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AN ENGLISH PILGRIM,
FROM AN EFFIGY AT ASHBY DE LA ZOUCHE.

〔PILGRIMAGES

TO

SAINT MARY OF WALSINGHAM

AND

SAINT THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

BY DESIDERIUS 〔ERASMUS.

NEWLY TRANSLATED,

WITH THE COLLOQUY ON RASH VOWS, BY THE SAME AUTHOR, AND HIS
CHARACTERS OF ARCHBISHOP WARHAM AND DEAN COLET,

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES,

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.

“ And thanne we putt us all in the mercy of God, beyng in great peyne
and woo both day and nyght, vowyng sum of us pylgrymages to our
lady of Loretto in Ytalya, and sum to our lady of Walsyngham, and sum
to seynt Thomas of Caunterbury, we that wer Englysshmen.”

Torkyngton's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

WESTMINSTER.

JOHN BOWYER NICHOLS AND SON.

1849.

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CONTENTS.

Introduction	iii
Erasmus's defence of his Colloquy on " Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake"	x
The Colloquy on " RASH VOWS ; OR, PILGRIMAGES TO SACRED PLACES"	xiii
Note on the Mortality among Pilgrims	xvii
—— Indulgences buried in Graves	xviii
The Author's defence of the preceding Colloquy	xix
—— remarks on Rash Vows	xxii
—— Papal Indulgences or Bulls	<i>ib.</i>
 The Colloquy on " PILGRIMAGE FOR RELIGION'S SAKE," describing the Pilgrimages of Walsingham and Canterbury	 1

NOTES.

The scallop-shell of saint James	69
Pilgrims' signs or tokens	70, 240
Straw necklaces	73
The rosary	<i>ib.</i>
Pilgrimage to saint James of Compostella	76, 241
Greek literature	78
Calamities dreaded from the saints	79, 246
Maria a Lapide at Basle	<i>ib.</i>
The epitaph of Beda	<i>ib.</i>
The scroll brought to saint Giles by an angel	80
Stones which conceal nothing	81

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CONTENTS.

Paul carries a sword	81
Saint William	82
Saint Anthony hath his saered fire	82
The situation of Walsingham	<i>ib.</i>
Mariazell compared with Walsingham	83
The revenues of Walsingham	85, 242
Oil from the tombs of the saints	85, 242
The Assumption of the Virgin	86
Legend of sir Ralph Boutetourt	<i>ib.</i>
The shed brought from a great distance	88
The two wells at Walsingham	89
The bear's skin fixed to the rafters	90
Relics of the Blood of Christ—at Glastonbury, Westminster, Hailes, and Ashridge	<i>ib.</i>
Relics of the true Cross	93
Some pilgrims neither pure nor chaste	96
Robert Aldrich the companion of Erasmus at Walsingham	97
Indulgences	98, 243
Saint Bernard	100
Profane use of Scripture phraseology	<i>ib.</i>
Votive Inscription left by Erasmus at Walsingham	101
Exempt jurisdiction of mitred abbeys	103
Angels attendant on the Virgin	<i>ib.</i>
The beam on which the Virgin had rested	104
The gigantic saint Christopher at Paris	<i>ib.</i>
Charm attributed to the figure of saint Christopher	107, 244
The crepaudine or toad-stone	107, 243
Gold and silver statues at shrines	108
Assumed dedication of Canterbury cathedral church to saint Thomas of Canterbury	110
The names of the assassins of Becket	111
Books fixed to the pillars of churches	<i>ib.</i>
The gospel of Nicodemus	113

CONTENTS.

