeacon of London, to the church of St. Dunstan; where, at the hallowing of it, Lady Strange was compelled to fill all the sacred vessels with water, and offer an ornament value 10*l.*, and her husband a piece of silver worth 5*l.*'

Rood-lane, Billingsgate, is so called from a rood that stood in the churchyard of *St. Margaret Pattens*, during the rebuilding of the church. At the rood offerings were presented for that object.

St. Mary at Hill had, before the Reformation, seven altars, each with its chantry priest; and three brotherhoods were attached to the church. Of the furniture of the church Malcolm gives us such items as altar cloths of russet cloth of gold; curtains of russet sarsenet, fringed with silk; a suit of red satin, fringed with gold, consisting of three copes, two chasubles, two albs, two stoles, two amytes (or amices),

three fanons (or maniples), and two girdles. There was another suit of white cloth of gold; yet a third of red cloth of Lucchese gold. There were vestments of red satin, embroidered with lions of gold; and of black velvet, powdered with lambs, moons, and stars; canopies of blue cloth of bawdekin, with 'birds of flour in gold;' and of red silk, with green branches and white flowers, powdered with swans between the branches; copes, streamers, and mitres, for the boy-bishop and his company 'at Saint Nicholas-tide.'*

The oldest London-bridge was of wood, and stood near St. Botolph's wharf. It was constructed by Isambard de Saintes. Between 1176 and 1209 a stone bridge was constructed near the present site, under the superintendence of Peter de Colechurch, chaplain of the church of St. Mary Colechurch, in the Poultry. It consisted of twenty arches; had a drawbridge for the larger vessels; a gateway at each end; and in the centre a chapel † with a crypt, dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, in which Peter de Colechurch was buried in 1205. The chapel stood on the ninth pier from the north on the east side. It had an entrance from the river by a wind-

* At the Reformation the ornaments of this church were sold. Amongst them a 'tabernacle over the vestry door.' In 1555 we find an account of money spent 'on the rood, Mary and John, the patroness, the *tabernacle of the patroness*, painting the patroness, and refreshing the tabernacle.'

† As at Wakefield, Lucerne, and elsewhere.

ing stair, as well as from the bridge. The pier, larger than the others, is shown in Norden's engraving; and a view of the chapel is engraved by Virtue, but without giving his authority.

The bridge rested on piles, and its construction took thirty-three years. The river is said to have been drawn off by a trench from Battersea to Redriffe during this undertaking. Houses were subsequently built on each side, with void places at intervals, and chain-posts for the security of passengers. Tyler and Cade entered London, in 1381 and 1450 respectively, by this bridge. On its gate-houses were exhibited the heads of Lewellyn, of Sir William Wallace, of Hugh Despencer, of Sir Thomas Percy (after Shrewsbury), of Cade, and of More and Fisher. His daughter Roper contrived to purchase More's head. The hair is said by Cresacre to have assumed after death a golden hue. Margaret Roper directed that her father's head should be buried with her. Her request was complied with; and it is now placed in a small niche, enclosed by an iron grating, in the 'Ropers' Vault' at St. Dunstan's, Canterbury. A strange and painful story, if true, is told of Ann Bullen. It is said that Fisher's head was carried to her before it was placed on the City gate. She said, 'Is this the head that hath so often exclaimed against me? I trow never more shall it do me harm.' It is added that she struck the mouth, and that one of the

teeth protruding inflicted upon her a scar that was never effaced. The narrative is given in Bayley's *Life of Fisher*. She had indeed spurned off the heads of her opponents like footballs, as More prophesied; but as her own was so soon to fall on the scaffold, it is to be hoped that this trait is undeservedly related of her.

'The next day after his [Fisher's] burying, the head, being parboyled, was pricked upon a pole, and set on high upon London-bridge, among the rest of the holy Carthusians' heads that suffered death lately before him. And here I cannot omit to declare unto you the miraculous sight of this head, which, after it had stood up the space of fourteen dayes upon the bridge, could not be perceived to wast nor consume: neither for the weather, which then was very hot, neither for the parboyling in hot water, but grew daily fresher and fresher, so that in his life-time he never looked so well; for his cheeks being beautified with a comely red, the face looked as though it had beholden the people passing by, and would have spoken to them; which many took for a miracle, that Almighty God was pleased to shew above the course of nature, in this preserving the fresh and lively colour in his face, surpassing the colour he had being alive, whereby was noted to the world the innocence and holinesse of this blessed father, that thus innocently was content to lose his head in defence of

his Mother, the Holy Catholique Church of Christ. Wherefore the people coming daily to see this strange sight, the passage over the bridge was so stopped with their going and coming, that almost neither cart nor horse could passe: and, therefore, at the end of fourteen daies, the executioner was commanded to throw downe the head, in the night time, into the River of Thames, and, in the place thereof, was set the head of the most blessed and constant martyr, Sir Thomas More, his companion and fellow in all his troubles, who suffered his passion on the 6th of July next following.'

A tournament was held on London-bridge in 1359.

At the south end of London-bridge is the church of *St. Mary Overy* (over the Rhe river), commonly known as *St. Saviour's, Southwark.** It was the church of a house of Austin canons, founded or renewed by William Pont de l'Arch and William Dauncey, knights, Normans, in 1106. St. Mary's was at first a nunnery, built by Mary, daughter of Audrey the ferry-man, by means of profits arising from the ferry where London-bridge now stands. When a vault was found in the centre of the choir, an old foundation wall was discovered on the site described by Stow as that of the 'House of Sisters,' where he says that Mary was buried. Aldgod was the first prior. Destroyed by fire in 1213, the priory was rebuilt by

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 169.

Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, and guardian of Henry III. Bartholomew Linsted, the last prior, surrendered to Henry VIII. in 1540, and got a pension of 100*l*. per annum. Rickman says that St. Mary Overy is well worth attention on account of its fine interior, as a choice example of what he calls 'early English.' Nothing now remains but the choir and transept of the church. The nave may be sought for by him who should seek the Santa Casa in Dalmatia or at Nazareth. Has it, then, been removed? No, it has been *translated*—into the churchwarden's Gothic of 1840. Still St. Mary Overy is the second church in the metropolis* and the first in Surrey, sad as is the 'counterfeit presentment of two brothers.' 'Have you eyes,' the functionaries might have been asked, 'and batten on this moor? . . What judgment would step from this to this? . . What devil was it that thus hath cozened you at hoodman-blind?'†

Bishop William Giffard, the builder of the adjoining palace of the Bishops of Winchester, was a great benefactor to the priory.‡ Alexander Fitzgerald gave two weys of cheese annually, his grandson Henry a field of wheat. Hamelin, Earl of Warren, and Isa-

* 'This spacious and specious church (for well it deserves those epithets).' Stow.

† *Hamlet*, act iii. sc. 4.

‡ Giffard was the founder of Waverley Abbey, Surrey, the first Cistercian house in England, and of the Austin Canons' Priory, Taunton.

bella his Countess, presented the churches of Kircesfield, Becheswurde, and Leghe to the priory.

The priory was greatly injured in the great fire of 1212. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, in answer to an application on the part of Edward I. for the admission of an old servant of his into their number, the canons state that their property was insufficient for their own maintenance, and that they were unable from the state of their funds to build the tower of their church. In 1273, Walter, Archbishop of York, granted an indulgence to all who should aid in the restoration. In 1337, the priory made a rule confining the boy-bishop to the boundaries of his own parish.

In 1402, William of Wykeham, the celebrated Bishop of Winchester, finding his infirmities increase upon him, nominated two of the fellows of New College, his foundation in Oxford, Dr. Nicholas Wykeham and Dr. John Elmes, his coadjutors. He could no longer hold his ordinations, nor could he consecrate the five bells presented by the king to the chapel of New. He resided in the last years of his life at South Waltham, near St. Mary Overy, where his father, mother, and sister lay buried. He contributed to the repairs of St. Mary's, and especially to that of the roof over the vault where his parents lay. This work was not completed at the time of his death, and its execution devolved upon his executors.

In 1406, Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, was married at St. Mary Overies, to Lucia, eldest daughter of Barnaby, Lord of Milan. Henry IV. gave away the bride at the church door, and conducted her to the banquet at Winchester Palace. The princess left 6000 crowns to the canons for Masses for her husband's soul and her own. Cardinal Beaufort's hat and arms recall his elevation to the see of Winchester two years previous to the event just mentioned, that is in 1404, the year of Gower's death. It is said that the cardinal contrived to put his niece, Jane Beaufort, in the way of James I. of Scotland, whom Henry IV. kept in easy imprisonment at Windsor.* The marriage banquet took place at the cardinal's palace.

The priory was dissolved in 1539. The site was granted to Sir Anthony Brown. It is to Linsted, the last prior, that the account of the foundation is due.

The *Choir* (1208) is of fine proportions, the pillars and arches, as at Chichester and Boxgrove, re-

* 'And therewith, cast I down mine eye again
Where as I saw walking under the tower
Full secretly, new comen her to pleyne,
The fairest or the freshest younge flower
That e'er I saw, methought, before that hour;
For which sudden abate, anon astart
The blood of all my body to my heart.'

The King's Quhair.

taining the Romanesque equilibrium, instead of being elevated at the expense of the triforium and clerestory as at Westminster. It is of five bays. On the south side there are only vaulting shafts attached to the pillars, corbels supplying the place of the shafts, that appear on the east and west faces of the pillars to the north. This arrangement has probably been adopted for the better admission of light. The screen at the east covers two arches that led from the choir to the *Lady Chapel*, which, like the 'Nine Altars' at Durham, has its greatest length north and south. It had four altars coëval with the structure; it is very similar to the choir of the Temple Church. In Queen Mary's reign, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, employed the Lady Chapel as a consistorial court.

The choir was dedicated by Bishop Bronescombe, August 28, 1261. The altar-screen was erected by Bishop Fox of Winchester, the founder of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. In the reredos is his favourite device, the Pelican in her piety. The dimensions are fifty-five feet by twenty-four. This screen should be compared with those at Christchurch, Hants; of St. Alban's Abbey; and of Winchester Cathedral, and with the east ends of the chapels of New and Magdalen Colleges in Oxford.

The chapel of St. Mary Magdalen was founded by Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, guardian of

Henry III. The Bishop's and St. Mary Magdalen's Chapels were demolished, August 1830, and a new east end built by G. Gwilt.

Cardinal Beaufort made great repairs in 1400, especially in the south transept. The modern window of the south transept is the restoration of one discovered in the ruins of Winchester palace. It probably belonged to the hall. The transept was restored by R. Wallace, 1829-30.

The *Tower*, of two stories above the level of the roof, has four windows on each face. It is battlemented with pinnacles at the angles.

The walls of the *Nave* were of rubble faced with ashlar and flint. The style was first pointed. The original builder was Bishop Giffard, 1106. There were seven bays. The columns were circular, with Purbeck shafts attached. The triforium had two of its arches simply pointed and of equal breadth with those below; elsewhere were foliated triplets. The clerestory windows were single lancets; in the choir there are triplets with the centre lancet glazed.

In 1469 a wooden roof was added to the nave. Whilst the arches leading into the transept have jamb-shafts, those leading into nave and choir die into the wall. A Norman doorway remained in the north aisle. The great south porch, though mutilated, was a valuable example of early pointed. A

dedication cross yet remains, though hidden, at St. Saviour's on the eastern pier of the prior's entrance.

Dedication crosses were usually placed externally in England. In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. pp. 243, 276, it is stated that the crosses carved in various parts of churches mark spots touched with chrism by the bishop. They occur at Salisbury Cathedral; Edindon, Wilts; Cannington, Somerset; and Brent Pelham, Herts. There is one on a Norman pier at New Shoreham, Sussex.

The *Cloisters* lay to the north.

The tomb of Gower in the south transept (1402) has an effigy with a canopy. It has been removed from St. John's Chapel at the east end of the church, in which Gower founded a chantry. The tomb was repaired and coloured in 1832 at the expense of the first Duke of Sutherland.* The monument stands at present, in strange variance with mediæval tradition, north and south. The hair is long and curling, auburn in colour, the beard small and pointed. On the head is a chaplet like a coronet; the habit is purple damasked to the feet: under the head three books are placed; these are probably his own three works. At the back of the monument are three inscriptions, each originally supported by a virgin

* The Stafford family is, however, descended from the Gowers of Stitenham in Yorkshire, not from the Kentish Gowers.

crowned; the first is Charity, with the lines that have been thus translated:

> 'In Thee, who art the Son of God the Father,
> Be he saved that lies under this stone.'

The second is Mercy, with the lines:

> 'O good Jesus, show Thy mercy
> To the soul whose body lies here.'

The third is Pity, with the lines:

> 'For Thy pity, Jesu, have regard,
> And put this soul in safe keeping.'

Charity, Mercy, and Pity are in red letters; the couplets are in black, with the exception of the initial letters. Beneath runs another inscription, thus rendered:

> 'His shield henceforth is useless grown,
> To pay Death's tribute slain;
> His soul's with pious freedom flown
> Where spotless spirits reign.'

On the front of the monument is the following: 'Here lies John Gower, Esquire, a celebrated English poet, also a benefactor to the sacred edifice in the time of Edward III. and Richard II.' On the band of purple and gold, with fillets of roses, that encircles the head we read 'Merci Isu.' At the poet's feet are his arms and a helmet, with a red hood bordered with ermine; above is his crest—a dog. This monument should be compared with that of Rahere at St. Bartholomew's.

The houses in Doddington-grove, Kennington, rest on earth removed from the 'cross-bones burial-ground at St. Saviour's, Southwark.'

Not only is the nave of St. Saviour's to the last degree faulty in itself, but it has externally 'blasted its wholesome brother,' the remaining portion of the ancient fabric, by its juxtaposition. Enough, however, has been said in its condemnation by Pugin and others, and there is good reason to hope that it may be removed at an early date and replaced by a worthier structure.

Hollar, in his etching of 1647, shows the nave lower than the choir. A water-colour by Whichelow (1803) represents the gateway which stood at the west end of the church. It is of simple perpendicular character. By the same artist there is an interior of the refectory—a corn-store—showing a tie-beam roof.

We may here relate the little that is known of the life of Gower. The date of his birth was probably between 1320 and 1330. He was of a rich county family, and owned property in the south of London and its neighbourhood. He designated himself an Esquire of Kent, and held manors in several counties. He would appear to have been precise in his business habits, every change resulting from the falling in of leases and mortgages being registered by him in the rolls of Chancery. He is not known

to have entered into the service of his country, either as a soldier or in parliament. From his learning it may be supposed that he was a member of one or other of the Universities. The rising of the peasants and villeins in 1381 would appear to have been the one fact in contemporary history that arrested his attention. It arose in his own county, Kent, and the panic it caused him served to fix or develop his conservatism.* His disgust with the weak policy of Richard II. threw him into the arms of Richard's political opponents, probably with Gloucester, certainly with Derby, afterwards Henry IV., to whom he owed the order of the Silver Swan, the badge of Lancaster, that we see sculptured on his monument. He married Agnes Groundolf on the 25th January 1397. The ceremony was performed by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester. It is interesting to find two such names as those of Gower and Wykeham in conjunction. The Gowers do not appear to have had any children.

It is a remarkable circumstance, as evidencing his political change, that Gower, who began his *Confessio Amantis* at the suggestion of Richard II., whom he met on the Thames between Westminster and London, dedicated the second edition, with a different prologue and epilogue, to the Earl of Derby. It is in

* Cf. Pauli's *Pictures of Old England*—chapter on Gower and Chaucer.

his earlier Latin work, the *Vox Clamantis*, that he endeavours to describe the causes that led to the rise of the villeins.

The *Speculum Meditantis*, written in French, commends by precepts and examples fidelity in marriage. In the English *Confessio Amantis*, a confessor consoles an unfortunate lover by tales and disquisitions. For the last four or five years of his life Gower was blind, 'condemned,' as he says, 'to suffer life devoid of light.' In his will he wrote: 'I leave my soul to God my Creator, and my body to be buried in the church of the Blessed Mary de Overy, or Overes, in a place expressly provided for it.' A tablet beside Gower's monument bore the inscription 'that whosoever prayeth for the soul of John Gower he shall, so often as he so doth, have an "M and a D" days of pardon.'

The transition is easy from the 'moral Gower' to his contemporary and friend:

> 'Him that left half told
> The story of Cambuscan bold,
> Of Camball and of Algarsife,
> And who had Canace to wife;
> That owned the virtuous ring and glass,
> And of the wondrous horse of brass
> On which the Tartar king did ride.'*

The Tabard,† quarter of a mile from London-

* *Il Penseroso.*

† Misnamed *Talbot.*

bridge, on the south side of Borough High-street, is the Tabard of Chaucer, whose *Canterbury Tales* are the most splendid illustration of mediæval England. Chaucer's pilgrims started in spring, which seems to have been a very usual time for going on pilgrimage, on account of the season of Lent. The 'Pilgrims' Road' may still be traced across Kent from London to Canterbury. Travelling in companies, pilgrims had a watchword, or rather gathering cry. They also wore a distinctive badge. Prayers were said and beads told, and the weariness of travel was relieved by music, song, and the relation of tales. Before reaching a town pilgrims drew up in line, and walked through the streets in procession. They sang and rang hand-bells, whilst a bagpipe player preceded them. In the continuation of Chaucer's tales it is related that the pilgrims on their arrival at Canterbury put up at the Chequers, a well-known inn, where the host of the Tabard in Southwark ordered their dinner. They then went to the cathedral, to make their offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas. The knight and the more distinguished pilgrims went immediately to make their devotions; but of the others, some wandered about the nave, whilst the miller and his companions had a discussion about the arms represented on the painted windows of the church. Summoned by mine host, however, even these loiterers repaired to their devotions. They knelt before the

shrine, told their beads, and kissed the relics, which a monk of the monastery pointed out and named to them. At noon the pilgrims went to dinner; but before leaving the church each obtained his pilgrim's sign. Women were frequently pilgrims; at St. Bartholomew's the Less we have seen the effigies in pilgrim attire of Shirley and his wife; and the wife of Bath in Chaucer had made extensive pilgrimages:

> 'Thrice had she been at Jerusalem,
> And hadde passed many a strange stream;
> At Rome she hadde been, and at Bologne,
> In Galcie, at St. James, and at Cologne.'

The pilgrims on their return home presented themselves at the church, on which they frequently bestowed relics and other memorials of their pilgrimage, or, keeping them in their own possession, had them buried by their side when they came to die.

The characteristic mark of the pilgrim returning from Canterbury was the ampulla or small bottle of lead and pewter containing a drop of the blood of 'the holy blissful martyr' mingled with water—the far-famed 'Canterbury water.'* The ampulla was hung by a thong about the pilgrim's neck. It was thin and flat, with an open mouth like a purse, for receiving the water, again closed after its admission. Above were two loops for the ribbon that passed round the neck. On one side was a representation of St.

* See Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, vol. iii. p. 423.

Thomas in pontificals, on the other of his shrine. Round the outer edge ran the leonine rhyme:

> 'Optimus egrorum
> Medicus fit Thoma bonorum.'

St. Thomas a Waterings,* on the Old Kent-road, is mentioned by Chaucer:

> 'And forth we riden a litel more than pas,
> Unto the Watering of St. Thomas,
> And then our host began his hors arrest.'

Between St. Saviour's and the river stood the town house of the Bishops of Winchester,† who were lords of the manor of Southwark. It had a wharf and a landing-place from the river. Bishop Gardiner of Winchester lived here in much state, surrounded by pages of noble birth, whose education he superintended. Roger Ascham speaks of Gardiner's kindly consideration for men of learning, in which he was never swayed by religious or party considerations. In one of his last sermons at St. Paul's Cross, Gardiner deplored his conduct in the reign of Henry VIII. 'I was awfully in error in my past conduct. Let me impress on you, good people, that Catholicity and the Papacy can never be severed by any earthly power; they will remain united together to the end

* St. Thomas a Waterings was a place of execution: it was here that the Franciscan Father Jones, and a layman, John Rigby, suffered in 1598 and 1599 respectively.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), i. 204.

of time.' During his last illness Gardiner sorrowed much for the part he had taken against the Holy See. 'I too,' he said, 'have denied my Lord, with Peter; but I have not learned to weep bitterly with Peter.'

His funeral was marked by great magnificence. Over the coffin was placed his portrait, representing him as wearing his mitre. Around the bier, riders were disposed bearing sixty burning torches, followed by two hundred mourners. At *St. George's, Southwark,** they were joined by the priests and clerks, who came forth with cross and incense, as did those of every parish all the way to Winchester, where he was buried.

In Tooley (St. Olave's) Street,† made famous by Canning, was the inn of the priors of Lewes, in Sussex. A Norman crypt remained till recently.

St. Thomas's, Southwark,‡ on the north side of the street of that name, was, before the dissolution, the church of the monastery of St. Thomas, founded as an almonry by Richard, Prior of Bermondsey, in 1213, and made a house of 'canons regular' by Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester. The spacious St. Thomas's Hospital, at the south end of West-

* St. George's belonged to the Abbey of Bermondsey, 'by the gift of Thomas Arderne, and Thomas, his son, in the year 1122' (Stow). Bishop Bonner, who died in the Marshalsea prison, in 1569, was secretly buried at St. George's.

† See Mr. Richard Thomson's *Chronicles of London Bridge*, pp. 25, 27, 28, 266.

‡ Stow's *Survey* (Strype), iv. 20.

minster-bridge, is a memorial of this ancient house. In 1436 the hospital of Sandon at Esher was united with that of St. Thomas.

Alwyn Child, a citizen of London, founded a Cluniac monastery of monks from La Charité on the Loire, at *Bermondsey*, in 1082.* Bermondsey became an abbey in Richard II.'s reign.

The Cluniacs derived their name from Clugni, in Burgundy, where Odo, an abbot in the tenth century, reformed the Benedictine rule. Their habit was the same as the Benedictine. The order was introduced into England in 1077, when a Cluniac house was established at Lewes, in Sussex, under the protection of Earl Warenne, the Conqueror's son-in-law. In the eleventh century the abbey of Clugni was at the height of its reputation under Peter the Venerable (1122-1156).

From the 13th of September till Lent, the Cluniacs had one meal only a day, except during the octaves of Christmas and the Epiphany, when they had an extra meal. Still eighteen poor were fed daily at their table.

There were never more than twenty Cluniac houses in England, nearly all of them founded before the reign of Henry II. Until the fourteenth century all the Cluniac houses were priories dependent on the

* For a detailed history of this abbey see Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), v. 85.

parent house of Clugni. The prior of St. Pancras, Lewes, was the high-chamberlain, and frequently the vicar-general of the Abbot of Clugny, and exercised the functions of a Provincial in England. The English houses were all governed by foreigners, and the monks were oftener of foreign than of English extraction. In the fourteenth century, however, there was a change; many of the houses became denizen, and Bermondsey was made an abbey.

During the French war of Henry V.'s time the English Cluniacs were cut off from their spiritual chief, and those who maintained their connection with Clugny had to resign their monasteries into the king's hands. An embassy was sent to Henry from Clugni in 1457, and had an audience at St. Alban's of the Bishop of Durham, of Lord Grey de Ruthyn, and of Henry's secretary. They sought to gain possession of their estates in England, and power to maintain free intercourse with their dependent houses. Their request, however, was refused. We learn of this occurrence from a MS. of John of Wheathampstead, thirty-third Abbot of St. Alban's.

Katherine de Valois, queen of Henry V., died at Bermondsey Abbey, in January 1437, and was buried in the Lady Chapel. When her grandson, Henry VII., built his chapel at Westminster, he had her remains removed and placed near those of her husband. Elizabeth Woodville came to Bermondsey as

a visitor, who was in reality a prisoner, being sent hither by Henry VII, whom she had in some degree contributed to raise to the throne. Bacon thinks that Elizabeth died at Bermondsey in 1492. She desired in her will to be buried beside her husband, Edward IV, at Windsor, a wish that was carried into effect.* An indenture was executed between Henry, the City of London, and the Abbots of Westminster and Bermondsey, some time after the death of his queen, who was, it will be remembered, the daughter of Elizabeth Woodville, by which the Abbot and monastery of Westminster were to pay annually 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to the monks of Bermondsey, for holding an anniversary there on the 6th of February for the good estate of the king, and for the national prosperity, for the souls of his late queen and those of the royal children, for his father the Earl of Richmond and his progenitors, and for his mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, after her death. Curiously enough, there is no mention of Elizabeth Woodville. The abbot and convent of St. Saviour's at Bermondsey were to provide at every anniversary a hearse, with tapers to burn during the *Placebo, Dirige,* with nine lessons, Lauds, and Mass of Requiem.

Bermondsey was surrendered by Robert de Wharton to Henry VIII. He was pensioned 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*,

* 'She was foundress of Queens' College in Cambridge' (Bacon's *Henry the Seventh*).

and made Bishop of St. Asaph. The monastery passed into the hands of Sir Robert Southwell, Master of the Rolls, who sold it with its appurtenances to Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford. Sir Thomas pulled down the church and the greater part of the other buildings, and erected a private residence; then, as having completed his share in the work of destruction, reconveyed the whole to Sir Robert Southwell.

All that recalls this once extensive monastery is to be found in such names as Crucifix-lane, Cross-lane, St. Saviour's Dock, the Long-walk, the Grange-walk, the Base-court-yard—now Bermondsey-square—Bear-yard, once King John's-court, and a fragment of wall in the churchyard of St. Mary Magdalen. This church is the modern substitute for one belonging to the monastery, probably served by the monks for the use of their retainers. An ancient salver of silver of Edward II.'s time, preserved in this church, with a representation of a castle and a knight kneeling before a lady who places his helmet on his head, is probably a relic of the monastery.

The cross of St. Saviour's was found in the Thames in 1117, and to its power was attributed the liberation of William, Earl of Morton, in the following year. In 1140, the earl assumed the monastic habit at Bermondsey.

On St. Matthew's-day, 1558, the Rood of Grace,

from Boxley in Kent,* was destroyed at St. Paul's Cross, and the Rood of Bermondsey was taken down immediately afterwards. It is supposed, however, to have been preserved in front of a building adjoining the abbey gateway, which shared in the demolition of that structure. The abbey gateway, with an arch, postern, and turret of brickwork, is drawn in Pennant's *London.*

As we return to the City by London-bridge, we may relate a legend of the old bridge. A pedlar of Swaffham in Norfolk saw one night, in a dream, a figure that said to him, 'Rise, and go to London-bridge, and there shalt thou find a treasure.' The pedlar failed to obey, and next night he saw the same figure, and was bidden to delay no more, but to depart immediately. Still the pedlar hesitated, and yet again the same figure appeared and bade him instantly be gone. This time he obeyed, and taking his dog with him, set forth for London. Up and down the bridge he wandered a whole day, and no one appeared, till towards dusk a man came up and asked the cause of his protracted promenade. Reluctantly the pedlar disclosed his name, and met from his new acquaintance with ready sympathy for his bootless quest; for, the stranger related, he had himself been made the victim of a similar hoax. He had once been told to

* For the real character of this rood see Pugin's *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 145.

go to Swaffham in Norfolk, to the house of a pedlar who dwelt hard by the church, and there, in a corner of the garden, he should find gold. He had not obeyed the command, nor did he intend to do so, and the pedlar had better follow his example, and trouble himself no more. The pedlar replied, that he should not come again to London-bridge in search of treasure. He was as good as his word. He returned with his dog to Swaffham, and, unlike the London lackpenny in Lydgate,* found that his visit to the metropolis had been of great advantage to him, for he discovered in his garden a large vessel full of gold. With part of this treasure-trove he built the parish church of Swaffham. There the pedlar and muzzled dog may still be seen carved on the seats and on the basement moulding of the tower.†

In 1429, the Duke of Norfolk had a narrow escape from drowning on his way in his barge from St. Mary Overy in attempting to pass London-bridge.

A certain Parker was drowned in shooting London-bridge, in November 1623. His niece, whom he was conveying to a convent abroad, perished with him. From one of his brothers he had charge of a son, from another of a daughter, both of whom he was to place in religious houses. He took his nephew with him to what are known as the 'fatal Vespers' at Hunsdon

* 'For lack of mony, I cold not speed.'

† Cf. Neale's *Hierologus*, pp. 113-115.

House, Blackfriars, when his nephew perished. Parker himself escaped, but was heard to say 'that God saw him not fit to die amongst such martyrs.' Some ten days later he was drowned with his niece, as above related.*

At the church of *St. Magnus*, London-bridge, a guild of our Lady,† 'de Salve Regina,' was established in Edward III.'s reign. Here was a chantry, where the 'Salve Regina' was sung every evening. Five wax-lights burned at St. Magnus, in honour of the 'five principal joys of our Lady.' The people of the parish contributed to the maintenance of the service and lights.

* From a rare pamphlet (previously quoted) in the writer's possession.

† The following is interesting: at Lede, near Ghent, there is a 'monstrance of English workmanship, parcel-gilt, with statuettes of our Lord crucified, with St. Mary and St. John, Christ crowned with thorns, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Edward the Confessor and two angels; on its case is this inscription: Sacram hanc pyxidem pro expositione Augustissimi Sacramenti Ex Anglia in Artesiam (Artois) tempore Reginæ Elizabethæ translatam, Primæ Beatissimæ Virginis Matris Sodalitati, Post Angliæ Conversionem Londini erigendæ dono dedit P. S. Clare. A.D. 1691.' W. H. S. Weale's *Belgium*, &c., p. 224.

Third Walk.

THE CITY.

> 'But now behold,
> In the quick forge and working-house of thought,
> How London doth pour out her citizens,
> The mayor and all his brethren, in best sort,
> Like to the senators of antique Rome.'

On our way to St. Paul's, the next object of high ecclesiological interest on our path, we pass 'Dowgate' or 'Downegate'—one of the twenty-six wards of London—so called from the rapid descent to the river. Skinners' Hall is the modern representative of an ancient building. The Skinners' Company was incorporated in 1327. In 1409 there was a play, lasting eight days, acted at Skinners' Hall, representing Scripture history, from the Creation downward, in a series of tableaux.*

St. Michael, Paternoster Royal, or St. Michael's, College-hill, is a church in the *Tower Royal* (granted by Edward III. to the canons of St. Stephen's, Westminster, according to Stow). Strype, however, quotes

* Near Skinners' Hall was Jesus Commons, a college of priests. Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 1457.

the grant by Richard III. to the Duke of Norfolk, in which the Tower Royal is spoken of as a messuage in the parish of St. Thomas Apostle. At St. Michael's, Whittington founded a college of St. Spirit and St. Mary,* with a master, four fellows, masters of arts, clerks, 'conducts,' and choristers, and bestowed upon it the rights and profits of the church. Whittington's coffin was robbed of its leaden enclosures by Mountan, the incumbent in the reign of Edward VI. The body was reinterred with fresh coverings in Queen Mary's time.†

A brotherhood was established in 1375, in the church of *St. James, Garlickhithe*, in this vicinity, 'in worship of God Almighty our Creator, and His Mother St. Mary, and All Hallows, and St. James Apostle.'

At Downgate was the Steelyard, the factory and emporium of the merchants of the German Hanseatic league. Near the only bridge of the City, the 'Exchange,' and St. Paul's, this 'aula Teutonicorum' had a wharf on the river-side, and was in itself an imposing structure. It has been compared to the Arthurshof at Dantzic, and the Rumeny at Soest.‡ Towards Thames-street it was piled high in many stories, as were German civic buildings. It had three

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 738.

† Stow's *Survey*, iii. 5.

‡ Dr. Pauli's *Pictures of Old England*, p. 190.

round-headed gateways clamped with iron, and bearing above them inscriptions—of welcome to the visitor; of warning to those who infringed discipline; whilst a third, badly supported by scriptural authority, pointed out the reward and the benefits of gold.

On the 24th November 1554, Cardinal Pole, on his way from Brabant, came to London from Gravesend by water, with the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Montague, the Bishops of Durham and Ely (Tonstall and Goodwich), Lord Paget, Sir Edward Hastings, the Lord Cobham, and many others, in barges. They passed London-bridge between twelve and one o'clock. Opposite the Steelyard they were met by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the Chancellor, in his barge; and Lord Shrewsbury, whose house was at Coldharbour close by, had also his barge with the Talbot. The oarsmen were in blue and scarlet. From the Steelyard, the party proceeded to Whitehall, where Philip of Spain met the cardinal, embraced him, and led him through the hall. Before the cardinal, as before his predecessor Augustine, was carried the cross, whilst Lord North preceded the king with a sword. They entered the queen's chamber, where Mary saluted Pole, who then reëmbarked and proceded to Lambeth. There is much interest in this narrative, by one probably himself an eye-witness of Pole's landing,* of the simple and dignified com-

* Machyn's *Diary*, Nov. 24, 1554.

mencement of an undertaking that failed so disastrously in the end.

The London Fishmongers were divided into 'Stock-fishmongers' and 'Salt-fishmongers.' Thames-street was 'Stock-fishmonger-row,' and the old fish market of London was 'above-bridge,' not, as at the present day, at Billingsgate. The earliest charter of the Company is a patent of the 37th of Edward III.

Sir William Walworth* was a member of the Fishmongers' Guild. By the statutes of the Fishmongers' Guild, it was ordained that on the Sunday after the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, before their meal, the members should be all present in the church of St. Peter's,† Cornhill, in their livery, there to hear a solemn Mass of Requiem for all the souls of the brotherhood and all Christian souls, at which Mass the priest of the brotherhood was to rehearse and recommend from the pulpit to their prayers all the brethren and sisters and all Christians; and this same Sunday they were to hold a feast according as it was arranged by the wardens of the brotherhood.

The priest said his Mass daily with the special

* Sir William Walworth founded the College of St. Michael, Crooked-lane, Candlewick Ward, for a master and nine chaplains to celebrate Mass.

† St. Peter was the patron of the Fishmongers, as St. Mary (Mother of the Agnus Dei) of the Drapers, St. Dunstan of the Goldsmiths.

orison *Deus qui caritatis*, or a memento for the living, and *Deus veniæ largitor* for the dead, except on solemn festivals, when his doing so was optional; and every feria *Placebo* and *Dirige* after noon, with the lessons and the same special prayer for the brethren and sisters departed; and every Monday and Friday a Mass *in requiem;* and every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday the seven penitential psalms and litany for living and dead.

Machyn records that on the 16th February 1557 was buried Master Pinnock, fishmonger, of the brotherhood of Jesus, with eleven branched candlesticks and twelve great torches. Twelve poor men had good black gowns. There were four great tapers borne in the procession; there were a great number of clerks and priests; then came the mourners, and after them the brotherhood of Jesus to the number of twenty-four, with black satin hoods having I.H.S. on them; and after these the Company of the Fishmongers in their livery,* whose mourning attire the black satin hoods probably were.

We pass by Walbrook, one of the city wards, to the Poultry and Cheapside. Stow is careful to explain that 'Walbrook' is not so called from 'Galus,' a Roman Captain, slain by Asclepiodatus, and thrown therein, as some have fabled! We fail to see why any

* Or special dress: hence *Livery Companies*.

one should have so thought, save on Bottom's plea—'some man or other must present Wall.'* The Wall-brook drained Finsbury and Moorfields, and flowed from the city wall by Lothbury and Bucklersbury to the Thames. At Budge-row, a corruption of Bridge-row, there was a bridge over the Wall-brook. Hard by was the church of St. Anthony, better known as *St. Antholin's*.†

Bucklersbury has its name, in all probability, from the buckler-makers, though Stow says it was 'so called of a manor and tenements pertaining to one Buckle who there dwelt and kept his courts.' We may illustrate the more probable derivation: Cheapside (from chepe or market), Eastcheap, Cornhill, Grace (or Grass) Church, Fenchurch-street (the old haymarket), Woolchurch, Sopers'-lane, Lothbury (or Lattenbury), Sermon (Shiremongers', or bullion-clippers') lane, Coleman (or charcoal-burners') street, and Trump (or trumpet-makers') street; the Poultry, Vintry, Fish-street, Bread-street, Milk-street, Leaden (or Leathern) hall, Leather-lane, Silver-street, Goldsmiths'-row, all indicate the localities once occupied by various trades. At Bucklersbury was the residence of Sir Thomas More previous to

* *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, act iii. sc. 1.

† This church is soon to be removed. St. Antholin's was the first church in which the Protestant service was used.

his removal to Chelsea, and here his daughter Margaret Roper was born.*

St. Anthony's Hospital† in Threadneedle (Threeneedle) street was a cell of St. Anthony's at Vienne, subsequently becoming an hospital 'for a master, two priests, one schoolmaster, and twelve poor men.' Sir Thomas More was educated in this school. The Jews had a synagogue in the 'Old Jewry.' The mendicant friars of the sack, whose house was in the same quarter, complained that their Jewish neighbours made so much noise at their worship that they (the friars) 'could not make the body of the Lord in peace.' The Jews were expelled in 1291, and went farther east, towards Aldgate. In 1305, Robert Fitzwalter, banner-bearer of the City, begged the mendicant friars' house of the City, and obtained his request. There was another Judaismus or Jewry near the Tower. Maitland conjectures near what was afterwards called Hangman's Gains (a corruption of Hammes and Guisnes, many refugees from those places settling there in Queen Mary's time). The eastern Jewry was within the liberties of the Tower and exempt from the jurisdiction of the City. In 1279, the eighth year of Edward I., the king, at the archbishop's request, issued a writ to the mayor and

* To the west of Bucklersbury are the sites of the churches of St. Pancras, Soper-lane, and St. Benet Sherehog, destroyed in the fire, and not rebuilt.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 766.

sheriffs of London for the apprehension of certain persons 'qui recesserunt ab unitate Catholicæ Fidei.' But it was found that they had taken refuge *in Judaismo* (in the Jewry). The archbishop then wrote to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the chancellor, saying that the fugitives were 'in Balliva Majoris et vicecomitatis Londonensis, sub custodia et potestate constabularii Turris, ubi ingredi non possunt, ut dicitur, sine speciali mandato.' As the Jews came to England in great numbers at the Conquest, they would naturally seek protection under the shadow of the Tower. The Old Jewry may have had a similar origin, as a Saxon palace would appear to have stood in Wood-street, and the Jews settled in the vicinity may have obtained the same protection from the Saxon, that those in the neighbourhood of the Tower gained from the Norman monarch.

Guildhall was built by subscription and begun in 1411, the twelfth year of Henry IV. Before that date the courts were held in Aldermanbury. In Richard I.'s time, the Crown, for an annual payment of 400*l*., renounced civil and judicial power over London, Middlesex, and Southwark. Two sheriffs were elected by the City, and nominated by the sovereign. In 1189, we first hear of a Mayor of London: Henry FitzAlwyn is the first on record.* He held office

* The portreeve was the Saxon official. The Conqueror's charter runs: 'William the king greets William the bishop, and Godfrey

twenty-three years. Then came annual elections. The Lord Mayor—the City king—presided over his Court of Aldermen, the peers of the civic constitution. The lower house was elected from the freemen.

Externally Guildhall is at the present moment undergoing a transformation, on the effect of which it would be premature to pass judgment. Internally it has been brought back to what may be supposed to have been its ancient condition. It has been conjectured, with sufficient probability, that the nave of Winchester was copied at Guildhall. If the walls were richly painted, and the light from the storied windows thrown, as in Whittington's time, on a floor of 'hard stone of Purbeck,' a really fine effect might be obtained. The side walls are divided at intervals by wall pillars of bold projection, whilst each bay so formed is further marked from side to side into five vertical divisions, by mullions which at the time of the erection of Guildhall had passed from the windows to the walls of buildings. The hall is 153 feet in length by 48 in breadth.

Henry Garnet, superior of the English Jesuits, was brought to trial at Guildhall, March 29th, 1606. He was condemned, and remained a prisoner under sentence at the Tower for five weeks previous to his execution.

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the portreeve, and all the burgesses in London both French and English.'

In 1410, it was ordained that a 'Mass of the Holy Ghost' should be sung solemnly every year on the day of the Lord Mayor's election, in the chapel of Guildhall.

The chapel or college of 'St. Mary and All Saints' adjoined Guildhall to the south and east.* It was founded in 1368 by three citizens, Adam, Francis, and Henry de Frowick, for a warden, seven priests, three clerks, and four choristers, and rebuilt in 1431, in the mayoralty of John Walls, grocer. Its site is now in part occupied by the City library. 'The vi. day of May, 1554, was a goodly evyn-song at Yeldhall College, by the masters of the clarkes and ther felowshype of clarkes with synging and playng. The morrow after was a great mass at the same place, by the same fraternity, when every clerk offered a halfpenny. The mass was sung by divers of the Queen's chapel and children; and after mass done, every clerk went their procession two and two together, each having a surples [surplice] and a silk cope, and a garland; after them iiii. xx standardes stremars, and baners; and evere on that bare them had a nobe [alb] or else a surples; and ii. and ii. together; then came the wates playng, and then be-twyn xxx. clarkes a qwre syngyng *Salve festa dyes;* so ther wher iiii. qweres. Then came a canepe [canopy] borne by iiii. of the masters of the clarkes over the Sacrament,

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 1457.

with a xii. stayff-torchys borning [burning] up Sant Laurens-lane, and so to the further end of Chep, then back a-gayn up Cornhylle . . . unto Sant Albrowse Chyrche [St. Ethelburga's]; and there they did put off their copes and so to dener every man.'*

The crypt of Guildhall is vaulted with four-centred arches of good character; were it cleansed, repaired, and properly lighted, it might become a valuable adjunct to the hall above. If the heavy blocks of building that flank the exterior of Guildhall were removed, the hall shown in its full proportions, and the court we would thus form environed by a cloister similar to that of the Exchange at Antwerp,† with a sculptured group or a fountain in the centre, the City magnates might found a claim to the respect of the enlightened, at the centre of their domain, they hardly establish by their annual progress to Westminster.‡ The Earl of Cornwall, in Edward III.'s time, gave Ringer Hall, in Queen-street, Cheapside, to the Abbot of Beaulieu, Hants.

At *St. Mary-le-Bow*§ Wren used the arches of the old church to support the modern structure. They

* *Grey Friars' Chronicle.*

† The model followed in the old London Exchange, built by an architect of Antwerp, Hendrickx, in 1566.

‡ The progress dates from the mayoralty of John Norman, in 1454.

§ In the immediate vicinity were the churches of *St. Matthew*, Friday-street, *St. Mildred*, and *All Hallows*, Bread-street, St. Margaret Moyses, St. Peter Colechurch, St. Martin Pomary, All Hallows, Honey-lane.

are of Norman date, and to them the church owes its name; as does the 'Court of Arches' held here. Stow illustrates the bestowal of this name by the designation of 'Stratford-le-Bow,' so called from the bridge built there by Maud, the queen of Henry I. Fitzosbert—the English Rienzi—defended himself in Bow steeple, circa 1190.* In 1284, Ducket, a goldsmith, who had wounded a certain Ralph Crepin, took refuge in Bow church, and slept in the steeple. Some acquaintances of Crepin found him there and slew him, placing the body as if he had committed suicide. The account given seemed satisfactory as to the mode of the goldsmith's death, and he was buried as was customary in cases of suicide. But a boy made his appearance, who, it seems, had entered the tower with him. The boy told who the murderers were—one of them a woman—and in consequence of this information they were apprehended and executed. For a time the church was closed and the windows filled with brambles. The Common Council ordained in 1469 that 'Bow bell' should be rung nightly at nine o'clock, as the signal of cessation from labour. In 1472, John Donne, mercer, left by will to the par-

* Fitzosbert (alias William Longbeard) undertook to separate the 'humble and faithful' from the 'proud and perfidious,' 'the elect from the reprobate, as the light from the darkness.' He was followed to Bow church by a woman whom he loved. Fire was applied to the steeple. Wounded and half suffocated, Fitzosbert was carried to the Tower, and thence to execution.

son and churchwardens two tenements in Hosier-lane, for the maintenance of Bow bell. It rang too late in the estimation of the 'prentices of Cheap, who composed the distich:

> 'Clarke of the Bow Bell with the yellow lockes,
> For thy late ringing, thy head shall have knockes.'

The clerk followed suit:

> 'Children of Cheape, hold you all still,
> For you shall have the Bow Bell rung at your will.'