The ancient Altar of the Virgin and the Martyrdom at Canterbury	113
The point of the sword	115
Our Lady of the undercroft	116
Saint Thomas's head	118
The leaden inscription THOMAS ACRENSIS	120
The hair shirts, &c. of the martyr	121
The relics at Canterbury	124
THE CHARACTER OF DR. JOHN COLET, drawn by Erasmus	126
An especial honour to be London-born	130
The foundation of Saint Paul's School	135
Anecdote of a Cambridge Scotist	137
Colet's estimation of married men	138
His contempt of the Scotists	143
The sacristy at Canterbury	155
Treasures of the church of Canterbury	<i>ib.</i>
The pastoral staff of saint Thomas	156
The cross-headed staff of archbishops	<i>ib.</i>
THE CHARACTER OF ARCHBISHOP WARHAM, drawn by Erasmus	157
The portrait of saint Thomas at Canterbury	160, 245
Spoliation of churches	160
Thomas Goldwell, prior of Canterbury	164
The Shrine of Saint Thomas	119, 165, 211
The Shrines of Saint Edward, Saint Edmund, Saint Alban, and Saint Cuthbert	170
Rapacity of the English custom-house officers	173
Herbaldown hospital	175
Saint Patrick's cave	176
The Roman stations	178
The sumptuousness of churches	179

CONTENTS.

APPENDIX.

Worship of the Virgin and the Saints	180, 245
The abuses of Pilgrimage censured by the poet Longland and the lollard Thorpe	183
Modern pilgrimage on the continent	190
Historical notices of WALSINGHAM and its pilgrimage	195
The architecture of Walsingham	200
Articles of Inquiry for the monastery of Walsingham	202
Letter of Richard Southwell to lord privy seal Cromwell, after the visitation of Walsingham in 1536	205
Fate of the abbey on the dissolution	207
Lament for Walsingham	208
Historical notices of CANTERBURY and its pilgrimage	211
The martyrdom of saint Thomas of Canterbury	213
The four murderers of Becket	219
Honours paid to saint Thomas of Canterbury	221
Relics of saint Thomas of Canterbury	224
Proceedings of Henry VIII. against saint Thomas of Can- terbury	231
Additional Notes (including) :—	
Glaucoplutus	241
The Pilgrimage to Wilsdon	242
Scarlet gowns and blue gowns	244
The Pilgrims' Tombs at Llanfihangel aber Cowin	246

CORRIGENDA.

- P. 81. *Read*, "This motto is derived from Romans, xiii. 4.
P. 85. *Read*, "Saint Perpetuus, bishop of Maestricht, at Dinant
in Belgium," *not* Dinan in Britany.
P. 87. line 6, *for* foiled *read* fooled.
P. 92, line 5 from foot, *for* vesalle *read* beralle.
P. 93, line 2, *for* Kelsey *read* Hilsey.

LIST OF EMBELLISHMENTS.

English Pilgrim, from an effigy at Ashby de la Zouche	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
The bearded and tight-laced Knight *	18
Pilgrim on his way, from Erasmus's Praise of Folly.	67
Gatehouse of Walsingham Priory	88
Seal of Eton College, representing the Assumption of the Blessed Mary	103
Plan of part of Canterbury Cathedral	114
Saint Thomas's Head	118
Seal of Archbishop Becket	156
Shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury	166
Seal of the Nunnery of Ivychurch, Wiltshire	182
Pilgrim's sign or token of "Saint Thomas's Head"	240
The Pilgrims' Graves at Llanfihangel aber Cowin	247

* From the sepulchral brass of sir William de Tendring : see p. 88.

THE SOUL'S PILGRIMAGE.

Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory (hope's true gage,)
And then I'll take my pilgrimage.

Blood is my body's only balmer,
No other balm will here be given,
Whilst my soul, like quiet palmer,
Travelleth towards the land of heaven.
Over the silver mountains,
Where spring the neetar fountains,
There will I kiss the bowl of bliss—

Sir Walter Raleigh's Remains.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS little volume was undertaken on finding that the interesting account preserved by the pen of Erasmus of the two principal English pilgrimages was not so well known* as it deserved to be, whether as illustrating a chapter of religious history, or as supplying features of local description not elsewhere to be found.