Cockney, or native of Cocaigne, the land of gastronomy, was an epithet applied to such Londoners as were born within sound of Bow bell. It belongs in its strictness to Sir Thomas More, born in Milk-street hard by. In 1512, additions were made to the upper part of Bow steeple, when the arches and lanterns, five in number, one at each corner and the fifth in the centre, were completed with Caen stone.* It was designed to glaze the lanterns. The balcony in the tower of the present St. Mary-le-Bow is a memorial of the seldam or shed erected by Edward III. for himself, the queen, and the nobles to survey the joustings in Cheap. Although granted to mercers by Henry IV., the shed was every now and again employed by our sovereigns, who came hither to wit-

* The old silver seal of the parish represents the steeple as it stood before the fire. Some trace of its design may be observed in that masterpiece of Wren—the present tower and spire. A yet earlier steeple, constructed of wood, was blown off, and nearly sank out of sight in the mud!

ness the great 'watches' on the even of St. John the Baptist and of St. Peter at midsummer. Henry VIII. came disguised as a yeoman to this, the King's Head in Cheap, on St. John's-even, 1510. But gaiety has long given way to business cares here as elsewhere in the City.

Near Bow church was the 'Standard in Cheap,' where Wat Tyler had Richard Lyons and others beheaded in 1381; and Jack Cade, the Lord Say, the high-treasurer of England, in 1450.*

Two conduits stood in Cheapside. The Great Conduit conveyed sweet water by leaden pipes from Paddington. Built originally in 1285, it was rebuilt and enlarged by Thomas Ilam, one of the sheriffs, in 1479. There is a representation of it in Pugin's *Contrasts*. It is a pity that the architect of the drinking-fountain between Guildhall and St. Lawrence, Jewry, did not reproduce this ancient design. The Little Conduit stood on the site of the Cross, to the east of the church of St. Michael le Quern (ad bladum), at the extreme east end of Paternoster-row, in Cheapside.† The Cross was taken down and the Conduit built in 1390. The Conduit was destroyed in the great fire.

On the site of Mercers' Hall, to the north of Cheap-

* Lord Say's head was fixed on a spear; his body was tied to the tail of a horse, and dragged to St. Thomas à Watering.

† Leland, the antiquary, was buried at St. Michael's.

side, was a hospital of St. Thomas Acon or of Acre,* founded twenty years after his death by Agnes, sister of St. Thomas à Becket, and her husband, Thomas Fitz-Theobald de Hellis. William, an Englishman, chaplain to Radulph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's, vowed that if he could enter Acre under siege, he would found a chapel to St. Thomas the Martyr. His desire was fulfilled; he built the chapel, obtained ground for a churchyard, became prior of his foundation, and buried pilgrims in the churchyard. So Richard I. founded a military order after the capture of Acre in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr. These circumstances explain why, when Thomas Fitz-Theobald de Hellis and his wife built a chapel and hospital 'on the rule of St. Austin,' on the estate of Gilbert à Becket, father of St. Thomas, 'dedicated to the worship of God Almighty and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the said glorious Martyr,' it was known as St. Thomas Acon (of Acre).† On All Saints, Christmas-day, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, the Circumcision, Epiphany, and the Purification, the Mayor and Corporation visited St. Thomas's, whence they went to Vespers at St. Paul's. Henry VIII. granted the church, cloisters, &c., to the Mercers. They were burnt in the great fire.

The Cross in Cheapside was one of the nine erected

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 645.
† Cf. Milman's *St. Paul's*, 165-167.

by Edward I., on every spot where the body of his Queen Eleanor rested on the way from Hardeby, near Lincoln, to her interment in Westminster Abbey. The appearance of the Cross in Cheapside is well known. It was built by 'Master Michael, of Canterbury.' It was rebuilt in 1441, on the old model, in the mayoralty of John Hatherly. It was gilt in 1552, against the coming of Charles V., but fell a victim to Puritan violence in 1643; leaving Northampton, Geddington, and Waltham to show us what royal affection and the best art of the middle age could do.*

In 1327, Edward II. committed the custody of London to Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, Lord High Treasurer. A letter from the queen, addressed to the citizens—imploring them to rise in defence of the country—was fastened to the Cross in Cheapside. In the queen's name the Bishop of Exeter demanded the City keys from the Lord Mayor. The citizens seized the Lord Mayor, and raised the cry, 'Death to the queen's enemies!' The deed followed quickly on the word. They killed Marshall, a servant of the younger Despencer: plundered Stapleton's palace, seized him on his return from a ride in the fields, dragged him to Cheapside, and led him to execution with two of his servants. He had been building a

* The places where the body of St. Louis rested on the way to St. Denis were similarly indicated.

tower on the Thames, and thither his dead body was dragged and cast into the water.

Wood-street, Cheapside,* is conjectured by Stow to derive its name either from the material of the houses, or from Thomas Wood, sheriff in 1491, who built the houses in Cheap called Goldsmiths'-row, with figures of woodmen; doubtless in allusion to his own name.

In *St. Michael's, Wood-street,*† was buried the head of James IV., who fell at Flodden in 1513.

'The body,' Stow says, 'was clossed in lead and conveyed . . . to London, and so to the monastery of Sheen [Richmond], in Surrey; where it remained for a time, in what order I am not certain. But since the dissolution of that house, in the reign of Edward VI., Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolk, being lodged and keeping house there, I have been showed the same body, so lapped in lead close to the head and body, thrown into a waste-room, amongst the old timber, lead, and other rabble. Since the which time workmen there, for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head: and Lancelot Young, master glazier to Queen Elizabeth, feeling a sweet odour to come from thence, and seeing the same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the hair of the head

* Cowper and Wordsworth have given poetical celebrity to Cheapside.

† The patronage of this church belonged—before the Reformation—to the Abbey of St. Alban's.

and beard red, brought it to London to his house in Wood-street, where for a time he kept it for the sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of that church to bury it amongst other bones taken out of their charnel.'

> 'View not that corpse mistrustfully,
> Defaced and mangled though it be;
> Nor to yon Border castle high
> Look northward with upbraiding eye;
> Nor cherish hope in vain,
> That, journeying far on foreign strand,
> The Royal Pilgrim to his land
> May yet return again.
> He saw the wreck his rashness wrought;
> Reckless of life, he desperate fought,
> And fell on Flodden plain:
> And well in death his trusty band,
> Firm clench'd within his manly hand
> Beseem'd the monarch slain.'*

Maiden-lane is so called from a sign of the Blessed Virgin.†

St. Alban's, on the north side of Love-lane, and east side of Wood-street, is related by Matthew of Paris to have been King Offa's chapel.‡ An ancient tower, described as belonging to Athelstan's palace, still stood by it in the seventeenth century.

* Scott's *Marmion*.

† St. Mary Staining, Wood-street, stood on the north side of Oat-lane. It was destroyed in the great fire, and not rebuilt. The advowson of the rectory belonged to the prioress and convent of Clerkenwell.

‡ Offa was the founder of the Abbey of St. Alban's. See Mr. Freeman's *Old English History*, pp. 78-87.

St. Martin-le-Grand,* Aldersgate, on the site of the present Post-office, was a collegiate church founded by Ingelric, Earl of Essex, and his brother Gerard, in 1036. William the Conqueror gave it a charter in 1068. It had the right of sanctuary; and prisoners on their way from Tower-hill to execution at Newgate sometimes made their escape, and availed themselves of the shelter of St. Martin's. In Henry VI.'s reign a soldier, who was being taken from Newgate to Guildhall, was rescued by his companions, who issued from Panyer-alley, Newgate-street, and hurried him to the shelter of St. Martin's. Sir Thomas More says that Miles Forest, one of the murderers of the princes in the Tower, 'rotted away' in the sanctuary of St. Martin's. William of Wykeham became Dean of St. Martin's May 5th, 1360. He had previously been in succession Rector of Pulham, in Norfolk, and Prebendary of Flaxton, in the church of Lichfield. He rebuilt the cloisters and the body of the church.

Goldsmiths' Hall belonged to an ancient company, incorporated in the first year of Edward III.'s reign.† Henry Fitz-Alwyn, first Mayor of London, belonged to this guild.

St. Dunstan was chosen by English goldsmiths

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 1323.

† The charters of this reign are the first enrolled. They were bestowed in succession on the goldsmiths, linen armourers (now Merchant Tailors), skinners, grocers, fishmongers, drapers, hatters, and vintners.

as their patron,* as we learn from Capgrave that he was skilful in metal-work; or as in the English *Legendes of the Saayntes*, 'Then used he' (St. Dunstan) 'to werke in goldsmythes werke with his own hondes.' High in the reredos of their hall, the London Goldsmiths had a silver-gilt image of St. Dunstan, set with gems. The walls were hung with arras, on which were representations of his history; the drawings for which were made in London, and sent to Flanders to be wrought. Their loving-cup, with St. Dunstan on the top, was very rich. A light was kept burning in the church of St. John Zachary in honour of St. Dunstan. There was a chapel of St. Dunstan in the cathedral church, with an image of the saint. The curtain was of blue buckram; the wardens' gowns were of velvet. On St. Dunstan's-eve the aldermen of the guild assembled in their velvet gowns and cloaks, and the rest of the company in their second livery, at Goldsmiths' Hall. Four chaplains preceded them to the cathedral. At the close of their year of office, the out-going wardens (as those of the other civic guilds) went with garlands on their heads to their hall, where the election of the new wardens took place.† On the heads of the newly-

* St. Eligius, or Eloy, was the patron of the French goldsmiths. Under his patronage they placed their hospital at Paris.

† All the companies were under the control of the chief magistrate of the City, who fined and imprisoned the wardens at his pleasure.

elected officers the garlands were then placed. Every guild had one or more funeral palls (*herse-cloths*). On St. Dunstan's-day, after dinner, the whole livery of Goldsmiths went to the general obit and dirge for all the brethren and sisters of the company, with the chaplains before them. The beadle was to see that the best herse-cloth and wax were provided by the almsmen. These almsmen or 'allowsmen' had on being admitted to swear that they would, unless prevented, be present every Wednesday and Friday at St. John Zachary's church by eight o'clock, at the Mass of Drew Barentyne's priest. There they were to pray for the good estate of all the brethren of the craft, whether living or dead. They had also to come weekly to the Goldsmiths' Mass at St. John Zachary's in their blue, and to every obit in their black gowns. In the Goldsmiths' guild-books, in relation to keeping their obits, there is the copy of an agreement made (A.D. 1369) between their wardens and the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral, for the maintenance of a chantry in the chapel of St. Dunstan, for the soul of John Hyltoft, goldsmith of London. Hyltoft had bequeathed ample means to the brotherhood for this object.

The collegiate church and precincts of St. Martin-le-Grand were granted by Henry VII. to Westminster Abbey, and until the passing of the Reform Bill in

1832, the inhabitants of this district voted at the Westminster elections.

The church of *St. Anne and St. Agnes*, to the north of the Post-office—formerly known as St. Anne-in-the-Willows, with which St. John Zachary is now incorporated—was in the gift of the Dean of St. Martin's. There was in it a monument with this curious inscription:

'Qu		an		tris		di		c		vul		stra	
	os		guis		ti		ro		um		nere		vit
H		san		Chris		mi		t		mun		la'	

When each syllable of the first and third lines is read with the corresponding syllable of the intermediate line, we make the following distich:

> 'Quos anguis tristi diro cum vulnere stravit,
> Hos sanguis Christi miro tum munere lavit.'

St. Leonard's, Foster-lane,* was built by the Dean of St. Martin-le-Grand about 1236, for the inhabitants of the sanctuary.

A tomb bore this epitaph:

> 'When the bells be merrily rung
> And the Mass devoutly sung,
> And the meat merrily eaten,
> Then shall Robert Traps, his wife, and children be forgotten.'

Aldersgate, so called, Stow says, from its antiquity,

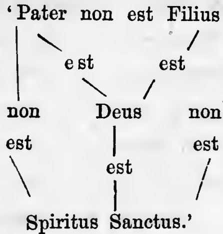
* A parish now incorporated with Christ Church, Newgate-street. Before the Reformation it belonged to Westminster.

gives its name to one of the wards of London. The gate stood across the street between 'Bull-and-Mouth' (Boulogne-Mouth) street and Little Britain, the town house of the Dukes of Bretagne. The ward is divided into Aldersgate Within and Aldersgate Without, Aldersgate-street lying external to the gate. *St. Botolph's* church stood near Aldersgate, as, it has been remarked, did the other churches dedicated to the same saint—by Aldgate, Bishopsgate, and Billingsgate respectively. St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, passed to St. Peter's, Westminster, as an appurtenance of the royal chapel of St. Martin-le-Grand. As a spacious outlet from the narrow confines of the City, Aldersgate-street came to contain many houses of the nobility. 'Trinity-court' was so called from a brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, founded in 1377. It must not be supposed that these were 'Friars of the Holy Trinity' or Maturines, so called from their house near St. Maturine's in Paris, whose work was 'the redemption of captives.'

They were simply a guild or brotherhood founded in 1373, in honour of the Blessed Sacrament.* They were to maintain thirteen wax-lights burning around the 'Easter sepulchre' at St. Botolph's, and to find a chaplain. On Trinity Sunday they heard Mass in honour of the Blessed Sacrament and of the Holy Trinity, and made their offerings.

* Cf. Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, pp. 77-89.

A window exhibited a significant symbol of the Trinity.



The brotherhood had tenements in Aldersgate-street, the Barbican, Lamb-alley, Fenchurch-street, and Long-lane. They owned the 'Saracen's Head' and the 'Falcon on the Hoop' Brewery.

The steps of the sepulchre may have been, as they have been described in many places during the Middle Ages, hung with black, with a candle on each step, whilst persons, dressed as soldiers, kept watch till Easter-day, when the Sacrament (sometimes, at least, enclosed in the breast of an image of our Lord holding the Cross in His hand, as the Resurrection is usually represented) was borne to the altar by two priests, who offered incense whilst the choir sang 'Christus Resurgens.'* The chaplain had to say his 'Mass' by five o'clock, summer and winter, making before Mass a special mention of the Trinity. Besides his duties to the guild, he was bound to assist the priests of St. Botolph's. On the Sunday after All Souls'-day, the chaplain read from the pulpit the

* See Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, iii. 102.

names of the brothers and sisters. At night a 'Dirge' was said, and the day following a 'Requiem Mass,' for the departed members of the guild. Each brother and sister was bound to attend and present the accustomed offerings, or incur the penalty of 'one pound of wax.' In Henry V.'s reign, Richard Derham, Bishop of Llandaff, was master of the brotherhood. The rich citizens, in Chaucer's poem, were members of a guild :*

> 'An haberdasher, and a carpenter,
> A weaver, dyer, and a tapiser,
> Were all yclothed in a livery
> Of a solemn and great fraternity.
> Full fresh and new their gear ypiked was,
> Their knives were ychased not with brass,
> But all with silver wrought full clean and well;
> Their girdles and their pouches every deal,
> Well seemed each of them a fair burgess,
> To sit in a Guildhall upon the dais,
> Every for the wisdom that he can,
> Was shapely for to be an alderman.
> For chattels hadden they enough and rent,
> And eke their wives would it well assent;
> And eke certainly they were to blame,
> It is full fair to be ycleped madame,
> And for to go to vigils all before,
> And have a mantle loyally ybore.'

* The Saddlers' Guild is the earliest on record. They had their alderman, chaplain, four eschevins, and elders. The canons of St. Martin-le-Grand were bound to offer two Masses, one for the living, the other for the departed members of the fraternity. On the death of a member, the alderman gave eightpence for the tolling of the bell of St. Martin's. Next came the Woollen Cloth

The Barbican was so called from a *Burg-kenning* or watch-tower, detached from the fortification of the City. To the east stood 'the Red Cross,' near which was the Jews' burial-place, the only one they possessed in England till 1177, the twenty-fourth of Henry II.*

Jewin-street, in the same locality, anciently called Leyrestowe, was granted by Edward I. to William de Monteforte, Dean of St. Paul's. This is the De Monteforte who appeared as representative of the clergy at Westminster in that king's reign, to resist his demand upon them of a moiety of their income, as a subsidy. No sooner had De Monteforte begun to speak than, seized by apoplexy or the victim of heart-disease, he fell dead at the king's feet.

A strange occurrence of the Reformation epoch may be noted here. Sounds were heard to issue from the wall of a house—that was uninhabitated at the time—in Aldersgate-street. Persons present amongst the crowd that assembled undertook to explain the meaning of these sounds to the bystanders. When the crowd cried out, 'God save Queen Mary!' there was no reply; but when the cry was, 'God save the Lady Elizabeth!' a shrill voice answered, 'So be it.' The Sibyl pronounced

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Weavers' Guild, on which a charter was bestowed by Henry II. King John expelled them from the City in 1201.

* The Botanic Garden is the site of the Jews' burial-place at Oxford.

the Mass 'Idolatry,' and passed an unfavourable judgment upon confession and other Catholic practices. War, famine, pestilence, and earthquake were predicted after the usual manner of such impostors. The magistrates, finding the tumult increase daily, sent workmen to demolish the wall. A young girl then crept out, who confessed—upon examination—that she had been instructed in her part by the reformed, and bribed to its performance.

Fourth Walk.

ST. PAUL'S.

> 'From each carved nook and fretted bend
> Cornice and gallery seem to send
> Tones that with seraph hymns might blend.
> Three solemn parts together twine
> In harmony's mysterious line;
> Three solemn aisles approach the shrine.'

NEWGATE was built in the twelfth century, in the reign of Henry I. or Stephen, and repaired in 1422 by the executors of Sir Richard Whittington.

Beyond Newgate is the Old Bailey (*ballium* or *vallum*), an open space between the outer wall and the advance entrance to the City. The wall here turns to the south and runs along the ridge of Ludgate-hill. Its protection to the west was the Fleet, which flowed along the ditch, the Fleet-ditch.

On Candlemas-day, 1601, the pursuivants apprehended Mrs. Line, a widow, at whose house Mr. Page, a priest (who has left the inscription 'In God is my hope, Page,' on the walls of the Beauchamp Tower), was preparing to say Mass. Mr. Page made his escape for the time; but Mrs. Line was brought

to the Old Bailey before Lord Chief-Justice Popham, and condemned to be executed at Tyburn for having harboured a seminary priest; a sentence carried into effect on the 27th of February. Soon after Mr. Page was apprehended, brought for trial before the same judge, condemned, and thrust into the dungeon in Newgate called 'Limbo,' till his execution at Tyburn.*

Ludgate, Fleet-gate, or Flood-gate was strengthened in 1215, when the barons entered London and threw down the Jews' houses, employing their materials in the works at this gate.

Ludgate became a prison in Richard II.'s time. It seems to have been a place of honourable confinement.

Agnes Foster, widow of the mayor of that name, enlarged it at her own expense in 1454. An inscription asked 'All devout persons to pray for the souls of Stephen and Agnes Foster.' A chapel was attached to Ludgate. Robert of Gloucester relates that *St. Martin's, Ludgate,* was founded in the seventh century by Cadwallo, a British prince:

> 'A church of Sent Martyn liuyng he let rere,
> In whiche yat men should goddys seruyse do,
> And sing for his soul and all Christen also.'

* Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, vol. i. 395. The modern Newgate was partly burnt and the prisoners rescued in the Lord George Gordon Riots. The reader will remember the striking scenes of *Barnaby Rudge*.

The old church would appear to have had numerous chapels, and was well furnished with plate, vestments, and paintings. We find Robert de Sancto Albano rector of St. Martin's in 1322. In 1437, the church was rebuilt. The Mayor and Commonalty of London granted the rector a lease of a piece of ground, twenty-eight feet long and twenty-four wide, on which to build the steeple. There were two porches on the south side of the church towards Ludgate-hill. Formerly the patronage of St. Martin's was in the hands of the abbot and convent of Westminster. The dedication is worth observing in this connection, as it was probably to them that the erection of St. Martin-in-the-Fields was due. Queen Mary granted St. Martin's to the Bishop of London in 1553.*

In St. Paul's churchyard, before the west front of the cathedral, Garnet, superior of the English Jesuits, suffered death, May 3d, 1606, the Invention of the Cross. At the place of execution he made the sign of the Cross with 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti,' and said, 'Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum;' then, 'Maria Mater gratiæ, Mater misericordiæ, tu nos ab hoste protege et horâ mortis suscipe;' then, 'In manus tuas, Domine,

* The curious Greek inscription on the modern font is to be read on the font of St. Sophia, Constantinople; Notre Dame des Victoires, Paris; and elsewhere. It is a palindrome.

commendo spiritum meum,' which he repeated twice or thrice; then, 'Per crucis hoc signum [blessing himself] fugiat procul omne malignum. Infige crucem tuam in corde meo, Domine;' then returned again to 'Maria Mater gratiæ, Mater misericordiæ, tu nos ab hoste,' &c. Then he told the hangman he was ready.*

Within the circle formed by St. Martin-le-Grand, the Grey Friars (backed by the priory of St. Bartholomew), the Hermitage-in-the-Wall, Elsing Spital, and the Blackfriars, a site we have not yet visited, rose the great cathedral with its cluster of smaller churches, *St. Augustine*, St. Gregory, *St. Martin, Ludgate, St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe*, St. Anne,† Blackfriars, *St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf.* Around the cathedral were the dwellings of the bishop, dean, and canons.

In 314, Restitutus, Bishop of London, attended the Council of Arles; and at Ariminium, the Bishop of London was present. The Saxon invasion extinguished the light of Christianity until, on the conversion of Ethelbert, Mellitus was sent on his all-important mission, and the convert king, Sebert, erected the first churches of London and of Westminster. Sebert's sons apostatised and persecuted

* See Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, vol. ii. p. 40, and Father Gerard's *Narrative*, p. 295.

† Now united with *St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe.*

Christians, their defection being followed by that of their people, who fell into paganism for forty years.

'He,' says Bede,* 'departing to the everlasting Kingdom of Heaven, left his three sons, who were yet pagans, heirs of his temporal kingdom on earth. Immediately on their father's decease they began openly to practise idolatry (though, whilst he lived, they had somewhat refrained), and also gave free license to their subjects to worship idols. At a certain time these princes, seeing the Bishop [of London, Mellitus] administering the Sacrament to the people in the church, after the celebration of Mass, and being puffed up with rude and barbarous folly, spake, as the common report is, thus unto him: Why dost thou not give us also some of that white bread which thou didst give unto our father Saba [Sebert], and which thou dost not yet cease to give to the people in the church? He answered, If ye will be washed in that wholesome font wherein your father was, ye may likewise eat of this blessed bread whereof he was a partaker: but if ye contemn the lavatory of life, ye can in no wise taste the bread of life. We will not, they rejoined, enter into this font of water, for we know we have no need to do so; but we will eat of that bread nevertheless. And when they had been often and earnestly warned by

* *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. ii. cap. v.

the bishop that it could not be, and that no man could partake of this most holy oblation without purification and cleansing by baptism, they at length, in the height of their rage, said to him, Well, if thou wilt not comply with us in this small matter we ask, thou shalt no longer abide in our province and dominions; and straightway they expelled him, commanding that he and all his company should quit their realm.'

Chad restored Christianity, and began the line of bishops whose sway extended to the death of Bonner.

Something may be said here by way of preface,* as old St. Paul's is the first of a chain of noble edifices we shall visit (the Temple church and Westminster Abbey completing the series), distinguished by the highest degree of architectural merit. Whence sprang the architecture of these buildings? The history of art at Rome is of a transition from the temple architecture, based on the Greek model—destitute of vaults and arches, and wholly unsuited to such a worship as the Christian—to an internal architecture, in which mastery over space was the prevailing idea. The instrument in effecting this change was the arch, which found its highest application in the domed structures of the Pantheon,

* The substance of what follows was contributed by the writer to the *Scottish Guardian*, February 1867. Mr. Hemans' work on *Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art* and the companion volume on *Mediæval Art* are interesting sources of information.

the Temple of Minerva Medica, and, passing the boundary into Christian art, the church of San Vitale at Ravenna.

Roman architecture was not, like Egyptian, rock-hewn, or piled up as if in rivalry of nature; it was not, as the Greek, narrowed and confined by constructional necessities. It was, however, at its lowest in the palaces and baths of Diocletian, in which arches rested upon columns without the interposition of an entablature. Detached columns were used to decorate the walls, they were supported on brackets, and bore broken pediments. When Christianity came forth from the Catacombs, it found itself in contact with this debased architecture in the Basilicas, the first theatres of its worship. It was long before it was able to confront the ancient temples of the city with nobler edifices of its own. The Basilica was plain; its exterior, save where broken by the portal, a bare stretch of unsheltered wall. The ranges of columns were the sole decoration of the interior. The vista was closed by a semi-circular apse. Nothing could be simpler than an edifice of this kind; the apse alone demanded a vault, whilst the roofing of the rest was of wood. The apse had been occupied by the judges; in it was now placed the throne of the bishop—flanked by the seats of the inferior clergy—separated from the choir by the altar, which stood

on the chord of the apse, whilst the choir again was separated from the nave by a wall or balustrade. A transept crossed the nave at right angles, and gave the building the form of a cross. The faithful occupied the nave and side aisles, the men on the one side, the women on the other. In the narthex, or porch, places were reserved for the catechumens in their threefold ranks, as 'hearers' (audientes), 'kneelers' (genuflectentes), and 'chosen' or 'petitioners' for baptism (electi vel competentes). Widows and virgins found their place in the tribunes, which occupied a place similar to that of the triforium, or blind story in a Gothic minster. Still the church could not forget the place of her sojourn; the altar assumed the form of a tomb, with an excavation beneath it, destined to contain the relics of the martyr under whose dedication the temple was placed. Above the altar rose a baldacchino, or canopy upon four columns.

In the Primitive Church, baptism was given by immersion only, and its administration was confined to the episcopal order. Easter and Whitsunday were the appointed seasons. Hence the large dimension of the baptisteries; a council could assemble in that of St. Sophia; and the greater part of those in Italy became churches when diverted from their original destination. Their form was generally circular or octagonal, fitted for the reception of the font itself;

a huge circular basin, into which those who were to be baptised descended as into a bath—the laver of regeneration. An angel revealed, we are told, to Justinian many of the forms of the great church of Constantinople; the conception of its giant cupola was suggested to the emperor's mind in a dream. It seemed let down by a golden chain from heaven. The form of St. Sophia's superseded the earlier basilican form, introduced into the East by Constantine. The Roman basilica gradually became cruciform, more markedly than before, by the extension of the space between the arch of triumph at the end of the nave and the conch or apse; the Greek church, square or octagonal in form, broke by degrees into the short, equal-limbed Greek cross. The old cathedral of Torcello at Venice, like the St. Mark's of later date, was of the Byzantine form. Many of the Lombard churches of north Italy were square, octagonal, or in the form of a Greek cross.

Still on Italian soil the Latin basilica was victorious; well for architecture that it was so. The screened-off sanctuary of the Greeks contributed as little to the artistic beauty of the Christian as did the Holy of Holies to that of the Jewish temple. In the West the clergy were ranged round the altar, elevated on a flight of steps, withdrawn from the other worshippers, above whom they rose

the visible embodiment of hierarchic dignity and power.

To the East we owe the earliest form of modern representations of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, the apostles, and the saints. In the East arcade surmounted arcade, vault rose above vault, and cupola towered above cupola; paintings, mosaics, bas-reliefs were multiplied. The Ostrogoth kings employed Greek architects; the exarchs of Ravenna followed in their train. It was even from their designs that Charlemagne built his cathedral at Aix; and when the Crusades had thrown the East open to the Italian republics, the Venetians raised St. Mark's, and the Pisan buildings owed something to Byzantine influence.

Meantime the West was overrun by hordes from Germany. The influence they exercised upon art was great. From the foundation of the new states dates a style of architecture to which the name of Lombard has been given. But such a nomenclature is misleading, and it is better to give this style—as well as our own Norman and Saxon—the generic name of Romanesque, or debased Roman. The general character of the early churches of the style is that of three aisles with an apsidal termination, a transept standing north and south, an elongated choir flanked by chapels, at times resting on a crypt or subterranean church; the material a rough stone,

with brick occasionally worked in in symmetrical patterns. The circular columns of earlier times are exchanged for massive square pillars, from which the arches spring; the cornices are supported by consols without frieze or architrave. The heads of the windows are circular, the doors square, but frequently surmounted by a blank arch. The roof, as that of the Basilicas, was of wood. The one novel feature was the introduction of the campanile or bell-tower, square in form, and terminating in a pyramidal roof. The position of the tower was undetermined; it not unfrequently stood apart by the side of the church.

After the death of Charlemagne, the Norman inroads threw art back, and these ended, the fear that the world would close with the tenth century prevailed; but the panic over, architecture sprang up with fresh life and energy, and acquired a better defined and more accurate expression. The choir occupies a third of the entire length of the edifice, and is lower than the nave. The aisles now flank this choir beyond the transept, but do not, as abroad at a later period, sweep round the apse. Their place is occupied by detached chapels. The employment of crypts still prevails. The construction is better in some respects than at an earlier period; buttresses, though still but of slight projection, bind the building together. The bareness of the earlier edifice has yielded to a rich fretwork of ornamenta-

tion, and sculpture abounds in every part. Blank arcading rests against, columns are imbedded in, the wall; cornices are supported by the grotesque figures of men and animals. The roof is vaulted, and, to obviate an undue lateral thrust, broken into squares, bound together by cross arches, each bay thus forming an independent structure, capable of standing by itself unsupported by the rest of the building. Towers strain up to a great height, one at the intersection of the arms of the cross, whilst two others, with majestic effect, flank the western entrance of a great church. Men seemed no longer to build for time, but for eternity.

Of this age was Bishop Maurice's St. Paul's.

In 961, the cathedral of London was rebuilt, but the ancient cathedral, known as 'old St. Paul's,' dates from the appointment of that prelate in 1080. This unparalleled edifice was nearly six hundred feet in length, and the summit of the spire rose to little short of five hundred feet from the ground.

The vault of the nave and transepts was ninety-three feet, a height exceeded by Westminster Abbey, and inferior to that of many foreign structures. The choir was over one hundred feet. For the building of St. Paul's the 'Palatine Tower,' near the Fleet, was destroyed, and the materials employed.

Richard de Beaumeis followed Bishop Maurice

as builder. He pulled down many houses in the vicinity of the church and began the enclosure, the completion of which was ordered by Edward II., on account of the robberies and murders that had taken place on this spot.

The choir was rebuilt* and the spire erected in 1200 by Bishop Roger Niger. This choir and spire were called the 'new work.' Cardinal Otho, the papal legate, St. Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, six bishops, and Henry III. with his court, were present at the dedication. On certain saints' days the choristers climbed the steeple, and chanted prayers and anthems, as was the ancient custom, still observed on May-day at Magdalen College, Oxford. This usage was restored under Mary, the choir going 'about the steeple' after Vespers, singing with lights, as of old.

In 1314, the cross on the spire fell, and it was found that the spire itself, of wood covered with lead (as were those formerly at Lincoln), required repair, or rather reconstruction. The new spire had relics placed in the ball beneath the cross.

On Candlemas-eve, 1444, the new spire was struck by lightning. Fortunately, the fire was ob-

* Matthew Paris relates that 'in the first year of King Stephen, . . . by a fire which began at London-bridge, the Church of St. Paul was burned, and then that fire spread, consuming houses and buildings, even unto the Church of St. Clement Danes.'

served by the priest who went to say the early Mass at Bow church, who called assistance, and the flames were extinguished. The steeple, however, was destroyed. The restoration was not accomplished till 1462.

St. Paul's Cathedral stood in a space surrounded by walls. These walls were erected at various times. Paternoster-row was the line of wall to the north; Carter-lane to the south. At the north-west was the Bishop's Palace, to the east of which was the 'Pardon churchyard,' adorned by the famous 'Dance of Death.' In the space enclosed by this cloister, Thomas More, Dean of St. Paul's in Henry V.'s reign, restored an ancient chapel. He died ere the work was completed. It was, however, continued by his executors. Jenkyn Carpenter, a citizen, provided funds for painting the cloister with the 'Dance of Death.' Numerous examples existed of such a painting in the middle age—at Lucerne, Basle, Berne, Paris; and the English work doubtless gave its grave lesson to the spectator with equal force and in as inartistic a guise.

We may give a brief account of that at Paris, the example followed at St. Paul's. The Cemetery of the Innocents at Paris was enclosed by a wall by Philip Augustus. At a later date a vaulted gallery was constructed around it by the Maréchal de Boucicaut and Nicholas Flamel. This gallery was called

the 'Charnier,' and became a place of interment for persons of wealth. In the Charnier at Paris the 'Dance of Death' was painted, and the marble effigy of a skeleton was sculptured by Germain Pilon. In the midst of the cemetery was a stone lantern twenty feet in height.*

Mediæval representations of the 'Dance of Death' probably owe their origin to the terror implanted in men's hearts by the ravages of the great pestilence of 1348. It is strange that we should owe to the same plague the suggestion of the *Decameron* of Boccaccio.†

At St. Paul's, Death was seen to lead away in double file such personages as the pope, emperor, cardinal, king, patriarch, constable, archbishop, baron, princess, bishop, squire, abbot, abbess, bailiff, astronomer, burgess, secular canon, merchant, Carthusian, sergeant, monk, usurer, physician, gentlewoman, lawyer, parson, juror, minstrel, labourer, child, young clerk, hermit—most awful of all, 'the king' was 'eaten of worms.' The fatal procession closed with the moral of the whole, drawn by 'Machabree the doctor.'‡ Beneath were explanatory rhymes

* Cf. *Dictionnaire topographique et historique de l'Ancien Paris*, par Frédéric Lock. Art. Marché et Fontaine des Innocents.

† Mr. Arnold's *English Literature*, p. 79.

‡ This was really St. Macarius, who appears in Orgagna's fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Sir Thomas More alludes to the Dance

by Dan Lydgate, the poet monk of Bury.* In this cloister, says Stow, were buried many persons, some of worship, and others of honour: the monuments of whom, in number and curious workmanship, passed all others that were in that church. Over the east walk of the cloister was a library, founded by Walter Skerrington, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster in Henry VI.'s reign.

Paul's-alley led to Paternoster-row from the postern of the cathedral. East of the 'Pardon churchyard' was the college of minor canons, close by which was the chapel called—as that in the Cemetery of the Innocents—the Charnel, and beyond that, Paul's-cross. A gate in Canon-alley led to the north door of the church. The 'little gate' led to Cheapside, whilst St. Austen's-gate led to the church in Watling-street. On the east side of the enclosure were St. Paul's school and the belfry, with the

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of Death at St. Paul's. Shakespeare is thought to refer to a representation of the kind in *Measure for Measure*, act iii. sc. 1:

> 'Thou art Death's fool;
> For him thou labourest by thy flight to shun,
> And yet runn'st towards him still.'

There was a Dance of Death at Stratford.

* Lydgate, in his poem, 'The Cominge of the King out of France to London,' describes the entrance of Henry VI. into the metropolis in February 1432. In his 'London Lyckpenny' he describes the ill-success of a poor legal suitor in London. By these poems and his verses at St. Paul's he has conferred on the London antiquary a threefold obligation.

'Jesus bells'—a square 'clochier' with a timber spire, and the figure of St. Paul on the top. The 'Jesus bells' are said by Stow to have been won by Sir Miles Partridge of Henry VIII. on a cast of dice against 100*l.* Sir Miles was hung with Sir Ralph Vane on Tower-hill, February 26, 1551. The dormitory, refectory, kitchen, bakehouse, and brewery were to the south with the cloister, chapter-house, and church of St. Gregory.* To the bakehouse specially belonged the churches of Bosham, Houton, Beres, and Wenynton in Essex. To the west were the houses of the residentiaries. The deanery to the south-west was secured from intrusion by 'Paul's Chain.' Close by the west front were two massive stone towers—one incorporated with the Bishop's Palace, the other known as the 'Lollards' Tower.'

Mention is made in the Grey Friars' Chronicle of 'Peter College, near the Dean's place in Paul's churchyard.' There is some doubt as to what is meant by this. Stow also makes mention of it. Nichols conjectures that it was 'Petty-Canon's College' (corrupted into Peter's); but the college of minor canons was to the east of the 'Pardon church-

* Hard by Notre Dame at Paris were two churches, St. Jean-le-Rond and St. Denis-du-Pas. The situation of these was similar to that of St. Gregory and the original church of St. Faith. Fuller says, St. Paul's was 'truly the mother church, having one babe in her body, St. Faith's, and another in her arms, St. Gregory's.'

yard.' Whatever it was, Peter's College was on the site of Stationers' Hall.

When the Bishop came to St. Paul's, he was received by the clergy in procession at the west door, and conducted to the high altar, where he knelt whilst the customary prayers were said, or, if there was no procession, he was greeted by the ringing of the bells.

The *Nave* of twelve bays was a fine example of Romanesque. The triforium consisted of a single arch in each bay, as at Norwich and Waltham. The clerestory windows were pointed, and—latterly at least—were destitute of mullions. The nave was simply vaulted.* There was a great cross in the nave, the lights before which were maintained by an endowment in land. To the left of the nave was the most beautiful chantry chapel in the cathedral, founded by Bishop Thomas Kemp, and served daily by the Bishop of London's confessor. Here Mass was said for the good estate of King Edward IV., and Elizabeth his wife, and for the Bishop of London, during life and after death, for the souls of the king's progenitors, for the parents and benefactors of the said bishop, and for all the faithful departed. This chantry was

* There was probably originally a roof of the same type as at Peterborough and Ely. For this a vaulting of wood or stone would be substituted when the clerestory was rebuilt.

supported by a hundred and seventy acres of forest and meadow land in the county of Essex. To the right of the nave was the image of our Lady, with its lamp perpetually burning, and the coffer for oblations beneath. Behind this image was the low altar-tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, son of Guy, Earl of Warwick, one of the founders of the Order of the Garter, with his effigy in armour above, and sculptured shields in the midst of the panels beneath. This was popularly but erroneously known as Duke Humphrey's tomb.*

The great central *Tower* was supported by four arches. The tower alone was upwards of two hundred and eighty feet: to this height the spire of wood covered with lead added two hundred and eight feet. The lower stage of the tower was secured from yielding to the enormous weight imposed upon it by flying buttresses from the summit of the walls of nave, choir, and transepts.† At the base of the spire, above the stonework, was a dial with the figure of an angel pointing to the hours, both of day and night.

The *Transept*, of five bays on either side, was

* Duke Humphrey's tomb, one of the most beautiful in existence, is on the south side of the 'Saints' Chapel' at St. Albans.

† The tower was of two stages, of which the lower was probably open to the interior of the church. Here the windows—three on each face—mullioned and transomed, were of great length.

partially Norman, as the nave.* Longer than that of any other of our cathedrals, the transept of St. Paul's was probably of the same altitude as the choir. In the north transept, as at Westminster, was a great crucifix. In 1527, Sebastian Harris, curate of Kensington, was found to have in his possession 'the New Testament translated by William Hechym,' an edition of scripture whose circulation in their dioceses was prohibited by the English bishops, and a copy of the *Unio Dissidentium.* He was cited to appear before the Vicar-General in the long chapel, near the north door of St. Paul's Cathedral: there to make oath that he would not retain those books any longer in his possession, nor sell them, nor lend them, nor form any acquaintance with persons suspected of heresy; and he was farther adjudged, under pain of excommunication, not to stay in London longer than one day and a night, and that he should not be suffered to come within four miles of London for the space of two years.†

This probably refers to the chapel founded by the Walter Skerrington mentioned above. The two chantry priests discharged the office of librarians.

* The gables—each with a spacious doorway and mullioned window—were of later date. Indeed, externally the transept appears to have been entirely recast.

† Faulkner's *History and Antiquities of Kensington*, pp. 209-10.

East of the transept, the church was divided by screens into three parts—the *Choir* of seven bays, the *Retro-choir* of three, and the *Lady Chapel* of two. The vista closed in a splendid circular window,* beneath which were seven narrow trifoliated lights. Both in the clerestory and in the aisles, the windows, of large dimensions, consisted of three lights, with three trifoliated circles in the heads.† Externally, the choir was supported by flying buttresses of bold projection. The ascent to the choir was by twelve steps, whilst above rose the ornate screen, which extended to the aisles. The choir was simply vaulted as the nave. The organ probably stood above the stalls on the north of the choir. At the extremity of the south aisle of the choir was the chapel of St. Dunstan, with the tomb of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, adorned by a series of niches and statues. In the same aisle were the recessed tombs of Eustace de Fauconberg and Henry de Wengham—both Bishops of London. In the north aisle of the choir were the tombs embedded in the wall of Ralph de Hengham and Sir Simon Burley. Farther on were the sarcophagi of Sebba and Ethelred. The high altar of great magnificence was adorned by

* The only other example in England of a wheel window in this position is at Durham. There is an example in France, at Laon.

† There were four openings in each bay of the triforium under two enclosing arches.

a tablet ornamented by pictures, and sparkling with jewels, the whole surmounted by an oaken canopy, the gift of Richard Pikerell, a citizen in Edward II.'s reign. To the right of the altar was a picture of St. Paul, enshrined in a tabernacle of wood. In the choir were the monuments of Bishop Roger Niger,* of John of Gaunt and his wife Constance, and of Canon Roger de Waltham, in a chantry founded in honour of God and our Lady, St. Laurence and All Saints. Here were images or statues of our blessed Saviour, St. John Baptist, St. Laurence, and St. Mary Magdalen : so likewise paintings of the celestial hierarchy, the joys of the blessed Virgin, and others, both in the roof, about the altar, and other places within and without.†

When the dean of St. Paul's entered the choir of his cathedral, all present rose. When he was seated in his stall, every one on entering, either from east or west, saluted him, and the same rule was observed

* This monument formed part of the enclosure of the choir. It was surmounted by a highly ornate parclose. John of Gaunt's monument, richly canopied, was immediately to the north of the altar.

† The stalls occupied only the three bays of the choir farthest west. The sanctuary was raised six steps above the level of this portion of the choir. The fifth bay from the west was wider than any other of the series. It would almost have seemed as if an eastern transept had been designed, as at York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Rochester, Wells, and Salisbury, and the intention afterwards abandoned, did not this spot mark the transition from Norman to Early English in the crypt below.

on leaving the choir. In the absence of the bishop, the dean said the Confiteor in choir, and gave the benediction to the gospeller.

On entering, the canons residentiary knelt in the midst of the choir before the Blessed Sacrament. They then turned to the west, and saluted the dean in his stall. It was only on obtaining permission of the dean, or, in his absence, of the senior canon in residence, that a member of the chapter could leave choir during service. If the dean told any residentiary that he was to assist at high Mass, such a command met with prompt obedience; other than the usual singers, if present in the choir of St. Paul's, had to come in surplices. In processions there was to be no talk or intermixture with the laity, as it was deemed unbecoming, on an occasion when God and man were alike witnesses, for canons to turn their thoughts to aught else than prayer. These rules were enforced by the dean, with whom lay the punishment of offenders.

On festivals of saints, to direct the choir, to sing the invitatory, and chant the last response at matins, four cantors took up their stations. For the responses at vespers, the cantor chose four of the leading members of the choir. If the bishop were present, these last sang the responses with the assistance of the dean. At first and second vespers, at matins, and the other hours the versicles were

said by four boys in surplices. Two priests with thuribles went to cense the altar at the Magnificat and Benedictus, and the antiphon was sung entire before and after both of these. At the procession there were two cross-bearers, two thurifers, three deacons, and three sub-deacons in albs; at Mass, three deacons, three sub-deacons, and three acolytes. On festivals of the second class, at Mass, the choir were vested in copes, three deacons sang the Gradual, and three canons the Alleluia. The sacred ministers were a deacon and sub-deacon. All festivals of the first, second, third, and fourth class, all the year through, had nine lections, except from Easter to Pentecost, during which time there were only three lections at matins. The canons were to be diligent in keeping the hours and celebrating the divine office with humility and devotion. They were to make haste to the church as soon as the bell rang; they were not to enter the church with haughtiness, disorder, or careless gait, but with reverence and in the fear of God, and this decorum was to be observed by night as well as by day. Only the infirm might carry sticks. They were alike to come, to stand, to say the psalms with the utmost devotion. Throughout the recital of the psalms they stood erect, facing north and south, but they turned to the east and bowed at the Gloria. They wore the surplice and a cope, that might not be of excessive length, in choir.

The canons shaved close, long hair and a beard being symbolic of the multitude of sins. From St. Michael to Easter-eve, they came in black copes; from Easter to St. Michael inclusive, on festivals on which there were nine lections, and those so reckoned, at Easter, and on Sundays they were to come to the day offices, and also to matins on Holy Trinity and the other chief festivals till the Assumption inclusive, in white. When matins were said over night, they wore black. The great bell rang for vespers.*

In the south wall opposite his chantry, Roger de Waltham, whom we have mentioned above, erected 'a glorious tabernacle, which contained the blessed Virgin, sitting, as it were, in child-bed; as also of our Saviour in swadling clothes, lying between the oxe and the ass, and St. Joseph at her feet; above which was another image of her, standing, with the Child in her arms. And on the beame, thwarting from the upper end of the oratory to the before-specified child-bed, placed the crowned images of our Saviour and His Mother, sitting in one tabernacle, as also the images of St. Katharine and St. Margaret, virgins and martyrs; neither was there any part of the said oratory, or roof thereof, but he caused it to be beautified with comely pictures and images, to the

* The above is freely rendered from the *Excerpta ex Registro Consuetudinum Ecclesiæ S. Pauli Londonensis*, printed at the close of Rock's *Church of our Fathers*.

end that the memory of our blessed Saviour and His saints, and especially of the glorious Virgin, His Mother, might be alwaies the more famous: in which oratory he designed that his sepulture should be. The two perpetual chaplains of Canon Roger de Waltham celebrated Mass for the souls of the fore-fathers and friends of the said Roger, and for the health of this Roger whilst he shall live, and for his soul and the souls of the above mentioned after death,—with which chaplains in the said chapel there were the following ornaments, which were blessed by the said Sir Roger, and assigned for ever to the said chantry, namely: two pair of complete vestments, one for daily use, consisting of a chasuble of gold cloth upon canvas, with a cloth of a similar kind to hang in front of the altar, with linen sown to it; towels to cover the altar, and for the vestments to be folded up in, with alb, amice, stole, maniple, &c., with a thread girdle and two altar towels, one of which had a frontal of plain gold bordering. The other principal vestment had a chasuble of gold cloth upon silk; one missal, price xx*s.*; a chalice and paten, the greater part gilt, weighing xx*s.*; and worth xxx*s.*, a brasier, value iii*s.*, two blessed corporals in a case, two new hand-towels, a box for altar beads, two new pewter cruets, and a small suspended bell, a good key to the chapel door, for all which the afore-said chaplains and their successors are for ever to

answer, according to the oath which they took on their admission to the chantry.'*

The *Cloister* stood between the nave and the south transept. It had a unique feature, two stories of open arches. In the centre stood the chapter-house, exceedingly lofty, with gables over each window. The entrance was from the east walk of the cloister. Latterly the chapter-house was divested of its conical capping. The angle buttresses were pinnacled. Beneath was a crypt.

When a canon had been elected, he presented the bishop's letter to the dean and members of the chapter. He then came to the chapter-house itself, was given a copy of the rule on which bread—afterwards given to the poor—was placed, and he was admitted in these words: 'Nos recipimus te in canonicum et fratem, et tradimus tibi regularis observantiæ formam in volumine isto contentam pro cibo spirituali, et in remedium laboris, refectionem in pane corporalem.' The dean, or a canon deputed by the chapter for the purpose, then led him to the choir, where he was installed.

When there was a vacancy in the office of dean, the canons assembled in the chapter-house to elect a successor. If there were no canonical obstacle, and

* Portions of the hangings of St. Paul's exist at Aix in Provence and in the cathedral of Valencia :—for a notice of those at Valencia, see Mr. Street's *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, p. 267.

the election were confirmed, the bishop with the canons present led the dean-elect to the altar, where the *Te Deum* was sung, the new dean kneeling and praying the while. The Lord's Prayer followed, and then 'Salvum fac servum tuum Domine, esto ei turris fortitudinis; nihil proficiet inimicus: Domine Deus virtutum: Domine exaudi orationem meam: Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

'Miserere quæsumus Domine famulo tuo N. et dirige eum secundum tuam clementiam in viam salutis æternæ, ut te donante tibi placita cupiat, et quæ tibi placita sunt tota dilectione perficiàt, per Christum, &c.'

The dean then rose and kissed the altar, whence he was conducted to his seat, and installed by the bishop or some one else commissioned for the purpose.

In the north choir aisle lay, as we have seen, Ethelred and Sebba. The name of the latter suggests that of St. Erconwald, son of Anna, King of the East Angles. He retired to the territory of the East Saxons, where he founded the monastery of Chertsey in Surrey, and the convent of Barking in Essex, of which his sister Edelburga became abbess. King Sebba summoned him from his retirement at Chertsey, and St. Theodore consecrated him Bishop of London.

Sebba, or Sebbi, was King of the East Saxons;

after a reign of thirty years, he resigned his crown to his sons, Sigeard and Sinfrid, and received the monastic habit from Waldhere, the successor of St. Erconwald. Two years later (697) he died. His monument in St. Paul's bore the inscription: 'Here lies Sebba, King of the East Saxons, who was converted to the faith by St. Erconwald, Bishop of London, in 677,—a man very devout to God, and fervent in acts of religion, constant prayers, and pious alms-deeds. He preferred a monastic life to the riches of a kingdom, and took the religious habit from Waldhere, Bishop of London, who had succeeded Erconwald.'

The chantries at St. Paul's were very numerous. They were the creation of all the wealthy classes of the community. Henry IV. founded a chantry for the souls of his father and mother. The chantries at St. Paul's were not confined to the interior of the church. The chapel in the 'Pardon churchyard,' dedicated to St. Anne and St. Thomas of Canterbury, of which mention has been already made, took the place, it is said, of an older chapel, built by Gilbert à Becket, the father of St. Thomas. Chaucer says of his poor parson:

> 'He sette not his benefice to hire,
> And let his sheep accumbred in the mire,
> And ran unto London unto St. Poule's
> To seeken him a chantery for souls,
> Or with a brotherhood to be withold.'

There was a fraternity of clerks attached to St. Paul's. When any member of the brotherhood died, those in the same orders came in surplices and carried him from his house to the cathedral, where the guild assembled, and the funeral service was performed 'plene et solempniter.' At St. Paul's were relics of St. Paul, the blessed Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, St. Ethelbert, St. Mellitus, St. Thomas of Canterbury. The reliquaries were of crystal. The relic of the blessed Virgin was contained in a crystal vessel, supported by figures of an angel, of St. Paul, and St. Peter. This must have been a monstrance reliquary, slimmer in form but similar in design to an ordinary monstrance. The figure of the angel was probably beneath, and that of an apostle on each side of the crystal. The relic of St. Ethelbert was contained in a silver-gilt case, in which were set many precious jewels. The following letter was written by Dr. John Smythe, canon residentiary, to Sir Edward Baynton, Ann Boleyn's vice-chamberlain: 'After my right hearty recommendation; whereas the king's grace, by instruction, hath in knowledge of a precious little cross, with a crucifix, all of pure gold, with a rich ruby in the side, and garnished with four great diamonds, four great emeralds, and four large ballasses, with twelve great orient pearls, &c.: which cross is in our church among other jewels; and upon the king's high affec-

tion and pleasure at the sight of the same, I, with others of my brethren residentiaries, had yesterday in commandment, by the mouth of Mr. Secretary, in the king's name, to be with his grace, with the same cross to-morrow. I secretly asserten you, and my loving master and trusty friend, that, by mine especial instruction, conveyance, and labours, his grace shall have high pleasure therein, to the accomplishment of his affection in and of the same, of our free gift, trusting only in his charitable goodness always to be shewed to our church of St. Paul, and to the ministers of the same in their just and reasonable causes and suits.' Dr. Smythe proceeds to the consideration of his own private interests, which he makes of importance to his correspondent. 'If you can speed with me, I shall give you two years' farm rent of my prebend of Alkennings, and so forth, as I shall find your goodness unto me.'

In the Lady chapel seven lights were constantly maintained in honour of our Lady and St. Laurence. On high festivals, after saying the antiphon and Magnificat, two of the canons, in silk copes, kissed and censed the altar at the porch. They then proceeded to the sacristy, and thence to the shrine of St. Erconwald and the altar of the blessed Virgin in succession; then to the altars that stood next without. They then entered the presbytery, saying the *De Profundis* and the prayer *Deus qui inter*

apostolicos, if time allowed. Meanwhile the antiphon was being sung. This ended, the same canons went to the tomb of Bishop Roger Niger, and said the antiphon *Corpora sanctorum*. At the Magnificat they proceeded to the high altar, and, kneeling on the highest step, said the antiphon *Gloriosi princeps*, and the prayer *Deus cujus dextrâ*.

The shrine of St. Erconwald was a chief glory of old St. Paul's. His body lay originally in the crypt or undercroft. When it was translated with great magnificence, in Stephen's reign, A.D. 1148, it was placed immediately behind the high altar. This arrangement is deserving of remark, as differing from that of St. Edward's shrine at Westminster, from St. Alban's, or from that of St. Thomas at Canterbury. It resembled that of St. Hugh's shrine at Lincoln.* A picture of Van Eyck's represents a shrine similarly placed at St. Deny's. The shrine itself formed the reredos or superfrontal of the altar —being thus a modification of the ciborium, or altar canopy, as we see it at Vienna, Ratisbon, Marburg, and elsewhere—or was separated from the altar by the reredos, which was then covered by the metal-work of which the Pala d'Oro at Venice is the earliest example.

With the extension of the church to the eastward,

* The shrine of St. Paulinus at Rochester would also appear to have been originally placed similarly to that of St. Erconwald. St. Cuthbert's shrine at Durham occupied this position.

it appears that the relics of St. Erconwald were also removed. The fact of the earlier translation from the crypt we learn from a passage in the *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, which informs us that, whilst the body of St. Erconwald yet lay in the crypt, a painter was occupied on one occasion in painting the vault overhead. 'Meanwhile, the day of this holy father Erconwald came round in due course. No one celebrated Mass there on that day; the altar was stripped, on account of the scaffolding erected for the painter. An innumerable multitude of both sexes assembled at the oratory, with the intention of saying their prayers there; they carried lights and their offerings in their hands, but failed to obtain admittance, for the painter locked the door,' &c. The shrine was of great splendour. Three London goldsmiths were employed for a year on the work. In 1400, the old work was restored and a grate of iron-work, covered with tin, placed around it for its better protection. The grating that surrounded the shrine was five feet ten inches in height, and was furnished with locks, keys, closures, and openings. The shrine itself was, as was usually the case, a lofty pyramidal structure. Eastward in this, the retro-choir, lay Bishop Robert de Braybrooke. A superb brass marked the place of his interment.

Beyond lay the *Lady Chapel*, between the chapel of *St. George* to the north, and that of *St. Dunstan*,

to the south. The Lady Chapel occupied two of the twelve bays of the choir.

The altar of our Lady was lighted by seven tapers,* each of which weighed two pounds. They were lighted at all the services in this chapel. There was a weighty silver chalice, and the vestments were very rich for the officiating clergy. Mass was said daily by one of six priests in rotation. They were supported by the revenues of the church of Bumsted, and by five marks from that of Finchingfield.

Beneath the choir of St. Paul's was the *Crypt*, or undercroft, of first-pointed architecture, partly employed as the parish church of St. Faith, with the chantries of Dean William de Everdon, for whom Mass was said daily at the altar of St. Radegund, of Alan de Hotham, for whom Mass was said at the altar of St. Sebastian, of Dean Say, and of William Vale, citizen. In the crypt was the Jesus chapel, to which the brotherhood of that name was attached. The crypt was divided from east to west by three rows of columns, and transversely by a wooden screen. Stow quotes an old rhyme:

> 'This church needs no repair at all,
> For faith's defended by St. Paul.'

To return. The shrine of St. Erconwald was a very favourite resort.† 'Multa miracula claruerunt pul-

* Vide supra, p. 157.

† The following narrative is curious: As Sir Bartholomew

veris de ligno in quo sanctus (Erconwaldus) jacuerat aspersura. Quidam vero Deo devotus collectum pulverem statim ut cum aquâ infirmo tradidit, ipse infirmitate omnino evasit.' Richard Preston, a London citizen, left a sapphire to the shrine for the cure of the blind. By Bishop Braybrooke's order, St. Erconwald's anniversary was kept like the festivals of the Conversion and the Commemoration of St. Paul, celebrated with the utmost pomp in this cathedral. In decreeing this celebration in his honour, it is said of him: 'Cujus merita gloriosa in eadem ecclesia miraculose coruscant.' When King John of France visited the cathedral, he offered twenty-two nobles at the shrine of St. Erconwald.

St. Paul's witnessed a ceremony yet more august than any connected with the shrine of St. Erconwald. In 1247, on St. Edward's-day, Henry III. went with his nobility in procession to St. Paul's, where he received the relic of the Holy Blood,* sent him from Jerusalem by the Masters of the Temple and of the Hospitallers. The relic was de-

Jones, the mayor in 1479, was kneeling at the shrine of St. Erconwald, Robert Byfield, one of the sheriffs, came and knelt by his side. The mayor asked the sheriff how he could act in such a manner. An altercation followed, and the affair was referred to the Court of Aldermen, who fined the offender fifty pounds, to be employed in repairing the City conduits.

* The reader will remember the existence of a similar relic in the Chapelle du St. Sang, or of St. Basile, at Bruges. The Holy Blood of Wilsuak has been mentioned in these pages, p. 55, *note*.

posited in a crystal vessel and was borne by the king under a canopy, supported by four staves, through the streets, from St. Paul's to the great Abbey of Westminster. The king's arms were supported by two noblemen all the way. Holinshed says, 'to describe the whole course and order of the procession and feast kept that day would require a special treatise; but this is not to be forgotten, that the same day the Bishop of Norwich preached before the king, in commendation of that relic, pronouncing six years and one hundred and sixteen days of pardon granted by the bishops there to all that came to reverence it.'

Paul's Cross appears to have existed from time immemorial. The original cross was injured or destroyed by lightning in 1382. Its successor was built by Bishop Kempe. In 1256, John Mansel showed the people at Paul's cross, that it was the king's desire 'that the liberties of the city should be maintained in every point.' In 1299, searching for treasure at St. Martin's was denounced at Paul's cross. Here Reginald Pocock, Bishop of Chichester, recanted on December 1st, 1447. Here Dr. Shaw preached in support of Richard III., and Jane Shore did penance. Holinshed gives the following narrative: 'In her penance she went, in countenance and pace demure, so womanlie, that, albeit she were out of all araie, save her kirtle onlie, yet went she so

faire and lovelie, namelie, while the wondering of the people cast a comelie rudd in her cheeks (of which she before had most misse), that manie good folkes that hated her living (and glad were to see all sin corrected), yet pitied they more her penance than rejoised therein, when they considered that the Protector procured it more for corrupt intent than anie virtuous affection.' Here Bishop Fisher preached against Martinus Eleutherius (Luther) in the presence of Cardinal Wolsey. At Paul's cross, Alexander Seaton, a Dominican friar, formerly confessor to James V. of Scotland, and chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, recanted in 1541. He had taught the Lutheran doctrine of justification, in sermons preached by him at St. Antholin's. Knox and Spotswood maintain that his opinions underwent no real alteration. Information was given against him by three priests, Richard Taylor, John Smith, and John Huntingdown. The first was a fellow of Whittington College. The last, author of the *Genealogy of Heretics*, ended by embracing the Lutheran doctrine himself. With Seaton appeared at Paul's cross W. Tolwine, parson of St. Antholin's. A list of Seaton's works is given by Dempster: 'Scripsit processus suæ examinationis. In utramque epistolam Petri. In canonicam Jacobi Conciones.'* In Queen Mary's

* For an account of Alexander Seaton, see his life by Wodrow, printed as a sequel to Maitland of Lethington's *History of the*

reign, Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London, preached at St. Paul's cross (November 4th, 1554), on a remarkable occasion. Three priests, an Austin canon of Elsing Spital, Sir Thomas Griffin, a Black friar, and an Austin friar did public penance. They had probably, in addition to the abandonment of their vows (for they had married in the reign of Edward), imbibed heretical opinions, as Harpsfield 'showed their opinions openly in the pulpit.' Machyn speaks of four religious and a fifth, a layman who had been guilty of bigamy. They appeared in white sheets, with tapers in their hands. They first knelt before the high altar and received the discipline from the suffragan. They then knelt again before the cross. When the preacher received the benediction from the bishop, the priests knelt in the middle of the church and received the discipline a second time from the preacher, who then raised and kissed them. After this they went to Paul's cross, where, at the bidding prayers, they knelt and asked forgiveness. St. Paul's cross, with all those in London and Westminster, was destroyed in 1643, in the mayoralty of Isaac Pennington. We proceed to give some further notes on custom and ceremonial connected with St. Paul's.

House of Seaton, For the loan of a copy of this volume, presented to him by Sir Walter Scott, we were indebted to the kindness of the late esteemed Henry Cadell, Esq., of Cockenzie, Haddingtonshire.

If any of the canons, whether resident or non-resident, fell ill in town and in the vicinity of the church, the dean was to go and do what was necessary for him. If the sick man desired another confessor, the dean gave him free permission. If the illness threatened to prove fatal, the dean and canons, at the sick man's desire, went with holy water, cross, bell, and candles, and either the dean himself or one of the canons gave extreme unction. This done, the sick man kissed first the dean, then the others. If death ensued, the dean and canons repaired to the dead man's house to say the 'commendation for his soul,' unless it were too late at night, when they did so in the morning, after the chapter was held. After vespers the choir assembled and formed in procession, with cross, incense, and tapers, the priest wearing a silk cope. The bier was sprinkled with holy water, and the body carried to the church and placed in the choir, where the obsequies were celebrated with due solemnity.

We may here transcribe the account of the revived ceremonial on St. Paul's-day, under Mary. In the chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, we read that 'on St. Paul's-day there was a general procession with the children of all the schools in London, with all the clerks, curates, and parsons and vicars, in copes, with their crosses; also the choir of St. Paul's and divers bishops in their habits, and the Bishop of

London, with his pontificals and cope, bearing the sacrament under a canopy, and four prebends bearing it in their gray amos; and so up into Leadenhall, with the mayor and aldermen in scarlet, with their cloaks, and all the crafts in their best array; and so came down again on the other side, and so to St. Paul's again. And then the king (Philip) with my lord cardinal (Pole) came to St. Paul's and heard Masse, and went home again; and at night great bonfires were made through all London, for the joy of the people that were converted, likewise as St. Paul was converted.'

The boy bishop was a chorister elected by the other choristers annually on St. Nicholas's-day.* St. Nicholas, of Myra, was a very popular saint in England, as the patron of youth and of sailors. On his day, therefore, it was that the boy bishop was elected. His authority lasted from the 6th of December, St. Nicholas's-day, to the 28th, that of the Holy Innocents. On the eve of the latter day the boy bishop and his fellow choristers, vested in copes and with burning tapers, walked from the west door of the cathedral to the choir, singing versicles. In exact imitation of the cathedral body, the dean and canons went first, and the chaplain preceded the bishop, who brought up the procession with his attendant priests. The bishop took his seat, the choir divided to right and left, the residentiary canons brought the incense

* There is a tomb of a boy bishop at Salisbury.

and book, the minor canons the tapers, and the ceremonial proceeded.

In illustration of this strange custom, we may mention that at Rheims there was an *évêque des fous* chosen from among the deacons. He wore the episcopal ornaments, seated himself on the episcopal throne, and bestowed his benediction on the people. He then feigned to say Mass, the assistants censing him with a pair of old shoes, &c.

It has been conjectured that the office of the boy bishop had a reference, not alone to St. Nicholas, but also to the 'child Jesus,' to whom we find Dean Colet dedicating his school, in 1512. The probability is increased when we find the boy bishop a preacher, to whom Colet's scholars were to give heed. Every Childemas (Innocents'-day) his scholars were to 'come to Paul's church, and hear the chylde bishop's sermon, and after be at the high Mass, and each of them offer a penny to the chylde bishop, and with them the maisters and surveyors of the scole.' On July 22d, 1542, a proclamation of Henry VIII. suppressed the rite of the child bishop. In Queen Mary's reign the boy bishop returned to his office, and not only so, but he sang a song in her praise, in which she was compared to Judith, Esther, the Queen of Sheba, and the Blessed Virgin herself. The scholars of St. Paul's were early famous for their representation of scripture scenes. In 1378, they besought Richard II. to pro-

hibit some inexpert people from representing the history of the Old Testament, to the prejudice of the said clergy, who had been at great expense in order to represent it publicly at Christmas.

At St. Paul's was another ceremony of yet stranger character. The mention of it cannot be omitted, so eminently characteristic is it of the middle age. There was the *Tarasque* at Tarascon, the *Bailla* at Rheims, the *Procession des Harengs* at the same place, the funeral of the Carnival in the Basses Pyrenees, the representation of Lent, as a monster (*Caramantran*) to be killed on Shrove Tuesday, in the south-east of France, and his interment at Rouen — one of the clergy saying a Mass of Requiem, with stole turned out and chasuble reversed—the Feast of the Ass at Rouen, Beauvais, Sens, and elsewhere.* Old St. Paul's had a ceremony nearly as strange, though not symbolic. Sir Walter le Baud, in the reign of Edward I. (1274), gave the dean and chapter on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, annually, a fat doe, and on the Commemoration of St. Paul (June 30) a buck from an estate he held of them at West Lee, in Essex. The original agreement was, that he should himself come personally with the animals, but

* Cf. Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, Illustrations and Additions, vii. viii.; and *Christian Remembrancer* for October MDCCCLXIII., art. French Ecclesiology. The Feast of Fools was celebrated annually at Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight. For the 'Abbot of Unreason' see Scott's *Abbot*, chapters xiv. xv.

it was afterwards arranged that a servant and part of his family only should attend. The gifts were received at the west door of the cathedral, and outside, inside, and finally up to the choir steps, the prize was carried with glee and shouting.* Thither came the clergy garlanded with flowers, — as were the English university youth abroad on festal occasions, and the clergy, not of England only, but also of France, Germany, and Italy, at Corpus Christi, when even now flowers are strewn in the path pursued by the procession,—and so on to the high altar, where the victim was slain and divided among the residentiaries.

The following city churches were in the gift of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's: *St. Antholin*, Budge-row; *St. Bennet*, Paul's-wharf; *St. Augustine*, Watling-street; St. Bennet, Gracechurch-street; *St. Botolph*, Billingsgate; *St. Giles*, Cripplegate; St. Faith-in-the-Crypt, and St. Gregory, at the west end of St. Paul's; *St. Helen*, Bishopsgate; St. John Zachary, near the Post-office; St. Nicholas Olave, Queenhithe; *St. Mary*, Aldermanbury; St. Martin Orgar, in Candlewick Ward; St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, Cheapside; *St. Mary Magdalen*, Old Fish-

* 'Die (commemorationis S. Pauli) tam ipsemet episcopus (Rogerus de Walden) quam omnes canonici ejusdem ecclesiæ usi sunt in processione solemni garlandis de rosis rubris; et qui vidit ista et interfuit, testimonium perhibet de his et scripsit hæc.' *Historiola Londonesis.*

street-hill ; St. Michael the Quern, Cheapside ; St. Michael, Queenhithe ; St. Olave, Silver-street, Cheapside ; St. Peter, Bread-street, Cheapside ; St. Peter, Paul's-wharf ; St. Thomas the Apostle, in the Vintry.

Many of these were destroyed in the great fire, and not rebuilt : the names of some are preserved as a second title of the church of the parish, with which that destroyed has been amalgamated.*

Outside the circuit of the city proper the following churches were prebends of St. Paul's : St. Pancras,† Kentish-town ; St. Pancras, Totenhall ; St. Pancras, Rougemere ; St. Andrew, Holborn ; St. Mary, Islington ; Hoxton, in Shoreditch ; Holiwell, or St. Leonard, Old-street, Shoreditch ; St. Mary, Willesden ; Harleston, in Willesden ; Twyford, in Willesden ; Mapesbury, in Willesden ; Oxgate, in Willesden ; Brondeswood, in Willesden ; Nesdon, in Willesden ; Willesden-green ; St. Nicholas, Chiswick.

Willesden is the name of a parish near the Harrow-road, on the western boundary of Hampstead. Our

* The leading authority for the above account of old St. Paul's is Dugdale's work. Besides the foundations we have mentioned, there were at St. Paul's, Holme's College for seven priests, founded by Roger Holme, d. 1397 ; and Lancaster College, said to be founded by Henry IV. and the executors of John of Gaunt. Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 1457.

† The tithes of St. Pancras belonged to St. Paul's Hospital, situated within the precincts of the cathedral. It was founded by Henry de Northampton before 1190. Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 767.

Lady of Willesden was the name given to a highly-venerated image in the parish church there. In an inventory of the ornaments of Willesden church, in 1251, we find a scarlet banner with an image of our Lady wrought in cloth of gold, and two images of our Lady. The Willesden pilgrimage is supposed to have been very ancient.

The church of St. Faith (a virgin-martyr who suffered in the persecution under Diocletian and Maximian) was originally a separate building at the east end of St. Paul's. When the cathedral was enlarged (1256-1312) the old church was taken down, and the congregation installed in the 'ecclesia sanctæ fidei in cryptis,' that is, beneath the choir, in which position we have noticed it. The dimensions of the church in the crypt were very considerable—180 feet in length by 80 in breadth. Besides that of Jesus there was also a guild of St. Anne, in the undercroft. The parish of St. Faith's is now united with that of St. Augustine, Watling-street.

St. Augustine's was dedicated to the apostle of England. There was founded in 1387 a fraternity, who met in the church on the eve of St. Austin's-day, and again in the morning at the high Mass, when each brother offered a penny; afterwards they went 'al mangier ou al revele,' to eat or revel, as the wardens directed. The guild of St. Austin's kept 'two torches with the which, if any, of the said

fraternity were commended to God, he might be carried to the earth.' The earliest monuments in St. Augustine's were those of Henry Read, armourer, and of William Dere, who both died in 1450. They were sheriffs.

In the south front of *St. Swithin's*, Cannon-street, is imbedded 'London Stone,' supposed to have been a Roman milliary.* *St. Mary Abchurch* or Upchurch (once in the gift of the prior and convent of St. Mary Overy) passed into the hands of Corpus Christi College, near the church of St. Laurence Poultney. Of this latter church we have the following notes.† Sketches by Nash show two vaulted chambers; one vault is of chalk with dark bands, as at Westminster. An old facsimile (1560) shows a church with spire, a preaching or cemetery cross, and a large battlemented and pinnacled building. A more recent sketch shows the tower and spire, and, to the left, an extensive and apparently Norman building, with a tower possibly corresponding with that mentioned above.

Sir John Poultney (four times Lord Mayor) was buried in this church, and from him it derived its second name. He founded a chantry in St. Paul's

* It is related that Jack Cade, on his triumphal entry to London, struck his sword on London Stone, saying: 'Now is Mortimer lord of this city.'

† Kindly supplied us by George Goldie, Esq., the well-known architect.

for three priests, who were to say daily the Mass of the blessed Virgin, and the office for the dead for the soul of himself, his father, mother, brethren, and sisters, and amongst others, for the soul of John de Stratford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who perished in Wat Tyler's insurrection. He moreover bequeathed twenty shillings annually to the almoner of St. Paul's, for the summer habits of the choristers, on condition that they should daily after compline sing an anthem of the blessed Virgin before her image in the chantry, then the prayer for the dead, the whole ending by 'May the soul of John de Poulteney, founder of this chapel, and the souls of all the faithful departed, through the mercy of God, rest in peace.'

The college, in Candlewick-street, was founded in honour of Corpus Christi for twelve chaplains and a master.*

St. Bennet's, Paul's-wharf, otherwise St. Benet Hude or Hythe, is mentioned by Ralph de Diceto, in his survey. Newcourt mentions William Stodeley as parson in 1375. Inigo Jones, the architect, was buried at St. Bennet's in 1651.

By the 'silent river highway' on which we are now gazing, the body of Henry VI. was borne, after having been shown for several days at St. Paul's, to its place of sepulture at the Benedictine Monastery of Chertsey, in Surrey, twenty miles distant from

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 1458.

the city. A barge was solemnly prepared, with lamps hanging round.

On Paul's-wharf-hill were a number of houses within a gate. These are said to have been called *Camera Dianæ*, Diana's Chamber,* from a building constructed with labyrinthine approaches for the better concealment of Rosamond Clifford. Unless there were considerable evidence for the establishment of such a point, its intrinsic improbability would weigh heavily against it, as why should Henry II. remove Rosamond from the country retirement in which she would appear to have passed her days, to the heart of the metropolis, exposed as she there would be to detection by his jealous Queen.

In this immediate vicinity was the royal wardrobe, on the site of the present 'Wardrobe-court,' close by the church of *St. Andrew*. The building was erected by Sir John Beauchamp—the Sir John whose tomb in St. Paul's was mistaken for that of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. His heirs sold the property to Edward III. Silks and velvets from Montpellier seem to have been the articles chiefly purchased. There would appear to have been a library at the 'Wardrobe,' as several sums were ex-

* May it not have been so called from some such decoration as that of Imogen's sleeping-room?

'The chimney
Is south the chamber, and *the chimneypiece*
Chaste Dian, bathing;' *Cymbeline*, act ii. sc. 4.

pended in binding books, though this may have been a mere incidental expense arising from the king's occasional residence here. The Bishops of Hereford had an inn not far from Queenhithe, once the residence of the Lords of Monthault, whose chapel became St. Mary of Mounthaw. Near this William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, had a residence. The Abbot of Chertsey had a lodging near Trig-lane.

A street descending from Thames-street is called Castle-street. To the west of this street, by the river, stood Baynard's Castle. Baynard was one of the Conqueror's followers. His descendant, William Baynard, forfeited in the next century his inheritance to the crown. It was bestowed upon the Clare family, whose descendant in King John's time was Baron Robert Fitzwalter. This baron had a daughter, Matilda, whose beauty attracted the eye of King John. His suit was rejected by both father and daughter, and the false love turning to hate, John drove the father into exile and got the daughter into his keeping, even, it is said, murdered her; whilst to extinguish, if it were possible, the very memory of his crime, Baynard's Castle was levelled with the soil. Next year, by the banks of a French river, the monarch and baron again met. An English knight had challenged to single combat any of the French host who could summon up courage for the encounter. A champion soon spurred across the

river, and at the first encounter threw the English challenger and his horse upon the ground. On hearing this King John was filled with admiration of his courage. Fitzwalter, for it was he, returned to the English camp, regained the royal favour, and was reinstated in his possessions. This Robert Fitzwalter it is supposed to have been who came at the head of the barons to the Temple, in 1215, and made those demands that were finally acceded to at Runnymede. Fitzwalter bore no meaner title than that of 'Marshal of the Army of God and of Holy Church.' He rebuilt Baynard's Castle, and his family were for long 'banner-bearers' of the City of London. 'The said Robert* ought to come, he being (by descent) the twentieth man-of-arms, on horseback, covered with cloth or armour, unto the great west door of St. Paul, with his banner displayed before him of his arms. And when he is come to the said door, mounted and apparelled as before is said; the mayor, with his aldermen and sheriffs, armed in their arms, shall come out of the said church of St. Paul unto the said door, with a banner in his hand, all on foot; which banner shall be gules, the image of St. Paul, gold; the face, hands, feet, and sword, of silver. And as soon as the said Robert shall see the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs come on foot out of the church, armed with a banner; he shall alight from his horse, and salute the

* Son of the above.

mayor, and say to him, "Sir Mayor, I am come to do my service, which I owe to the City." And the mayor and aldermen shall answer, "We give to you, as to our banneret of fee in this City, the banner of this City to bear and govern, to the honour and profit of this City, to our power." And the said Robert, and his heirs, shall receive the banner in his hands, and shall go on foot out of the gate with the banner in his hands: and the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs shall follow to the door, and shall bring a horse to the said Robert, worth twenty pound, which horse shall be saddled with a saddle of the arms of the said Robert, and shall be covered with sindals of the said arms. Also they shall present to him twenty pounds sterling money, and deliver it to the chamberlain of the said Robert, for his expenses that day. Then the said Robert shall mount upon the horse which the mayor presented to him, with the banner in his hand, and as soon as he is up he shall say to the mayor, that he caused a marshall to be chosen for the host, one of the City; which marshall being chosen the said Robert shall command the mayor and burgesses of the City to warn the commoners to assemble together; and they shall all go under the banner of St. Paul,'* &c. After a fire in Henry VI.'s reign, the castle was rebuilt by Duke Humphrey of Glou-

* *Stow's Survey* (Strype), bk. i. p. 60.

cester. Here Edward IV. was proclaimed king, and Richard III., who had employed every art of intrigue to obtain it, pretended to consent reluctantly to assume the crown. The castle was yet again rebuilt by Henry VII., in 1487. It was a large block of building descending quite to the brink of the river, to which access was given by an archway and steps. There were three towers in the river front, and numerous bay windows. In the centre of the building was a court. The ward of Castle Baynard includes St. Paul's.

This will, we think, be a good opportunity for summing up, in a brief sketch, what has been the result of our explorations hitherto. We are now on the confines of the City proper, to the boundaries of which we have for the most part confined our steps; for we must remember that the part of Southwark to which we penetrated was one of the wards of the City of London. Elsewhere, indeed, we have passed beyond the circuit of the City—at St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield; at St. John's, Clerkenwell; at the Charterhouse; at the chapel of the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity and at St. Botolph's, Aldersgate; and at St. Giles', Cripplegate: but these sites and buildings are all in closest connection with the topography of the City proper. This, indeed, we can prove; for Farringdon Without and Farringdon Within, Cripplegate Without and Cripplegate Within, Bridge Ward

Without and Bridge Ward Within, can have been designated on no other principle than that each is the legitimate development of the other. We have then passed and repassed the City wall—from the ward without to the ward within, and from that within to that without—in our examination of what are all, in a true sense, 'City churches.' From the City of London—the *Camera Regis*—we pass to its 'liberties' enclosed by the several 'bars,' as Holborn-bars, Smithfield-bars, Whitechapel-bars. These ended, we are at Westminster, Stratford, Clerkenwell, or 'in the fields' by St. Giles' Hospital, as the case may be. The all-devastating fire swept beyond the City to the west. It left Austin Friars, St. Ethelburga's and St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, All Hallows Barking and All Hallows Staining, in the City itself; it burnt St. Sepulchre's, it threatened St. Andrew's, it threatened the Rolls Chapel, it threatened the Temple Church, far beyond the City walls.

We have visited the churches to the north that, from their position beyond the City wall—the limit of the fire in this direction—have been preserved to us. We have visited the churches to the east that, within the City wall, were not destroyed, as it happened, by the flames; we have crossed the river that, 'broad and deep,' saved the Borough from that awful visitation; we have endeavoured to restore in imagination, within the City itself, the shattered fragments of its

ecclesiastical splendour; and we now stand above the site of the 'Blackfriars Monastery,' endeavouring to piece the whole together, as we did at Holborn, and picture to ourselves what the City was.

It was a Roman fortified city; it was a city of springs and rivers and scattered British hamlets; it was a city where Dane and Saxon contended for mastery; it was a city of Norman conquest and fortresses, a city of churches and convents, a city of kings and nobles, a city of merchants and friars. All these it was, and now it is a city of business. There is the mediæval tower, there is the mediæval St. Mary Overy; here is the modern St. Paul's, that reproduces not a line or lineament of the 'awful beauties' of its predecessor. Where are the walls, the gates and wharves? where Baynard's Castle, Paul's Wharf, Somershythe, Queenhythe, Downgate, Bridge-gate (pardon us the anti-climax), Billingsgate? The names remain, the things are gone. The old London-bridge, with Nonsuch House and the rest, has disappeared. No 'Harry the King' dwells at Coldharbour or revels in Eastcheap. The 'Easterlings' are gone. Edward and Richard have departed from Baynard's Castle. Jane Shore has done her penance. The convents are suppressed, the prelates have left for Fulham and the grave. The river made,* the river has unmade the

* An alderman in Queen Mary's time, on hearing that the queen was displeased with the citizens of London, and intended

ancient London. The capital was transferred from Winchester to London for the river, and now that trade has grown and grown, where is the ancient London? The river has swept it away, as the dwelling of king or noble, or merchant, priest, or prelate. It is simply the pedestal of the Colossus of trade, and, itself empty, is yet the centre of a population greater than that of all Scotland, and increased annually by more than forty thousand souls.

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to remove the parliament to Oxford, asked in reply: 'Does she mean to divert the river Thames from London or not?' 'Why, no,' was the answer. 'Then,' replied the citizen, 'we shall do well enough at London, whatever become of the parliament.'

Fifth Walk.

THE STRAND.

> 'Those bricky towers
> The which on Thames' broad aged back do ride,
> Where now the studious lawyers have their bowers,
> There whilom wont the Templar Knights to bide,
> Till they decay'd through pride;
> Next whereunto there stands a stately place.'

THE Blackfriars' Monastery* was that of the Dominicans or preaching friars. Their first English settlement was at Oxford in 1221. In London they first had their house in Holborn, near Lincoln's-inn. There they remained for fifty-five years, till, in 1276, Gregory Rokeley, the mayor, assigned them part of the ward of Castle Baynard. Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, a Dominican, helped them to build their church. The church was built out of the materials of Montfichet Castle, founded by a follower of the Conqueror of that name. Edward I. and Queen Eleanor were generous benefactors. The precinct was

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 1487.

extensive, and had four gates. It was a sanctuary, and remained so long after the suppression. Parliament met in Henry VI.'s reign at the Blackfriars'.* Charles V. lodged at Blackfriars when on a visit to Henry VIII. Cardinal Campeggio tried the royal divorce at Blackfriars.† At Blackfriars began the Black Parliament in Henry's reign, in which Wolsey was condemned. The royal records were deposited at Blackfriars as a place of safety. In the church lay the heart of Queen Eleanor, the body of King James of Spain, and that of Sir Thomas, the father of Katherine Parr. Three tombs were erected to Queen Eleanor; one over the viscera in Lincoln Cathedral; another over the heart in the Blackfriars, London; and a third in Westminster Abbey over the body. The Master of the Wardrobe paid John le Convers five marks for the tomb at the Blackfriars'. Ten marks were paid to Adam the Goldsmith for the work on an angel to hold the heart of the queen. There were brass figures at the sides of the tombs at Lincoln and the Blackfriars', which must have been richer than that at Westminster Abbey. Blackfriars was held *in commendam* by Bishop Fisher, who sur-

* When an attempt at reconciliation was made between the Yorkists and Lancastrians after the battle of St. Albans, the former assembled every morning at Blackfriars, the latter in the afternoon at Whitefriars.

† Scene 4 of act ii. of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.* is laid at Blackfriars.

rendered it to Henry VIII. Henry sold the prior's lodgings and hall to Sir Francis Bryan in 1547. We have before related that when Hundsdon House, Blackfriars, was occupied by Count le Tillier, the French Ambassador, the floor gave way, and ninety-five persons, including the preacher, Father Drury,* perished. Forty-seven of the bodies were buried in the garden of Hundsdon House.

Fleet-ditch was fed by the river of Wells, or Turn-mill Brook, by the Holborn, and by the Fleet itself—a stream that joined the others where Farringdon-street now stands. The Fleet was crossed by four bridges: one opposite Bridewell; a second connected Fleet-street with Ludgate; a third at the end of Fleet-lane gave access to the prison; the fourth crossed the stream at Holborn. It was cleansed and made navigable as far as Holborn in 1502, the year of the marriage of the Princess Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., with James IV. of Scotland.

In Fleet-street, or rather between it and the river, was the well of St. Bride, or Bridget, of Ireland.

The old *St. Bride's*, the burial-place of Wynkin de Worde—the printer—consisted of the original church converted into the choir, and a nave and side-aisles, built by William Vinor, Warden of the Fleet, about 1480. In allusion to his name, a vine with

* *Alias* Bedford. The date was Sunday, October 26, 1623.

grapes and leaves was discernible in many parts of the building. St. Bride's was a rectory in the gift of the Abbot and Convent of Westminster.

Henry VIII., after Wolsey's fall, rebuilt the Palace of Bridewell. A gallery crossed the Fleet, and penetrated the City wall to the Emperor Charles V.'s lodging at Blackfriars. Cardinal Campeggio came to see Henry at Bridewell, where he found him surrounded by his nobility, judges, and councillors. The cardinal addressed the king on the subject of his marriage with Katherine. The palace stood on the site of the old Tower of Montfichet.

Salisbury-court marks the site of the town-house of the Bishops of Salisbury.

At the end of Shoe-lane, opposite, stood the Conduit, erected about 1478, with figures of angels and sweet-sounding bells before them ; on which, by hammers moved by invisible machinery, the hours of day and night were struck.

In Shoe-lane was the residence of the Bishop of Bangor, with an extensive garden and avenues of lime. Bangor House is mentioned in the patent rolls as early as Edward III.'s reign. A drawing of Malcolm's shows two Tudor windows. The house was entirely pulled down in the autumn of 1828.

In Chancery-lane is the *Rolls Chapel*. Early in his reign, Henry III., the king of simple life and plain, as Dante calls him, founded in London a *Domus Con-*

versorum,* for the maintenance of Jewish converts: 'Ad sustentationem fratrum conversorum et convertendorum de Judaismo ad fidem Catholicam.' There was a similar house founded by Pope Pius V., at Rome; and a college founded by Gregory XIII., for the purpose of receiving Jews who desired instruction. At Venice, also, there was a church and hospice for converted Jews.† The Jews on their conversion were not only to be watered with the dew of doctrine, as Pope Innocent III. said (Inn. III. Epist. lib. xvi. 84), but also to be nourished with temporal benefits. Lest the shame of poverty should compel them to return, all the faithful were to assist them. There is a letter to the Bishop of Autun, who had failed to relieve the necessities of a converted Jew and his daughter, rebuking him for his neglect of the apostolic mandate (id. lib. ii. epist. 206). At the instance of a nobleman, a Jew of Leicester had renounced his wealth, and embraced the Christian faith. He was maintained during the nobleman's lifetime, but after his death had no means of subsistence. Innocent III. wrote to the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary of the Fields, Leicester, commanding them, for the sake of Him by whom the convert received the light of truth,

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 682.

† The chapel of All Saints—in the Maximin-strasse at Cologne—was originally erected for the use of converted Jews. W. H. J. Weale's *Belgium*, &c. p. 449.

to supply his wants in future (Inn. III. lib. ii. epist. 234).

The Chapel of the *Domus Conversorum* is what is now known as the Rolls Chapel. Edward I. expelled the Jews in 1290; and Edward III. annexed the house and chapel to the office of the 'Custos Rotulorum,' then newly created.

Of the early part of the thirteenth century, the Rolls Chapel has lost every character of a building of that age. The glass is of the sixteenth century.

The chief ornament of the chapel is the monument of Dr. John Young, Master of the Rolls in Henry VIII.'s reign. The master lies on a sarcophagus, with his hands crossed, and a countenance of extreme serenity. In a recess behind is a head of Christ, with that of an angel on either side. This monument is supposed to be the work of Pietro Torregiano, the sculptor of Henry VII.'s monument at Westminster, and rival of Michael Angelo.

Chichester-rents, in Chancery-lane, marks the site of the town-house of the Bishops of Chichester.

Lincoln's-inn was the first establishment of the Blackfriars in London. From their hands it passed into those of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.

The Whitefriars, or Carmelites*—'Fratres Beatæ Mariæ de Monte Carmeli'—were established by the

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 1572.

Thames, near the Temple, a little to the east of King's-bench-walk. Their church was built by Sir Richard Gray in 1241. Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, rebuilt Sir Richard Gray's church in the reign of Edward I. Robert Marshall, Bishop of Hereford, added choir, presbytery, and steeple. Sir Robert Knolles was buried here, 1407.

Henry VIII. gave the land to his physician, William Butts, mentioned by Shakespeare (*Henry VIII.* act v. scene 2). The church was destroyed in Edward VI.'s reign, with all its tombs.

The Carmelites were established in England by Richard I., the year before Sir Richard Gray's foundation. Their first house was at Alnwick, in Northumberland.

*St. Dunstan's** in the West, in Fleet-street, was presented to Henry III. by Richard de Barking, Abbot of Westminster, in 1237. Henry III. assigned it, with all its profits, to the maintenance of his newly established *Domus Conversorum.* In 1362 we find it in the possession of the Bishop of London, as in consequence of a petition from the Præmonstatensian Abbot and Convent of Alnwick, Northumberland, showing how their house had been destroyed in the Scottish wars, St. Dunstan's was given them by the bishop. One of the monks of that remote house was deputed to St. Dunstan's, but was removable at the

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 868.

bishop's pleasure. In 1437, a perpetual vicar was instituted. At the dissolution, the patronage of St. Dunstan's reverted to the Crown.