In the latter respect, indeed, it has been more regarded by those writers who have described the cathedral church of Canterbury, than by such as

* The Editor is not aware that there is even any translation of the Colloquies of Erasmus more recent than that of Mr. Nich. Bailey the lexicographer, dated early in the last century, and in a style now nearly as obsolete, though somewhat less coarse, than that of Sir Roger L'Estrange, made sixty years before.

have had occasion to notice the ruined fane of Walsingham.

Camden was of course acquainted with what the Colloquies of Erasmus afforded on both places, and when describing each of them in his "Britannia" he has quoted the "*Peregrinatio Religionis ergo*,"—at Canterbury adopting some of its very words: but the plan of his work enjoined brevity. Somner, the early historian of Canterbury cathedral, has duly taken Erasmus with him round the church, and so accordingly have the subsequent Kentish topographers; but Blomefield, the Norfolk historian, seems as if he knew him only at second-hand, through the medium of Camden.

Fosbroke, the historian of British Monachism, has not only neglected to avail himself of many of the characteristic features which Erasmus presents, but has even thrown a degree of discredit upon his narrative, as if it had been imaginary, or put together from various quarters. His words are, "According to Erasmus, the Walsingham pilgrimages were mere imitations of those to Loretto; but there

is an apparent mixture of fiction in his account of this our famous provincial pilgrimage which precludes quotation."

The present writer, on the contrary, has had the satisfaction of finding Erasmus's description of Walsingham confirmed in so many of its minor details, that he is induced to regard it as an exact description of the place, without any further deviation from perfect accuracy than such as any one might make who wrote from recollection.

In the first place, we find his description of the churches of Walsingham Priory correct: there were two, the priory church and the wooden chapel of the Virgin, around which "the New Work" of stone had been erected, but was never finished, just as Erasmus describes it. The two wells, which he mentions, still exist; and the old wooden cottage or shed whose credit for antiquity was supported by a bear-skin, as well as the much-esteemed relic of the Virgin's Milk, have testimony borne to them by the Visitors' queries which will be found in the Appendix. The miracle of the

Knights' escape through the wicket of the gateway is not only mentioned in these queries, but also in another record, which has been preserved by the historian Blomefield.

That Erasmus personally visited Walsingham we have further evidence from his other writings. We learn when his first visit took place from a letter to Andreas Ammonius, which is dated from Cambridge, on the 8th of May, 1511; and in which he says, after alluding to the wars in Italy, "I have undertaken a vow for the good-success of the Church. I intend to visit the Virgin of Walsingham, and to hang up some Greek verses there. If ever you go there, look for them."* It is there-

* Epistola cxiv. Andreæ Ammonio Erasmus s. d. Si quid est certi rumoris apud vos, quaeso ut nobis inpartias. Nam magnopere velim audire, num vere Julium agat Julius, et num Christus antiquam obtineat morem, ut quos maxime suos videri velit, eos maxime adversæ fortunæ procellis exerceat.

Ego, mi Andrea, pro felici rerum ecclesiasticarum successu votum suscepi. Jam scio religionem probas. VISAM VIRGINEM WALSAGAMICAM; atque illic Græcum carmen suspendam. Id si quando te illic contuleris require. * * * * *

Cambrig. 8 Maij, anno 1511.

It is remarkable that in the next letter of Ammonius to Erasmus

fore evident that at this date he had already written, or in part composed, the Inscription to which he alludes in the Colloquy, and for which I have not searched in vain among the voluminous folios of his Works.*

It may not be equally capable of proof that the second visit to Walsingham described in the Colloquy was actually paid by Erasmus. It is very possible that this second visit was supposititious, that it was invented as a vehicle for telling his story, and that he indulged his love of satire in imagining the difficulties which his Greek inscription had occasioned to the unlearned canons; and indeed we may conclude that one visit to the place would satisfy the curiosity of a man of his penetration and just appreciation of the superstitions which then flourished at this famous shrine. The authenticity of his descriptions and of the incidents he

mention is made of a pilgrimage made by pope Julius himself to Loretto: "Julius Maximus ad templum Deiparæ in Laureto se contulit, salutem suam divæ gratulaturus." And. Ammonius Erasmo. 27 Oct. 1511.