From the Temple towards the Priory of St. John, there arose numerous buildings devoted to the study of law—Sergeants'-inn (rented from the Archbishop of York), Clifford's-inn, Clement's-inn, Lincoln's-inn, Gray's-inn (once the residence of the Grays of Wilton, then a manor attached to the Convent of East Sheen, in Surrey), Thavies'-inn, Furnival's-inn, Staple-inn, Barnard's or Mackworth's, and Scroop's-inn—that give a collegiate aspect to this quarter of London.

The *Temple Church** was founded in 1185 (the year in which Saladin captured the holy city), and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin by Heraclius, Patriarch of the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. An inscription over the west door records the fact, and the grant of a sixty days' indulgence for a yearly visit. The abbreviated form is to be thus read:

> 'Qui (Heraclius) eam annatim petentibus
> de injunctâ sibi penetentiâ lx. dies indulsit.'

This was the second Templar church in London. The original church—as at a later date that of the Blackfriars—was in Holborn. The present Temple was called the 'New Temple.' The old church—of Caen stone—was also circular. The oblong portion of the 'New Temple' was consecrated on Ascension-

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 817.

day, 1240. On the dissolution of the order, Edward II. granted the Temple and Frikett's Croft, near London, and the whole Templar property, whether in the city or suburbs, to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, the same De Valence whose beautiful tomb is in Westminster Abbey.*

The Council of Vienne, in 1324, gave the Templar property to the Hospitallers, then very conspicuous for their valour at Rhodes. The London Temple shared in this change of destination; but the Hospitallers conveyed the property to Hugh le Despencer, at whose death it reverted to the crown. The Hospitallers were, however, re-installed in Edward III.'s reign. They gave a lease of the property for the use of common-law students, who still have their 'bowers' in the 'bricky towers' of the Templar Knights.

The circular *Nave* is transition Norman. Six clustered and banded pillars with sculptured capitals support pointed arches. The surrounding aisle has quadripartite vaulting, as at St. Bartholomew's, but here with cross-springers and enriched bosses. It is lighted by small circular-headed windows. The west doorway is of rich character, with four jamb-shafts on either side. Beyond the door to the west is the first bay, with two massive pillars, of a cloister. In

* The trial of the Templars took place at *St. Martin's, Ludgate.*

the round, the six pillars stand at the angles of a hexagon, on each side of which is a square, the outer corners of which fall at points equally distant in the external wall, so that—were the inner circle not circular, but really hexagonal—the external wall of the circumambient aisle would be a duo-decagon, on which would rest alternately squares and equilateral triangles. But the builder of the round church was determined that it should be round, and not a complex figure, so he adopted arches of double curvature both in the inner and the outer circle, from pillar to pillar, and from respond to respond.

The triforium is formed by a series of interlacing blank arches with five arches, counting from either side, and five pillars in each bay. The two central spaces of the six thus enclosed are pierced by square-headed openings. There are six round-headed clerestory windows with shafts at the inner side of the splay. From the abacus of each of the clustered columns beneath, rises a single vaulting shaft on the face of the triforium and clerestory. Round the wall of the aisle is a continuous arcade with a large and prominent billet-moulding. The arches are supported by columns with rich capitals. In the spandrels are sculptured heads. To the south, there were formerly two small rooms communicating with the church. These were removed in 1824. The triforium is reached by a small well-staircase, which

also gives access to the roof of the choir. Within a turret to the north, at the junction of the round church, or nave, and the choir, and opening on the staircase, is a small room four feet six inches long, by two feet six inches wide. Its appropriation is not certainly known. As the altar is seen from it, may it not have been for ringing the 'Sanctus bell'?

The tombs are all of Purbeck marble. Their designation is somewhat uncertain. That an effigy has the legs crossed, whilst the right hand is placed on the sword, does not prove a tomb to be that of a Templar. The tomb of a Templar would represent him in his religious habit—a white cloak with a simple red cross on the left shoulder, over a habit fastened at the waist by a belt. The monuments at the Temple Church are those of pilgrims to the Holy Land, who had laid their swords on the altar at the Redeemer's tomb, or of those who, after having actually engaged in the Holy War, their vow fulfilled, are seen to sheathe their swords, whilst their feet rest on the enemy that has beset their path; 'conculcabis leonem et draconem' (Ps. xc. 13). The effigies of five knights compose the northern group; on the south lie four others beside a coffin *en-dos-d'ane.* The singular position of these effigies is not original. No coffins or remains have been found beneath. The first of the southern group is identified by Gough as Geoffrey de Magnaville, Earl of

Essex, who was killed in besieging Burwell Castle, in 1148. This tomb was removed from the Temple in Holborn. The next is that of William le Mareschall, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1219. The shield bore a lion rampant, now obliterated. The figure of the young bare-headed knight, the next in the series, has a cowl around the neck. The arms are crossed upon the breast. The shield is charged with three water-bougets, the insignia of the De Ros family. This effigy is supposed to be that of the second Lord De Ros, named Furstan, who gave Ribston to the Temple. He died in 1227. The next is supposed to be that of William Marshall, second Earl of Pembroke, who died in April 1230. The sword is to the right. On the ridge of the coffin, *en-dos-d'ane*, is a cross flory. 'The foot rests on a bull's head, or perhaps a ram's.' The tombs are not in their original, though they have long been in their present, position. So in *Hudibras* (part iii. canto iii.):

> 'Retain all sort of witnesses
> That ply in the Temple, under trees,
> Or walk the round, with knights of the posts
> About the cross-legg'd knights their hosts.'

Indeed the Temple would seem to have been a favourite place with the poets; Shakespeare having it, that it was in the Temple garden that the rival partisans assumed the badges of York and Lancaster.*

* *King Henry VI.* part i. act ii. sc. 4. Chaucer's Manciple

The *Choir* of five bays, with its aisles, is early pointed. It is lighted throughout by triplets, with jamb shafts of Purbeck marble. In the south aisle is the effigy of Sylvester de Everdon, Bishop of Carlisle (1246-1255). He wears the episcopal vestments with his mitre, and with his crozier in his hand. In 1810 the tomb was opened, and the skeleton was found wrapped in sheet lead. The crozier lay by the bishop's side, but the episcopal ring was not discovered. The leaden covering appeared to have been broken, perhaps when the Temple was seized in the disturbances of Richard II.'s time. Against the north wall, at the east, was the figure of Edmund Plowden, the lawyer, who died in 1584. He lies on an altar-tomb.* Serjeant Plowden is honourably distinguished as one of the thirty-seven members of the House of Commons who seceded on account of the persecution of Protestants carried on by Queen Mary's government, with the connivance of the House. Of these members thirty-four were Catholics, and three Protestants. Plowden was a distinguished jurist. Elizabeth offered the great seal to Plowden, if he would abandon the Catholic religion. His reply is recorded : 'No, madam, not for the wealth of the nation.' Camden says, 'How

will occur to the reader as another poetic association with the Temple.

* Plowden's monument has been transferred to the triforium of the Round Church.

excellent a medley is made when honesty and ability meet in a man of Plowden's profession!' Francis Plowden, the historian of Ireland, was a descendant of Serjeant Plowden.

The central aisle is about a third broader than the other two. There are four clustered columns on either side, here forming solid piers, but of no great thickness. The soffits of the arches are enriched by numerous mouldings. The groining is formed by cross-springers with bosses at the intersections. The vault is more pointed in the side aisles than in the centre, to redress the effect of their inequality of width. The east window of the central aisle is larger than any of the others. There are quartrefoil panels in the spandrels to give this, the principal window in the church, a more ornate character. The side-aisle vaults are loaded, to counteract the pressure of the central vault arising from its greater width. The expedient has failed, the weight imposed not having been sufficient. The pillars incline slightly outwards. The offsets of the external buttresses are on the outer face only. A string-course runs round under the window. The buttresses meet the parapet above. Between the buttresses almost the whole wall space is occupied by windows. The choir of the Temple Church should be compared with Lady Chapel of St. Mary Overy.

It is frequently assumed, though without proof,

that the so-called 'round churches' were, like the Baptistery, or St. Sepulchre's at Pisa, disengaged, and that the oblong portion was an after addition. This is contrary to fact. At Little Maplestead in Essex, the foundations were found, on examination, to be on one level throughout, and a set-off of six inches to run round the whole building. It does not appear to have struck those who imagine that these churches were designed to be an exact imitation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, that they resemble it in being a combination of the circular with the rectangular; that, were they reduced to the 'round,' the resemblance would be lost. 'The church of the Resurrection' was circular, and enshrined the Holy Sepulchre; but on the east, and joined with it by a cloister, Constantine built the Martyrium, in commemoration of our Lord's death. At St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge, an ancient window in the 'round church' appropriately represents the Resurrection.

The rule of the Templars was drawn up by St. Bernard. The head of the house was the Master of the Temple, that of the house at Jerusalem the Grand-Master. The master was elected by the chapter from among knights. His jurisdiction extended not only over the London house, but over the preceptories in the provinces. On entering the order the Templar had to declare that he was neither married nor betrothed, and that he had never taken vows

in any other religious order, that he was sound in constitution, and free from debt.

To the south of the round church was an ancient chapel of St. Anne,* demolished in 1827. Here the candidates took their stand, and many questions were addressed to them. These satisfactorily answered, they knelt before the master with folded hands, and each said, 'Sir, I am come, before God, and before you and the brethren, and pray and beseech you, for the sake of God and our dear Lady, to admit me into your society and the good deeds of the order, as one who will be, all his life long, the servant and slave of the order.' The master replied, 'Beloved brother, you are desirous of a great matter, for you see nothing but the outward show of our order. It is only the outward show when you see that we have fine houses and rich companions, that we eat and drink well, and are splendidly clothed. From this you conclude that you will be well off with us. But you know not the rigorous maxims which are our interior. For it is a hard matter for you, who are your own master, to become the servant of another. You will hardly be able to perform, in future, what you wish yourself. . . . When you wish to sleep, you will be ordered to watch; when you will wish to watch, then you will be ordered to go to bed; when you will wish to eat, then you will

* Barren women used to resort to this chapel to avail themselves of the intercession of the Saint.

be ordered to do something else,' &c. Other interrogations followed, and the candidate bound himself to obedience, chastity, and observance of the customs of the order. His admission followed, and he was clad in the white mantle and red cross of the Templars. The master and chaplain then kissed him, and the master delivered a discourse, in which he enjoined upon the neophyte the special virtues that characterised the order, and instructed him in the observances he was to keep. The Templar then received clothes, arms, and other equipments, and was furnished with three horses and an esquire to attend him. Attached to the knights were chaplains and serving brethren, and more remotely the affiliated, and the Donates and Oblates—either children destined to embrace the service of the order or persons engaged to promote its interests.

The gate-house of the Middle Temple was built by Sir Amias Paulet, as a fine imposed on him by Cardinal Wolsey.*

St. Clement Danes in the Strand has the base of the Gothic tower. This church, as did still more nearly the Temple Church, escaped the fire, but has been rebuilt. It is said to derive its name from the fact of its having been the place of interment of

* So the gateway of the Botanic Garden at Oxford was erected by means of the fine levied upon Anthony à Wood for his libel on the Earl of Clarendon.

Harold Harefoot, son of Canute. Another account says that, after the expulsion of the Danes, such as had formed English alliances were compelled to take up their residence between Westminster and Ludgate, and that when St. Clement's came to be built in this quarter, it derived its name from the circumstance. Clement's-inn is said by Dugdale to have been an inn of Chancery in Edward II.'s reign. In the inn was 'St. Clement's well.' To it in Fitz-Stephen's time the Westminster scholars and City youth resorted. There is now a pump over it.

The Abbot of Westminster had a garden on the banks of the Thames, where Westminster and London join near St. Clement's Danes. It was called the 'Frère Pye Garden,' and stood opposite the palaces of the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle. The Bishop of Exeter lived in this quarter, holding the ground on lease from the Knights of St. John.

The Protector Somerset, uncle of the young King Edward VI., seems most probably to have possessed property on the site of Somerset House. He determined to build a palace on this site; and to carry out his intention, space and building materials were obtained by the demolition of an inn of Chancery called 'Strand-inn, or Chester-inn,' the palaces of the Bishops of Worcester and Llandaff, of the Bishops of Lichfield and Coventry, and the church and churchyard of St. Mary le Strand. For the more substantial

building of his palace, instead of rubble and timber, the ordinary materials, he demolished the charnel-house of old St. Paul's and the chapel over it, together with 'Pardon churchyard,' throwing the remains of the dead into Finsbury-fields; as also the steeple and part of the church of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and with the stones of these erected the new mansion.

Denmark House, or, as we now call it, Somerset House, was settled for life on Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I., and was fitted up for the reception of herself and household in 1626. There was a cemetery belonging to Somerset House in which the Catholic members of the queen's household were buried.

Catholics were generally buried in the Protestant cemeteries, the priest who attended them blessing some mould which was put in the coffin with the body, and performing in secret the usual ceremonies.

The Capuchins whom we find at Somerset House were preceded by Oratorians* established in the suburb of St. James's, near the palace, to whose services Catholics resorted, though admission was obtained with difficulty. The Oratorians were expelled by the influence of Buckingham ('Steenie') with his royal master.

* It was from the Oratorians in Paris that the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth received his early education.

On the Capuchins' arrival, the foundation-stone of the chapel at Somerset House was laid by the queen. From six in the morning there were masses, and generally communions till noon. The confessionals were thronged. On Sundays and festivals there was a controversial lecture from one to two o'clock. Vespers followed, sung by the Capuchins and musicians alternately from the galleries. When vespers were over, there was a sermon on the gospel of the day, followed by compline. Then there were conferences for the edification of Catholics and instruction of Protestants. On three days in the week the Christian doctrine was publicly taught in French and English. There were two or three conversions weekly.

When the queen was in Holland, the Capuchins were imprisoned by Parliament, and banished ; their house was pulled down, and the chapel desecrated. They were restored to Somerset House when Henrietta Maria returned to England, after the Restoration.

In May 1638, by Henrietta Maria's special permission, Father Richard Blount was buried at Somerset House.*

* Father Blount reconciled Anne of Denmark, consort of James I. She, however, subsequently conformed to the Established Church. See *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, pp. 147-9.

Pepys in his diary gives the following account: 'In 1663-4, on the 24th, being Ash-Wednesday, to the queen's chapel, where I staid and saw mass, till a man came and bade me go out or kneel down; so I did go out; and thence to Somerset House, and there into the chapel where Mons. d'Espagne, a Frenchman, used to preach.' In October he again visits 'Somerset House,' and saw the queen's new rooms, 'which are most stately and nobly furnished.' In 1664-5, about January, he was there again, and was shown the queen's mother's chamber and closet, 'most beautiful places for furniture and pictures.' In consequence, however, of the plague, in the June following, the court prepared to leave Whitehall and Somerset House. The queen went to France, and there died, in 1669. On the death of Charles II. in 1685, Somerset House became the residence of Catherine of Braganza.*

The Savoy was built by Peter, Earl of Savoy and Richmond, in 1245. He was uncle of Eleanor, wife of Henry III. He gave it to the 'Fratres de Monte Jovis,'† the Priory de Cornuto (Hornchurch), by Ha-

* In the reign of James II., Smith, one of the four Vicars-Apostolic, was consecrated at Somerset House. Ellis was consecrated at the same date (1688) in the Chapel Royal at St. James'. Leyburn and Giffard were of earlier consecration.

† In Savoy—the Hospice of the Great St. Bernard. A temple dedicated to Jupiter stood on the pass near the hospice. Havering was 'cella et parcella hospitalis S. Bernardi de Monte, in Sabaudia, ultra mare.' Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 652.

vering-at-the-Bower, in Essex. From them it was purchased by Queen Eleanor for Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, second son of Henry III. The Savoy was repaired, or rather rebuilt, by Henry Plantagenet, first Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. John, King of France, was a prisoner at the Savoy, after his defeat at Poictiers in 1356. Here he died when on a subsequent visit to this country. When in the possession of 'time-honoured Lancaster,' the Savoy was burnt by Wat Tyler, in 1381. Chaucer wrote some of his poems in the Savoy. In 1505, it was endowed as an Hospital of St. John the Baptist, for the relief of 100 poor, by Henry VII. In his will, Henry VII. referred to this endowment, and said he intended 'to doo and execute six out of the seven works of pitie and mercy by meanes of keeping, susteyning, and mayntenying of common hospitallis.' Henry VIII. completed the design. The hospital was reëndowed by Mary I., her maids of honour furnishing it with necessaries. The Savoy had a hall with a louvre in the centre of the roof. The roof was of wood, with pendants, probably similar to those at Crosby-place. Images of angels bore before their breasts coats of arms, as in the roof at Westminster. One of these was a 'cross gules between four stars.'

Machyn, in his diary, records the burial of the Earl of Bedford, lord privy-seal, who died at his house beside the Savoy, and was carried to his coun-

try-place, Chenies, for interment. He was carried with three crosses, with many clerks and priests in attendance, 'till they came to the hill above St. James,' where some turned back; all were mounted. First there rode one in black, bearing a silver cross; then came priests in surplice, then came the standard, then the gentlemen and chief officers, then heralds with the helmet, mantle, and crest, the armour, and insignia; then came the funeral car with painted banners; then the saddle horse; then the mourners, chief of them Lord Russell's son, the lord treasurer, the master of the horse, and various members of the nobility, clad in black. Everywhere on the course of the procession the clergy came forth to meet it, and alms were distributed to the poor. The interment took place the following day, when the Dean of St. Paul's preached, and the people of the country-side flocked to the feast.

The *Chapel* of St. Mary in the Hospital, or of St. John the Baptist* in the Savoy, is of early sixteenth-century date. There is a rich reredos, having niches with domed canopies at either extremity. The east window is of five lights with vertical mullions. There are two sedilia, with a piscina between

* Henry III. rebuilt the Hospital of St. John the Baptist on the site of Magdalen College, Oxford. The University sermon used to be preached from the stone pulpit in the entrance quadrangle of the college on St. John Baptist's Day.

them and the east wall.* To the west of this is the priest's doorway. The oak roof is coved at the sides. It exhibits a series of quatrefoil panels, which run four in a row throughout the entire length; the spaces between each row of quatrefoils and that next succeeding are filled in by smaller patterns, also quatrefoil, but here formed by a combination of ogees, not as the larger, by the intersection of circles. The coved portion of the ceiling exhibits a series of oblong panels with elliptic heads. Emblems of the Passion, the sacred monogram, the lamb and flag, and the pelican in her piety,† the types of St. John Baptist, with various heraldic devices, adorn the panels. The prevalent colour is blue. The chapel was restored in 1865, by Mr. Sydney Smirke, after the fire. Gavin Douglas, the poet-Bishop of Dunkeld, was buried at the Savoy. He was son of 'Archibald-Bell-the-Cat,' Earl of Angus. The reader of *Marmion*‡ will remember how, at the wedding of Clare and De Wilton:

> 'A bishop at the altar stood,
> A noble lord of Douglas blood,' &c.

The Church of the Savoy became parochial when the Protector Somerset demolished the old

* At Sedgeberrow Church, Gloucestershire, and at St. Fechin's Abbey, Fore, Westmeath, there are double sedilia.

† So on the tabernacle in the Chapel of St. John's Hospital, Bruges.

‡ Canto vi. xi.

church of St. Mary-le-Strand, to make way for his palace.*

Sir Thomas Palmer, a follower of Somerset, obtained a house opposite the Savoy, that belonged to the parson of St. Martin's, demolished it, and built on the site a fine house of brick and timber.

In the Chapel of the Savoy was buried, at his own request, Christopher Davenport, better known as 'Franciscus a Sancta Clara,' of the order of St. Francis. He was a native of Coventry, became a Catholic when at Merton College, Oxford, and entered the Franciscan Order at Ypres. He died at Somerset House, May 31, 1680, at the age of eighty-two. He reconciled Anne, Duchess of York, August 1670. He translated from the Portuguese the 'Chronicles of the Franciscan Order.'†

Ivy-bridge, crossing a small stream, was the boundary between the precinct of the Savoy and Westminster.

In the Strand were numerous houses of bishops;

* Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, became Master of the Savoy in the reign of James I. For his life and writings see Granger's *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 359; and Hallam's *Introduction*, vol. ii. p. 419, note b; and vol. iii. p. 426.

† In the reign of James II. a colony of Jesuits was established in the Savoy, under a rector named Palmer. They opened a school which numbered some four hundred pupils, half of them Protestants, and half Catholics. They also established a printing-press.

those of Exeter, Bath, Llandaff, Chester, Worcester, Carlisle, Durham, and the Archbishop of York (Wolsey), all resided here. Durham—Aggas spells it Duresme—House was exchanged by Bishop Tunstal for a residence in Thames-street, and was converted by Henry VIII. into a palace. When Mary came to the throne, she restored Durham House to that see.

York House was the London residence of the Bishops of Norwich, from whom it passed to the Suffolk family. In Queen Mary's time, Heath, Archbishop of York, purchased the house for the see of York, as Whitehall, formerly York House, had passed into the hands of the Crown.

'Covent (Convent) Garden' was an enclosure belonging to the Abbey of Westminster. Here were the spreading pastures of the 'seven acres,' of Long-acre, and a grove of elms, now all swallowed up in the general appellation of 'Long-acre;' the street running east and west between St. Martin's and Drury-lane, through Leg-alley. Long-acre is said to stand on the site of the ancient elms.

And now we reach what was once the country village of Charing (Chère Reine ?).* At Charing-cross was one of the Eleanor crosses, the last of the

* For Charing-cross Hospital, see Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 767. It was founded 'for lunatic and distracted people.' The date of the foundation is unknown.

series. The following lines on its downfall are interesting :

'Undone, undone the lawyers are ;
They wander about the towne ;
Nor can find the way to Westminster,
Now Charing-cross is downe :
At the end of the Strand they make a stand,
Swearing they are at a loss,
And chaffing say, that's not the way ;
They must go by Charing-cross.

The Parliament to vote it down
Conceived it very fitting,
For fear it should fall and kill them all,
In the house as they were sitting.
They were told, God wot, it had a plot,
Which made them so hard-hearted,
To give command it should not stand,
But be taken down and carted.

Men talk of plots ; this might have been worse,
For anything I know,
Than that Tomkins and Chaloner
Were hanged for long agoe.
Our Parliament did that prevent,
And wisely them defended ;
For plots they will discover still
Before they were intended.

But neither man, woman, nor child,
Will say, I'm confident,
They ever heard it speak one word
Against the Parliament.
An informer swore it letters bore,
Or else it had been freed ;
I'll take, in troth, my Bible oath,
It could neither write nor read.

The committee said, that verily
To Popery it was bent;
For ought I know it might be so,
For to church it never went.*
What with excise, and such device,
The kingdom doth begin,
To think you'll leave them ne'er a cross,
Without doors nor within.

Methinks the Common Council should
Of it have taken pity,
'Cause, good old cross, it always stood
So firmly to the City.
Since crosses you so much disdain,
Faith, if I were as you,
For fear the king should rule again
I'd pull down Tiburn too.'

Charing-cross was built under the direction of Richard and, after his death, of Roger de Crundale, in place of the original wooden cross. The material for the cross itself was Caen stone; the steps were of marble from Corfe. A small house is shown on Aggas' map as occupying the spot where the equestrian statue of Charles I. now stands. This may have been the Hermitage, a small chapel dedicated to St. Katharine, which stood 'over against the cross.'

For the convenience of the officers of Westminster Abbey, on their way to Covent-garden, a chapel was erected, dedicated to St. Martin, 'the original *St. Martin in the fields.*' Another account says that St.

* An allusion to the absence of Catholics from the Protestant worship.

Martin's was built at the expense of Henry VIII., who disliked funerals passing through Whitehall. Opposite St. Martin's Church, at the angle of Whitehall and the Strand, is the site of the hospital of St. Mary of Rounceval.*

And now let us pass through Spring-gardens to St. James's Park. St. James's Palace occupies the site of a 'leper hospital.' The endowment was for women only, fourteen in number, 'maidens that were leprous.' Eight brethren attended to the religious services. Henry VIII. made a manor here, in 1532. This was the year of his marriage with Anna Boleyn, whom four years later he put to death. St. James's was more of a country house than any previous residence of the kings of England in town, except Kennington. Kennington was now abandoned, and St. James's may have been designed to take its place. The fields, now the park, were enclosed as the private demesne of the palace. They were stocked with game; there was a cock-pit and a tilt-yard on the site of the present Horse Guards in front of Whitehall. The gateway, part of which is now the Royal Chapel, and the chimneypiece of the 'old presence chamber,' are all that remain of the palace created by Henry. The last has the initials of Henry and of Anne. Henry held his court at the old Westminster Palace,

* 'Or De Rosida Valle in the diocese of Pampelon in Navarre.' Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 677.

and, after he had taken it from Cardinal Wolsey, at Whitehall, whilst he employed St. James's as a residence. This was curiously the reverse of the present destination of St. James's. At St. James's, Henry's daughter Mary died. From this palace her funeral cortége wended to Westminster Abbey, where she was interred with much splendour. The account of her funeral is extant, and some notice of it may be taken here, as it was the last occasion on which an English sovereign was interred with this ceremonial on English soil. On the 13th December 1558, she was borne forth from St. James's on a car adorned with her portrait, as was the custom at the time. First went the standard with the 'Falcon and Hart;' then came many mourners, then a standard with the 'Lion and Falcon,' then the household servants two and two, in black, under charge of the heralds. Then came the third standard, with the 'White Greyhound and Falcon;' next came gentlemen in mourning; next squires on horseback with banners of arms; next the Marquis of Winchester on horseback, with the banner of England embroidered in gold; then 'Chester' the herald, with the helm, crest, and mantle; then 'Norroy,' with the target with garter and crown; then 'Clarencieux,' with the sword; then Garter, with the coat-armour, all on horseback. Knights and lords with banners were around the funeral car. Four mounted heralds—'Somerset,'

'Lancaster,' 'Windsor,' 'York'—carried white banners of saints wrought with fine gold. Cloth of gold covered the bier, the cross was silver. Behind were the chief mourners; after them followed ladies on horseback, dressed in black. In the queen's carriage were the pages of honour. The procession was brought up by monks and bishops. The course the procession followed was by Charing-cross to the Abbey, where four more bishops and the abbot were waiting. The queen's mass was on the fourteenth of December. Dr. White, the successor of Bishop Gardiner in the see of Winchester—'an eminent scholar, a good poet, an able theologian, and an eloquent preacher; a prelate of primitive behaviour, and altogether a worthy good man,'*—preached the sermon. Whilst praising Mary, he fully acknowledged Elizabeth's right to the crown. He was, notwithstanding, arrested as he descended the pulpit-stairs, and committed to the Tower. There he remained till his health was shattered, when he was at length released and allowed to live at his sister's house, where he died, in 1561.

We may here mention that Richard White, a nephew of the Bishop of Winchester, was vicar of Goodhurst, in Kent. At Elizabeth's accession, he retired to Louvain, and afterwards to Padua. He became a canon of St. Peter's, Douay, Count Pala-

* Dodd's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 481.

tine of the Holy Roman Empire, and Regius Professor of Divinity. He was Rector of the College at Douay for thirty years, dying in 1611.

On the site of the Lutheran chapel at St. James's was the friary occupied by Franciscans, who came to England with Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. There were cells, refectory, dormitory, chapel, and library. Pepys gives an account of a visit he made, when he was shown a crucifix that had belonged to Mary, Queen of Scots, containing a portion of the true cross.*

Scotland-yard marks the site of the old palace given in King Edgar's time to Kenneth III. of Scotland, and occupied by the Scottish kings when in London.† The last of the royal family of Scotland who occupied it was Queen Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., and widow of James IV., who fell at Flodden.

Whitehall was originally 'York House,' when in the possession of Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of that see. Hubert de Burgh, Lord Chief Justice in the reign of King John and Henry III., had a mansion on this site, erected on land purchased from the Chapter of Westminster. He bequeathed the house

* Benedictines were established at St. James's in the reign of James II. At that date there were Carmelites in the City, and Franciscans in Lincoln's-inn-fields, besides the Jesuits and Benedictines at the Savoy and St. James's.

† The King of Scotland held a soke (franchise) in the city of London.

to the Blackfriars, whose monastery was then in Holborn. They sold it to Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York, who settled it on his successors as their town residence. There was a chapel and sacristy near the river. When it came into Henry VIII.'s possession, the palace obtained the name of 'Whitehall.'

> 'For since the cardinal fell, that title's lost:
> 'Tis now the king's, and called Whitehall.'

It consisted of a hall, chapel, banqueting-house, and other apartments—as Henry VIII.'s gallery, the boarded gallery, the matted gallery, the shield gallery, the stone gallery, and the vane room. There were tennis-court, orchard, and cock-pit. At Hampton-court may be seen the 'Adam and Eve' by Mabuse, that gave its name to one of the galleries at Whitehall. Here Holbein painted the ceiling of the 'matted gallery,' the portraits of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. with their queens, and the 'Dance of Death.' Here he built his famous gateway, demolished in the last century. On it were eight medallions of Italian workmanship.

In Dod's *Church History** is given *in extenso* the deeply interesting narrative by Father Huddleston, of his visit to Charles II. on his death-bed. We avail ourselves of the briefer narrative of Lord

* Vol. iii. pp. 229-30.

Macaulay.* 'Father Huddleston entered. A cloak had been thrown over his sacred vestments, and his shaven crown was concealed by a flowing wig. "Sir," said the Duke [of York], "this good man once saved your life. He now comes to save your soul." Charles faintly answered, "He is welcome." Huddleston went through his part better than had been expected. He knelt by the bed, listened to the confession, pronounced the absolution, and administered extreme unction. He asked if the king wished to receive the Lord's Supper. "Surely," said Charles, "if I am not unworthy." The host was brought in. Charles feebly strove to rise and kneel before it. The priest bade him lie still, and assured him that God would accept the humiliation of the soul, and would not require the humiliation of the body. The king found so much difficulty in swallowing . . . that it was necessary to open the door and procure a glass of water. This rite ended, the monk held up a crucifix before the penitent, charged him to fix his last thoughts on the sufferings of the Redeemer, and withdrew.'†

* *History of England* (popular edition), vol. i. pp. 207-8.

† Two events connected with Whitehall in the Stuart reigns are worth mentioning: the presence of Père Colombiere as confessor to the Duchess of York; and the consecration of Adda, the Papal Nuncio, as Bishop of Amasia by the Primate of Ireland (Lingard's *History*, vol. x. p. 127). Macaulay says St. James's—*History of England* (popular edition), vol. ii. p. 53.

Sixth Walk.

WESTMINSTER AND LAMBETH.

> 'How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
> Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads
> To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof;
> By its own weight made steadfast and immovable,
> Looking tranquillity. It strikes an awe
> And terror on my waking sight; the tombs
> And monumental caves of death look cold.'

SEBERT, the founder of the cathedral St. Paul within, was no less the founder of the Benedictine church and monastery—our English Rheims and St. Denis both in one—without the City walls. The night before the dedication, it is related that St. Peter, in an unknown garb, showed himself to a fisher on the Surrey side, and bade him carry him over, with promise of reward. The fisher complied, and saw his fare enter the new-built church of Sebert, that suddenly seemed on fire with a glow that enkindled the firmament. Meantime the heavenly host scattered sound and fragrance, the Fisher of souls wrote upon the pavement the alphabet in Greek

and Hebrew, in twelve places anointed the walls with the holy oil, lighted the tapers, sprinkled the water, and did all else needful for the dedication of a church.

These circumstances and the signs following were pondered on by St. Edward, last but one of our Saxon kings, who earnestly desired to repair that ruined monastery, and restore it to honour and splendour. The Pope approved, and one of the most magnificent fabrics in Christendom was the result.

The monastery and church stood within the precincts of the Palace of Westminster. The King had a private entrance.

A mediæval monastery with its courts and cloister, its several buildings announcing their destination by their position—this of the superior, that of the dependent; this public and accessible, that private, with its garden, with its environing wall—was the successor of the Roman *villa urbana.**

The porter was the chief domestic of a Benedictine monastery. He had a cell near the gate, and, being himself chosen for years and discretion, had a younger man as his companion.

Water, a mill, a garden, an oven, &c. were provided within the precincts of a Benedictine monastery, to prevent necessity arising for the monks going abroad.

When any of the monks were about to start on a

* Cf. Spalding's *Italy*, vol. i. cap. 5.

journey, they obtained the prayers of the community; on their return, the wayfarers sought pardon for anything of which they had been guilty on their way, by neglecting the custody of their eyes, or ears, or by indulging in idle conversation.

Entering from Broad Sanctuary (where, on the site of the Westminster Hospital, a massive building gave shelter to those under the protection of the abbey) we have before us the site of the 'Almonry,' founded by Henry VII. and his mother, Margaret, for poor men and women respectively. Hard by was the chapel of St. Anne. Close to the present gate were the 'elms.' Across the court ran the granary, parallel with which was the prior's lodging.

The Jerusalem Chamber was the guest-chamber of the abbot, whose lodging enclosed a small court or garden to the west of the cloister. Henry III. rebuilt the northern cloister; Abbot Brycheston, under Edward III., the eastern; Abbot Littlington, under Richard III., the southern. The western cloister was occupied by the novices; the north by the prior; the east, adjoining the chapter-house, by the abbot. To the south was the refectory; to the east, the dormitory.

The monks served weekly, by turns, in the kitchen and at table. On leaving this service, both those who relinquished and those who took up this task washed the feet of the community. On Saturdays all the

plates were cleaned and given to the cellarer. After refection or dinner, which, from Easter till Holy Rood-day, was at twelve o'clock, the meridian, or noon-sleep, was permitted. From Holy Rood till Lent, there was reading from prime till eight o'clock, when tierce followed, and after that labour till nones, when there was dinner. Even during the summer dinner was at nones (three o'clock) on Wednesdays and Fridays. There was silence during dinner, unbroken save by the reading of scripture by one of the community, appointed for a week for the purpose. There was a collation, or spiritual lecture, every evening before night-song, after which there was silence.

The monks rose two hours after midnight to say office; and every week the Psalter was sung through. All left the church at a sign from the abbot. Lamps were kept burning in the dormitory. The community slept in their habits, with their girdles on.

From the east cloister opens the Chapel of the Pyx.* East of the 'dark cloister' was the infirmary with its chapel of St. Katharine, having to the south the infirmary garden, between which and the old Palace of Westminster was the jewel-house.

The chapel of St. Katharine was the scene of the singular occurrence thus recorded by Holinshed:

* The Chapel of the Pyx, an ancient vaulted chamber, was the depositary of the regalia of the Saxon monarchs; 'the Holy Cross of Holyrood,' and the 'Crocis Gneyth,' or Cross of St. Neot.

'About Mid-Lent the king, with his son and the Legate, came to London, where, at Westminster, a convocation of the clergy was called; but when the Legate was set, and the Archbishop of Canterbury on his right-hand, as primate of the realm, the Archbishop of York coming in, and disdaining to sit on the left, where he might seem to give preëminence unto the Archbishop of Canterbury (unmannerly enough, indeed), swasht him down, meaning to thrust himself in betwixt the Legate and the Archbishop of Canterbury. And when, belike, the said Archbishop of Canterbury was loth to remove, he set himself just in his lap; but he scarcely touched the archbishop's skirt, when the Bishops and other Chaplains, with their servants, stept to him, pulled him away, and threw him to the ground; and, beginning to lay on him with bats and fists, the Archbishop of Canterbury, yielding good for evil, sought to save him from their hands. Thus was verified in him that sage sentence, *Nunquam periclum sine periculo vincitur.* The Archbishop of York, with his rent rochet got up, and away he went to the King with a great complaint against the Archbishop of Canterbury. But when, upon examination of the matter, the truth was known, he was well laughed at for his labour, and that was all the remedy he got. As he departed so bebuffeted forth of the Convocation-house towards the King, they cried upon him, "Go, traitor; thou diddest

betray that holy man, Thomas: go, get thee hence, thy hands yet stink of blood!"'

Entering the church from the cloister we can go to the west, and there begin our examination. The west front of Westminster Abbey cannot claim to rival in beauty that of many of the English cathedrals. It is poor in contrast even with Canterbury—Wren having built the towers in apparent disdain of Gothic. That many layers of classical cornice should appear on the face of Gothic towers will, in time, be felt to be a disgrace to our architecture; and we may, perhaps, ourselves see these towers rebuilt, from the roof of the church upwards, with Wren's proportions, but with pure and harmonious detail. The west window is of eight lights with two transoms. Smaller arches enclose the three outer lights on either side. Beneath is a deeply-recessed porch with canopied niches, and a battlemented parapet overhead. In the lower stage of the towers are trifoliated windows of two lights, with quatrefoils in the heads; on the level of the triforium is a spherical triangle with three foliated circles, whilst on that of the clerestory is a three-light window with vertical mullions.

The 'Jerusalem Chamber' was built by Abbot Littlington. He rebuilt the abbot's house, and built the west and south sides of the cloister, the houses of the bailiff, infirmarer, cellarer, and sacrist, the

malt-house and tower, the water-mill and dam, and enclosed the infirmary garden. The Jerusalem Chamber abuts on the south-western tower, and may therefore claim notice here. It is supposed to have been either the guesten hall or the abbot's withdrawing room. In this chamber Henry IV. died.

'*King Henry*. Doth any name particular belong
Unto the lodging where I first did swoon?
Warwick. 'Tis called Jerusalem, my noble lord.
King Henry. Laud be to heaven! even there my life must end.
It hath been prophesied to me many years,
I should not die but in Jerusalem:
Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land.
But, bear me to that chamber; there I'll lie;
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.'
King Henry IV. act iv. scene 4.

The abbot took his meals with the guests and strangers. When these were not numerous, the abbot might invite to his table any he pleased of the community. Some of the seniors were, however, left in the refectory to keep order. When a guest was announced, the abbot and brethren went to receive him. They first prayed with him and then gave him the kiss of peace, and either inclined the head or made a prostration. The guests were then conducted into the church. After this, the superior, or one to whom he gave authority, sat with the guests and read to them a portion of scripture. The abbot sat at table with the guests, except on fast-days. He

gave water to the guests for their hands, and, with the assistance of the community, washed their feet. Then was said, 'Suscepimus Deus misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui.' A kitchen was set apart for the abbot and the guests. Two of the community were appointed annually to serve in this kitchen. The apartment for the guests was furnished with a sufficient number of beds for their use, and was under the special charge of one of the community. None of the community, unless under a command to do so, spoke to, or associated with, the guests. If an encounter with them was unavoidable, they were passed with a salutation and a request for their prayers.

The abbey church of Westminster was the house of prayer, and served no other purpose. Here, when the Divine office was ended, the monks bowed to the altar, and retired in profound silence, that the quiet of any of the community who desired to continue his devotions in private might be undisturbed. If any sought to devote his leisure time to prayer, he entered the church quietly, without pride or ostentation, and prayed, not with a loud voice, but with tears and fervour of soul.*

The *Nave* presents us with the most splendid

* Rule of St. Benedict lii. We have inserted various passages from the Rule of St. Benedict. With what degree of strictness it was followed at Westminster it is, unhappily, impossible to say, as the 'custom-book' perished in the fire at Ashburnham House.

architectural vista in England. But what it is our happiness to survey at a glance as a whole, it is no less our reward to examine in detail. The nave is of two ages, though exhibiting a great uniformity of style. At the point at which the diaper of four-leaved flowers on the spandrels of the lower arcade and of the triforium ceases, the later work commences. In the older work the windows of the aisles and of the clerestory are couplets under a cinque-foiled circle; in the triforium the triangular windows* have a single large eight-foiled circle. In the later work the aisles and clerestory have trefoiled couplets under a quatrefoiled circle, whilst the spherical triangles of the triforium have three cinquefoiled circles. Externally, the later buttresses have gabled niches, instead of the pinnacles of the earlier work. The architect of Henry V.'s time, to whom the later work is to be ascribed, is thought to have been Alexander de Bonneval, the architect of the later work at the Abbey of St. Ouen, at Rouen, which that at Westminster very much resembles. The Nave† is of eight bays. The pillars have each eight shafts of Sussex marble. To the east they are detached, excepting at the base and capital. The shafts and tracery of the triforium are

* The employment of windows in this position is one of the foreign features of the Abbey. They also occur in the transept at Lincoln.

† There was a crucifix, as at St. Paul's, in the nave.

double. De Bonneval, if it was he, employed Ryegate, Gatton, and Caen stone in his building. Westminster is, in proportion to its width, the loftiest of our English churches. Ordinarily, given thirty feet of width to the central aisle, the height would be seventy feet in England, where the French architect would make it ninety. The French divided the entire height of the building into two equal parts, immediately below the triforium. This division has been adopted at Westminster. The French division of the upper part, by which two-thirds of the space are assigned to the clerestory and one-third to the triforium, has also been adopted.

Externally the north transept* has four large buttresses terminating in pinnacles. Three deep-set doorways beneath form what was known as the Beautiful Gate, or Solomon's Porch. The doors are square-headed, the tympana filled in with circles. Above is an arcade of pointed arches, whilst the main feature of the whole is a gigantic marigold window of sixteen lights, ninety feet in circumference. From the two outer to the inner buttresses other flying buttresses spring. The south transept has also its buttresses and its marigold. Beneath are two rows of pointed windows, for here the wall behind the triforium is pierced, giving to the interior

* The great crucifix stood in the north transept; at its foot Walter Leycester was buried in 1391.

of this transept an effect of lightness the other wants, though the architect knew well what he was doing—giving there the effect of shelter, here of light and warmth.* We do not know that any writer has pointed out the resemblance between the extremities of the transept of Westminster and the east end of the noble northern Cathedral of Elgin.

Chaucer was originally buried before St. Benedict's Chapel. His grave was marked by a leaden plate, with an epitaph by Surigonius, a Milanese poet. In 1555, the present monument was erected by Nicholas Brigham of Oxford, himself a poet. In a blank space to the north of the epitaph was the poet's portrait. The material of the monument is Purbeck marble. The canopy is a restoration. This tomb should be compared with the Fitz-Alan chantry in the chancel at Arundel. Forming the east aisle of the north transept are the chapels of St. John the Evangelist,† St. Andrew, and St. Michael. They are now thrown into one, and separated from the transept to which they belong. We are mindful of the advice of the poet, and do not desire to make 'abuses our sport;'‡ but we must take

* The beautiful figures of angels censing, in the spandrils of the triforium, should be observed.

† The tomb of Sir Francis de Vere in this chapel is an imitation of that of Engelbert, Count of Nassau, in the church of Breda. See Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*, p. 228.

‡ G. Herbert's *Poems*, p. 9 (Willmott's edition).

this opportunity of saying that there is not a single modern sculptured monument in the abbey that is not unfitted, by the character of its design or by its defects as a work of art, to be there at all. The grave reflective wisdom of Addison, the æsthetic taste of our own day, are alike opposed to the temper that leads men to make the grave, of all places in the world, a stage for the display of colossal engineers, meditative poets, and parliamentary gladiators. Three chapels, screened from a church for the display of sculpture, are text enough for these remarks.

As the shrine of St. Edward occupies at Westminster the usual site of the high altar, the ritual choir crosses the transept as at St. Alban's, and takes up three bays of the nave. The choir, in the ordinary sense, extends one hundred and fifty-five feet to the east of the transept.