* See p. 102.

relates is fully vindicated by referring them to the observations which he made at his visit in the year 1511; and it may also be supposed that it was then that the young Etonian Aldrich was his companion, who became afterwards bishop of Carlisle.*

TO CANTERBURY Erasmus was accompanied by a man of still higher character, though he did not attain so exalted a rank in the Church. The identity of Gratianus Pullus with Dr. John Colet is shewn from a passage† in another production of our author; and the various particulars of the Pilgrimage to Canterbury are confirmed in so many points by evidence either still existing or remembered on good authority, that no one has ever expressed a doubt but that Erasmus wrote his description of Canterbury from personal observation.

Though no clue has been found to determine the year in which Colet and he were there together, yet it must have been before the year 1519, which was that of Colet's death. They probably performed more than one journey in company, for

* See p. 97.

† See p. 127.

Erasmus seems to refer with delight to several such pilgrimages when he says, "Me nonnunquam et PEREGRINATIONIS comitem ascivit: nihil erat eo festivius."

The colloquy here translated, entitled "Peregrinatio Religionis ergo," was apparently not written until some years had elapsed from the author's pilgrimages to both places. The date which occurs in it, appended to the Letter supposed to have been written by the Virgin of the Stone near Basle, namely 1524, was probably the actual date of its composition: for it was in that year that Erasmus completed an enlarged edition of his Colloquies, being then resident at Basle, and they had been first printed* two years before, without the "Peregrinatio Religionis ergo." In the earlier edition of 1522 a much more brief but very lively colloquy had been published, in which the author had treated with much freedom the reputed merit of Pilgri-

* That is to say, first with the author's consent. There had been one edition a little earlier, taken surreptitiously from a manuscript copy. There is even an edition Basilie 1524 which does not contain the "Peregrinatio Religionis ergo."

mages, as well as the reputed value of Pardons and Indulgences. In this composition, which, from its place in the volume, (immediately after the mere formularies of conversation,*) may be regarded as one of the first Erasmus wrote, he had given much offence to those interested in maintaining the superstitions of the age; and in his defence of the whole work, which was appended to the edition of 1524, his apology for the sentiments thus promulgated is nearly as long as the colloquy itself. Both the Colloquy on Rash Vows and its Apology will be found attached to these remarks.

In the same review of his labours Erasmus gave the following explanation of his intention in the “Pilgrimage for Religion’s Sake:”

“In the ‘Peregrinatio Religionis ergo’ I censure those who have violently ejected all images from churches: and then such as run mad upon pilgrimages undertaken under pretext of religion, for

* Indeed, it succeeds them with merely this title, *Alia in congressu*. The printer gave the pages this heading, *De votis tenere susceptis*. Erasmus afterwards referred to the colloquy as *De visendo loca sacra*.

which now even associations are formed. Those who have been to Jerusalem are called knights, and they call one another brothers, and on Palm-Sunday seriously act a ridiculous farce, dragging along an ass with a rope, themselves being not much different from the wooden beast they draw. Those who have been to Compostella imitate the same thing. Such performances may be allowed indeed as an indulgence of men's fancies; but it is not to be borne that they should claim any pious merit in them. In this colloquy those also are stigmatised who exhibit doubtful relics for real, who attribute to them greater value than they are worth, or sordidly manufacture them for gain."