From Easter till the 1st of November, the hour for matins was so arranged that the brethren were allowed a few moments of leisure before lauds, which began immediately at daybreak. During winter, matins began with the verse 'Deus in adjutorium meum intende,' after which came 'Domine labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam,' repeated three times. The third psalm, with the 'Gloria Patri,' followed immediately after. Then the ninety-fourth psalm, with anthem, was said

or sung. After that the hymn and psalms, with anthems, followed. The abbot then gave the blessing, and the brethren, seated in order, read by turns three lessons from the lectionary, after each of which a responsory was sung, the 'Gloria Patri' accompanying the last of these. At the beginning of the 'Gloria' the whole community rose. The lessons were from the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, and from the writings of the holy Fathers. Six other psalms followed, with the anthem Alleluia, followed by a lesson from St. Paul's epistles recited from memory, the verse; the office ending with the 'Kyrie eleison.' From Easter till the 1st of November, on account of the shortness of the nights, a brief lesson from the Old Testament and a single responsory took the place of the three lessons from the lectionary. Matins never consisted of less than twelve psalms, the divisions of the third and ninety-fourth being reckoned separately. On Sundays the community rose earlier than usual. At matins, three canticles, selected from the prophets by the abbot, were sung, with Alleluia. The lessons followed, and after the fourth responsory the abbot intoned 'Te Deum laudamus.' At its close, he read a lesson from the Gospel, during which the brethren stood, and at the end answered Amen. The abbot then intoned the 'Te decet laus,' and gave his benediction; after which lauds began with the sixty-

sixth psalm, recited without an anthem. The fiftieth psalm, with the anthem Alleluia, was then sung. Next followed the hundred-and-seventeenth and sixty-second psalms, the canticle 'Benedicite,' and psalms of praise, a lesson from the Apocalypse said by heart, the responsory, hymn, verse, the canticle 'Benedictus,' and the 'Kyrie eleison.' On festivals of the saints, and on all feasts throughout the year, the psalms and anthems were those proper to the feast. From Easter till Pentecost, Alleluia was sung at the end of the psalms and responsories. From Pentecost till the beginning of Lent, it was only sung after the last six psalms of the night office. On all other Sundays but those in Lent, Alleluia was sung at matins, after the three canticles, as after the psalms of lauds, prime, terce, sext, and none, which were sung with anthems. The responsories were never followed by Alleluia, except from Easter till Pentecost. Prime began with the verse 'Deus in adjutorium meum intende,' followed by the hymn; after that three psalms, each followed by the 'Gloria Patri,' were sung. A lesson was then recited, followed by the verse and the 'Kyrie eleison.' Terce, sext, and none began with 'Deus in adjutorium meum intende;' after which followed the hymn proper to each hour, three psalms, the lesson, verse, and 'Kyrie eleison.' At vespers, four psalms were sung with anthems, after which came the lesson, respon-

sory, hymn, verse, 'Benedictus,' 'Kyrie eleison,' and the Lord's Prayer.*

The choir contracts in breadth before it reaches the apse—differing in this from Lichfield and other examples. Detached shafts, filleted with brass, surround the columns. Narrowing towards the apse, the arches are very sharply pointed in the apse itself. They are not stilted, as in the Romanesque examples at St. Bartholomew's, or as in the pointed apse at Cologne. The triforium is an arcade of two compartments, with a cinquefoil in the head in each bay. The clerestory windows are of two lights, as throughout the church. The lantern piers are lofty and graceful, set with clustering shafts.

The eastern windows are filled with stained glass from Henry VII.'s chapel. In them may be seen our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, St. Austin, St. Edward, and Mellitus, Bishop of London. Lydian marble and serpentine, alabaster, porphyry and jasper, go to the composition of the floor of the sanctuary, brought from Italy by Abbot Ware, and adjusted to its place by one Odericus, master of the works.†

We have the following notice of the furniture and adornments of the abbey :

* The reader will remember the caution given above.

† See Sir Gilbert Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, pp. 97-103.

'I find, by some records in the Tower (communicated to me by a friend), several things given to this new church for ornament, both by the king and his queen. She set up in St. Edward's feretory the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary. And the king, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, which was about the year 1244, caused Edward FitzOdo, keeper of his works at Westminster, to place upon her forehead, for ornament, an emerald and a ruby, taken out of two rings which the Bishop of Chichester had left the said king for a legacy. The same year the king commanded the keepers of his works at Westminster that they should provide for the Abbot of Westminster one strong and good beam to support the bells of the king's gift, and deliver the said beam to the sacristan. And in the thirty-ninth year of the said king, he gave one hundred shillings, by payment each half year, to the brethren of the guild at Westminster, and their successors, who were assigned to ring the great bells there, to be paid out of his exchequer, till the king can provide them the value of one hundred shillings, land or rent. In the twenty-fourth year of his reign he gave the prior three marks to repair the organ. In the twenty-eighth year of his reign, he commanded Edward FitzOdo to make a dragon in manner of a standard or ensign of certain red samite, to be everywhere adorned with gold; and his tongue to be made appearing as though it con-

tinually moved, and his eyes of sapphires, or other stones agreeable to him; and this to be set in St. Peter's Church against the king's coming thither. In the thirtieth year of his reign, the same King Henry III. gave the said church one great crown of silver, to set wax candles upon in the said church; and he commanded the keeper of his exchange to do this out of the issues thereof, and to buy also out of the said issues as precious a mitre as could be found in the City of London, for the Abbot of Westminster's use, of the king's gift. And lastly, the forty-first year of Henry III., about an. 1257, as a further ornament for St. Peter's, he ordered a sumptuous monument to be erected there for his daughter Katharine deceased, giving order to his treasurer and his chamberlains of the treasury to deliver to Mr. Simon de Wells five marks and a half for his expenses in going to London for a certain brass image to be set upon her tomb, and returning home again. And upon the same tomb there was also set a silver image, for the making of which William of Gloucester, the king's goldsmith, was paid sixty marks and ten.'*

The screen separating the sanctuary from St. Edward's shrine is of the fifteenth century.† The

* Strype's *Stow*, book vi. p. 8.

† Above it was the rood-beam with figures of St. John, St. Mary, and of two angels. Beneath, on either side of a tourelle, were images of St. Peter and St. Paul.

choir was formerly hung with arras and tapestry. Some portion of these hangings remains in the Jerusalem Chamber.

The sedilia are of wood. They were formerly covered with painting and glass mosaic. At the back are paintings of a king and an ecclesiastic. The ground of the former painting is red, diapered with gold lions. On the south side, the sedilia rest on King Sebert's tomb. On this side were paintings of St. John Baptist, King Edward the Confessor, St. Peter, and King Sebert. Beneath were verses.

On January 21, in the first year of his reign, Henry VIII. came to the mass of the Holy Ghost. He sat on a throne at the end of the choir next the altar. He offered alone, and then took his seat in the traverse, an enclosed seat of lattice-work, at the south end of the high altar. At the close of mass, the king offered to St. Edward and kissed the relics.

Another ceremonial presents us with a picture of Wolsey's pomp and power.

'When the said (cardinal's) hat,' says Fiddes, 'was come to the abbey, there, at the north door of the same, was ready the abbot and eight abbots beside him, all in pontificals, and honourably received it; and in like sort the same conveyed to the high altar, whereupon it was set. The Sunday next following the eighteenth day, the most rev. father in God,

my lord cardinal, well accompanied with nobles and gentlemen, both spiritual and temporal, being on horseback, as knights, barons, bishops, earls, dukes, and archbishops, in due order proceeded from his place betwixt eight and nine of the clock to the abbey, and at the door aforesaid his grace, with all the noblemen, descended from their horses and went to the high altar, where, on the south side, was ordained a goodly traverse for my lord cardinal; and when his grace was come into it, immediately began the mass of the Holy Ghost, sung by the Bishop of Lincoln, gospeller, and the Bishop of Exeter, epistoler, the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishops of Winton, Durham, Norwich, Ely, and Llandaff, and eight abbots—of Westminster, St. Albans, Bury, Glastonbury, Reading, Gloucester, Winchcombe, Tewkesbury, and the Prior of Coventry, all in pontificals. The Bishop of Rochester was crozier to my lord of Canterbury. During the mass, Dr. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, made a brief collation. . . . . The bull was read by Dr. Vesey, Dean of the King's Chapel and Exeter; and at "Agnus Dei" came forth of his traverse my lord cardinal, and kneeled before the middle of the high altar, where, for a certain time, he lay grovelling, his hood over his head, during benedictions and prayers, concerning the high creation of a cardinal, said over him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who also set his hat upon his

head. Then "Te Deum" was sung. All service and ceremonies done, my lord came to the door before named, led by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, when his grace, with all the noblemen, ascended upon their horses, and in good order proceeded to his place, next before him the crosse, preceding it the mace, such as belongeth to a cardinal to have.'

Though the doorways leading through the screen are closed, we may imagine them open that we may pass immediately into the remaining portion of the constructive choir, the chapel of St. Edward.* From this, as a centre, the whole church radiates. This chapel occupies two lateral bays, and the apse of the choir.

It will be remembered that a shrine consisted of four principal parts—the basement of stone, the altar to the west dedicated to the saint, the shrine proper in which the body of the saint was contained, and the cooperculum or cover for its protection. The basement of St. Edward's shrine is all but perfect. It dates from Henry III.'s time,† and bore the shrine made for the relics on their translation in 1269. It is of Purbeck marble, enriched with glass mosaic by

* It was not until after the Synod of Oxford (1220) that the red cross of St. George supplanted the martlets of St. Edward—up to that date the chief patron of England.

† This association of the king of simple life and plain with St. Edward the 'baleless king of blithe mood,' is of great historic interest.

Peter 'civis Romanus.' The north and south sides have three trefoil-headed niches, the backs of which are adorned with mosaic. In these niches the sick were placed. At the four angles are twisted columns similar to those in the Roman basilicas of that date. In being solid, and having only niches below, St. Edward's shrine differed from some others which were hollow beneath. The ancient feretory, placed upon the base, probably represented a building with a high-pitched roof, as was the case at Bury.*

In Erasmus's colloquy, 'Peregrinatio Religionis ergo,' he describes a visit to Canterbury in a way that may serve to illustrate our account of Edward the Confessor's shrine: 'We next viewed the table of the altar and its ornaments, and then the articles that are kept under the altar, all most sumptuous; you would say Midas and Crœsus were beggars if you saw that vast assemblage of gold and silver. After this we were led into the sacristy. What a display was there of silken vestments, what an array of golden candlesticks! . . . . From this place we were conducted back to the upper floor, *for behind the high altar you ascend again as into a new church*. There, in a little chapel, is shown the whole figure of the excellent man, gilt and adorned with many jewels. Then the

* We need hardly relate the well-known legend of St. Wulfston of Worcester and his pastoral staff in connection with the shrine of St. Edward.

head priest came forward. He opened to us the shrine in which what is left of the body of the holy man is said to rest. A wooden canopy covers the shrine, and when that is drawn up with ropes, inestimable treasures are opened to view. The least valuable part was gold ; every part glistened, shone, and sparkled with rare and very large jewels, some of them exceeding the size of a goose's egg. These same monks stood around with much veneration; the cover being raised we all worshipped. The prior, with a white rod, pointed out each jewel, telling its name in French, its value, and the name of its donor, for the principal of them were offerings sent by sovereign princes.'

The coronation chair is of oak.* It has a pediment at the back flanked by pinnacles that are supposed to have been surmounted by figures of leopards. The famous stone of Scoone is beneath the seat. It could formerly be seen only through a band of quatrefoils. The chair was richly ornamented with gilding in diaper patterns, whilst a figure, probably of a king seated, was behind the occupant. The effigies of

* It rests on lions (modern, but probably the successors of older ones). Do we find an allusion to the coronation chair in Herbert's *Poems*, p. 10 (Willmott's edition):

> 'When baseness is exalted, do not bate
> The place its honour, for the person's sake.
> The shrine is that which thou dost venerate,
> And not the beast which bears it on his back'?

Henry III. and Queen Eleanor are the work of an *Englishman,* William Torel. They are neither of them portraits. There are openings in Henry's tomb in which relics would appear to have been placed. This tomb is of foreign character. Above is a coöperculum or covering. Queen Eleanor is represented in two dresses with a cloak. The head is very beautiful. The tomb of Edward I. is of very simple character. It bears the inscription, 'Edwardus Primus Scotorum malleus hic est.' Its summit may have been the station of the watchers at St. Edward's shrine.

Matthew of Westminster gives us a striking picture of Edward I. at the abbey, and though he was then but Prince Edward, so complete was his devotion to the one great object of bringing the island into subjection to a common sceptre, that we may fitly present it in connection with his tomb. 'The prince, therefore, being himself made a knight, went to the church of Westminster in order to invest his companions with the same dignity. So great was the pressure before the high altar that two of the young knights were stifled, and several others fainted; although each of the knights had at least three others to lead him forward and to guard him. The prince himself, on account of the pressure, girt his knights on no less sacred a place than the high altar; employing these, his brave companions, to divide the crowd.

There were brought in solemn glorious pomp before the king two swans, gorgeously caparisoned, with their beaks gilt; a most pleasant spectacle to all beholders; on them the king made a vow before God and the swans, that he would march into Scotland to avenge the fate of John Comyn, and to punish the perjury of the Scots, obliging the prince and other great men of the kingdom to swear to him that, if he should die first, they would carry his body into Scotland, and would not bury it till the Lord should have made them victorious over the perfidious usurper (Bruce) and his perjured adherents.'

The recumbent effigies of Edward III. and Queen Philippa are of fine workmanship, and real representations of those whose names they bear. Tradition says that a mould was taken of the king's features after death. The coöperculum is elaborate; it is vaulted, and has, externally, gables with pinnacles.

The tomb of Richard II. and Anne of Bohemia nearly resembles that of Edward III. The body of Richard was removed hither from Langley by Henry V. Here too the heads are portraits.

On the floor of this chapel are the brasses of John of Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury; Richard Waldeby, Archbishop of York; and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester.

The tombs had formerly grilles behind them to protect the shrine of St. Edward and the reliquary

altar from depredators. A beautiful curved grille overhangs Queen Eleanor's tomb.

The screen is richly decorated. The fourteen alto-relievos that adorn the cornice represent (1) the prelates and nobles swearing fealty to the Confessor, whilst yet in his mother's womb; (2) the birth of the Confessor; (3) his coronation; (4) his vision of the devil dancing on the money collected as Danegelt; (5) his pardon and warning to the thief; (6) the Confessor's vision of Christ in the Eucharist; (7) the Confessor sees in a vision the drowning of the King of Denmark; (8) the quarrel between Harold and Tostig at the royal table; (9) Edward's messenger discovers the seven sleepers of Ephesus; (10) Edward gives his ring to St. John the Evangelist; (11) the water in which the king has washed his hands gives sight to the blind; (12) St. John delivers the ring to two pilgrims, who (13) return it to the king; (14) the Confessor dedicates his church.

The history of the spot in which we are standing, with its

> 'Tombes upon tabernacles tiled aloft,'

is an epitome of the history of England, for here were buried St. Edward and Edith his wife; here it was that St. Wulfstan made his celebrated appeal to the Confessor; that St. Thomas of Canterbury bore the Confessor's relics; that Henry III. and Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans, transferred those

relics to their precious shrine; that Edward I. kept vigil ere his departure to the Holy Land, and here that he offered the Scottish regalia and placed the stone of Scoone at the tomb of his patron; that Alphonso of Castile offered the jewels of the Welsh nobles and the crown of Llewellyn; that Edward of Caernarvon made his offering; that his nobles renewed the oath of fealty to Richard of Bordeaux; that Henry of Bolingbroke fainted and was borne hence to the Jerusalem Chamber to die; that Henry V.'s victory of Agincourt was celebrated; that Edward IV. rendered thanks for his restoration to the throne of England; that Richard III. and Anne of Warwick came with their offering; that Henry VII. presented a gold image of himself; that Henry VIII. offered and kissed the relics of St. Edward—yet more: 'The 20th day of March was taken up at Westminster again, with a hundred lights, King Edward the Confessor, in the same place where his shrine was, ... it was a goodly sight to have seen it, how reverently he was carried from the place that he was taken up where he was laid when that the abbey was spoiled and robbed; and so he was carried, and goodly singing and censing as has been seen, and mass sung.'

Henry V.'s tomb occupies the place of the reliquary altar, which, on the erection of the tomb, was removed to the chantry above—approached by

the staircase on either side. Beneath the richly-groined arch is Henry's tomb, screened by a grille. The head of the figure has disappeared. The chantry chapel extends over the ambulatory, and the external walls are decorated by figures. There is a representation of Henry's coronation. Internally there are recesses for relics.*

Henry, it will be remembered, died at Vincennes. His body was borne to Paris, and then to Rouen, where was his queen, Catherine of Valois. The corpse rested on a bier of crimson and gold; the crown was upon the head, the gold ball and sceptre in the hands. The King of Scotland was chief mourner, and a dense throng of knights bearing torches formed the procession. When Calais was reached, a fleet was waiting to bring the funeral cortége to Dover; whence by London-bridge the metropolis was reached, and the greatest of English conquerors was laid to rest in the abbey. The abbey monks received in the dead Henry the remains of a benefactor, for on his return from France 'his coursers were trapped with housings of particoloured silk; one side blue velvet, and embroidered with antelopes sitting upon stairs, with long flowers springing betwixt their horns, which were afterwards by his commandment sent to the vestry of Westminster;

* On a wooden bar between the turrets of Henry's tomb hang his shield, saddle, and helmet.

and of either of them were made a cope, a chasuble, and two tunicles, and the orfrays of the one colour was of the cloth of the other colour.'*

Under the vaulting that supports Henry V.'s chantry, a flight of steps leads up to the three metal gates that give admission to the chapel of Henry VII. The devices on these gates are the portcullis of the Beauforts, and the intertwined roses of York and Lancaster.

The Chapel of Henry VII. occupies the site of the Lady Chapel, as rebuilt by Henry III. The chapel consists of a central avenue with an apsidal termination, side aisles, and five chapels that environ the apse. The external buttresses are massive turrets, that give support to the graceful flying arches that resist from without the pressure of the central vault. The windows of the side aisles are oriels.

When adorned by the three thousand statues it formerly contained, with the light thrown from rich stained glass on the fan-tracery of the vaulting, on the tomb of Henry with its metal grating, its burning lights and altar to the west as at a shrine, on the stalls that in their rich and harmonious variety form an appropriate setting to so much splendour, and on the marble pavement that at once enhanced and reflected it, no place of sepulture in Europe can

* Two of these vestments are in the sacristy of the chapel at Wardour Castle.

have produced an effect equal to that of Henry's gorgeous mausoleum.

'It was now afternoon of the Vigil of St. Paul, in the year 1502-3, the bells of the monastery, in the towers of the sanctuary, and St. Katharine's are tolling more heavily than is wont for nones, and summoning with loud commanding note the inhabitants of the city to solemn prayers. Crowds cluster on every side of the minster, although for hours a dense multitude has been slowly emptying itself into the broad aisles, and occupying every spot of vantage ground, and hiding every stone in the broad pavements of St. Peter's. All was bright and cheerful; peasants came from the neighbouring villages of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Chelsea, St. Marylebone, Stebonheath,* and Lambeth, ferried across the river in boats deeply laden almost to sinking: the stout 'prentice boys of London, gaily decked out in holiday costume, hushed their loud laughter as some City magnate, alderman, or burgher swept by; music pealed, echoing from wall to wall, from time to time well-nigh drowned by the tramp of quickly arriving steeds; the red wintry sun shone out with his gayest beams on the nodding plumes, the banners, and burnished arms of the splendid procession that was approaching the great western door. Now rank and rank each horseman dismounts, and as the crowned king in

* Stepney.

the midst beneath a canopy of state advances, the armed sentinels that line the nave, hung with tapestry from the nunneries, give way, while with cope and lights the convent meets him and the gallant lords that follow in his train.

'This day the king has purposed to lay the foundation-stone of a chapel to the honour of God with great variety and magnificence of workmanship, sparing not nor grudging the cost, but using all willingness to dedicate his treasures to Heaven. The Chapel of St. Mary, which the King Henry III. had built in the year 1220, and the chantry of St. Erasmus, the pious work of the Lady Elizabeth Woodvyle, sometime Queen of England, the old hostelry that bore the sign of the White Rose of York, and the ancient house of Chaucer, have been all laid even with the ground, and he will have his tomb built in the midst of this chapel, nigh the minster, where he received his solemn coronation and unction—the common sepulture of the kings of the realm; beside the body and reliques of his uncle of blessed memory, King Henry VI., which he will right shortly transfer hither.* Every altar is radiant with a crown of tapers, glimmering like the soft moonlight sleeping on a bank of flowers, waving with every breath that enters, varying the shadows on the fresh carving

* From Chertsey, or Windsor? Mr. Walcott must surely have forgotten Pope.

and showing the features of every statue. The warm glow of the dyed windows tinges the drooping banners with a hundred rainbow-hues, and heightens the brilliance of the jewelled shrine and the vestments stiff with golden tissue. The way is lined with torches, whose red rays light up every face, kindling along the lines of embroidery and flashing upon every glittering object, while above all the sonorous music of the bells blends in with the instruments and voices of the singers.

'The king and the convent and the priests of many churches go before, bearing banners and burning incense, so that the very air grows thick with fragrance exceeding sweet, and spreading wide in gentle clouds such as come in summer, and throwing a perfumed shade; the Abbot Islip stood by, having his mitre on his head, and Sir Reginald Bray, with somewhat of sadness on his face, as he looks upon the plans and design which Bolton, monk of St. Bartholomew's-by-Smithfield, carries in his hand, having drawn it with the wise Bishop of Ely,* now departed to his rest; and as the king laid the carved stone in its place, the minstrels with their cunning right hand played upon their instruments of music, and the choir lifted up its voice even as one man; though the solemn chant of thanksgiving grew yet louder ere its close, like the mighty breath of an organ, it

* Alcock; his chantry chapel at Ely is a marvel of art.

seemed to wax feeble and faint; for without and within, like the murmurings of many thunderings or the strong waterfalls, so that the fisher stayed his net on the stream and the deer started in her lair in the woods, the multitude of the people cried out, and shouted for joy that they had lived to see the day; they blessed God and praised the king, "Long live the king, may he reign for ever! Alleluia! Amen! Amen!"'*

Here lie the princes murdered in the Tower, here lie Henry and Elizabeth of York, and here lies Henry's mother, Margaret of Richmond, with Erasmus' epitaph.

Margaret of Richmond was, it will be remembered, the foundress of St. John's and of Christ's College, Cambridge, and of the divinity professorship that bears her name in that university. Bishop Fisher was her confessor and almoner, and recommended to her many holy and charitable undertakings. Bishop Fisher made over his library, 'the noblest in England,' to St. John's, borrowing it for his own use for life. But the Reformation and his own tragic end came on, and the books were lost both to the prelate and to the college. We may mention, in passing, that Fisher, who had preached at St. Paul's Cross and elsewhere against Luther,

* Mr. M. E. C. Walcott, B.D., in the *Englishman's Magazine*, vol. ii. pp. 234-6.

gave lectures, in which he combated the Lutheran doctrine, in Westminster Abbey.

In the chapel lie Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth, the Lady Margaret Douglas, and her niece Mary Queen of Scotland. Dempster, in his History, says of Mary: 'I hear that her bones, lately translated to the burial-place of the kings of England at Westminster, are resplendent with miracles.' It is said that Queen Mary's head was taken abroad by two of her attendants, Barbara Mowbray and Elizabeth Curle, and buried in the church of St. Andrew (the patron saint of Scotland) at Antwerp; but there is no reason to suppose that they did more than place her portrait over a cenotaph.*

The monument of Henry VII. and Elizabeth is of the same class as that of Sir Thomas Pope at Trinity College, Oxford. It is the work of Torregiano, as is that of Dr. Young at the Rolls Chapel. The tomb is principally of black marble; the figures and alto-relievos are copper-gilt. The figures that surround it are divided by pilasters, with arabesque foliage, and enclosed in wreaths. They represent Henry's patrons—conspicuous among them, the Blessed Virgin with the holy Child, St. Christopher, St. George, and St. Michael. Winged angels at the corners once bore the royal banner, the dragon of Cadwallader, the

* The picture is by P. Pourbus. The faithful attendants are buried beneath this memorial.

scales and sword. Henry VII. agreed with the Abbot and Convent of Westminster that there should be four tapers kept burning continually at his tomb—two at the sides and two at the ends, each eleven feet long and twelve pounds in weight; thirty tapers, &c. in the hearse, &c., and four torches to be held about it at his weekly obit; and one hundred tapers nine feet long, and twenty-four torches of twice the weight, to be lighted at his anniversary.

That the religious services on his behalf should not fall into disuse, Henry directed that the chief-justice, the king's attorney, or the recorder of London should attend annually in chapter, and that the abstract of the grant and agreement between the king and convent should be read.

Henry's hearse was met at Charing-cross by the Abbots of Westminster, St. Albans, Reading, and Winchcombe in pontificals, and the community of Westminster in albs and copes, and was carried to the west door of the abbey, where the Archbishops of Canterbury and York waited to receive the royal remains. Eighteen bishops and abbots, vested and mitred, were present. The primate incensed the body, which was borne into the choir, illuminated by 'the most curious and costly light possible to be made by man's hand, which was of thirteen principal standards richly decked with banners, and all other things convenient to the same, where he had his *Dirige* solemnly'!

At the offertory on the following day, the Duke of Buckingham offered a 'testament of gold;' the Earls of Arundel and Surrey, Kent and Northumberland, Shrewsbury and Essex, Derby and Arran, presented the king's coat-armour, his shield and helmet crowned, and a rich sword. Then Sir Edward Howard rode up to the hearse in full armour, with the exception of his helmet, upon a courser trapped in black velvet, and was presented to the archbishop by the Earls of Kent and Essex. The lords and mourners then offered, each for himself; the abbots going to the archbishop, kissing his hands, and taking his blessing. The duke and earls then brought up the palls, kissed them, and laid them on the bier. Sir Edmund Carew bore the king's great standard, and Sir Edward Darell the banner, which they offered to the archbishop. The Bishop of London 'then made a noble sermon.' Then the archbishop, bishops, and abbots went to the hearse, the picture from which was borne to King Edward's shrine, the king's chapel singing *Circumdederunt me penitus mortes.* Then the king's body was laid by that of Queen Elizabeth his wife, the absolution was given, the archbishop cast earth upon the coffin, the lord treasurer and the lord steward broke their wands of office and threw them into the vault. The heralds doffed their coat-armour and hung them upon the rails of the hearse, crying

lamentably in French, 'The noble King Henry VII. is dead;' and as soon as they had done so, every herald put on his coat-armour again, and cried with a loud voice, '*Vive le noble Roy Henry le viii.*'

The sculptures of the misereres in this chapel are in many instances very curious; a cock in armour rides on a fox, a fox in armour rides on a cock; a fiend seizes a miser—at the sides are fighting cocks, and a monkey beating a drum; a boy beaten by another, whilst a third holds the head between his knees; a chained bear playing on the bag-pipes; the devil carrying away a friar.

First of the chapels surrounding the choir apse is St. Benedict's Chapel, with the effigy of Archbishop Langham, 1376.

St. Edmund's Chapel has the altar-tomb of William de Vallence, son of Isabel, the widow of King John, 1296. Opposite is the tomb of John Eltham, second son of Edward II., 1334. Beside it are the effigies of two infant children of Edward III., 1340. To the west is the altar-tomb and figure of Sir Bernard Brocas, chamberlain to Queen Anne of Bohemia, beheaded in 1399. Below is the tomb of Humphrey Bourchier, slain at Barnet in 1470. On the pavement are the brasses of Waldeby, Archbishop of York, with mitre and pall, 1397, and of Eleanora, Duchess of Gloucester, 1399.

The chapel of St. Nicholas has a third-pointed

screen. To the right is the tomb of Philippa, Duchess of York, 1431. Under the centre window lies Bishop Dudley of Durham, 1483. On the floor is the brass of Sir Humphrey Stanley, knighted at Bosworth.

St. Paul's Chapel* opens from the north aisle of the choir. Here is the tomb of Henry V.'s standard-bearer at Agincourt, Lewis Robsart, and that of Sir Giles Daubeney, Lord-Lieutenant of Calais.

In St. John's Chapel is, on the right, the tomb of Thomas Millyng, Bishop of Hereford, 1492.

Fabyan in his *Chronicle* says, that in 1470, when Thomas Millyng was Abbot of Westminster, Elizabeth, Edward IV.'s queen, who had taken refuge in the abbey sanctuary on the restoration of Henry VI., 'was lyghted of a fair prince. And within the sayd place, the sayd childe, without pompe, was after christenyd, whose god-faders were the abbot and prior of the sayd place, and the Lady Scrope god-moder.'

Thirteen years later Millyng's successor, Easteney, received the queen again into sanctuary, when she fled to Westminster with the Duke of York and the five princesses, on the arrest of the lords Grey and Rivers by the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. Millyng's coffin was removed to its present position, from the centre of the chapel, to make room for Essex, the Parliamentary general. Below

* A highly venerated crucifix stood in this chapel.

is Abbot Fascet; eastward lie Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, 1524, and William of Colchester, Abbot of Westminster. On the west is the tomb of Sir Thomas Vaughan, treasurer to Edward IV. and chamberlain of Edward V.

The next chapel is Islip's chantry. The effigy of the abbot was a cadaver, such as may be seen in the north transept at St. Mary Overy's. The canopy over the monument had a painting of the Crucifixion. The brass at the entrance to the Islip chantry is that of Abbot Eastney, 1498. The tomb and screen were demolished at various periods. In the same aisle with Abbot Eastney's monument are those of Sir John Windsor and Sir John Harpedon. Adjoining is a gravestone with matrices of brasses. Those who rest beneath are said to be Thomas Browne and Humphrey Roberts, two of the abbey monks, who died in 1508.

The Cloisters are spanned by the buttresses of the nave. The north-eastern portion is actually within the church. From the north alley are two entrances to the nave. In the south alley are the remains of a lavatory. At the east end of the south walk lie the (unmitred) abbots—Vitalis, 1082; Gilbert Crispin, 1114; Lawrence, 1076; Gervase de Blois, 1160. A gray slab marks the place of interment of Simon de Bycheston, who, with twenty-six others, died of the plague, in 1349. By the Benedictine rule the monks

were required to spend much of their time in the seclusion of the cloisters. The day of the month was proclaimed every morning in the cloister after prime by the boys of the monastery.

The Chapter-House, 1250, has as its entrance a double archway, with diaper-work and brackets for statues that occupied the space between it and the enclosing arch. An angel with a thurible offers incense on either hand; in the four eyelets are the evangelistic symbols. Around the doorway was sculptured a tree of life, leading up to the occupant of the throne. The window in the cloister corresponding with the entrance to the chapter-house is richer than the rest. A short passage and a flight of steps, here as at the chapter-house at Wells—both that and this at Westminster standing on a crypt or undercroft—lead to the chapter-house itself, an octagon, sixty feet in diameter, supported by a single column. The roof is of white chalk, groined with ribs of firestone. The bosses we now see in the roof, though new, are from ancient designs. Four represent—Moses with the Tables of the Law; David; the Angel of the Annunciation; the Blessed Virgin receiving the mystic Ave. The four remaining bosses represent foliage. A wall arcade runs round the building, broken only by the entrance on the western side. This arcade was decorated throughout by mural paintings in oil. There were also inscriptions

on thick paper attached to the walls. The gold is still fresh in many places. The tracery of the arched canopies was painted red and blue, relieved by gold. Opposite the entrance are five stalls, for the abbot, the prior, the sub-prior, chancellor, and precentor. Here the painting is of the fourteenth century. The subject is the reign of Christ in heaven. The Lord, enthroned in the centre, has His hands uplifted, whilst His bared side shows the sacred wounds. Angels hold a dossal behind the throne, or bear the instruments of the Passion. Cherubim and seraphim fill the remaining spaces ; with two wings they cover their faces, with two they veil their feet, with two they fly. Their wings are full of eyes. On their feathers are inscribed 'Officii sincera plenitudo ; voluntatis discretio ; simplex et pura intentio ; munditia carnis ; puritas mentis ; confessio ; satisfactio ; caritas ; eleemosyna ; orationis devotio ; simplicitas ; humilitas ; fidelitas.' All the figures have gold nimbi ; the prevalent colour of the wings of the cherubim is blue ; of the seraphim, red. Paintings of the fifteenth century, by William of Northampton, now in a very fragmentary state, in the other six bays, represent subjects from the history and apocalypse of St. John. In the first picture we see St. John arrested by the proconsul of Ephesus at the command of Domitian. In the second, St. John is plunged in the caldron of oil. In the third, St.

John, having escaped scatheless from his tormentors, departs into banishment at Patmos. In the fourth, the apostle is seen on the shores of Patmos; again we see an angel appearing to St. John, who in his next compartment is portrayed as writing to the Seven Churches. Next is a figure of the Saviour, with a sword in His mouth, in the midst of the seven candlesticks, with the apostle at His feet. Again we see the Saviour sitting on a throne encircled by a rainbow, whilst in front seven lamps are burning. Around are the evangelists and the four-and-twenty elders, with crowns and musical instruments. Then comes the opening of the seal. The riders on the white, red, and black horses follow. The figure of Death on the pale horse has disappeared. After a blank we come to a representation of the beast with seven heads and ten horns. Then we see the Lamb standing on Zion. The angel proclaims the fall of Babylon; the people of God are summoned to come forth; the angel casts a millstone into the sea; and the harlot is burned with fire. Then is the marriage of the Lamb; St. John is raised by the angel, who forbids the apostle to worship him; He who is faithful and true rides in triumph on a white horse; the angel calls the birds of prey. War is maintained by the beast, the kings of earth and their hosts, against the rider on the white horse. Last, Satan is loosed. Beneath are pictures of animals and fish.

Between the passage, leading to the Chapter-house and the south transept, is the so-called chapel of St. Blaise, the Revestry.

The central pillar of the chapter-house is about 35 feet in height. It is of Purbeck marble, and consists of a central and eight minor shafts banded. The capital is carved.

The windows of the Chapter-house are of four lights. The doorway is double. The dormitory passed over the outer vestibule, which is depressed. The inner vestibule is loftier.

The chapter-house is paved with encaustic tiles. One of the tiles represents St. John giving the ring to the Confessor.

Piers Ploughman describes a Benedictine chapter-house:

> 'There was the chapter-house, wrought as a church,
> Carved and covered and quaintly entayled
> With seemly selure y'set aloft,
> As a parliament-house y painted about.'

This is a curiously accurate description of the chapter-house of Westminster, the gem of Benedictine art, and the first English House of Commons.

Daily, after terce, the community went from the choir to the chapter-house and took their respective places. When the abbot reached his seat, the monks descended a step and bowed; the abbot returned their salutation, and all resumed their seats. A

sentence of the Benedictine rule was then read by one of the novices, and the abbot or prior explained and commented upon it. Then the names of the community were read, a list of the benefactors of the house followed, and then another of members of the community the anniversary of whose death fell on that day. For their souls, and those of all the faithful departed, the community said a *Requiescant in pace.* Then members of the community who had been guilty of slight breaches of discipline knelt upon a low stool in the midst of the chapter-house, and confessed their faults. The abbot bowed in token of his forgiveness, and the culprits resumed their seat. In the chapter-house, complaints were heard against any of the community, and sentence was awarded. Convent business was also transacted in the chapter-house.

It is worth remarking that the polygonal chapter-house is peculiar to England; that the English architects, who, for the most part, rejected the apse in their churches, constructed double apses (for such is a chapter-house), supported on an 'antique pillar massy proof,'* on their exterior, thus proving

* *Il Penseroso:*

> 'But let my due feet never fail
> To walk the studious cloister's pale,
> And love the high-embowe'd roof,
> With antique pillars massy proof,
> And storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light.'

that the 'insularity' of our Gothic art arises not from neglect or contempt of contemporary art, but from a careful and deliberate selection of type.

The crypt beneath the chapter-house is vaulted, with a central pillar corresponding to that in the chamber above. There is a recess for an altar.

Two doorways lead from the outer vestibule. The chapel of St. Blaise, or old Revestry, is reached by one of these doorways, and from the doorway in the centre of the south transept. In this doorway were three doors, of which the central was lined with human skin, probably that of persons executed for sacrilege. A gallery crosses the west end of the chapel; it led from the dormitory to the church. The west end of the building we are describing was evidently used as the vestry. At the east end was an altar, the step of which still remains. Above is an oil-painting of a female figure—probably St. Faith. To the south of the altar two windows opened to the inner vestibule of the chapter-house.

Westminster Hall was the hall of the Royal Palace at Westminster.* It occupies the same site as the 'great hall of William Rufus.'† The present hall is of the later years of Richard II. Master Henry

* Norden says that there was a palace at Westminster—inhabited by Canute, about 1035.

† When certain of his barons expressed surprise at the dimensions of Rufus's hall, he said 'that it was only a bedchamber in comparison with the building he intended to make.'

Zenely was the designer. The roof is of chestnut. Early roofs consisted of a tie-beam only, or of tie-beam and king-post. Then collars came to be employed. Finally, the tie-beam was cut through, leaving hammer-beams on either side. On these rested the struts. At Westminster arches spring from the cornice both sides, and the hammer-beam and struts are reduced to little more than mere ornamental features, and, with the spandril beneath and collar-brace above, form a large cusp. The roof occupies half of the whole height of the hall. The external buttresses are applied only to every second truss. At the end of the hammer-beams are angels bearing shields.

St. Stephen's Chapel was founded by King Stephen for a dean and canons; the chapel was rebuilt in Edward II.'s reign. The last dean was King Henry VIII.'s physician: he rebuilt the cloisters at the cost of 10,000 marks. St. Stephen's Chapel was, previous to the fire, the beau-ideal of English mediæval art. Architecture, sculpture, and painting all lent their aid. Internally the dimensions were ninety feet by thirty-three. The roof was of wood. St. Stephen's Chapel was to England what the 'Sainte Chapelle' was to France. The dimensions were much the same. Both stood upon a crypt. The 'Sainte Chapelle' terminates in an apse, whilst the English example has the characteristic square

termination. The vault of the crypt yet remaining at St. Stephen's is more ornate than that of the 'Sainte Chapelle.' Mr. Fergusson thinks that the upper chapel at St. Stephen's must have had a hammer-beam roof earlier in date, but similar in character, to that of Westminster Hall. The window tracery was of the 'beautiful variety, intermediate between geometric and flowing,' we find in Merton College Chapel, in the Lady Chapel at Ely, and at St. Thomas the Martyr, Winchelsea. The paintings with which the chapel was decorated represented such subjects as the 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' the 'Presentation in the Temple,' the 'Adoration of the Magi.'

The Painted or St. Edward's Chamber* was an apartment eighty feet long, twenty feet broad, and fifty high. The walls were painted with figures and historical subjects in six bands.

'The Queen's Chamber' at Westminster was to be painted on the 'cambrusca,' or 'wooden wainscot,' 'with oil, varnish, and colours,' by the command of Henry III. in 1234. There is a writ directing 117*s.* 10*d.* to be paid 'to Odo, the goldsmith, and Edward his son, for oil, varnish, and colours, bought by them; and for pictures made in the

* Tradition asserts that it was in the Painted Chamber that St. Edward expired. The Abbey was consecrated at Christmas-tide, and the King was buried on Twelfth-day.

Queen's Chamber at Westminster, from the octave of the Holy Trinity in the twenty-third year of Henry's reign to the feast of St. Barnabas in the same year, namely for fifteen days.' The roof was divided into panels, coloured and gilded; the floor was tesselated. The walls were painted with frescoes of the 'enthronisation and coronation of the Confessor,' and the wars of the Maccabees. In the reveals of the windows were figures beneath canopies. In the easternmost window was St. John appearing as a pilgrim to the Confessor. There were two allegorical figures of Justice and Largesse.

The Prince's Chamber ran parallel to the Painted Chamber. It had five windows to the south, three to the east, and west. The window-mouldings were gilt. The hood-mould of the central west window was supported by two crowned corbel-heads. To the north-west was a pointed doorway.

Near the old clock-tower was Canon-row, or St. Stephen's-alley, where the canons of St. Stephen's Chapel resided.

St. Margaret's is a large third-pointed church, close to Westminster Abbey. It was founded by the Confessor.* Its length from east to west is one hun-

* The dedication is to the martyr of Antioch. It will be remembered that Edward the Confessor's grand-niece, Margaret of Scotland, bore this name. There was a *Scala Cœli* at St. Margaret's. In the churchyard was a stone cross, upon which was

dred and thirty feet. The tower stands at the end of the north aisle. The tower windows of the upper stage are of four lights transomed, of beautiful design. In the church itself, the clerestory windows alone retain their original tracery. The arches are supported by clustered piers. Some of the old chancel stalls remain in the aisles. The east window was given to Henry VII. for his chapel by the magistrates of Dort, in Holland. At Henry's death, the Abbot of Waltham placed it in his own church. Preserved by Robert Fuller, the last abbot, through various hands, among them those of Anne Boleyn's father and of Cromwell, it returned to Westminster, but this time to St. Margaret's. In the upper part are small figures of angels bearing the emblems of the Passion. In the three centre lights is a representation of the Crucifixion, with our Lady and St. John standing by; angels receive in chalices the blood from our Saviour's wounds; Longinus pierces the sacred side. Over the good thief an angel, over the bad a devil, is seen bearing the soul to happiness, or torment. In the side light to the left of the spectator is St. George of Cappadocia, with the red and white rose of England. Beneath is the figure of Prince Arthur. In the corresponding space on the opposite side is Catherine

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placed a 'crosse of tre,' with 'the spere, sponge, and nailes' painted in colours. Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*, p. 93.

of Aragon, having over her head the full-length figure of her patroness, St. Katharine of Alexandria, bearing the bursting pomegranate of Granada. This window is much admired for its harmony of colour.

In Queen Mary's reign the altar, the 'rood, Mary and John,' the stoup for holy water, 'a crosse cloth of taffata, with a picture of the Trinity, &c.,' were all restored at St. Margaret's. In the first year of Elizabeth all was undone, and the carved work cut down with axe and hatchet.

'Item, to iii poor men for burying of the altar table to Mr. Hodges iiij*d.*'

'Item, for cleaving and sawing of the Rood, Mary and John xij.'

The hypocrisy of this is exquisite; it is the 'Supplication of Beggars' against the 'Supplication of Souls.'

It has frequently been proposed to remove St. Margaret's, as obstructing the view of the abbey. As a matter of fact, nothing more enhances the grandeur of the abbey than the neighbourhood of the humble parochial edifice. It is altogether a mistake to suppose that a large mediæval building was intended to stand detached. Were Westminster Abbey arranged as Wells Cathedral, or York, or Lincoln, the chapter-house would stand on the site of St. Margaret's; and it would not then be proposed, we presume, to remove an integral part of the building. M. de Montalembert

said: 'They (the English cathedrals) often strike more at first sight (than the French), precisely owing to this encircling, whose inferior proportions make those of the central monument tell more.' M. Viollet-le Duc was much opposed to the removal of St. Margaret's. We do not envy the taste of the man who, having passed the clock-tower at Westminster, and seen the abbey and St. Margaret's together from that 'coign of vantage,' should wish for the removal of the latter.

In St. Margaret's Church there would appear to have been a shrine situated; not, as in the larger churches, at the east end, but in what was called the feretory-aisle, a chapel at the extremity of the north or south aisle. This appears from the following: 'For my Lady Jakis, for her grave in the feretre isle, vii*s.* iiii*d.*' There was a guild at St. Margaret's. Among those in arrears in 1476 are Sir Henry Ward, Knight; Dame Agnes Hasely; Robert Shoredyke, Squire; the Lady Graa; Raynold Colyer, Prior of St. Bartholomew's; the Duchess of Bedford; William Bartram, Esq.; my Lady Ankerasse; Sir Thomas Knolle, Vicar of Datchet.

On Easter-day, 1555, a monk from the abbey was engaged at the altar, with the priest of St. Margaret's, when a man named Fowler, who had been formerly in the monastery at Ely, entered the church, and demanded of the monk what it was he gave in com-

munion. When the priest replied, the other struck him on head, hand, and arm, three successive blows. The assailant was apprehended; and, ten days later, executed over against the church, but without the churchyard.

There appears to have been a fair held, at least occasionally, in St. Margaret's churchyard.

William Caxton, the printer, was buried at St. Margaret's, in 1478. Here, too, was buried Skelton, the satirist of Henry VIII.'s reign. He kept the abbey* sanctuary to escape the hands of Cardinal Wolsey.

Lambeth (or Loamhithe) was one of the 'hithes' or landing-places on the Thames; as were Redriff, or Rotherhithe; Somerset, or Summer's-hithe; Queenhithe; and Stepney, or Stebenhithe.