The present Editor does not put forth this book in any polemical spirit: though he is ready to avow his admiration of the constancy and perseverance with which, in spite of every kind of discouragement, Erasmus obeyed the command of his Lord and Master, LET YOUR LIGHT SHINE BEFORE MEN. The best answer to the enemies of Erasmus among his contemporaries, and to his de-

tractors of subsequent generations, is the constant progress in all the elements and characteristics of civilisation observable in those countries into which the Reformation made its most successful advances ; and of that Reformation, though he did not personally join it, the Works of Erasmus must be regarded as among the most effectual pioneers : whilst in Catholic Spain the besotted multitude still drag the wooden ass of Compostella, and alas ! in Catholic Ireland they are still contented to grovel in the narrow Purgatory of Saint Patrick.

The Editor would wish, however, to leave to others to draw their inferences. His object has been merely the illustration of a feature of our early religious history, in the most approved historical manner, that is to say, from contemporary sources of information, and accompanied by the citation of his authorities. He leaves the facts thus collected to speak for themselves, and desires that they may receive that critical examination from his readers to which his own efforts have been directed, in order to place them on the firm basis of historic truth.

RASH VOWS;
OR,
PILGRIMAGES TO SACRED PLACES.

Speakers, ARNOLD, CORNELIUS.

Arn. Thrice welcome, Cornelius; we have missed you for this age, and were beginning to despair of your return. Where have you been travelling so long?

Corn. In hell!

Arn. Well, you have come back so ragged, so thin, and so haggard, that one might suppose you were not far from the truth.

Corn. Nay, I am returned from Jerusalem, not from the shades below.

Arn. What fate, or what wind, took you thither?

Corn. The same motive that takes others beyond number.

Arn. Their folly, as I think.

Corn. So this reproach does not attach to me alone.

Arn. What did you purchase there?

Corn. Nothing but misery.

Arn. You might have done that at home. But did you find anything that you considered worth seeing?

Corn. To own the truth candidly, scarcely anything. They show some monuments of antiquity, every one of which seemed to me deceptive, and invented to allure the simple and credulous. In fact I scarcely think they know for certain on what spot Jerusalem formerly stood.

Arn. What then have you seen?

Corn. Great barbarism everywhere.

Arn. Do you return nothing holier?

Corn. Nay, many degrees worse.

Arn. More in cash, then?

Corn. No, poorer than Job.

Arn. Don't you repent having undertaken so long a pilgrimage to no purpose?

Corn. No: I neither blush, because I have so many companions of my folly; nor do I repent, because now it would be useless.

Arn. Do you then bring back no advantages from so laborious a pilgrimage?

Corn. Much.

Arn. Well, then, what is it?

Corn. Why, I shall henceforth live more pleasantly.

Arn. Because, I suppose, it is delightful to remember troubles that are past?

Corn. There is indeed something in that; but still that is not all.

Arn. You look, then, for some further recompence?

Corn. In truth, I do.

Arn. What is it? tell me.

Corn. I shall be able, at all times, to afford great entertainment, both to myself and others, by my marvellous stories, when recounting my travels at gossipings or feasts.

Arn. Forsooth, you are not far from the mark.

Corn. Then I shall not derive less pleasure when I hear other men telling lies about things which they have never either heard or seen, a thing they do with such confidence, that when they make assertions more absurd than the Sicilian tales, yet they persuade even themselves that they are telling the truth.

Arn. An amazing satisfaction! You will not entirely lose your oil and your labour, as they say.

Corn. Nay, I make my calculations more advisedly than those who are tempted by a little money to enter upon a military campaign, that school of every wickedness.

Arn. But it is an illiberal pleasure to make a pastime of lying.

Corn. But still it is somewhat more liberal than either to give or receive delight in slander, or to lose both your time and your substance at dice.

Arn. So far I must admit you are right.

Corn. But there is still another good result.

Arn. What is that?

Corn. If I have any friend especially dear to me,

inclined to this madness, I shall counsel him to stay at home, as sailors after shipwreck are wont to admonish those who are about to sail of the dangers they ought to avoid.

Arn. I wish you had been my monitor at the proper time!

Corn. What? have you been seized with the same disease? has the contagion reached you too?