It was at Lambeth, on the 8th June 1041, that Hardicanute was present at the marriage of a Danish chief, Tofig the Proud, his standard-bearer, with Gytha, the daughter of Osgod Clapa. Hardicanute was little more than twenty, and of a sturdy constitution. Nothing foreboded calamity; but whilst he stood drinking, probably to the health of the newly-married pair, he suddenly threw up his arms and

* In the Abbey precincts, close by St. Margaret's, was the 'Anchorites' House,' occupied from one generation to another, by a hermit. To the hermit at Westminster Richard II., and in after days Henry V., resorted for advice.

dropped dead upon the floor. Some said that his death was due to poison; none lamented his fate. Curiously enough it was Tofig who was founder of the church at Waltham, so special an object of devotion with the family of Godwin, and where Harold lies; so that we see Tofig present at the death of the last of the Danish dynasty, whilst his foundation enshrouded the remains of the last Saxon king.

It cannot be said that Lambeth Palace or House answers completely to the conception that might be raised by the consideration of the dignity of its possessors. The triple windows of the chapel, the crypt, and the doorway leading into the chapel, are all early pointed. The chapel was built by Archbishop Boniface, about 1244. The windows contained the whole Scripture history from the Creation to the Day of Judgment: the two side lights containing the Old Testament types; the centre light the anti-types of the New Law.

The remainder of the palace, though of early foundation (dating from Cœur de Lion's time, when it passed from the Bishops of Rochester to the Archbishops of Canterbury), has no portion earlier than the fifteenth century. The inner arch of the gateway, built by Cardinal Morton, is fine. The roof is vaulted. The red brickwork is varied by patterns in black. The tower to the east facing the river, called the 'Lollards' tower,' was built by Archbishop Chicheley, the foun-

der of All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1434. The guard-room has an arched oak roof.

Sir Thomas More was an inmate of Lambeth, as a member of the household of Cardinal Morton, the friend of Fox and Waynflete, and Lord High Chancellor.

'In the mean season I was much bound and beholden to the right reverend father, John Morton, Archbishop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also Lord Chancellor of England; a man, Master Peter (for Master More knoweth already that I will say), not more honourable for his authority than for his prudence and virtue. He was of a mean stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his body upright. In his face did shine such an amiable reverence as was pleasant to behold, gentle in communication, yet earnest and sage. He had great delight many times with rough speech to his suitors, to prove, but without harm, what prompt wit and what bold spirit was in every man. In the which, as in a virtue much agreeing with his nature, so that therewith were not joined impudency, he took great delectation. And the same person, as apt and meet to have an administration in the weal public, he did lovingly embrace. In his speech he was fine, eloquent, and pithy. In the law he had profound knowledge, in wit he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in him

were by nature singular, he by learning and use had made perfect. The king put much trust in his counsel, the weal public also in a manner leaned unto him, when I was there. For even in the chief of his youth he was taken from school into the court, and there passed all his time in much trouble and business, being continually tumbled and tossed in the woes of divers misfortunes and adversities. And by so many and great dangers he learned the experience of the world, which so being learned cannot easily be forgotten.'

To Lambeth, in after days, More was summoned to take the oath of succession before the Commissioners, Cranmer, Cromwell, Boston, Abbot of Westminster, and Audley. More retired in custody of the abbot.

St. Mary's, Lambeth, has some third-pointed fragments. At the foot of the tower is a window with a niche supplying the place of one of the lights. There was a window to the south of St. Mary's with the figure of a pedlar and his dog. This pedlar gave 'Pedlar's-acre' to the parish, on condition that he should be represented in glass. Do we have our Swaffham pedlar here again?

Bishops Thirlby and Tunstal are buried in Lambeth Church. On their deprivation they were intrusted by Elizabeth to the charge of Parker. Tunstal lived only four weeks at Lambeth; Thirlby sur-

vived his deprivation ten years. Dr. Boxal, secretary to Queen Mary, was a prisoner at Lambeth at the same time. The prisoners had separate lodgings. All the acknowledgment that Parker received for their maintenance was part of their libraries at their death. The body of Bishop Thirlby was accidentally discovered at the beginning of this century. It was wrapped in linen, and appeared to have been artificially preserved. The face was perfect, the beard long and white; the limbs were flexible.

The eastern end of the north aisle of St. Mary's has been frequently called the Howard Chapel. It was built by the Duke of Norfolk in 1522.

Seventh Walk.

THE RIVER.

'The river glideth at his own sweet will.'

CHELSEA (or Chelsith) is supposed to owe its name to 'Cesol,' a bank of sand and pebbles. Chelsey, or Selsey, in Sussex, is from the same derivation. Environed though it is by the growing suburbs of London, Chelsea has an air of old fashion; and from the Battersea side of the river, seen with barges floating past the solid brick houses screened by sheltering trees, presents a picture rather Dutch than English.

The barbarised but picturesque church is dedicated to *St. Luke,* though the dedication stands 'All Saints' on the king's books. The chancel and a portion of the north aisle are the only parts that have a distinct claim to antiquity. The chancel is said to have been rebuilt early in the sixteenth century. The south aisle of the chancel was built by Sir Thomas More. Sir Thomas gave the altar-plate. With a forecast of the coming time he said, 'Good men give these things, and bad men take them away.' He was con-

stantly present at the Rogation processions in the parish, and at that on Corpus Christi, when he frequently carried the cross. Some one saying that it would better become his dignity if he were to ride instead of going on foot, he replied, 'God forbid that I should follow my Master on horseback, when He went on foot!' So when the Duke of Norfolk saw More, who was then Lord Chancellor, clad in a surplice, and taking part with the choir in the services of Chelsea Church, and used the remonstrance with him, 'You dishonour the king and his office,' More answered, 'Not so; for, as I take it, the king, your master and mine, will not surely be offended by my serving his Master and mine.'

The capitals of the piers that support the arch separating More's chapel from the chancel are rich Renaissance work, almost too rich and delicate to be English of that date; and, as they appear to be insertions, are not improbably of foreign workmanship. To the north of the chancel is an ancient altar-tomb, without any inscription, but known to be that of one of the Brays of Eaton. Sir Thomas More is commemorated by a tablet on the south side of the chancel. The epitaph was written by himself. In a letter to Erasmus he states that his reason was to contradict the reports that he was compelled to resign office. 'I choose this method to prevent these misrepresentations from gaining credit—assuredly not on my own

account—for I little heed what men say, so God but approve; but since I have written some books in our mother-tongue in favour of certain disputed tenets, I conceived that it behoved me to defend the integrity of my character.' It is recorded in the epitaph that More's services had not been ungrateful to the people—despite his severity to thieves, murderers, and [ ]; a blank once filled up with the word *hæreticisque*, or mayhap intended to suggest it to the reader. That More carried into execution the law then prevailing against heresy, in discharge of his office as chancellor, is undoubted; but the blank was perhaps intended to serve as a playful allusion to the ridiculous charge of private persecution he so thoroughly disposed of. He may have meant, 'If this charge is true, put it here; I give you leave.' Great uncertainty hangs over the question of the place of More's interment; the probability, however, is that he was buried in St. Peter's Chapel in the Tower. Still Aubrey says: 'After he was beheaded, his trunk was interred in Chelsey Church, near the middle of the south wall, where was some slight monument erected, which being worn by time, about 1644 Sir [John] Lawrence of Chelsey (no kinne to him), at his own proper costs and charges, erected to his memory a handsome inscription of marble.' Over the tomb is the crest of Sir Thomas More—a Moor's head; and his arms, and

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those of his two wives. At the east end of the Lawrence Chapel, in the north aisle, a niche for an image has recently been discovered beneath the plaster.

The manor of Chelsea is stated to have belonged to the Abbey of Westminster. In Henry VII.'s time it was held by Sir Reginald Bray, the architect. Sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea was built by Sir John Danvers. The flat roof of the gate-house commanded a wide view of the fields and river. At the end of his garden More erected a pile of buildings, consisting of a chapel, gallery, and library; all of them designed for his own retirement. More rose early, and assembled his family morning and evening in the chapel, where certain prayers and psalms were recited. He heard mass daily himself, and expected all his household to do so on Sundays and festivals; whilst, on the eves of great feasts, all watched till matins. Every Friday, as was also his custom on some other occasions, he retired to the new buildings, where he spent the whole day in prayer and meditation.

Holbein, the painter, is said to have been for some three years More's guest at Chelsea. Here he painted his host, his relatives and friends.

It was his royal master's wont to walk in the garden at Chelsea in confidential intercourse with More, with his arm around his neck. But, said More, with the sage sad prescience characteristic of him, 'I have

no cause to be proud thereof; for if my head would win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go off.'

His fondness for animals is an interesting and curious peculiarity of More. Erasmus tells us that watching their form and dispositions was one of his chief pleasures. He seems to have been quite a Waterton in this respect. At Chelsea might be seen many varieties of birds, and an ape, a fox, a weasel, and a ferret. 'Moreover, if anything foreign or otherwise remarkable comes in his way, he greedily buys it up, and he has his house completely furnished with these objects; so that, as you enter, there is everywhere something to catch the eye, and he renews his own pleasure as often as he becomes a witness to the delight of others.'

In 1557, Anne of Cleves, the repudiated wife of Henry VIII., was borne from Chelsea to her tomb at Westminster, with all the Westminster scholars, many priests and clerks, the Bishop of London, and the Abbot of Westminster with his monks, in attendance. She became a Catholic two years previous to her death. This is an interesting circumstance, as it will be remembered that she was the first Protestant Queen of England. Her mother 'died out of her wits for spite and anger' at the successes of the Emperor Charles V. in South Germany. In the Harleian and Cottonian MSS. are interesting parti-

culars of her reception at Calais. The Lord Deputy of Calais, Viscount de Lisle, with the Earl of Southampton, Great Admiral of England, and a numerous retinue, met her near Gravelines, and led her to the town by way of St. Pierre. The lord admiral was dressed in purple velvet, cut on cloth of gold, and tied with four hundred aigulettes and trefoils of gold. He wore, baldric-wise, a chain, to which was suspended a whistle of gold set with precious stones. His train was composed of thirty gentlemen of the royal household, who wore massive chains like the admiral. The gentlemen of his own suite were appareled in blue velvet and crimson satin. Even the marines of his ship were in Bruges satin; the yeomen in blue damask. The lord high admiral made a low obeisance to the Lady Anne of Cleves, and led her to Calais by the Lanterne-gate, whence he conducted her to the king's palace, the 'Chekers.' The merchants of the staple presented their new mistress with a hundred broad pieces in gold in a rich purse, as she passed their hall, that still stands, and will be remembered by the sojourner in Calais by the name of the Cour de Guise. Their present was graciously received. The princess was detained at Calais by a contrary wind for fifteen days, during which jousts and banquets were arranged by the authorities for her entertainment and that of her suite. Her train consisted of two hundred and

sixty-three persons, among whom were the Earls of Oversteyn and Roussenbergh. Upon her arrival in England, the princess was at first well received by the reforming party; the Catholics held aloof. Bryan says:

'When Henry saw his bride-elect he was disappointed, but knew how to control his feelings; for two nights he did not sleep, and walked his chamber many times. He was puzzled how to act; he waited, however, until he had time for a long discourse with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Everything went wrong; the archbishop had a severe cold, and was not able to appear till the morning of the marriage. The princess won't answer at all, but I hear she will disappoint some people by her readiness to hear the Latin mass; she will do everything to please our good and blessed king. He is taking to the mass very much again. What will the archbishop do? Why, whatever he is ordered, I suppose. The people who proposed the match must suffer.' At the marriage high mass was celebrated by Cranmer, assisted by many priests. 'Our blessed king,' says Roland Lee, 'was in a religious turn of mind. God keep him so. Somebody will suffer in the skin and hide for giving him this greasy-faced Jack for a wife.' The king and queen lived together for some months. The king, who spoke English and French only, was unable to converse with his bride, who knew no lan-

guage but German. She was, besides, devoid of every accomplishment, beyond the simple ones of reading, writing, and sewing. It was Lady Rochford who called the unfortunate Anne 'greasy-faced Jack.' The king had recourse to Cranmer, and it was resolved to attempt a divorce. When Henry's intention was first communicated to the queen, she fainted, but was gradually persuaded to submit her cause to the decision of the clergy. There had been a previous marriage-contract between the princess and the Duke of Lorraine. Both parties, however, were children at the time, and the betrothal had been subsequently set aside with their mutual consent. It was now determined to rest the king's cause on the way in which the queen's person had been falsely described to him, and on the king's having withheld his consent both at the time of the marriage and subsequently. The chancellor, the archbishop, and four other peers addressed the house, and said that they now entertained doubts of the validity of the marriage, which they had been the chief agents in promoting. A deputation from the House of Commons joined with the lords in requesting that the matter might be submitted to Convocation. The Convocation adopted the views of Cranmer, who had already 'regretted what an inferior woman the new queen was; that she was not in any way suited to be the wife of such a magnificent man, and a king

so truly good and great; she could not be compared with the lovely Queen Jane of blessed memory.' The king's declaration ran: 'I depose and declare that this hereafter written is merely the verity, intended upon no sinister affection, nor yet upon none hatred or displeasure, and herein I take God to witness. To the matter, I say and affirm that, when the first communication was had with me for the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves, I was glad to hearken to it, trusting to have some assured friend by it, I much doubting at that time both the emperor, and France, and the Bishop of Rome, and also because I heard so much both of her excellent beauty and virtuous behaviour. But when I saw her at Rochester, which was the first time that ever I saw her, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any pact or bond before with her till I saw her myself; for I assure you that I liked her so ill, and [found her] so far contrary to that she was praised, that I was woe that ever she came into England, and deliberated with myself, that if it were possible to find means to break off, I would never enter yoke with her; of which misliking both the great master (Lord Russell), the admiral that now is, and the master of the horse (Sir Henry Browne), can and will bear record. Then after my repair to Greenwich, the next day after, I think, I doubt not but the Lord of Essex (Cromwell) will and can declare what I then said to

him in that case, not doubting but, since he is a person which knoweth himself condemned to die by act of parliament, he will not damn his soul, but truly declare the truth not only at that time spoken by me, but also continually until the day of the marriage, and also many times after; wherein my lack of consent I doubt not doth or shall well appear . . . .

The chapel of St. Mary, Cadogan-terrace, Sloane-street, Chelsea, was built by M. Voyaux de Franous, one of the French émigré clergy. Previous to its erection, mass was said in a room above a shop. The Duchess of Angoulême was a generous contributor to, and laid the first stone of the new edifice. The consecration took place in 1811. Mgr. Poynter, then Vicar-Apostolic of the London district, officiated. Poor as the building appears, it cost 6000*l*. It was specially designed for the use of the French veterans confined at Chelsea.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, the Abbé Voyaux de Franous was a professor at the Sorbonne and principal of the Collège de Trente-trois, and on the return of the Bourbons the title of canon of the Royal Chapter of St. Denis was bestowed upon him. He might have received other preferments at the hands of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., if he had been willing to return to France. He preferred, however, to remain in charge of the Chelsea mission. Among the assistant clergy at Chelsea were Cardinal

Weld, the late Bishop of Troy, Dr. Cox, and Mgr. Eyre.*

Cardinald Weld was born in London, January 22, 1773. He was the eldest son of Mr. Thomas Weld, of Lulworth Castle, and his wife Mary Stanley. The future cardinal gave shelter at Lulworth to the Trappist nuns escaped from France,† and was a benefactor of the Poor Clares of Gravelines, who established themselves at Plymouth, and of the nuns of the Visitation who took up their abode at Shepton Mallet. After the death of his wife and the marriage of his daughter, Mr. Weld resigned his estates to his brother, and went to Paris, where he was ordained priest, in April 1821. Returning to England, he continued at Chelsea till appointed coadjutor to the Vicar-Apostolic of Upper Canada, in August 1826. He, however, continued in England for three years, during which he was director of the Benedictine nuns at Hammersmith. At the close of that time he was invited to Rome, and named cardinal, May 25, 1830, by Pius VIII. He resided in Rome seven years, dying there April 10, 1837. He was distinguished by his hospitality and his charity to the poor.‡

* Cf. *La Chapelle Française à Londres*, par G. F. de Grandmaison-y-Bruno, p. 43.

† See Appendix.

‡ Cf. Cardinal Wiseman's *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, pp. 242-7.

The very artistic arrangements of the interior of the chapel at Chelsea are due to the skill of Mr. J. H. Pollen. The sanctuary is separated from the nave by three arches resting on coupled columns. The two chapels at the extremity of the nave towards the altar end of the building give a variety and intricacy of internal effect in marked contrast with the bald aspect of the exterior. The altars and pulpit are of good and solid workmanship. Indeed, to judge by the result obtained here, it would seem that it is better, when practicable, to reconstruct than to rebuild.

The church of Fulham, or Fullanham (the village in the foul or dirty place), is dedicated to *All Saints*. It is third-pointed in style. It has a nave, a chancel, and north and south aisles extending to the extremity of the chancel. The east window is of five lights. The aisles are not lean-to; they have separate gables. The piers are clustered. The tower is of the last quarter of the fourteenth century. There is a western doorway, having above it a five-light window with flowing tracery. On the belfry-stage are four three-light windows; in these the tracery is of transitional character.

In Weever's time there were the following monuments at Fulham:

'Hic jacet Johannes Fischer, quondam thesaurius domini Cardinalis Sanctæ Balbinæ, et postea Hostiensis Cantuarensis Archiepiscopi, qui obiit 27 Aug. 1463.'

'Pray for the souls of John Long, gentylman, Katherine and Alice his wyfe, who died the x of March, on thousand fyve hundred and three. On whos sowle and all christen sowle Jesu have mercy.

> 'Fili redemptor mundi Deus miserere nobis,
> Sancta Trinitas unus Deus miserere nobis,
> Spiritus Sanctus Deus miserere nobis.'

'Hic jacet Johannes Sherburne, bacalaurens utriusque legis, quondam archidiaconus Essex. qui ob. 1434.'

'Of your charity pray for the soul of Samson Norton, Knyght, late Master of the Ordinance of Warre with King Henry the eyght, and for the soul of dame Elizabyth hys wyff, whyche Syr Samson decessyd the eyght day of February on thousand fyve hundryd and seventene.'

'Orate pro animâ Johannis Thorley, armigeri, qui obiit penultimo die mens Febr. Ann. Dom. 1445.'

'Hic jacet Magister Willelmus Harvey, nuper vicarius istius ecclesiæ qui ob. 5 die Novemb. 1471.'

'Hic jacet Georgius Chauncy, quondam receptor generalis reverendi patris domini Ric. Fitz-James. London, Episcopi, qui obiit decimo nono die Decembris, Ann. Dom. 1520.'

'Hic jacet Anna Stourton, filia Johannis Sturton, domini de Sturton, et dominæ Katharinæ vxoris ejus. Qui quidem Anna obiit in assumptionem beatæ Mariæ virginis, Ann. Dom. 1533.'

'Hic jacet Lora, filia Johannis Blount, militis, domini Mountjoy et Lore, uxoris ejus, quæ obiit 6 die mens Febr. Ann. Dom. 1480. Cujus animæ Deus sit propitius.'

In the chancel is the tomb of Sir William Butts, chief physician of Henry VIII. It had originally his arms and effigy.

Sir William Butts, a native of the county of Norfolk, was educated at Caius College, Cambridge. He was one of the founders of the College of Physicians.

There is a sedile of flamboyant character in the chancel.

In 1552 an inventory was taken of the furniture of the church of Fulham. We find such items as these : three silver chalices with patens, a gilt latten cross, two old latten crosses, two latten censers, a latten spoon, two small pewter basins, six small brass candlesticks, four great latten candle-sticks, two latten basins, a latten ewer, a latten holywater stoup; five copes—one of crimson velvet, one of white satin, one of black chamlet, one of green sarsnet, and one of white fustian; a vestment of white satin for the priest, and tunicles for deacon and subdeacon of the same material; a vestment of black chamlet, with tunicles for the deacon and sub-deacon; a vestment of black damask, and one of variegated silk; a vestment of russet, and one of red Bruges satin; a vestment of green sarsnet; a vestment of white fustian, and one of red velvet; a velvet altar frontal, red and yellow ; two frontals of tawny Bruges satin, two of white Bruges satin, and three old frontals of tawny variegated silk; a hearse cloth of black velvet; a vestment of fustian, and one of red Bruges satin, without amice or alb, and a vestment of dormer, without alb or amice; six linen altar cloths, and an old black vestment, without alb or amice ; twenty pieces of old painted cloth that covered the images in the church; a red and green satin cloth, appar-

ently for the reliquary; ten old hammer cloths, some of silk, the rest of linen; two cross cloths of silk; five hammer poles, three pewter cruets, and five diaper towels; eight stands for candlesticks of latten, an old candlestick, a basin for the paschal candle, and one for a lamp; twelve great books, some of paper and some of parchment; four surplices, two rochets, and two silk curtains to hang at the ends of the altar; five great bells, and a small bell in the steeple; three hand bells, and a veil of white and blue linen cloth—probably for communicants; a pair of organs, and a cushion of red and green silk; a hanging for an altar of white silk, and another of dormer.

Great part of these goods was sold by Thomas Willcocks and George Burton, churchwardens, to Thomas Read, jeweller, of the parish of St. Michael, Wood-street, and to Robert Madden, merchant tailor, of the same parish.

There was a brotherhood of St. Peter attached to the church of Fulham.

The church of Putney was rebuilt, with the sole exception of the tower, in 1836. The third-pointed piers and arches of the nave were, however, again employed. At the same date the chantry chapel of Bishop Nicholas West of Ely (d. 1533) was removed from the east end of the south aisle to the north side of the chancel. Bishop West was a native of Putney.

He was a favourite of Henry VIII. in his early days, and one of the four episcopal advocates of Queen Katherine.

Putney is interestingly connected with the fate of one whose glory it would have been to be the defender of Katherine, but who failed in that duty, without, however, maintaining his own influence and power. When Campeggio was on the point of leaving England, Wolsey had accompanied him to Grafton in Northamptonshire, where Henry then was. On the arrival of the cardinals, Campeggio was led to his chamber, whilst Wolsey was told that no lodging had been provided for him. Sir Henry Norris, however, gave him accommodation, and several of his friends came to see him. Wolsey was soon summoned to the presence chamber, where, contrary to expectation, he met with a favourable reception from the king. 'Then,' says Cavendish, 'could you have beheld the countenances of those who had made their wagers to the contrary, it would have made you to smile; and thus were they all deceived, as well worthy for their presumption.' With his private interview with Henry Wolsey had less reason to be satisfied; he was, however, requested to return the following morning. But in the evening the king dined with Anne Boleyn, and the cardinal's fate was sealed. When he rode to court the following morning, he found the king already mounted, and, after being told to wait upon

the council, saw Henry leave without having granted the interview promised him. Wolsey returned to Westminster, and, on the day on which he opened the Court of Chancery, Hales, the attorney-general, filed against him two bills in the Court of King's Bench, for having exercised his legatine authority. Soon after, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk came in the king's name to demand his resignation of the great seal and his retirement to Esher. The cardinal summoned his household, and bid them draw up an inventory of his jewels, plate, and furniture. He then entered his barge and set out for Putney. The banks of the Thames were crowded, and he met with many insults by the way. As he rode from Putney towards Esher, Sir John Norris, one of the king's chamberlains, overtook him, and presented him with a ring from the king's finger. The king had said that the cardinal was as much in his favour as ever. Wolsey showed every sign of joy and gratitude. As he had nothing else to bestow, he gave Sir John a relic of the true cross which he bore attached to a chain.

It was but a transitory gleam of favour. Wolsey sank into deep despondency at Esher. Thence he removed for his health to Richmond, but the king ordered him to retire to his diocese of York.

Hammersmith (or Hermonderworth) was, after her husband's death, the residence for several years of

Catherine of Braganza. Here she was frequently visited by James II.

At Hammersmith Mrs. Beddingfield established a school for young ladies of Catholic families in 1669. This school had been originally set up in St. Martin's-lane, but was removed to Hammersmith on account of the healthiness and retirement of the situation. The convent that existed here before the Reformation is said to have escaped the destruction of religious houses from its want of endowment. However this may have been, Mrs. Beddingfield is entitled to the honour of being foundress of the existing house. In 1680 Titus Oates, with a justice of peace for the county and officers, went well-armed to Hammersmith to search the convent. 'A house in Hammersmith having been much frequented by persons whose mien and garb rendered them suspected, Dr. Oates was informed that several Jesuits and priests lay there concealed, but on strict search found no man there but an outlandish gentleman, who appeared to be secretary to the ambassador of the Spanish king, upon the list of his servants in the secretary's office.

'It seems the mistress of the house, who is much admired for her extraordinary learning beyond her sex and age, understanding excellently well the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and several modern languages, being also very well read in most parts of philosophy and

the mathematics, has been often visited by ingenious men, foreigners and others, her admirers, which gave occasion to the information against her; but being examined before his Majesty in council, and making oath that she harboured no such obnoxious person as had been suggested by Dr. Oates, she was immedietely acquitted, and the gentleman was delivered to the ambassador his master.'

In 1795 all the nunneries in France were suppressed, and their inmates thrown upon the world. The English Benedictines of Dunkirk were arrested and sent to Gravelines, but after the death of Robespierre they were permitted to leave France, and took refuge in England. They settled at Hammersmith. Their names were found inscribed in Robespierre's pocket-book; and if it had not been for his death they would have perished at an early date. In the burial-ground are inscriptions in memory of Mary Magdalen Prujean, lady abbess of the Benedictines, late of Dunkirk; of the right reverend Lady Mary Anne Clavering, abbess of the English Benedictine Dames of Pontoise; and of the reverend Nicholas Clavering, a brother of Lady Clavering, who came with the community.*

Chiswick Church, dedicated to St. Nicholas, is a small building, with a churchyard containing some

* The nunnery is now St. Thomas's Seminary. The nuns removed to Plymouth.

antique tombs. The tower is third-pointed. It was built in 1435, at the charge of William Bordall, Vicar.

St. Mary's, Barnes, has an ivy-covered tower. There are some fragments of early-pointed character.

The manor of Mortlake belonged to the see of Canterbury from the Conquest to the Reformation. Here Anselm kept Whitsuntide, and after his excommunication, Simon de Mapeham retired to Mortlake. On the tower of the church the inscription, 'Vivat R. H. 8. 1543,' marks the date of its erection. On the font are the arms of Archbishop Bourchier. In 1619 Sir Francis Crane established a tapestry manufactory at Mortlake, to which Charles I. sent Raphael's cartoons to be copied, and for which Rubens sketched the history of Achilles.

St. Lawrence, New Brentford, has a third-pointed tower and font. Inserted in the west wall of the nave are two kneeling brasses of the fifteenth century. There is an ancient timber market-house at New Brentford, and several old houses.

At *All Saints' Church, Isleworth,* are some brasses preserved from the former church; one, an effigy of a knight in armour, is of the fifteenth century. In the north aisle is a brass to a sister of Sion House.

Between Brentford and Isleworth* is Sion House.

* At Brentford the Colne, at Isleworth the Cran, or Yedding-brook, enters the Thames.

Sion House,* now the seat of the Duke of Northumberland, was a religious house. The community was originally founded at Twickenham by Henry V., in 1414. Their removal to Sion took place in 1432.†

In its constitution the monastery of St. Saviour of Sion was dissimilar to any other religious house of the period. It was both a monastery and a convent. The convent was endowed for sixty nuns. There were seventeen canons—thirteen priests and four deacons. Besides these there were eight lay brethren.‡ The canons attended to the services of the church, and said Mass daily for the founder's intention. Their rule was St. Austin's, according to the reform of St. Bridget. The Superior was known as Father Confessor.

Weever says: 'These two convents had but one church in common—the nuns had their church aloft in the roof, and the brethren beneath on the ground;§ each convent severally enclosed, and never allowed to come out, except by the Pope's special license. Upon whom this godly and glorious king (Henry V.)

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 540.

† See Appendix B.

‡ These numbers corresponded with those of the apostles, and the seventy-two disciples of Jesus Christ.

§ A division into an upper and lower chapel, each commanding a view of the common altar, is not infrequent. There are examples at Alnwick, Northumberland; Sherbourne, Dorset; Godstow, Oxford; and Brede, Sussex.

had bestowed sufficient livings (taken from the prior's aliens, all which he utterly suppressed). He provided by a law that, contenting themselves therewith, they should take no more of any man, but what surplus soever remained of their yearly income they should bestow it upon the poor.'

At the Dissolution, the convent passed into the hands of the Crown. Here Queen Catherine Howard was imprisoned from November 14, 1541, till her examination by Cranmer. Cranmer, a man dead—if there ever was one—to the sentiments of honour and manly integrity, obtained from Catherine the confession that her life was stained previous to her marriage, promising her pardon if she spoke to him freely, and employed the information thus obtained for her destruction.* Catherine and her family were steady Catholics, and stood in Cranmer's path. From the Bishop of Worcester's correspondence with Gardiner, we learn that when Dr. Longland, who was her confessor, told Catherine that she had only three days to live, she said, 'As for the act, my lord, for which I stand condemned, God and His holy angels I take to witness, upon my soul's salvation, that I die guiltless, never having so abused my sovereign's bed. What other sins and follies of youth I have committed, I will not excuse; but I am assured that for

* Cf. Burke's *Men and Women of the English Reformation*, a work to which we are under considerable obligations, vol. ii. p. 88.

them God hath brought this punishment upon me, and will, in His mercy, remit them, for which I pray you pray with me unto His Son and my most adorable Saviour, Jesus Christ.' Catherine Howard was executed with Lady Rochford, February 12, 1542.

Edward VI. granted Sion to his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, who began the present building in 1542. It is a fine example of the style that, as Horace Walpole says, 'intervened between Gothic and Grecian architecture, or which, perhaps, was the style that had been invented for the houses of the nobility when they first ventured, on the settlement of the kingdom after the termination of the quarrel between the Roses, to abandon their fortified dungeons and consult convenience and magnificence.'

Sion House is built round a quadrangle, eighty feet square. The roof is flat and embattled; at each angle is a square turret. The material is white stone. Before the east and west fronts the gardens were enclosed by lofty walls, on the inner side of which was a terrace, whence the prospect might be enjoyed. When the duke was accused of high treason, the enclosure of Sion House was spoken of as a fortification.

After the duke's execution in 1552, Sion was bestowed upon Thomas Dudley, Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Northumberland, whose son, Lord Guildford Dudley, lived here with his wife, Lady Jane Grey.

All these perished at the scaffold. Previous to his execution, Northumberland received communion at the hands of Gardiner, and immediately before his death made a long address to the people, in which he declared that he died a Catholic, and pointed out the evil social results of the doctrines of the Reformation. 'I pray you to recollect that since the death of King Henry VIII. into what misery we have been brought, what open rebellion, what sedition, what great division hath been throughout the whole realm; for God has delivered us up to our own sensualities, and every day we wax worse and worse. Look also into Germany, since they severed from the faith; into what a miserable state they have been brought, and how the realm is decayed. And herewith I braved these preachers for their doctrine, and they were not able to answer any fact thereof, no more than a little boy. They opened their books and could not reply to them again. More than that, good people, you have in your creed, *Credo Ecclesiam Catholicam,* which Church is the same Church which hath continued ever from Christ, throughout all the apostles, saints, and doctors' times, and yet doth .... of which Church I do now openly profess myself to be one, and do steadfastly believe therein.'

At Northumberland's death Sion reverted to the Crown, and was restored by Queen Mary to the Bridgetines. On the 1st of August 1557, the nuns

of Sion were enclosed by Bishop Bonner and Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, together with certain of the council and certain friars of the order. Mrs. Clement, the cousin to whom Margaret Roper left the hair-shirt used by her father, Sir Thomas More, had a daughter—the youngest of a numerous family—whom her friends were anxious to have over in England to make her religious profession. A cell was provided for her at Sion House, but Bishop Bonner dissuaded her father from his purpose. 'Not long after, the same monastery of St. Bridget's, where she would have been placed, was wholly dispersed and dissolved, so that the religious were fain to seek for themselves, by reason of the death of Queen Mary.' It is a curious and interesting fact that the Bridgetine nuns of Sion have lately returned to England from Lisbon, and are now established at Spetisbury, in Dorsetshire. In the possession of this community is Sir Thomas More's hair-shirt, made of hog's-bristles, twisted into a net. It is entire, except that one of the sleeves has been cut off, and given to the convent of St. Dominic, at Stone, in Staffordshire.

In 1604, Sion was granted to Henry Percy, the ninth Earl of Northumberland. His son, Algernon Percy, employed Inigo Jones to reface the court and to complete the great hall. The children of Charles I. were intrusted to the care of Lord Algernon Percy, and placed at Sion in August 1646. The earl obtained

from Parliament permission for the king—then under restraint at Hampton Court—to visit them. The Duke of York was then fourteen, the Princess Elizabeth twelve, the Duke of Gloucester seven. In the apartments of Sion House that were the scene of these visits are portraits of the Stuart family. This mansion is still in the possession of the Dukes of Northumberland.

At East Sheen,* Henry V. established, in 1414, a Carthusian Priory, the House of Jesus at Bethlehem. Here Perkin Warbeck found refuge. He entreated the prior to beg his life of Henry VII.

Richmond was anciently West Sheen (fair or shining). When Henry VII. rebuilt the royal palace in 1499, he gave it the name of Richmond. The king inherited the earldom of Richmond, in Yorkshire, from his father, Edmund Tudor, who received it from his half-brother, Henry VI. Henry I. gave the manor to one of the Belets, who held it by grand sergeanty, officiating as the king's chief butler. Such a tenant held directly of the king, paying no aids or scutage, and one year's value of land as relief (Blackstone on Real Property).

A palace was erected on the manor of Sheen by Edward III., who died here June 21, 1377. Richard II. lived constantly at Richmond during the life of Anne of Bohemia. At her death, which took place

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 29.

here in 1394, Richard took a violent dislike to the place, and demolished the buildings. Henry V., however, restored the palace to its former splendour. It is described by Elmham as 'a delightful mansion, of curious and costly workmanship, and befitting the character and condition of a king.' Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV., had a grant of the manor of Sheen for life.

In 1492, Henry VII. held at Richmond a grand tournament, when Sir James Parker was killed by a blow in the mouth from a false helmet. On the 21st December, a fire broke out in the king's lodging. The greater part of the old buildings was destroyed, and a second restoration of the palace* became necessary. Henry died at Richmond, April 21st, 1509. His successor kept Christmas at Richmond the year of his accession. Here Queen Katherine gave birth to the prince who died ere he was two months old, and was buried at Westminster.

Charles V., on his visit to England in 1522, was lodged at Richmond. In 1526, Cardinal Wolsey received Richmond in exchange for his palace of Hampton Court. In 1541, Richmond was granted to Anne of Cleves. In August 1554, Queen Mary and Philip of Spain came hither from Windsor.

* This palace was the first constructed on a regular plan. It had a hall 100 feet long and 40 wide, an open corridor 200 feet long adjoining the garden, a gallery above, and a range of 36 private apartments.

Edward II. established a house of Carmelite Friars at Sheen,* and Henry VII. a convent of Observant Friars.

Twickenham Church, the burial-place of Pope, is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin. It has a third-pointed tower, similar to that at Heston.

Twickenham Church belonged to the Abbey of St. Valery, in Picardy. When the alien priories were confiscated by Edward III., that monarch presented to the living. The estates of the abbey and the presentation to the living of Twickenham were restored in 1361, but again confiscated by Richard II. On the foundation of the College of St. Mary Winton, William of Wykeham obtained the rectory, church, and advowson of the living 'to be made part of the endowment and possessions of the said college, whereby the warden, fellows, and scholars thereof became proprietors of the said rectory, and patrons of the vicarage.' Along with Twickenham, the vicarage of Isleworth was given to the Bishop by the Crown.

The brethren of the Holy Trinity at Hounslow had a manor at Twickenham.

King Offa gave Athelard, Archbishop of Canterbury, land at Twickenham, to provide vestments for the Church of St. Saviour at Canterbury. King Edmund restored their property at Twickenham to the monks of Canterbury by a charter which concluded

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 1532.

with an anathema against any who should despoil them of it: 'Whatever be their sex, order, or rank, may their memory be blotted out of the book of life, may their strength continually waste away, and be there no restorative to repair it.'

Teddington Church is, like Twickenham, dedicated to St. Mary. Teddington is Tide-end-town, and here the river locks begin.

Robert Feron, a priest of Teddington, was found guilty at the same time as the monks of the Charterhouse. He was, however, pardoned, probably as king's evidence, as he took down in writing the speeches in the indictment against Hall. The following is a specimen: 'Until the king and the rulers of this realm be plucked by the pates and brought, as we say, to the pot, shall we never live merrily in England, which I pray God may chance, and now shortly come to pass. Ireland is set against him, which will never shrink in their quarrel to die in it; and what think ye of Wales? Their noble and gentle Ap-Ryce, so cruelly put to death and so innocent, as they say, in the cause. I think not contrary but they will join and take part with the Irish, and so invade our realm. If they do so, doubt ye not but they shall have aid and strength in England; for this is truth, three parts of England be against the king, as he shall find if he need.'

The *Church of Kingston*, dedicated to All Saints,

is one of the largest in Surrey. It is cruciform, with aisles to the nave and a central tower. The nave has on either side an arcade of six bays, with drop arches and octagonal piers, all of middle-pointed style, as are the piers and arches of the tower. With these exceptions, the church is third-pointed. The tower has on each side a large three-light third-pointed window. The original spire was destroyed by lightning in 1445, when—as William of Worcester relates—'one in the church died through fear of a spirit which he saw there.' There is in this tower a peal of ten bells. The choir and choir-aisles are lofty. The rood-screens of this church remain. A new wooden roof was erected by the Messrs. Brandon in 1862. There are brasses here for Robert Skern, merchant, and his wife (1437), near the altar rails—engraved in Boutell's series, and in Brayley's *Surrey*—and of John Hertcombe and his wife (1488). Manning, in his *History of Surrey*, says that Joan, the wife of Robert Skern, was daughter of Alice Perrers, the mistress of Edward III., whose daughter she probably was.

Hampton-Court Manor, the property in Edward the Confessor's time of Earl Algar, is mentioned in Doomsday Book as held by Walter de St. Waleric. In 1211, Joan Lady Grey, relict of Sir Robert Grey, left by will the manor and manor-house of Hampton to the Knights-Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

Cardinal Wolsey, who suffered from stone, was recommended by his physicians to use the springs in Combe-wood, which are free from calcareous deposit, and check the formation of lithic acid. He obtained a ninety-nine years' lease of the manor and manor-house of Hampton from Dowcra, the prior of St. John's, Clerkenwell, 'beside London.' Hampton weir was to be repaired by timber from the well-known locality, St. John's-wood, in the county of Middlesex. The king growing jealous as the building of Wolsey's country-house proceeded, the cardinal made a present of it to Henry, in 1526, receiving the palace of Richmond in exchange. 'It was a marvel,' says Hall, 'to hear how the common people grudged, saying, "Lo the butcher's dogge doth lie in the manor of Richmond."'

Of the palace architecture of the Tudor period, Hampton Court is one of the finest examples. It consists of three quadrangles, known as the Entrance-court, the Clock-court, and the Fountain-court, respectively. In the centre of the entrance front is a square tower flanked by an octagonal turret at each angle, and elevated above the rest of the building. This tower is pierced by a great gateway with an obtusely-pointed arch, over which, both externally and internally, is an oriel window; above is a battlement of openwork. Each of the angle turrets is capped by an octagonal

pinnacle. At both extremities of this front are gables, their sloping sides adorned by griffins. At right angles to the front we have been describing, wings project, so that the whole forms three sides of a square.

The walls of the building in the first quadrangle—which we now enter—are surmounted by embattled parapets. The windows are square; the doorways have the depressed Tudor arch. Corresponding to the gateway through which we entered this quadrangle, another leads us through a tower of similar character but smaller, and with the oriel less richly embellished, into the second quadrangle, in which the great hall is situated. We may notice, in passing, that the heads of Roman emperors in terra-cotta upon the entrance and clock towers were a present from Leo X. to Wolsey. In a line with the two previously described is a third tower.

The walls of Hampton Court are of red and black brick, arranged in a chequer of diagonal lines. Throughout the Tudor portion of the building the windows are divided by one or more mullions, whilst some are divided again horizontally by a transom. There are obtusely-pointed arches over the lights.

The Hall has boldly-projecting buttresses and pointed windows. It has a magnificent hammer-beam roof, richly carved and gilt. Externally, the roof has a very singular appearance, resembling that

of the French mansard. This roof may be considered as consisting of two portions, an upper and a lower, each composed of four inclining timbers. Of the upper series, the two higher meet in an obtuse angle over the centre of the hall, whilst the two lower meet beneath the collar; of the under series, the two higher rest on the side walls, and at the other extremity meet the two higher of the upper series at an obtuse angle, whilst the lower, or spandrels, support the hammer-beams. This is, so far as we know, the only example of a polygonal roof in England. At Hampton Court its employment is useless. The only advantage of such a roof would be, as is the case with the French mansard, that if windows were introduced in the roof they would not have the ugly and deteriorating effect of skylights, but, by being placed in a portion of the roof less removed from the perpendicular, would increase the apparent height of the building. The roof is not lighted from the sides at Hampton Court, but by two small windows pitched high in the gable at either extremity. The hall is one hundred and eight feet in length, forty feet wide, and forty-five feet high. The oriel at the upper end of the hall has a roof of fan-tracery. To the east and west the windows in this oriel are of the same pattern as those to the south, but the third light, which there occurs, is omitted.

The tapestry with rich arabesque borders that adorns the hall represents scenes from the life of Abraham. Most of the tapestries in the possession of Wolsey were from scriptural subjects, whilst those of others were borrowed from romance. They are enumerated in the catalogue of his effects—the story of Abraham, twelve with the Old and New Law, six of Esther, seven of Samson, eight of Solomon, nine of Susannah, ten of Jacob, four of Judith, twelve of Joseph, six of David, seven of the Baptist, four of our Saviour's Passion; others represented Samuel, Tobias, Moses, the Forlorn Son, Nebuchadnezzar, the Madonna, St. George and the Dragon, and the Three Kings of Cologne. From romance were the Nine Worthies, Estrageas, Hercules, Priamus, Emperor Octavian, and L'Amante, or the Romance of the Rose. Other subjects were the Sun with his beams, Hunting a Wild Boar, Two Children saved from Drowning by an Angel, Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, and the Wheel of Fortune.*

Of all this artistic wealth the tapestries that we see at Hampton are the sole remains. In the series from the life of Abraham, the first scene represents God appearing to Abraham and giving him His blessing; the second, the birth and circumcision of Isaac, and the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael; the third,

* There is a wheel of fortune on the north wall of the choir at Rochester.

Abraham sending his servant to obtain a wife for Isaac; the fourth, the Egyptians sending away Abraham and Sarah; the fifth, Abraham entertaining the angels; the sixth, Abraham buying the burial-place of Machpelah; the seventh, the parting of Abraham and Lot; the eighth, the offering of Isaac.

The tapestries that hang beneath the music-gallery at the lower end of the hall are of earlier date, and of German or Flemish design. The important history of Abraham is attributed to Bernard van Orley, a native of Brussels, who studied under Raphael in Rome.

There is a spacious withdrawing-room at the upper end of the hall. The roof has the Tudor badges.

The chapel has a pointed roof with pendants, similar to that in the choir of Oxford Cathedral. It is painted blue, with gold and silver stars. There is a third-pointed western doorway of rich character.

In the lease of Hampton Court by the Hospitallers to Cardinal Wolsey is an interesting enumeration of household articles and an inventory of the furniture of the former chapel. In the chapel: first, a chalice of silver, a pyx of copper for the sacrament, two altar-cloths, a corporax, or hanging vessel for the reserved sacrament, two candlesticks of latten, a Missal, a Breviary, a pewter bottle for wine, a cruet of pewter, a cross of tin, a wooden pax, a white and blue altar-cloth, wooden images of our Lord, our

Lady, and St. John, an image of St. Nicholas, a painting of the cross, a latten stoup for holy water, with chain of the same material, two bells in the tower, one of them broken.

The priors of St. John provided a priest 'to minister divine service' at Hampton-court.

The warden and certain freemasons were employed by Wolsey to build his palace at Hampton. Wolsey had a suite of nearly one thousand persons. The great hall is supposed to have been erected, not by Wolsey, but by Henry. [?]

Edward VI. was born at Hampton Court. His mother, Jane Seymour, died two days later, and her body was carried by water to Windsor for burial. Catherine Howard came as queen to this Palace. It was just before the Feast of All Saints, 1540, that Henry and Catherine arrived at Hampton. On All Saints'-day 'the king received his Maker, and gave Him most hearty thanks for the good life he led and trusted to lead with his wife.' When he was at mass on the following day, Cranmer put in his hands a paper in which Catherine was accused of adultery. The sequel has been related on a previous page. It was at Hampton Court that Catherine Parr, his last wife, was married to Henry, July 10, 1543. Her late husband's will had been proved only three months previous. Gardiner reluctantly performed the ceremony. Catherine followed in appearance the religious

observances of the king, and talked as a Protestant in the evening with her chaplains, who still bore the character of Catholic priests. But that was the reign of terror and of duplicity. Philip and Mary kept Christmas at Hampton in 1557. The great hall was illuminated by a thousand lamps. At Hampton Court Mary awaited, as she believed, the birth of her child. At length she and her husband left Hampton for London and Greenwich, whence Philip shortly afterwards departed for Flanders, after recommending Mary to the care of Pole. James II. was occasionally a resident at Hampton Court, and the canopy is still shown under which he received the papal nuncio.*

Kensington (Kœningston) has a church dedicated to St. Mary, *St. Mary Abbot's*. The latter part of the name is due to the fact that the rectory was in 1102 bestowed upon the Abbey of Abingdon by Godfrey-de-Vere. 'Godfrey-de-Vere, being near the point of death, gave (with the consent of his father Albricius and his mother Beatrice) the church, his patrimony, and all belonging to it, in the town of Kensington, by perpetual donation to the Monastery of Abingdon, and to the church of St. Mary in Abingdon. Albricius (for the soul of Godfrey his son, deceased) confirmed this grant, Matilda the queen being

* Pennant says that Trinity Chapel, Conduit-street, was originally made of wood, and was used for saying Mass in when James's troops were encamped at Hounslow, to the north of Hampton.

witness.' Fabricius, a monk of Malmesbury, was presented by Henry I., in 1100, to the abbacy of Abingdon. He was skilled in science, and more particularly in medicine. In the seventh year of Henry I. we find Milo Crispin giving lands at Colebrook to the monastery of Abingdon, 'for the service the Abbot Fabricius had rendered him in his sickness'—and the grant of the church at Kensington was due to the sense of a similar obligation.

In the inventory of King Edward's reign, there are mentioned such items as chalices, a cross, pyx, other crosses, 'a whyte damask vestment with St. Jaymes's shells, altar-cloths, candlesticks, censers, cruets, bells, one in the steeple, one a sacring, or sanctus bell, a hand bell, a copy of the Scriptures with Erasmus's paraphrases,' &c.

Weever gives the following inscriptions that existed in his day in the Church of Kensington:

'Maud de Berford gist icy
Dieu de s'Alme eit mercy. Amen.'

'Here under lyeth Philip Meautis, the son and heir of John Meautis, oone of the Secretaries to the kings, Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth, Clerk of his Counsel, and oone of the Knights of Windsor. Which Philip decesseyed the eight of November, MDX. on whose soul Jesu have mercy. Amen.'

'Hic jacet Robertus Rose et Eliz. Richardus Schardeburgh et Elizabetha Uxor ejus, ac Robertus Schardeburgh Filius . . . . . eorundem Richardi et Elizabetha, que quidem Richardus obiit. xi. die Decem. MCCCCLIII. quorum animabus propitietur Altissimus.'

'Here lyes Adwin Laverock of Callis, cousin to John Meautas

of Kensington, and french Secretary to kings Hen. the VIIth, which decesseyd on Seynt Stephen's Day, M.CCCC.L.XXXXIII. on whose soul God have mercy. Amen.'

'In the worship of God [and] our Ladie,
Say for all Christen souls a Pater Noster and an Ave.'

'Hic jacet Thomas Essex Armiger Filius et heres Gulielmo Essex. Armigeri, Rememeratoris Domini Regis Edwardi—Quarti in Saccaris, ac vice thesaurar. Angliæ, qui obiit 25 November 1500.'

'Que sola virgineo nata Laudamus honore,
Me protegens nato fundito vota tuo.
Accept our praise, sole virgin though a wife,
Pray to thy son, protectress of my life.'*

Holland House was built in 1607 by Sir Walter Cope on the site of the manor-house of Abbots Kensington. Sir Walter's son-in-law, Henry Rich, became Lord Holland.

Kensington House, recently demolished, was, at one time a Jesuit school under the management of the Abbé de Broglie. It has been described as follows by Mr. Sheil:†

'I landed at Bristol, and with a French clergyman, the Abbé de Grimeau, who had been my tutor, I proceeded to London. The abbé informed me, that I was to be sent to Kensington House, a college established by the Pères de la Foi, for so the French Jesuits settled in England at that time called themselves; and that he had directions to leave me there

* The orthography, or rather cacography, of some of these inscriptions is remarkable.

† Quoted by Leigh Hunt in the *Old Court Suburb*.

upon his way to Languedoc, from whence he had been exiled in the Revolution, and to which he had been driven by the *maladie de pays* to return. Accordingly, we set off for Kensington House, which is situated exactly opposite the avenue leading to the palace, and has the beautiful garden attached to it in front. A large iron gate, wrought into rusty flowers, and other fantastic forms, showed that the Jesuit school had once been the residence of some person of distinction. . . . . It was a large old-fashioned house, with many remains of decayed splendour. In a beautiful walk of trees, which ran down from the rear of the building, through the play-ground, I saw several French boys playing at swing-swang; and the moment I entered, my ears were filled with the shrill vociferations of some hundreds of little emigrants, who were engaged in their various amusements, and babbled, screamed, laughed, and shouted, in all the velocity of their rapid and joyous language. I did not hear a word of English, and at once perceived that I was as much amongst Frenchmen as if I had been suddenly transferred to a Parisian college. Having got this peep at the gaiety of the school, into which I was to be introduced, I was led with my companion to a chamber covered with faded gilding, and which had once been richly tapestried; where I found the head of the establishment, in the person of a French nobleman, Monsieur le Prince de Broglie.

Young as I was, I could not help being struck at once with the contrast which was presented between the occupations of this gentleman and his name. I saw in him a little, slender, and gracefully-constructed Abbé with a sloping forehead, on which the few hairs that were left him were nicely arranged, and well-powdered and pomatumed. He had a gentle smile, full of suavity which was made up of guile and of meekness, but which deserved the designation of amiable, in the best sense of the word. His clothes were adapted with a peculiar nicety to his symmetrical person; and his silk waistcoat and black stockings, with his small shoes buckled with silver, gave him altogether a glossy aspect. This was the son of the celebrated Marshal Broglie, who was now the head of a school, and notwithstanding his humble pursuits, was designated by everybody as "Monsieur le Prince."

'Monsieur le Prince had all the manners and attitudes of the Court, and by his demeanour put me at once in mind of the old *régime*. He welcomed my French companion with tenderness, and having heard that he was about to return to France, the poor gentleman exclaimed, "Hélas!" while the tears came into his eyes at the recollection of "cette belle France," which he was never, as he thought, to see again. He bade me welcome. These preliminaries of introduction having been gone through, my French

tutor took his farewell; and as he embraced me for the last time, I well remember that he was deeply affected by the sorrow which I felt in my separation from him, and turning to Monsieur le Prince, recommended me to his care with an emphatic tenderness. The latter led me into the school-room, where I had a desk assigned to me beside the son of the Count Décar, who has since, I understand, risen to offices of very high rank in the French Court. . . .

'On the other side of me was a young French West Indian, from the colony of Martinique, whose name was Devarieux. The school was full of the children of the French planters, who had been sent over to learn English among the refugees from the revolution. In general, the children of the French exiles amalgamated readily with these Creoles: there were, to be sure, some points of substantial difference; the French West Indians being all rich *roturiers*, and the little emigrants having their veins full of the best blood of France, without a groat in their pockets. But there was one point of reconciliation between them—they all concurred in hating England and its government. This detestation was not very surprising in the West Indian French; but it was not a little singular, that the boys, whose fathers had been expelled from France by the revolution, and to whom England had afforded shelter, and given bread, should manifest the ancient national antipathy, as strongly

as if they had never been nursed, and obtained their aliment from her bosom.

'Whenever news arrived of a victory won by Bonaparte, the whole school was thrown into a ferment; and I cannot, even at this distance of time, forget the exultation with which the sons of the decapitated, or the exile, hailed the triumph of the French arms, the humiliation of England, and the glory of the nation whose greatness they had learned to lisp. There was one boy I recollect more especially. I do not now remember his name, but his face and figure I cannot dismiss from my remembrance. He was the child of a nobleman who had perished in the Revolution. His mother, a widow, who resided in a miserable lodging in London, had sent him to Kensington House, but it was well known that he was received there by the Prince de Broglie from charity; and I should add, that his eleemosynary dependance, so far from exciting towards him any of that pity which is akin to contempt, contributed to augment the feeling of sympathy which the disasters of his family had created in his regard. This unfortunate little boy was a Frenchman to his heart's core, and whenever the country which was wet with his father's blood had added a new conquest to her possessions, or put Austria or Prussia to flight, his pale cheek used to flush into a hectic of exultation, and he would break into joyfulness at the achieve-

ments by which France was exalted, and the pride and power of England were brought down. This feeling, which was conspicuous in this little fellow, ran through the whole body of Frenchmen, who afforded very unequivocal proof of the sentiments by which their parents were influenced. The latter I used occasionally to see. Old gentlemen, the neatness of whose attire was accompanied by indications of indigence, used occasionally to visit at Kensington House. Their elasticity of back, the frequency and gracefulness of their well-regulated bows, and the perpetual smile upon their wrinkled and emaciated faces, showed that they had something to do with the "vieille cour," and this conjecture used to be confirmed by the embrace with which they folded the little marquises and counts whom they came to visit.

'Kensington House was frequented by emigrants of very high rank. The father of the present Duke de Grammont, who was at this school, and was then Duke de Guiche, often came to see his son. I recollect upon one occasion having been witness to a very remarkable scene. Monsieur, as he was then called, the present king of France, waited one day, with a large retinue of French nobility, upon the Prince de Broglie. The whole body of the school-boys was assembled to receive him. We were gathered in a circle at the bottom of a flight of stone stairs, that led from the principal room into the playground. The

future king of France appeared with his *cortège* of illustrious exiles, at the glass folding-doors which were at the top of the stairs, and the moment he was seen, we all exclaimed, with a shrill shout of beardless loyalty, "Vive le Roi!" Monsieur seemed greatly gratified by this spectacle, and in a very gracious and condescending manner, went down amongst the little boys, who were at first awed a good deal by his presence, but were afterwards speedily familiarised to him by the natural benignity of Charles X.'

Passing northwards we may recall how Chateaubriand 'would stroll under those beautiful trees in Kensington-gardens, where in his days of exile he used to meet his fellow-sufferers, the French priests, reciting their Breviary, those trees under which he had indulged in many a reverie, under which he had breathed many a sigh for home, under which he had finished *Atala*, and had composed *Réné*.'*

* Robertson's *Lectures on Modern History and Biography*, p. 298.

Eighth Walk.

NORTH LONDON.

> 'A milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged,
> Fed on the lawn and in the forest ranged;
> Without unspotted, innocent within,
> She fear'd no danger, for she knew no sin.'
>
> Dryden's *Hind and Panther*.

To the north of London lay a dense forest, that extended almost to the boundaries of the city—the Forest of Middlesex, through which the Roman Watling-street penetrated. 'On the north side,' says Fitzstephen, 'are fields for pasture, and open meadows, very pleasant; among which the waters do flow, and the wheels of the mills are turned about with a delightful noise. Very near lieth a large forest, in which are woody groves of wild beasts. In the coverts whereof do lurk bucks and does, wild boars and bulls.' The forest was disafforested in 1212, but Hampstead was retained as a royal preserve.

The Westbourne, with its tributary, the Kilburn, crossed the great western road, and spread out into

Bay (or Bays) water. Crossing what is now Hyde Park, the Westbourne passed the Kensington road at Knightsbridge.

The Tyburn (Ty-bourne), a larger stream than the Westbourne, passed St. Mary-le-bourne, or Mary-lebone, to the hollow in the Green Park, where a part of its water rested, the remainder flowing to the Thames. The conduit in Cheapside was supplied with water from the Tyburn in 1288. Pennant tells us that Tyburn does *not* derive its name from *tye* and *burn*, 'as if it was so called from the manner of capital punishments.'

Among the numerous sufferers for their faith at Tyburn, we may mention the monks of the Charter-house and Father Edmund Campion of the Society of Jesus.

The execution of the monks was five days after their sentence was passed. Houghton and his fellow priors were executed in their vestments. 'Such a scene as hanging priests in their vestments was never before known to Englishmen.' Houghton, who was the first to mount the scaffold, thus addressed the people: 'My good people, I call to witness Almighty God, and all good people, and I beseech you all here present to bear witness for me at the day of judgment, that, being here to die, I declare that it is from no obstinate rebellious pretext that I do not obey the king; but because I fear to offend the

majesty of God. Our holy mother the Church has decreed otherwise than the king and his Parliament have decreed; and therefore, rather than disobey the Church, I am ready to suffer. Pray for me, and have mercy on my brethren, of whom I have been the unworthy prior.' He repeated the 30th Psalm (*In te, Domine, speravi*) before giving the signal to the executioner. The other monks died with equal fortitude.

We pass from the sufferers under Henry to those under Elizabeth. 'In the splash and mud of a rainy December morning,' says Mr. Simpson, in his admirable Life of Campion, 'Campion was brought forth from his cell, clad in the same gown of Irish frieze that he had worn at his trial, and was taken to Coleharbour Tower, where he found Sherwin and Briant waiting for him. Here they had some respite for spiritual conversation. . . . . . Outside the tower a vast crowd was already collected. Campion, nothing daunted, looked cheerfully around and saluted them: "God save you all, gentlemen! God bless you, and make you all good Catholics!" Then he knelt and prayed, with his face towards the east; concluding with the words, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.* There were two hurdles waiting, each tied to the tails of two horses. On one Sherwin and Briant were laid and bound; Campion on the other. . . . There were intervals, during which

sundry Catholics spoke to Campion of matters of conscience, and received comfort. One gentleman—like Veronica in another *via dolorosa*—either for pity or affection, most courteously wiped his face, all spattered with mire and dirt, as he was drawn most miserably through thick and thin ; " for which charity," says the priest who saw it done, " or, haply, some sudden-moved affection, God reward him and bless him." The procession took the usual route by Cheapside and Holborn. A crowd of men followed it, and the women stood at their doors to see it pass by. . . . . . The hurdles were dragged under the arch of Newgate, which crossed the street where the prison now stands. In a niche over the gate stood an image of the blessed Virgin, that was yet untouched with the axes and hammers of the iconoclasts. Campion, as he passed underneath, with a great effort raised himself upon his hurdle, and saluted the Queen of Heaven whom he so soon hoped to see. Christopher Issam, a priest, who saw the martyrs on their way, always declared that they had a smile on their faces, and, as they drew near Tyburn, actually laughed. There was a cry raised among the people : " But they laugh—they don't care for death." There was a throng on Tower-hill, there was a throng through all the streets ; but the throng at the place of execution at Tyburn exceeded all that any one could remember. They had been gathering

all the morning, in spite of the rain and wind; and now, when the hurdles were driven up, the clouds divided, and the sun shone out brightly. There were present many good Catholic gentlemen desirous to be eye-witnesses of that which might happen in the speech, demeanour, and passage of those three rare patterns of piety, virtue, and innocency, and amongst them a Catholic priest, who pressed in to observe and mark that bloody spectacle, with mind upon occasion to refer sincerely and truly (to his power) this tragedy, with such accidents as should happen in the manner, course, and end thereof. He got up very near the gallows, hard by Sir Francis Knowles, Lord Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and the other gentlemen who were officially present, and just "behind the two gentlemen who, before the beginning of the tragedy, were disputing whether the motion of the sun from east to west was violent or natural." . . . . After slowly working through the press and multitude of people not to be numbered, Campion was first put into the cart under the gallows, and was ordered to put his head into the halter, which he did with all obedience; and then, after some small pause, while he waited for the mighty murmur of so many people to be somewhat stilled, with grave countenance and sweet voice stoutly spake out, "*Spectaculum facti sumus Deo, angelis, et hominibus.*" These are the words of St. Paul, Englished thus: "We are made a

spectacle or a sight unto God, unto His angels, and unto you men!" Here he was interrupted by Sir Francis Knowles and the sheriffs, earnestly urging him to confess his treason against the queen, and to acknowledge himself guilty. He answered: "As to the treasons which have been laid to my charge, and for which I am come here to suffer, I desire you all to bear witness with me that I am thereof entirely innocent." On this, one of the council replied that he might not seem to deny the things objected to him, having been proved by sufficient evidence. "Well, my lord," said he, "I am a Catholic man and a priest; in that faith have I lived, and in that faith do I intend to die. If you esteem my religion treason, then am I guilty; as for other treason, I never committed any—God is my judge. But you have now what you desire. I beseech you to have patience, and suffer me to speak a word or two for discharge of my conscience." But not being suffered to go forward, he was forced to speak only to that point which they always urged, protesting that he was guiltless and innocent of all treason and conspiracy; craving credit to be given to this answer, as to his last answer made upon his death and soul. The jury might be easily deceived, . . . but he forgave all, as he desired to be forgiven. . . . They next asked him whether he renounced the Pope. He answered he was a Catholic; whereupon one inter-

fered, saying, "In your Catholicism all treason is contained." At length, when he was preparing himself to drink of Christ's cup, he was interrupted by a minister, wishing him to say, "Christ have mercy upon me," or such-like prayers with him; unto whom, looking back with mild countenance, he humbly said, "You and I are not one in religion; wherefore I pray you content yourself. I bar none of prayer; but I only desire them of the household of faith to pray with me, and in mine agony to say one creed." . . . . Once more he was interrupted, and bidden to ask the queen's forgiveness, and to pray for her. He meekly answered, "Wherein have I offended? In this I am innocent. This is my last speech; in this give me credit—I have and do pray for her." Then the Lord Charles Howard asked of him for which queen he prayed—whether for Elizabeth the queen? To whom he answered, "Yea, for Elizabeth, your queen and my queen, to whom I wish a long and quiet reign, with all prosperity." While he was speaking these last words, the cart was drawn away, and he, amid the tears and groans of the vast multitude, meekly and sweetly yielded his soul unto his Saviour, protesting that he died a perfect Catholic. . . . . When he had hung a few moments, the hangman was about to cut him down, but he was bidden by some in authority to wait till he was dead. Then his body was cut down, and stripped, and the

butchery proceeded with. There was standing beside the block when Campion was being cut into quarters a young man named Henry Walpole. He was still a Protestant, and had merely gone to see. As the hangman was throwing the quarters into the caldron of boiling water, a drop of the bloody mixture splashed out upon Walpole's clothes, who afterwards declared to Father Ignatius Basselier, S.J., that he at once felt he must be a Catholic. On his conversion, he joined the society, was ordained priest, and sent into England, where he was apprehended, and, like Campion, condemned and executed as a traitor.'

The French Chapel of the Annunciation, King-street, Portman-square, was consecrated in 1799. No less than sixteen bishops were present, along with croziered and mitred abbots, and a large assemblage of regular and secular clergy. Several of the clergy and even the princes of the exiled royal family had assisted the workmen engaged in the erection of the chapel. Four Masses were said daily from seven in the morning till one o'clock at the portable altars with which the chapel was furnished in its early days.

At the services in this chapel were to be found Louis XVIII., the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., the Duke d'Angoulême, the Duke and Duchess de Berry, the Duke de Bourbon, the Prince de Condi, and the Dukes de Montpensier and de Beaujolais.

Here the Abbé du Chatelier, afterwards Bishop

of Evreux, preached the funeral sermon of the Duke d'Enghien, and the Abbé de Bouvens, Vicar-general of Tours, that of M. Edgeworth, the confessor of Louis XVI.

Here Cardinal Talleyrand de Perigord, Archbishop of Rheims, officiated at the obsequies of Marie Joséphine de Savoié, queen of Louis XVIII. The ceremonies observed on the occasion were precisely those that would have been employed if the funeral had taken place at St. Denis, and a resting-place was provided for the exiled queen in the Abbey of Westminster. There was laid 'in regum asylo,' the Duke de Montpensier, after lying in state in the French chapel. He died at Salthill.

St. James, Spanish-place, is the church of the Spanish Embassy.

North west of the point we have reached is the site of Kilburn Priory. Kilburn derives its name from the *Cele* (or cold) *bourne*. The nunnery of Kilburn* was originally a hermitage, whither a certain Godwin retired in the reign of Henry I.

> 'A little lowly hermitage it was,
> Downe in a dale, hard by a forest side,
> Far from resort of people, that did pass
> In traveill to and froe ; a little wide
> There was a holy chapel edifyde
> Wherein the Hermite dewly went to say
> His holy things, each morne and eventyde :

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), iii. 422.

> Thereby a christall streame did gently play,
> Which from a sacred fountain welled forth away.'

Godwin gave his cell to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, and the abbot, with the consent of the Bishop of London, established a convent of Benedictine nuns at Kilburn. The first nuns were Emma, Gunilda, and Christina, who had been maids of honour to Matilda, Henry's queen, herself a person of great religious austerity. Godwin was the first confessor of the new house. The property of the convent was increased by gifts from the Abbot of Westminster and others, for prayers for the souls of the abbots and brethren of Westminster and Fécamp. There is a tradition that the nuns of Kilburn had seats in the triforium at Westminster, locally known as 'the nunneries.' The church of the convent was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Two abbots of Westminster were eminent benefactors of Kilburn. Herbert gave the nunnery an estate in Knightsbridge, the Gara (Kensington Gore ?), and his successor, Gervase, two corrodies, one of bread and beer, another of cooked meats for the coquina, or kitchen, and of clareto. When the Abbot Walter gave the manor of Paddington to the Abbey of Westminster in 1191, the nuns of Kilburn had a fresh allowance of bread and wine on the anniversary of the gift. A controversy having arisen as to the respective rights of the Bishop of London and of the Abbot of Westminster over the

nunnery of Kilburn, Pope Honorius, in 1225, gave his decision in favour of the Abbot of Westminster. The Bishop of London resisted, and the question was referred to the Bishop of Rochester and to the Prior of Dunstable, who decided in favour of the bishop. The manor of Middleton in Surrey was bestowed upon Kilburn by John de Somerie, and the priory exempted from all tenths, fifteenths, taxes, and tallages. The manor of Minchin in Surrey was granted to Kilburn by Roger de Aperdele in the reign of Edward III., as was the advowson of the church of Codham and an acre of land in Kent by Thomas de Wolton and William Topcliffe. Still, in 1377, the nunnery was in a very reduced condition. The convent was dissolved in 1536. An inventory of the goods, at the date of the visitation, is given by Park. The property of the convent was under the yearly value of 200*l.* In addition to the lands mentioned, it was in possession of forty acres of cultivated land in the parish of Willesden. The lands of Kilburn, Hampstead, and Kilburn-wood were made over to the Knights of St. John in exchange for Paris-garden in Southwark and other estates. Their dissolution, it will be remembered, was later than that of the other religious houses, and it was not till 1540 that Henry VIII. granted the site of Kilburn Priory to Lord Sussex, and the manor of Hampstead (or Shuttup-hill) to Sir Roger Cholmeley, chief baron of the exchequer.

A drawing in Mr. Gardiner's collection represents Kilburn Priory. It was a high-gabled and heavily-buttressed building of no great architectural pretensions. The abbey-farm at Kilburn and the site of the priory are in the hands of the March family, who lived at Hendon as early as the reign of Edward IV. There were remains of the priory still existing in 1722. In 1852, pieces of pottery, some coins, and a bronze vessel were found on the site of the priory.*

At St. John's-wood, which we now enter, there was a dark red stone stained by the blood of Sir Gervase de Mertoun, slain by his brother Stephen, who had endeavoured to seduce the wife of Sir Gervase. She had resisted his advances, and threatened to tell his brother of his conduct towards her. Stephen saw no other protection for himself than by putting his brother to death, so he assaulted him in a narrow lane, and stabbed him in the back. Sir Gervase fell on a projecting rock. But Heaven would not allow so foul a deed to go unpunished; the dying Sir Gervase recognised his murderer, and reproaching him for his cruelty, added, 'This stone shall be thy deathbed.' After the murder, Stephen returned to Kilburn, and finding he could no more prevail with his brother's widow than he had with his wife, tried to drown care in dissolute enjoyment. But he did

* Willesden may be visited from Kilburn. The church is described in Sperling's *Church Walks in Middlesex*, p. 96.

not succeed; he turned his thoughts to repentance for his crime, and reared for his brother a tomb at Kilburn of stone from the quarry where the foul deed was done. Stephen came to survey the work, when his eye fell on the very stone on which his brother expired. Blood gushed forth, and Stephen, stricken with dismay, fled to the Bishop of London, made confession of his crime, and, in evidence of his sincerity and as an atonement for his guilt, bestowed his lands on the priory of Kilburn. Soon after he died.

From the north side of Regent's Park we ascend Primrose-hill, whence a fine view of Hampstead and Highgate, to the north, is obtained. From this coign of vantage we cast our eyes around what were once all Church demesnes.

St. John's-wood derives its name from its former possessors, the Knights of St. John—'Great St. John's-wood,' near Marylebone Park, to distinguish it from 'Little St. John's-wood,' at Highbury. St. John's-wood was sought as a refuge by Babington and four others—Gage, Charnock, Barnewell, and Donne—engaged with him in his conspiracy.

The Bishops of London held the district between their prebendal manor of Tottenhall and the ridge of Highgate. The old line of Watling-street fell into disuse, and the bishop allowed a new road to be formed across Highgate-hill to Whetstone. 'The

ancient highway was refused by wayfaring men and travellers, by reason of the deep and dirtie state of the way in the winter season. In regard whereof, it was agreed between the Bishop of London and the countrie that a new way should be laid through the said bishop's park, beginning at Highgate-hill, to lead directly to Whetstone, for which new way all carts, carriers, and packmen yield a certain sum unto the bishop, which toll is farmed at 40*l.* per annum, and for which purpose a gate was erected.'

Primrose-hill has an evil notoriety, as the scene of the murder of Sir Edmond Bury Godfrey, in the reign of Charles II.

The country was in the greatest excitement on account of the pretended conspiracy known as Titus Oates's plot. Coleman, the secretary of the Duchess of York, would appear to have been really engaged in imprudent, if not treasonable, correspondence. The Protestant party—at the head of which were Lords Shaftesbury and Buckingham—were endeavouring to bring about the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne. Hence the serviceableness of Oates's inventions. Oates's colleague was a Dr. Tongue, rector of St. Michael's, Wood-street. The king was to be murdered, and his brother raised to the throne. Lords Stafford, Powis, Arundel, Petre, Bellasis, and other Catholic nobles, were to form the ministry. Neither Charles nor his council took any heed of Oates and

his plot for six weeks, and Oates found that, if he was to create the sensation and gain the wages he anticipated, he must obtain greater publicity for his narrative. He accordingly made a deposition before Sir Edmond Bury Godfrey, a distinguished justice of the peace. Godfrey was blamed for meddling in the matter, instead of leaving it to the Privy Council. The council, in the mean time, was roused to activity, and ordered the arrest of several Catholics. Coleman was committed to the charge of a messenger, and is believed to have had a private conversation with Sir Edmond Bury Godfrey. Godfrey was a sensitive nervous man, and seems to have lost his head. He thought he would be the first victim of the plot. He was the friend of Coleman, and told him of the danger he was in, advising him to have recourse to flight. On Saturday the 12th October, Godfrey burned a number of papers; and the same day he was seen near St. Clement's in the Strand, soon after in Marylebone, and at noon he had a business interview with one of the churchwardens of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. He was not again seen alive. At six o'clock on the evening of the following Thursday, two men, in crossing a field to the south of Primrose-hill, observed a sword-belt, stick, and a pair of gloves lying by a hedge. They took no particular notice of the circumstance, but, calling at the White House, they mentioned what they had seen to

the master, who returned with them to the spot. There, in an adjoining ditch, they found the body of a man lying forward, resting on the left side of his face, and on his breast and knees. It was Sir Edmond Bury Godfrey. His sword pierced his heart, and came out behind his back. His cane stood upright upon the bank; near it lay his gloves. Strange to say, there was no blood on his clothes or on the spot where the body was found. His shoes were clean, his rings were on his fingers, his money in his purse. It is said, however, that his breast was bruised, and that the laced band was removed from his neck, which was broken. The last circumstances are doubtful, all-important as they would be to the decision whether he fell a victim to violence or not. If they were truly related, Godfrey must first have been strangled, and then have had the sword thrust through his body, to make it seem that he had perished by his own hand. If the marks of violence were not present, then Godfrey undoubtedly fell by his own hand. The whole affair is a mystery, a mystery that can never be explained; and at that time, to men prepared for anything in the way of Popish iniquity, it was as clear as the sun in the heavens that Godfrey had fallen a victim to the vengeance of Catholics; for white wax, which somebody knew he had never used, and which, it seemed, was employed by priests and persons of dis-

tinction, was found spattered upon his clothes. The body was conveyed to the White House Farm, which lay on the other side of Primrose-hill. The farm belonged to Chalcotts, an estate whose name has been abbreviated and corrupted into Chalc and Chalk Farm, at that time of great notoriety in the annals of duelling. Twenty-six persons were arrested and committed to the Tower. Sir Edmond's body was conveyed to his house in Green's-lane, Strand, embalmed, and, after lying two days in state at Bridewell Hospital, borne by eight knights—all justices of the peace—to St. Martin's Church, preceded by seventy-two clergymen of the Church of England, and accompanied by a vast multitude, among whom were all the city aldermen. The clergyman who preached was accompanied by two of his brethren, such was the panic. An offer of 500*l.* was made for the discovery of Godfrey's murderer. Bedloe, once a servant of Lord Bellasis, and late an ensign in the Low Countries, came to London from Bristol. He said that he had seen the body of the murdered magistrate at Somerset House, where the queen then resided, and that he had been offered much money if he would remove it. Only the personal influence of the king could divert inquiry from being directed to the supposed connivance of his consort. When Coleman was in Newgate, he confessed that he had mentioned the designs of the Duke of York to Sir

Edmond, and said that the duke had told him to kill the magistrate. Prance, a goldsmith, who had been employed at times in the queen's chapel, was apprehended on suspicion, and saved his neck by accusing three of the queen's domestics—Green, Berry, and Hill—all of whom were executed, protesting their innocence to the last. Prance's story was that Sir Edmond had been induced to enter Somerset House, where, it was said, his services were required to settle a quarrel. No sooner had he entered than Green strangled him with a twisted handkerchief, and struck him on the breast with his knee, when, finding him not dead, the deed was completed by wringing his neck. At midnight on Wednesday the body was put in a sedan-chair and carried to Soho, whence Hill bore it on horseback to Primrose-hill, where the sword was thrust into the breast by a Jesuit who was present for this *coup de théâtre*.

All the incidents in this outrageous narrative have been commemorated by medals with appropriate inscriptions. On one medal Sir Edmond is seen walking about with his neck broken and a sword in his body; on the reverse is the traditional representation of St. Denis, with the inscription :

> 'Godfrey walks up hill after he was dead,
> Denis walks down hill carrying his head.'

We pass through Somers-town on our way to old

St. Pancras. As Manchester-square and Portman-square were the resorts of the wealthier émigrés, Clarendon-square and its neighbourhood was of those of humbler rank. In Charlton-street, Clarendon-square, a small chapel was opened for the benefit of his countrymen by the Abbé Carron.* Since the erection of the church of St. Aloysius Gonzaga in Clarendon-square, this chapel has been disused. It was, however, in it that M. Jean-Joseph-Henri Nerinckx,† the founder of the congregation of the Faithful Companions of Jesus in England, was ordained priest, on the 10th of June 1802, by Mgr. Pierre-Augustin Godard de Belbœuf, Bishop of Avranches in Normandy. M. Nerinckx was born in 1776, at Ninove, in Belgium. In his thirteenth year he entered the College of Gheel, and removed to the Franciscan house at Montaigu two years later. On the outbreak of the revolution, the community was dispersed, and Jean Nerinckx found refuge with the Curé of Everberg-Meerbeek. The parishioners of this village made annually a pilgrimage to Montaigu,‡ and on the 21st October 1797 the procession started as usual. No sooner were they on their way than a troop of French

* Cf. Vie de M. J. J. H. Nerinckx, appended to *La Chapelle Française à Londres.*

† At Montaigu is a miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin.

‡ The Abbé Carron was previous to his exile Vicaire of St. Germain, at Rennes. At Rennes he was known as Abbé Thérèse, in allusion to St. Theresa.

republicans made up to them, and, not content with cruelly maltreating them, carried off several inhabitants of the village as prisoners. Amongst these was Jean Nerinckx. He was thrown into the prison of Treurenberg, near St. Gudule, at Brussels. In the first fortnight of November, he, with several clergy confined in the same place, received orders to be ready to leave at midnight for Rochefort. There they were thrown into the prison of St. Maurice. Here Nerinckx and his companions in misfortune remained till the 11th March 1797, when they were put on board the Charente. In April they were transferred to the Decade, where they met with inhuman treatment from Villeneau, the captain. On the 6th June, they disembarked at Cayenne, and a month later were taken to Conomana. Here they suffered much from the insalubrity of the climate and from insufficient food. In six weeks nearly half of them were dead. At the close of 1798, the survivors were removed to Sinamary, where they experienced better treatment. From Sinamary, with the aid of a Dutch merchant, a priest managed to make his escape. M. Nerinckx made the acquaintance of the merchant, who obtained for him the services of an old soldier, Mathurin Beltier, who engaged to put M. Nerinckx, with his companions Debay, Dumon, and Flotteau, ashore at the Dutch colony of Surinam, or the English at Berbis. They had a stormy passage,

and were pursued by the governor of Sinamary on their way to Surinam, at which place, however, they arrived in safety, and were kindly received by the governor, M. Bottenburg, a Fleming. He arranged for their passage on board a frigate that brought them to Liverpool on the 21st August 1799. The exiles intended to return to their native country, but M. Nerinckx was prevailed upon by the Abbé Carron to remain in London. In London he was able to pursue his studies; for the presence of distinguished teachers of the University and the Sorbonne made it a favourable, at the moment the only favourable, place for the pursuit of such an object. It was three years after his arrival at Liverpool that M. Nerinckx was ordained priest. He displayed the utmost activity in the ordinary duties of his calling, and was a frequent visitor of the Middlesex Hospital, and a member of the committee for the relief of the poorer emigrants. In 1808 the chapel in Clarendon-square was opened, and was for six years the scene of the labours of M. Carron and M. Nerinckx. At the end of that time M. Carron returned to his native country, and established a school in Paris similar to that of which he had been the founder in England. He died May 15, 1821.* M. Nerinckx and his sister

* For the intimacy between the Abbé Carron and Lamennais see an article on the latter by the Baron d'Eckstein in the *Rambler* for May 1859.

opened a school at Somers-town for primary education. Mgr. de Chabons, Bishop of Amiens, advised Madame d'Houet, who had established the order of the Faithful Companions of Jesus in France, to come to London with a recommendation to M. Nerinckx. She did so—finding her way to Somers-town with some difficulty—and M. Nerinckx and his sister gave up their school to her charge. M. Nerinckx continued until his death to direct the mission of Somers-town. He died in his seventy-ninth year. In the church of St. Aloysius are monuments to the Abbé Carron, M. Nerinckx, and the Bishop of St. Pol. The busts of the abbé and the bishop are said to be faithful likenesses.

Old St. Pancras, or St. Pancras-in-the-Fields, circa 1180, is a church that in its unmutilated form was an object of interest no less to the artist than to the antiquary. It has, however, had the misfortune to be restored in a bastard Romanesque, and it is hard to decipher the ancient features. Mr. Gough was the architect to whom the repairs are due. The western tower, originally capped by a shingled spire, has been brought down to the level of the nave. The nave and chancel have been extended laterally, and a tower erected to the south. The walls are pierced by a number of loopholes, in the style of country gaols. The tie-beams of the interior seem to be original. That St. Pancras was of first-pointed

work appears from an engraving of the early part of the seventeenth century. In the middle of the last century we find, from Chatelaine's view, that the shingled spire had given way to an uncouth bell-shaped dome.

J. T. Smith says he remembered going with his father and his pupils to sketch at old St. Pancras in 1777, and that at that time Whitfield's Chapel in Tottenham-court-road, Montague House (now the British Museum), Bedford House, and Baltimore House in Russell-square were in full view of the churchyard.

On the site of St. Martin's Chapel—between St. Pancras and Montague House, was the 'field of forty foot-steps,' where two brothers fought for a lady who looked on whilst they fought. They perished by each other's hand. This was in the reign of James II., but that the foot-steps remained—it was thought indelible—till the present century proves how unoccupied was this locality. Southey records in his Commonplace Book a visit to the spot. In 1828, the celebrated Scotch preacher, Irving, mentions in a letter 'a green grass park full of milch cows' in the neighbourhood of Somers-town Church; so that the west of St. Pancras was as clear as the south. A little earlier, and there was a fine clump of trees in the churchyard itself, a grass bank on the other of the road and on the site of the Pancras-square lodging-

houses a pond filled by the 'river of Wells,' to which boys came to swim on summer afternoons.

The parish of St. Pancras bore the same name when the Doomsday survey was taken. St. Pancras is said by tradition to be the last church whose bell tolled for mass after the Reformation. This would give St. Pancras a hoar antiquity if there is truth in the other tradition that it is the mother-church of St. Paul's. 'Pancras Church,' says Norden, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, 'standeth all alone, so utterly forsaken, old and weather-beaten, which for the antiquity thereof is thought not to yield to St. Paul's in London. Folks from the hamlet of Kennistoune [Kentish-town] now and then visit it, but not often, having chapels of their owne. When, however, they have a corpse to be interred, they are forced to leave the same within this forsaken church or churchyarde, where no doubt it resteth as secure against the daye of resurrection as if it laie in stately St. Paul's.' Norden mentions a tradition that the 'river of Wells,' that rose at Hampstead and pursued its course by Kentish-town and Pancras, and joined the 'Fleet' at Holborn, 'was once navigable, and that lighters and barges used to go up as far as Pancras Church, and that in digging, anchors have been found within these two hundred years.' The drying up of this source of wealth will account for the decay of the ancient village. Lysons says that the parish of St. Pancras

contains 2700 acres. To the north are Islington, Hornsey, and Finchley; to the west, Hampstead and Marylebone; to the south, St. Giles-in-the-Fields, St. George the Martyr, Queen-square, and St. George's, Bloomsbury, and the parish of St. Andrew's in Holborn. To the east are St. James's, Clerkenwell, Kentish-town, and part of Highgate. Camden-town and Somers-town are hamlets in the parish of St. Pancras. Lysons supposes the parish to have included the prebendal manor of Kentish-town, or Cantelous, a stall in St. Paul's Cathedral.

The churchyard of St. Pancras* was till lately a very favourite place of Catholic interment. Wandering among the tombs we come across the names of Arundel, Howard, Tichbourne, Doughty, and Hornyold.

Some twenty paces to the south of the chancel is the flat tombstone of Obadiah Walker, master of University College, Oxford, in the reign of James II. It bears the inscription 'O. W. Per bonam famam et infamiam. Ob. Jan. 31, A.D. 1699.' In Lord Macaulay's History† the following account is given of his impeachment: 'Obadiah Walker was led in. He behaved with a pusillanimity and disingenuousness which deprived him of all claim to respect or pity.

* Why are the London churchyards not made readily accessible, and planted with trees and shrubs?

† Vol. iii. p. 128 (popular edition).

He professed that he had never changed his religion; that his opinions had always been and still were those of some highly-respectable divines of the Church of England; and that there were points on which he differed from the Papists. In spite of this quibbling, he was pronounced guilty of high treason, and sent to prison.' The facts of his history are these: among those who became Catholics in James's reign was Obadiah Walker. James granted him a dispensation by which he was enabled to hold his offices, yet without taking the oaths or attending the worship of the Establishment. On James's flight Walker found himself in an awkward predicament. It was, however, difficult to prove that he had been himself reconciled, or that he had reconciled others, to the Church of Rome. He was long imprisoned in the Tower, and brought thence before the Court of King's Bench by a writ of *habeas corpus;* but his enemies, who were anxious that he should not get bail, sent a messenger to bring him to the bar of the House of Commons. Here he had recourse to language that he could not, *salva fide*, employ, though Lingard* appears to think that it did not amount to a renunciation of the Catholic creed. He was sent back to the Tower on a charge of high treason and of divers crimes and misdemeanours. Next term, however,

* *History of England*, vol. x. p. 108. Dod throws little light on Walker's life, *Church History*, pp. 454-8.

the Court of King's Bench liberated him on bail. From the anmesty that soon followed Obadiah Walker was excepted. Dr. Radcliffe, the distinguished physician, who had once been his pupil, gave him shelter and an adequate maintenance. The government left him unmolested under Radcliffe's protection.

The monument of Abraham Woodhead, the able controversialist, is next that of Walker, his friend in life. It is a raised monument, with a pyramidal capping. Retiring from Oxford, where he found the obligation of occasional conformity weigh heavy upon his conscience, Woodhead lived in retirement at Hoxton, where he busied himself in education and in the preparation of his works. The inscription on his monument records that 'he chose to be lowly in the house of God, and dwelt in solitude, seeking what was useful, not for himself, but for many.'

To the east of the church are the tombs of several members of Spanish families. Passing to the south we come to the tomb of Charles Walker, author of the pronouncing dictionary and other works, the esteemed friend of Bishop Milner.

About a third of the space enclosed in the cemetery of St. Pancras, now severed from the rest by the Midland railway that so miserably disfigures this venerable place, is the burial-place of the French émigrés. It was assigned them for this purpose in 1792. Here St. Pancras has a tie with the city

that was the home of Christianity before Augustine and Mellitus, before Gregory, before Pancras. The Cardinal of York, the last of the royal house of Stuart, established a daily mass in the church of St. Pancras behind the Vatican, on the place of St. Pancras's martyrdom, for the French exiles buried at old St. Pancras. A prince of England and of the Church, he turned his thoughts constantly to Great Britain, leaving endowments for the education of ecclesiastical students for Scotland, and establishing this mass at St. Pancras for those whose lot it was, as it was his own, to live and die in exile.

Of the bare and now-neglected cemetery of 'Catholic Pancras,' the resting-place of the French émigrés is the barest and most-neglected portion. The loose friable soil has not had consistency enough to give support to the monuments that have everywhere sunk from the perpendicular. Thus exposed to the action of rain, the inscriptions are in some cases completely effaced. In many instances the monuments have altogether disappeared; and looking round the apparently thinly-tenanted ground, it requires quite an effort to recall the number of those who lie buried beneath the soil. Here lie Monsignor de Malide, Bishop of Montpellier; Monsignor Dillon, Archbishop of Narbonne; the Abbé Prince de Broglie; the Count de la Bourdonnaye de Claye; the Seigneur Count de Pont-Carré, President of the Par-

liament of Rouen; Bigod de St. Croix, last Minister of Louis XVI.; and Monsignor de Bethizy, Bishop of Uzés, a see now suppressed, in the archdiocese of Narbonne. Here too were, till their removal to France in 1866, the remains of Jean François de la Marche, Bishop and Count of St. Pol de Léon in Brittany. A native of Quimper, the count-bishop was in his youth an officer in a cavalry regiment, and made a campaign in Italy. He, however, early quitted the service; was ordained priest; and in 1772 was raised to the bishopric of St. Pol. He proved a firm and active ruler; and among other benefits to his people, erected at his own expense the college in his episcopal city, and introduced the cultivation of the potato, a most real benefit to the Breton peasants.* He refused to accept the civil constitution of the clergy, as did the great majority of the French bishops, headed by Raimond de Boisgelin, Archbishop of Aix, and by the Bishop of Clermont. Mgr. de la Marche returned the decree of the assembly suppressing his bishopric unopened. The count-bishop thus became suspected, and a body of gendarmes entered his palace on the 8th January 1791. To their commander's request that the bishop should accompany him, the prelate replied by asking leave to retire to the ad-

* The very different picture presented by MM. Erckmann-Chatrian, in the *Story of a Peasant*, of the line pursued by the clergy in this matter, makes the fact worth mentioning.

joining room, to make his preparations. The time seemed unusually long, and at length the officer opened the door, when to his confusion he found the room empty. The bishop had made his escape by a concealed staircase that opened the way for him to Roscoff, and the sea. Mgr. de la Marche was the first French prelate who took refuge in England. He kept up a communication with the royalist party in his diocese, by means of an agent named Flock. He continued an exile in this country till his death, on the 25th October 1806, a period of fifteen years. He was of eminent service to his countrymen. His funeral sermon was preached at the chapel of the Annunciation, King-street, by the Abbé du Chatelier. It is intended to build in his cathedral, in memory of the count-bishop, the last bishop of St. Pol—now no longer an episcopal see—a monument similar to that of his predecessor, François Visdelou, preacher to Anne of Austria.