Arn. I have visited Rome and Compostella.

Corn. Good gracious! what a comfort it is to me to find you a companion in my folly. What wiseacre put that in your head?

Arn. No wiseacre, but sheer stupidity; seeing that I had at home a wife as yet young, a few children, and a household which was dependent upon me, and maintained by my daily exertions.

Corn. It must needs have been some powerful motive that could draw you away from your dearest ties. Say what it was, I beseech you.

Arn. I am ashamed to mention it.

Corn. Surely not to me, who, as you know, am a sufferer from the same disorder.

Arn. Some of us neighbours were drinking together. When the wine had a little warmed us, there was one who announced that he was determined to salute Saint James, and another that he would salute Saint Peter. Upon that, one or another engaged to join company. At length, it was proposed that all should go together.

So, for fear I should appear a very shabby messmate, I promised that I would go too. Presently it began to be debated, which we should wend to, Rome or Compostella. At last, it was determined that, God willing, the next day we should set out for both.

Corn. O sage resolve! more worthy to be written in wine than in brass.

Arn. But presently a great mazar walked in, of which each drank in his turn, and the vow was made inviolable.

Corn. A new kind of religion! But say, were all blest with a safe return?

Arn. All but three: of whom one dying on the way commissioned us to salute Peter and James in his name. Another we lost at Rome, and he desired that we should greet his wife and children for him. The third we left behind at Florence, his recovery entirely despaired of.* I imagine he is now in heaven.

* That this statement of the mortality among the pilgrims is not exaggerated is shown by the following passage from the Diary of sir Richard Torkington, rector of Mulbarton in Norfolk, who made his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1517:

“The xxv. day of August, that was seynt Bertilmews day, the morue after seynt Bertilmew decessyd Robert Crosse of London pewterer, and was buryed in the chirche yard of Salyus [in the island of Cyprus]. And xxvij. day of August decessyd sir Thomas Toppe, a prest of the West cowntre, and was cast over the borde: as was many moo, whos soules God assoyle! And thanne ther remayned in the shippe iiij. Englyssh prestis moo.” Gentleman’s Magazine, vol. LXXXII. ii. 318.

Corn. Was he, then, so pious ?

Arn. Nay, the greatest trifler imaginable.

Corn. Whence, then, do you draw that conclusion ?

Arn. Because he had his satchel stuffed full of the most ample indulgences.*

Corn. I understand ; but it is a long road to heaven, nor a very safe one, as I hear, on account of the highwaymen which infest the middle region of the firmament.

Arn. That is true ; but he was sufficiently provided with passports.

Corn. Written in what language ?

Arn. The Roman.

Corn. He is then safe ?

Arn. He is ; unless by ill-luck he should fall into the hands of a spirit that does not understand Latin : it will then be necessary for him to return to Rome, and obtain a new certificate.

Corn. Are bulls sold there even to the dead ?

Arn. Oh ! most especially.

Corn. But meanwhile I must give you a hint, not to make any inconsiderate remarks, for now every place abounds with tale-bearers.

Arn. Oh ! I do not at all depreciate indulgences ; I

* "Some redeemed for money great plenty of indulgences from Rome, and he that had the greatest plenty of them to be cast with him into his grave when he was buried (which I myself have seen done) was counted the best prepared for death." Sermon of Archbishop Grindal, in 1564.

only smile at the folly of my pot-fellow, who, being in other respects the merest trifler, yet rested the stem and stern, as they say, of his salvation upon parchments, rather than in amendment of the heart. But when shall we enjoy that luxury we were just now talking of?

Corn. At the first opportunity we will arrange a little comotation; we will invite some of our fellows, and then we will try which can tell the greatest marvels, and no doubt we shall be vastly delighted with our mutual performances.

Arn. Agreed.