Of the two other Breton prelates present in England, one, the Bishop of Tréguier, became vicar-general to Mgr. Douglas, the vicar-apostolic of the London district; the other, Mgr. Urbain de Hercé, Bishop of Dol, returned to France with the ill-starred expedition to Quiberon, and was one of those massacred in the 'Champ des Martyrs' there.

At St. Pancras is buried M. Chaillou, who fell a victim to the pestilence that raged amongst the

French prisoners whom he went to visit at Norman-cross; and M. Gomer, who died from disease contracted in the Middlesex Hospital. St. Pancras has another well-known name, that of the Franciscan Father O'Leary.

Islington, or Isendune, the dune or down of the Isen, a small stream in the parish, was till lately a village in the open fields. The ancient church dedicated to St. Mary has been demolished. There is a print of it in Nelson's History of Islington. It had a nave and chancel with aisles; the nave and chancel of the same height, the aisles extending to the eastern extremity of the chancel. The east window of five lights was third-pointed, with the mullions so arranged in the head as to form a kind of tracery, not very dissimilar to the reticulated tracery of the preceding epoch. The east windows of the aisles were triplets of the late type, under an enclosing arch. The side windows were of two lights each. There was a debased tower at the western extremity of the north aisle, and a vestry of similar character at right angles with the aisle to the east. The tower was so massive that gunpowder was required for its demolition. The original roofs remained till their destruction. There were numerous coats of arms in the windows. There was a first-pointed font, an octagonal bowl resting on a central shaft, and four corner shafts. The whole rested on a square base. In the modern church

some brasses remain; a canopy of the middle of the fifteenth century, under which are now placed figures of a merchant and his wife, some half century later Henry Saville and his wife, 1546.*

Pugin, in his work on the *State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, passed some very severe strictures on the design of Mr. Scole's Catholic church of St. John the Evangelist at Islington; 'This church, so far from exhibiting the adoption of true Catholic principles, is certainly the most original combination of modern deformity that has been erected for some time past for the sacred purpose of a Catholic church. It has been a fine opportunity thrown away; and the only consolation we can derive from its erection is the hope that its palpable defects, by serving as an additional evidence of the absolute necessity of adhering to ancient Catholic examples in the churches we erect, may induce those in ecclesiastical authority to adopt this system in all cases, and to refuse their sanction to any modern experiments in ecclesiastical architecture. What renders the present case the more deplorable is the fact that an ancient parochial church, dedicated in honour of the blessed Virgin, and in all respects suited to the present site and

* An inscription asked the passer-by 'to remembre that in Cryste we be bretherne; the whych hath commanded every man to prey for other. Thus sayth Robert Andertone and Johan hys wyff, here wrapped in cley, abydyng the mercie of Almyghty God themself Domedey.'

wants of the congregation, formerly existed at Islington, and was demolished only a few years since.'

Pugin gives a drawing of 'the old church of St. Maries Islington restored.' That this drawing represents a building very superior to Mr. Scole's church may be readily admitted. That it is a restoration or reproduction of the old church of Islington may be safely denied. That was a simple low-built village church; this of Pugin's is a lofty and graceful building well adapted for a town. In fact, the only point of real resemblance between the two is that neither has a clerestory, and that each aisle has a separate gable. That this was a point well worthy of reproduction in a town church is certain; both ancient and modern examples would justify an architect in doing so; but that the relative proportions of the nave and side aisles are the same in Pugin's design and in the old church cannot be maintained; and if there is a marked difference here, added to the differences in the tracery, buttresses (there were none in the old building), carving, and the entire character of the tower, Mr. Scole's building must be judged by some other standard than that supplied by Pugin's design.

The parish of Islington consists of six districts or liberties: St. John of Jerusalem, Upper Barnsbury, Lower Barnsbury, Canonbury, the Prebend, and Highbury, or Newington Barrow.

Canonbury Tower is a conspicuous object in Isling-

ton. The manor of Canonbury was in the possession of the Berners family, from whom Barnsbury, or Bernersbury, derives its name. The Berners granted the manor to St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield. At the Dissolution, Henry VIII. granted both Canonbury and Highbury to Cromwell. After his death Anne of Cleves had an annuity of twenty pounds a year from the manor. At Newington-green was an old mansion, said to have been occupied by Henry VIII. The road by Ball's-pond is still known as 'King Henry's walk.' Newington-green was the abode of Henry Algernon Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, who was, before the days of Henry's courtship, the lover of Anne Boleyn. Percy was an attendant of Cardinal Wolsey's. At Wolsey's bidding, Percy wrote a letter to Cromwell in which he pledged himself, upon his soul, that there was no marriage contract between Anne and himself. Percy was constrained into a marriage with Mary Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Anne Boleyn is supposed to have retained her affection for Percy, and to this cause may have been owing the aversion she entertained for the cardinal, whose fall was undoubtedly due to her. Strangely enough, it was Percy who summoned Wolsey from Cawood to undertake his last fatal journey. Again, we find Percy one of Anne's judges. Percy proved unequal to his office. His feelings overcame him. He left the court before

Lord Rochford's arraignment, and died a few months subsequently.

Hornsey, once a pretty secluded village, every trace of whose pristine charms is rapidly disappearing, has still the ancient tower of its church, dedicated to St. Mary. More, however, will visit the churchyard as the burialplace of the poet Rogers than for this dignified specimen of our ancient architecture. It is third-pointed, with a beacon-turret at the north-west angle, and an embattled parapet unbroken by pinnacles. The belfry windows are of two lights transomed, with cinquefoil tracery in the heads. There is a cinquefoil between them and the enclosing arch. The peculiar feature, however, is the stone grille that fills the lower part of the lights. We use the word 'grille' intentionally, as lattice-work of wood or metal has been, we are convinced, imitated here at Hornsey, as at St. Mary Magdalen's, Taunton, and elsewhere in Somersetshire. The resemblance to metal-work is heightened by the finial that rises above and pierces the arch itself, as might be the case with a metal finial terminating a vertical rod in the same position. The grille is formed by a series of quatrefoils enclosing shields.

The tower of Hornsey Church is seen to be admirably fitted for its situation when viewed from the terraced slopes of this picturesque locality. Towers are suited to the foot of hills, spires to their summit.

In the Lake district we see towers only, the mountains there being too elevated to admit of villages in lofty situations, as we remember to have had pointed out to us by a friend in a perambulation of that district. On hills of moderate height spires are preferable to towers. We need not go beyond the present scene for examples, as we have here Charles II.'s 'church visible' at Harrow,* and the spire of that at Highgate, to prove the fact. The tower of Bristol Cathedral would make but a sorry figure in an elevated position; where it actually stands it is felt to be noble and appropriate.

The parish of Hornsey contains Muswell-hill, Crouch (or Cross) End, Stroud-green, and the greater part of Highgate. The meaning of the name in its ancient form of Haringe is supposed to mean the meadow of hares. The manor of Hornsey has belonged from time immemorial to the Bishops of London. On the manor was a palace at Lodge-hill, 'a hill or fort in Hornsey Park, which is called Lodge-hill; for that thereon, sometime, stood a lodge,

* In 1524, alarmed by the predictions of astrologers, who had foretold the year previous a formidable flood to happen on the 1st of February, the prior and monks of St. Bartholomew retired to Harrow, where they entrenched themselves on the top of the hill, in expectation of the catastrophe. Nothing, however, happened, and the astrologers explained that there was an error in their calculations; and that they now foresaw that the dreaded event would take place on the same day in the following century.

when the park was replenished with deer; but it seemeth by the foundations that it was rather a castle than a lodge, for the hill is at this day' (the time of Queen Elizabeth, in which Norden wrote) 'trenched with two deep ditches, now old and overgrown with bushes. The rubble thereof, as brick, tile, and Cornish slate, are in heaps yet to be seen, which ruins are of great antiquity, as may appear by the oaks at this day standing, above a hundred years in growth, upon the very foundations of the building.'

In the reign of Henry VI. the Duchess of Gloucester was tried for using sorcery to destroy the king's life. Two of her accomplices were Roger Bolingbroke, an astrologer, the duke's chaplain, and Thomas Southwell, a canon of Stephen's. Bolingbroke was accused of employing necromancy, and Southwell of having said masses in the lodge of Hornsey Park over the instruments to be employed in the monarch's destruction. Bolingbroke was arrested, and exhibited on a platform in St. Paul's-churchyard in a robe in which he was said to practise his art, with a sword in his right hand and a sceptre in his left, seated on a chair, to the corners of which were attached four swords with copper images at their points. With Bolingbroke and Southwell were arrested Hum, a priest, and Margery Jourdemain, the witch of Eye. The Archbishop of Canterbury examined the duchess in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. The charges

against her were that she had employed love-philters to gain the affections of her husband, whose mistress, previous to her marriage, she had been, and that she had obtained from Bolingbroke and Southwell a wax figure so contrived that, as it melted before the fire, the king's strength and life should melt away. On such charges as these the duchess was condemned to walk thrice bareheaded, and with a lighted taper in her hand, to St. Paul's through the streets of London. She then passed into the custody of Sir John Stanley in the Isle of Man, for life. Bolingbroke was hung, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn; Southwell died in prison; whilst Hum received the royal pardon. Margery Jourdemain was burned as a witch in Smithfield.

It was at Hornsey Park that the Lord Mayor and corporation, dressed in scarlet, and followed by five hundred citizens clad in violet, met the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., and his unfortunate nephew, King Edward V., May 4, 1483. The duke rode before his nephew with his cap in his hand, and pointed out to the people the king, who followed in a mantle of purple velvet. Lord Grey, Sir Richard Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawse bad been already executed at Pontefract. When London was reached, Lord Rivers and soon after Lord Hastings also fell victims.

Henry VII. was met on his return from a suc-

cessful war with Scotland by the London citizens at Hornsey Park.

On the hill between Hornsey and Finchley* was a chapel with a statue of our Lady, 'whereunto was continual resort in the way of pilgrimage.' The chapel derived its repute from a cure wrought on a king of Scotland by the water of the Mousewell (Muswell), by which subsequently the shrine was reared. The water still flows, but the healing virtue has departed—a proof, as has been observed, that the cure was not the result of a merely 'natural' cause.

The Bishop of London had extensive woods, extending from Hampstead-heath to Finchley and Hornsey. At Highgate was a hermitage, supposed by Norden to have stood on the site of Chomley school. In 1386, Bishop Braybrook gave William Lichfield, a poor hermit, the office of keeping the chapel of St. Michael at Highgate, and the house annexed to the chapel, 'hitherto accustomed to be kept by other poor hermits.' William Lichfield, according to Norden, carried gravel from the top of the hill, and raised the road at the Holloway, which had become impassable.

Immediately above Holloway was the lazar-house, or hospital for lepers, of St. Anthony.† King Edward

* The Church of Finchley is late third pointed, as is that at Hendon. Both are dedicated to St. Mary. At Hendon is a Romanesque font.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 766.

IV. gave William Pole, yeoman of the Crown, a leper, land on which to build the hospital, in 1473. The hospital became a poorhouse after the Reformation.

At the rise of Highgate-hill Sir Richard Whittington—of whom there has been frequent mention in these pages—sat and listened to Bow bells, that said, or seemed to say, 'Turn again, Whittington—thrice Lord Mayor of London.' Whittington Stone is supposed to have been the base of an ancient cross. The tale of Whittington is told of many persons, and in many languages. Still we may address to ourselves the query of the citizen in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*,* who says to the prologue, 'Why could you not be contented, as well as others, with the legend of Whittington?' for if we reject the cat and other romantic concomitants of the story of Whittington, the main facts of his history are simply articles of historic faith. Whittington was thrice Lord Mayor of London. Towards the expenses of Edward III.'s French campaign he contributed 10,000*l.* He was knighted in the fifty-second year of the same reign, and became Lord Mayor in the place of Adam Staple, who would not raise 4000*l.*, the City poll-tax, for the king. In 1377 he became a member of parliament. At this date, according to Stowe, he was a dealer in wool, leather, and pearls. He wedded the daughter of his

* Cit. Timbs' *Romance of London*, vol. i. p. 17.

old master, Fitzwarren. In 1397 he was mayor. He conducted Richard II. to the Tower, and was present at the coronation of Henry IV. In his third mayoralty he entertained Henry V. and his queen at Guildhall. 'At this entertainment the king particularly praised the fire, which was made of choice woods, mixed with mace, cloves, and all other spices; on which Sir Richard said he would endeavour to make one still more agreeable to his majesty, and immediately tore and threw into the fire the king's bond for 10,000 marks due to the Company of Mercers, 12,500 to the Chamber of London, 12,000 to the Grocers; to the Staplers, Goldsmiths, Haberdashers, Vintners, Brewers, and Bakers, 3000 marks each. "All these," said Sir Richard, "with divers others, lent for the payment of your soldiers in France, I have taken in and discharged, to the amount of 60,000*l.* sterling. Can your majesty desire to see such another sight?" The king and nobles were struck dumb with surprise.' No wonder! Similar tales are told of Count Fugger of Augsburg and George Heriot of Edinburgh.*

* The 'Jingling Geordie' of the *Fortunes of Nigel.* Whittington has a London rival in John Filpot, Mayor, who captured John Mercer, a sea-rover; equipped at his own expense hired ships to assist Thomas Woodstock and others; and released the armour the soldiers had pawned for their battles more than a thousand times. Filpot often lent the King great sums of money, and died in 1384. 'After that he had assured lands to the City for the relief of thirteen poor people for ever.'

The Mercers' Company, having in their hands 6000*l.* from Sir Richard Whittington's estate, began in 1822 the erection of almshouses for twenty-four single women, in the Archway-road, opposite Whittington Stone. Whatever may be thought of the architecture of the building, it forms a pleasing and appropriate memorial to a man of abounding charity. In Foote's comedy, the *Nabob*, Sir Matthew Mite addresses the Society of Antiquaries: 'The point I mean to clear up is an error crept into the life of that illustrious magistrate, the great Whittington, and his no less eminent cat; and in this disquisition four material points are in question—1st. Did Whittington ever exist? 2d. Was Whittington Lord Mayor of London? 3d. Was he really possessed of a cat? 4th. Was that cat the source of his wealth? That Whittington lived, no doubt can be made; that he was Lord Mayor of London is equally true; but as to his cat, gentlemen, is the Gordian knot to untie. And here, gentlemen, be it permitted me to define what a cat is. A cat is a domestic, whiskered four-footed animal, whose employment is the catching of mice; but let puss have been ever so subtle, let puss have been ever so successful, to what could puss's captures amount? No tanner can curry the skin of a mouse, no family make a meal of the meat; consequently, no cat could give Whittington his wealth. From whence, then, does this error proceed? Be

that my care to point out. The commerce this worthy merchant carried was chiefly confined to our coasts; for this purpose he constructed a vessel, which, for its agility and lightness, he aptly christened a cat. Nay, to this our day, gentlemen, all our coals from Newcastle are imported in nothing but cats. From thence, it appears, that it was not the whiskered four-footed mouse-killing cat that was the source of the magistrate's wealth, but the coasting, sailing, coal-carrying cat: that, gentlemen, was Whittington's cat.'

The church of Hampstead, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, was a chapel-of-ease to Hendon. It had a nave, chancel, and north aisle extending to the extremity of the chancel. The east window of the chancel was of two lights, of the north aisle of three, with a square head. The earliest notice of it is of the latter half of the fifteenth century.

The chapel of St. Mary, Holly-place, Hampstead, was erected under the auspices of the Abbé J. J. Morel, a priest of the diocese of Rouen, one of the earliest French émigrés.

The chapel was consecrated in 1815, by Mgr. Poynter, vicar-apostolic of the London district. It was in a house distinguished by a bay-window, at the eastern extremity of Church-row, that mass was first said in Hampstead. In March 1852 the erection of a monument to the memory of the Abbé Morel

was determined upon. Mr. Wardell was the designer. It stands on the left side of the entrance to the chapel.

By Hampstead-road and Tottenham-court-road we reach the site of St. Giles's hospital for lepers,* founded by Matilda, Queen of Henry I., in 1101. In Edward III.'s time the hospital was attached as a cell to Burton St. Lazar in Leicestershire.

To the north of the hospital was a place for executions. Here Babington and his fellow conspirators were executed in Queen Elizabeth's time. Ballard was the first executed; Babington followed. Chideock Tichbourne made the following address to the people: 'Countrymen, and my dear friends, you expect I should speak something; I am a bad orator, and my text is worse. It were in vain to enter into the discourse of the whole matter for which I am brought hither, for that it hath been revealed before. Let me be a warning to all young gentlemen, especially *generosis adolescentulis*. I had a friend, and a dear friend, of whom I made no small account, whose friendship hath brought me to this; he told me the whole matter, I cannot deny, as they had laid it down to be done; but I always thought it impious,

* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vi. 635. Stow says that the lord mayor, aldermen, and other worthy citizens used on the 18th September to visit the fountains from which the various conduits were supplied; hunting a hare before and a fox after dinner, in St. Giles-in-the-Fields.

and denied to be a dealer in it; but the regard of my friend caused me to be a man in whom the old proverb was verified: I was silent, and so consented. Before this thing chanced, we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went report in the Strand, Fleet-street, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Tichbourne? No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for; and God knows what less in my head than matters of State. Now give me leave to declare the miseries I sustained after I was acquainted with the action, wherein I may justly compare my estate to that of Adam's, who could not abstain one thing forbidden to enjoy all other things the world could afford; the terror of conscience awaited me. After I considered the dangers wherein I was fallen, I went to Sir John Peters in Essex, and appointed my horses to meet me at London, intending to go down into the country. I came to London, and then heard that all was bewrayed, whereupon, like Adam, we fled into the woods to hide ourselves. My dear countrymen, my sorrows may be your joy, yet mix your smiles with tears, and pity my case; I am descended from a house, from two hundred years before the Conquest, never stained till this my misfortune. I have a wife and one child—my wife Agnes, my dear wife, and there's my grief—and six sisters left in my hand.

My poor servants, I know, their master being taken, were dispersed; for all which I do most heartily grieve. I expected some favour, though I deserved nothing less, that the remainder of my years might, in some sort, have recompensed my former guilt; which seeing I have missed, let me now meditate on the joys I hope to enjoy.'*

In St. Giles's churchyard was buried Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, executed at Tyburn, in 1681, as a chief conspirator in the pretended Irish plot. The proceedings at the trial were a strange mockery of justice. The materials for the archbishop's defence did not arrive in England until three days after his condemnation. A man was accused of raising funds for the maintenance of an army who was never able to get so much as seventy pounds a year for his own. It was from Newgate that the archbishop was taken to Tyburn. His burial at St. Giles's was at his own request. Four years later his body, found incorrupt, was removed, and buried by his friend, the Benedictine Abbot Corker, at Landsprung in Germany.

On the 18th May 1628 the abbey of Cismar was surrendered by the German Benedictine congregation to the English Benedictine fathers. Dobran in

* Tichbourne's letter to his wife, and the verses he wrote in the Tower, will be found in Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, pp. 21-42.

Mecklenburg, Scharnabeck in Luxemburg, Weine in Brunswick, and Landsprung* in Hildesheim, were ceded on the 12th of March following. At the ninth chapter, held at Douay, it was decided that, after the president, the first place should be held by the Abbot of Landsprung. The English Fathers built a spacious church, and dedicated it on May 25, 1691, ten years, that is, after the execution of the Archbishop of Armagh.

Abbot Corker had been tried for the Popish plot. He afterwards represented the Elector of Cologne at the court of James II., where he and six monks in attendance upon him wore the habit of the order. Corker built a convent at Clerkenwell, destined to a very brief existence, as it was destroyed by the mob at the Revolution. Returning to the Continent, Corker became in succession Abbot of Cismar and of Landsprung. To the latter place he removed, as has been said, the body of the martyred Plunket. Corker resigned his abbacy in 1699, and died at Paddington in 1715.

St. Giles's is interestingly connected with the rising of that year; for in the churchyard rested, for a short time, the body of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, beheaded on Tower-hill, February 24, 1716. The night previous to his execution, the earl sent for Mr. Roome, an undertaker, and expressed

* The late Bishop Baines was brought up at Landsprung.

his desire that a plate should be placed upon his coffin, with an inscription to the effect that he died for his lawful sovereign. This the undertaker was unwilling to do, and the earl dismissed him. There was thus no hearse at the execution, and the head was taken up by one of the earl's servants, who wrapped it in a handkerchief, whilst the body was covered with a black cloth, and conveyed to the Tower. The remains were interred at St. Giles's, but subsequently removed to the family burial-place at Dilston in Northumberland. The procession removed by night only to avoid attracting attention, the religious rites being performed in the Catholic chapels that lay along the route by day. One of these was the chapel at Dagnam Park, near Romford in Essex, where Lady Derwentwater had resided during her lord's imprisonment.

At Ingatestone, in the same county, an old woman long lived in an almshouse, founded by Lord Petre's family, who had heard from her mother that she had helped to sew on the head of Lord Derwentwater.

At Thorndon, Lord Petre's seat, there is an oaken closet containing the dress the unfortunate nobleman wore at his execution. The neck of the shirt is shorn off by the axe. A piece of the black serge that covered the block is stiff with blood, and also marked by the axe.

When the mansion-house at Dilston was demolished, few were willing to take part in the work; for it was believed that the spouts had run with blood, and that the corn from the mill was ensanguined on the day of the earl's execution. The Aurora Borealis flashed on the fatal night with such unwonted brilliancy, that the country people near Hexham know that meteor as 'Lord Derwentwater's lights.'

> 'Albeit that here in London town
> It is my fate to die,
> O carry me to Northumberland
> In my father's grave to lie.
> There chaunt my solemn requiem
> In Hexham's holy towers;
> And let six maids of fair Tynedale
> Scatter my grave with flowers.'

The chapel of St. Anselm and St. Cecilia on the west side of Lincoln's Inn-fields is that of the Sardinian embassy. This was one of the chapels attacked by the mob at the Revolution. In the riots of 1780 the chapel was again assailed. The mob forced their way in and gutted it; the minister succeeded in saving two chalices, but lost the silver lamps and other property of the chapel. The benches were thrown into the street and served as fuel for a bonfire, from which brands were carried to set fire to the chapel. The guards, however, arrived, and the fire was extinguished. The following Wednesday, the mob staved-in the casks and set on fire the premises

of Mr. Langdale, a rich Catholic distiller in Holborn. Barnard's-inn was set on fire at the same time.

In *Dolman's Magazine* (vol. v. p. 81), there is the following account of Bishop Challoner's escape: 'His name was particularly obnoxious to the mob. Many had sworn to roast him alive. Castle-street, Holborn, where his humble dwelling was situated, swarmed that night with rioters who were vainly seeking for his house. The number had been accurately supplied them, but . . . they failed to discern it. We may faintly guess the horrors endured by this aged prelate when the frequent shouts for the popish bishop to come forth assailed his ears. He remained, during that long and agonising interval, upon his knees, praying with his accustomed fervour to his Heavenly Master to give him that fortitude and resignation which might sustain him in his threatened martyrdom.'

Bishop Challoner found refuge at Finchley at the house of Mr. Thomas Mawhood. When urged to remove further from the metropolis, he answered: 'The shepherd should not abandon his flock in the hour of its peril. I will stay with my old friend, and, through the blessing of Heaven, no harm shall befall him or his on my account.'

Ninth Walk.

EAST LONDON.

> 'Faith, how many churches do you mean to build
> Before you die? Six bells in every steeple,
> And let them all go to the city tune?'
>
> Shirley's *Constant Maid*, act ii. sc. 2.

STEPNEY is the name of a large parish to the east of London. Lysons says: 'The ancient name of this place was Stebenhede, Stebenhythe, or Stebenhethe. The termination is a well-known Saxon word, signifying a haven or wharf. I know not how to complete the etymology, unless we suppose it to have been the timber wharf, from steb (*stipes*), the trunk of a tree. Some have taken Stiben or Steben for a corruption of Steven.'

In 1299, a parliament was held at Stepney, in the house of Henry Walleis, Mayor of London, when the charter of liberties was confirmed.

The parish of Stepney comprised the hamlets, now separate parishes, of Spitalfields, Bethnal-green, Whitechapel, Shadwell, Poplar, and Limehouse.

The *Church of Stepney*, dedicated to St. Dunstan,

was built at various times. Most of the present building dates from the reërection in 1440. There is a nave of five bays with side aisles, a west tower, a chancel with chancel aisles, which, however, stop short of the east end. The east window of the chancel has five lights, that to the south four. There is a priest's doorway, with a square head, beneath the southern window. There are in the sacrarium triple sedilia. The easternmost seat is higher than the other two. From the north chancel aisle a squint, or hagioscope, gives a view of the altar. There is no chancel arch. The north chancel aisle has middle-pointed windows of two lights. The windows of the south chancel aisle are third-pointed, of three lights to the south, whilst the eastern window has four lights. The rood-door is seen over one of the piers to the north of the nave. There is a square rood-turret in the south aisle, marking externally the separation between the aisle of the chancel and that of the nave. The piers throughout are octagonal, with depressed arches. The clerestory, of no great elevation, has two-light windows. There is an east window over the chancel arch, as at Cirencester. The aisles have square-headed doorways. The porches have been recently rebuilt. By the doorway in the north aisle is a holy-water stoup. The font is square, both without and within, unlike that at Willesden, which, square without, is circular internally. The roof of the nave is

thus described by a careful writer:* 'The construction consists of a series of curved braces set close together, and tied by a longitudinal beam immediately under the collar; at each intersection of this beam with a brace is a carved boss.' The tower is plain, with buttresses set diagonally. They do not rise to the belfry stage.

Among the vicars of Stepney were Fox, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Dean Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School; and Pace, the friend of More, Erasmus, and Pole.

Fox, a native of Grantham in Lincolnshire, was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford. He was compelled by the plague to leave his university, and became a member of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, of which we afterwards find him master. Travelling abroad he won the friendship of Henry Earl of Richmond, subsequently King Henry VII. On that monarch's accession to the throne, Fox became, first, Bishop of Exeter, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, whence he was raised to the See Durham, and finally to that of Winchester. He was one of the king's executors and a sponsor to his son, Henry VIII. In 1515 Fox retired from court, and devoted his time and care to noble and charitable undertakings. He improved his palace at Winchester, adorned his cathedral, endowed free

* Sperling's *Church Walks in Middlesex*, p. 134.

schools at Taunton and Grantham, and founded Corpus Christi College in the University of Oxford. Here Fox appointed public readers in the Greek and Latin languages, and, it is believed, threw their lectures open to the whole university. It was Fox's original intention to make his Oxford college a seminary for St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester, in the way in which Durham, now Trinity, College was a feeder of the great Benedictine monastery of Durham. Fox was dissuaded from his purpose by Bishop Oldham of Exeter, and his college obtained a world-wide reputation. Fox, who had been blind for some years previously, died in 1528.

Dean Colet was a conspicuous figure in the age immediately preceding the Reformation. His father had acquired great wealth in trade. His mother survived twenty of her children. The dean inherited the riches of the family. He studied seven years at Oxford and then visited France, where he formed the acquaintance of Budæus. From France he went to Italy, where he met Linacre, Grocyn, and Lilly, his countrymen, equally devoted with himself to the pursuit of learning, especially of the Greek language and literature, with which Colet was as yet unacquainted. When thirty years of age, Colet returned to England, where he struck into a new path. He retired to Oxford, where he devoted himself to sacred literature. In a letter to Erasmus he bewails his ignorance of

Greek—Erasmus had recently published his edition of the New Testament. Colet gave public lectures on St. Paul's Epistles, and met with some encouragement. He also encountered opposition. As a preacher he fearlessly denounced the vices of the clergy. As the founder of St. Paul's School, Colet will always be held in remembrance. Lilly was the head-master appointed by Colet. He was well fitted for the task by a five-years' residence at Rhodes, where he encountered the refugees who had fled thither after the fall of Constantinople.

Pace withdrew to Stepney, where he died in 1582. He was educated at Padua and Oxford. He became Latin secretary to Cardinal Bainbridge; Dean of Exeter and of St. Paul's; and Secretary of State. He wrote against the royal divorce and resigned his offices.

Campeius. My lord of York, was not one Doctor Pace
In this man's place [Gardiner's] before him?
Wolsey. Yes, he was.
Campeius. Was he not held a learned man?
Wolsey. Yes, surely.
Campeius. Believe me, there's an ill opinion spread then
Even of yourself, Lord Cardinal.
Wolsey. How! of me?
Campeius. They will not stick to say you envied him;
And fearing he would rise he was so virtuous,
Kept him a foreign man still, which so grieved him
That he ran mad, and died.

In the chancel of Stepney Church is buried Henry,

the infant son of Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, and his wife Margaret Douglas, who, as the inscription on her tomb in Westminster Abbey relates, had as her great-grandfather, Edward IV.; her grandfather, Henry VII.; her uncle, Henry VIII.; her cousin-german, Edward VI.; her brother, James V. of Scotland; her son, Henry I. of Scotland; her grandson, James VI. of Scotland and I. of England; her mother, Margaret Queen of Scots; her aunt, Mary Queen of France; her cousins-german, Mary and Elizabeth, Queens of England; her niece and daughter-in-law, Mary Queen of Scots, being the mother of Lord Henry Darnley. After this it is possible to conceive that her infant son succumbed to the weight of his pedigree!

The altar-tomb in the chancel is that of Henry Colet, father of the dean.* In a letter from More to Colet, his director, More entreats the return of the latter to town, supplying him with the inducement of country retirement at Stepney.

Stratford-le-Bow was formerly a hamlet of Stepney. Here was a ford over the Lea,† and a Bow, or arched bridge, the first of the kind, built by Matilda, wife of Henry I. When St. Erconwald

* He was a great benefactor of St. Antholin's. A window on the north of that church had portraits 'of him, his wife, ten sons, and ten daughters.' Stow's *Survey* (Strype), bk. iii. p. 16.

† The Lea forms the boundary between Middlesex and Essex.

died at the abbey of Barking, the funeral procession was stopped at the Stratford ferry by a flood. It is related that a way was miraculously opened for its passage. The difficulties and at times danger of the passage were, however, felt so severely by other passengers, and amongst others by Queen Maud herself, that that princess resolved on the erection of the bridge. It was built at her sole charge, and the further gift was added of a mill and manors to the abbess of Barking for the repair of the bridge and the causeway leading to it. On the bridge was a chapel, as at London-bridge, York, Rotherham, Wakefield, and elsewhere.*

At Stratford was a convent of Black or Benedictine nuns,† founded by William, Bishop of London, some twenty years after the Conquest. It will be remembered that the prioress in Chaucer, unknowing in the French of Paris, spoke that language 'after the scole of Stratford atte Bow.'

Near Stratford was the residence of Sir John Shaa, Knight. An inventory of the furniture of the house and domestic chapel is still extant.

Stratford Church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, stands in the middle of the high-road—a circumstance to which is, no doubt, due the extreme nar-

* There are some remains of the chapel that stood at the east end of the old bridge at Rochester.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), iv. 119.

rowness of the aisles. There is a nave with aisles, a chancel and west tower. The east window has five lights. The easternmost windows to both north and south of the chancel form sedilia. There is a priest's door in the usual position, to the south of the chancel. There is no division between the nave and the chancel, as was also the case in the old church at Islington. The roof is of wood, divided into compartments by ribs with bosses. The nave roof 'is what is technically called a truss roof, and consists of a series of curved braces set close together, and tied together under the collars. The pitch is very good; it is tiled externally.'

In 1815, the Catholic chapel of Stratford was erected by the efforts of the Abbé Chevrallais, a French émigré priest, who came hither with several of his brethren of the order of St. Vincent de Paul. He opened two schools, one for boys, the other for girls. He erected at the same time a presbytery adjoining the church.

We have wandered so far east, that we may seem to have come

> 'From the holy land
> Of blessed Walsingham.'

The manor of Poplar was bestowed by a deed of gift, dated 1376, by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, upon the abbey of St. Mary of Graces, near the Tower of London.

At Bromley a convent of Benedictine nuns was established in the reign of William the Conqueror. Fragments of the chapel are supposed to have been retained in the walls of the old parish church, demolished some thirty years back. It was Romanesque, and consisted of nave and chancel only, as did the old St. Pancras. There was a bell-cot at the west end. From the old church there has been preserved in the modern building an octagonal font of late-pointed date, incised with twelve dedication crosses; ten of them on the bowl, the others on the stem.

The Knights Templars held the manor of Hackney. It passed from their hands, on the suppression of the order, into those of the Knights of St. John. We find the name 'Temple Mills' in Hackney marshes. The priory of the Knights of St. John remained till recently in Well-street. In 1352, the prior of St. John disposed of the mansion, then known as Beaulieu, to John Blanch and Nicolas Shordych. From the last it was called Shoreditch-place. This name we find in Shore-place and Shore-road.

The early church of Hackney, dedicated to St. Augustine, whose rule the Hospitallers followed, was replaced by a larger structure early in the sixteenth century. The tower of this church still stands, as the bells were found to be too heavy for the modern, the third, church of Hackney.

Rose Herbert, one of the nuns of Godstow, died near Hackney, in the thirty-fourth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, at the age of ninety-six. For the last fifteen years of her life she was in great poverty, though she had been acquainted with the queen's mother, with Cromwell, and with Cranmer. The last, when a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, was a correspondent of Catherine Bulkely, the last abbess of Godstow. To her he wrote: 'I send you by Stephen Whyte forty shillings, as it be Christmas-time, for the comfort of the sickly children of the poor. I beg that my soul's health be remembered in your prayers, and those of the little innocent children. I recommend you to the care and protection of the Holy Virgin Mother.—T. C.' Again: 'Stephen Whyte hath told me that you lately gathered around you a number of wild peasant maids, and did make them a most goodly discourse on the health of their souls; and you sheweth to them how goodly a thing it be for them to go oftentimes to confession. I am mighty glad of your discourse. When the serpent cometh in the shape of man to whisper the thought of a bad action, the maid that goeth to a clean honest confession is the one that cannot be led astray; and so Satan is thereby disappointed. And the man who is dishonest becomes changed; and the spirit of revenge will not any longer have a dwelling in his

heart. Confession be a most goodly thing for the soul's health and rest.'*

Twenty-one abbesses presided over the convent of Godstow, from Edith the foundress—who was led thither by a light from heaven that rested on the spot where the foundation of the holy house was to be laid—to Catherine Bulkely, the last abbess, inclusive. Even Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, says regretfully: 'Though the visitors interceded earnestly for one nunnery in Oxfordshire, Godstow, where there was great strictness of life, and to which most of the young gentlewomen of the country were sent to be bred, so that the gentry of the country desired the king would spare the house, yet all was ineffectual.'

The abbess wrote to Cromwell complaining of Dr. London, one of the visitors, as follows: 'May it please your honour, with my most humble duty, to be advertised, that when it hath pleased your lordship to be the very medium to the king's majesty for my preferment, most unworthy to be the abbess of this, the king's monastery, of Godstow; in which office I trust I have done the best in my power for the maintenance of God's true honour, with all truth and obedience to the king's majesty; and was never moved nor desired by any creature in

* Quoted in *English Monastic Houses, their Accusers and Defenders.*

the king's behalf, or in your lordship's name, to surrender and give up the houses; nor was ever minded, nor intended to do so, otherwise than at the king's gracious commandment, or yours. To the which I do and have ever done, and will submit myself most humbly and obediently. And I trust to God that I have never offended God's laws, neither the king's, whereby this poor monastery ought to be suppressed. And notwithstanding this, my good lord, that Dr. London, who (as is well known to your lordship) was against my promotion, and hath ever since borne me great malice and grudge, like my mortal enemy, has come suddenly to me, with a great rout [accompanying him], and here threatens me and my sisters, saying that he has the king's commission to suppress this house, in spite of my teeth. And when he saw that I was content that he should do all things according to his commission, and showed him plainly that I would never surrender to his hands, as he was my ancient enemy, now he begins to entreat me, and to inveigle my sisters, one by one, otherwise than ever I heard that the king's subjects have been handled; and here tarries and continues, to my great cost and charges, and will not take my answer that I will not surrender till I know the king's gracious commandment, or your good lordship's. Therefore I do most humbly beseech you to continue, my good lord, as you have ever been; and to direct your

honourable letters to remove him hence. And whensoever the king's gracious commandment, or yours, shall come to me, you shall find me most ready and obedient to follow the same. And notwithstanding that Dr. London, like an untrue man, hath informed your lordship that I am a spoiler and a waster, your good lordship shall know that the contrary is true, for I have not alienated one halfpence worth of the goods of this monastery, movable or immovable, but have rather increased the same; nor ever made lease of any farm or piece of ground belonging to this house, without their being always set under the convent seal for the wealth of the house. And, therefore, my true trust is, that I shall find the king a gracious lord unto me, as he is to all his other subjects, seeing I have not offended, and am and will be most obedient to his most gracious commandment at all times, with the grace of All-mighty Jesus, Who ever preserve you in honour long to endure to his pleasure. Amen.

'Godstow, the fifth day of November,

'Your most obliged bedeswoman,

'KATHERINE BULKELEY, *Abbess there.*'

Dr. John London, Dean of Wallingford, is accused of having violated nuns at Godstow. The accusation is probably false. He is known, however, to have been discovered at a later date to have formed

an incestuous connection, and to have performed open penance. More, he was convicted of perjury, and suffered the punishment of a charivari, riding with his face to the horse's tail, at Ockingham and Windsor.*

There is much that is of interest in the history of Godstow besides its connection with Rosamond Clifford. Mary Wolsey, the daughter of the cardinal by his early marriage with Blanche Fitzherbert, was educated at Godstow, and died there in her sixteenth year. To Godstow Cromwell sent Matilda Lee, the adopted child of one of his early friends, for her education. She became the trusty 'Popish domestic' of Queen Elizabeth. Teresa Allen, a nun noted for her austerity in the Godstow community, was a near relation of Poynet, who became Protestant Bishop of Winchester. Miles Coverdale had relations in Godstow to whose virtues he bears testimony.

At Godstow the milk of three cows was daily distributed to the poor. Bread and meat in large quantities were given to the poor twice a week. These donations were limited during Lent, when meat and soup were given to the sick and children only. Two nuns composed 'herbal draughts' and medicines. One of the community gathered flowers in spring and summer, and made crosses for the sick

* *Home and Foreign Review*, vol. iv. p. 182. Art. 'The Dissolution of the English Monasteries.'

and dying. Persons who had led a bad life were found, through the efficacy of these holy symbols, to be, on their 'deathbed, filled with repentance.' The history of Rosamond, who, it will be remembered, died a penitent at Godstow, may have turned the attention of the sisterhood to the care of the fallen. Many peasant girls received—every winter—shoes and warm clothing from the nunnery. Two suits of clothing and ten shillings were given annually to each of 'six peasant brides' approved by the sisterhood. Henri Ambere, a French architect, who visited England early in the reign of Henry VIII., relates of Godstow 'how he saw the poor children and widows relieved, and treated with such kindness that they must have felt as if the sisterhood were their relatives, or kindest friends. He saw no such nuns in his own country.' About the same time as Rose Herbert, another of the Godstow nuns died at St. Albans, in poverty, and paralysed by want of clothing. She was in her eighty-ninth year.

It is said that Bonner's-fields derive their name from Bishop Bonner, who occasionally resided at an old mansion known as Bishop's-hall at Bethnal-green. Bethnal-green shares with Islington a place in our ballad poetry.

Returning by Hoxton and Old-street, we pass the site of the Well of St. Agnes le Clair, mentioned in his *Bartholomew Fair* by Ben Jonson.

We have now completed our circuit, and this spot must be to us

'Longæ finis chartæque viæque.'

From our survey we have omitted many historical facts which it may be considered we ought to have mentioned. The omission has been of set purpose. We have endeavoured to supply illustrations of the life that surrounded our old churches, and of the services maintained in them. We have not regarded these churches simply as the scene of so many historical events. Viewed in this way, their history is only a section of the history of the country at large. On our view, their history is distinct from, though in inseparable union with it. They have their own life, their own history. They were structures set apart for a special purpose, they were the scenes of a worship to which they were fitted—as a glove to the hand. They were formed for worship, not for regal pageantry. It is simply an error to view them through the medium of secular history, without regard to their religious destination. They do not enter into historical 'Annals' at all. That this king visited them, and that did not, is comparatively unimportant. That this bishop or abbot reared so many arches or so many altars, that this mayor or alderman founded such and such a chantry, that this devotion was practised in such a church, that such and such was the material and adornment of the altar;—this is

what is really worth record with regard to our churches, for it is characteristic of and solely concerns them.

Let not these matters be thought trifling. They are not the annals of our country, for they illustrate the daily life and thoughts of king and priest, and noble and citizen. There are other histories of England than the records of battles and sieges, and the chronicle of political events.

We have noticed events of later date than those that form the staple of our illustrations, where the new appeared to us in harmony with the old. Others, no doubt, have a widely different opinion as to the events that are the appropriate sequel to the history of the pre-Reformation church. This depends on the estimate they have formed of the religious change of the sixteenth century. We have considered it radical, and have accordingly considered the history of Catholicism in England in the last three centuries the fitting companion to records of the mediæval Church. Which way the truth lies is a question for life as well as for literature. For us the truth and interest of history lies here, and not there. We have taken our part gravely, if we have not maintained it well.

Appendix.

TRAPPISTS AT LULWORTH.

The history of this establishment was as follows: In 1794 a body of Trappists made a short stay in London. Their intention was to go and found a monastery in Canada. Through Bishop Milner, then the priest at Winchester, their superior was introduced to Mr. Weld, who induced them to settle, instead, at Lulworth. Mr. Weld even thought of restoring the ruined Cistercian Abbey of Bindon, near Wool, and establishing the community there. The abbey is some six miles distant from Lulworth, between which place and Corfe lies the Grange estate, formerly a portion of its possessions. When the castle at Lulworth was erected, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Bindon Abbey contributed no small portion of the materials. Mr. Weld's rebuilding of the structure would have been in more than one sense a restoration, though the destruction of the abbey was not the act of any member of his pious family. Meantime the monks, seven in number, including the superior, were lodged in a house in the park at Lulworth, and in 1796 they were established in the building still known as the monastery, below the northern slope of Flowers Barrow, the eastern part of the range of hill that—broken only by Arishmell Gap—intervenes between Lulworth and the sea. To the west lies the 'Swine's Back' or Bindon Hill, lying in Bindon Liberty. The 'Sea Farm,' near Arishmell Gap, was intrusted to the management of the monks. They did not, however, succeed; and Mr. Weld finally arranged that they should have ten cows with the needful pasturage and fodder, a garden of some size, and three hundred

pounds per annum. Subsequently they rented some twenty acres, and brought the waste ground near their residence into cultivation. A priory up to that date, the Trappist monastery became an abbey in 1813. The highest point in the fortunes of the community was attained immediately before their decline. A storm of opposition arose against the community, greatly aggravated by the act of one of its own members, named Power, who renounced his faith and vows in the parish church of Blandford. Pressure was brought to bear on the Ministry, and Lord Sidmouth decided that none but French novices should be admitted to the monastery. The abbot, Father Anthony, answered that the English were in an equal degree with the French his children. Lord Sidmouth replied that the monks had only been tolerated in the capacity of French refugees, and demanded their instant return to their native country. Louis XVIII. gave permission for their return to France, where they purchased the monastery of Melleray, near Chateaubriant, in Bretagne. They embarked on board the French frigate Revanche, July 10th, 1817. At the date of their departure they were sixty-four in number. For further particulars consult Canon Oliver's *Collections*, pp. 138-164.

B.

The Priory at St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall (being a distinct corporation), was not suppressed by the acts of Henry IV. and V. abolishing the alien priories, but was transferred by the latter monarch—with the sanction of parliament—to the Monastery of Sion, then recently founded. It remained in the hands of the monastery till the dissolution.

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* The tradition of the burial of Richard I.'s heart at All Hallows should not have been mentioned without an intimation of its doubtful character.

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