The author's defence of the preceding Colloquy, in his paper "De Utilitate Colloquiorum," dated at Basle, in May 1526, is as follows:—

"The Colloquy on visiting Sacred Places checks the superstitious and extravagant fancy of certain people who imagine it the height of piety to have seen Jerusalem: whither, over such wide distances of sea and land, run old bishops, leaving their flock, which ought to be tended; thither go men of rank, deserting their families and their estates; thither go husbands, whose children and wives require some guardian of their edu-

education and their modesty ; thither young men and women, not without great danger to their morals and chastity. Some even go again and again, and indeed do nothing else all their lives ; and all along the name of religion is given to superstition, love of change, folly, and rashness ; and a man who, contrary to the doctrine of Paul, deserts his own, will carry off the credit of sanctity, and flatter himself that he has fulfilled all the requirements of devotion. Paul, in the 1st Timothy, v. 11, plainly declares, If any one careth not for his own, and especially those of his household, he has denied the faith, and is worse than an unbeliever. And here Paul seems to speak of widows who neglected their children and grandchildren under the pretext of religion, and in order to attend to the services of the church. What would he then have said of husbands who, leaving tender children and a young wife, and that in poverty, undertake a journey to Jerusalem ?

“ From many examples I will mention but one, neither so recent in date that I need fear to give offence, nor yet so old but that the generation is still living which cannot, from the greatness of the loss, forget the occurrence. A man of high rank had, with a pious intention, but little wisdom, determined to visit Jerusalem before his death. Having therefore made his arrangements, he committed to an archbishop, as to a parent, the care and protection of all his affairs, of his wife, then great with child, of his towns, and his castles. When the news was brought that this man had died in his pilgrimage,

the archbishop, instead of a parent's, performed a robber's part. He occupied all the possessions of the deceased: last of all he reduced by force the strongest castle, into which the pregnant woman had fled for refuge, and, that no avenger might survive of so atrocious a deed, the lady, together with her promised offspring, was murdered on the spot. Would it not have been a pious work to have dissuaded a man so circumstanced from undertaking his dangerous and unnecessary journey?

“How many other examples of this kind might be found, I leave to others to ascertain: to say nothing meanwhile of the expenses, which, while we may allow them not to be entirely lost, yet no prudent man will deny that they might be bestowed on far better purposes.

“But as for the religion of the matter, Saint Jerome commended Hilarion, because, though a native of Palestine, and resident in that country, yet he had visited Jerusalem but once, induced so to do by its vicinity, and that he might not seem to despise sacred places. If Hilarion was deservedly commended, that he stayed away from Jerusalem, near as he was, lest he should appear to confine the Deity within a narrow locality, and went there only once, being near the place, that he might not give any offence, what is to be said of those who out of England and Scotland, with such expenses, and through so many hazards, wend to Jerusalem, especially when they leave at home those dearest to them, to whom, according

to the doctrine of the apostle, they owe a constant care? Saint Jerome exclaims, It is no great thing to have been at Jerusalem; but to have lived well is the great thing. And yet in the age of Jerome it is probable that much plainer remains of ancient monuments existed than are now to be found.

“ On *Vows* I leave the discussion to others: yet this Colloquy merely goes to show, that no one ought to undertake such vows rashly. This is proved by my words, ‘ Especially since I had at home a wife, as yet young, children, and a household that depended upon me, and was supported by my daily labour;’ and other passages which follow. On vows already taken, then, I will say nothing further, except that if I was the Pope I should not be obdurate in releasing those that are engaged by them. As for undertaking them, whilst I confess it is possible that some may go to Jerusalem with pious advantage, still I should not hesitate to counsel many, from regard to circumstances, to devote those expenses, time, and labour upon other things which more surely conduce to true piety. These sentiments I believe to be right: and therefore, considering the levity, or the ignorance, or the superstition of the multitude, it seemed proper to me to warn youth on this matter; nor do I see whom this admonition ought to offend, except perhaps some of those to whom gain is dearer than godliness.

“ Nor do I there condemn Papal Indulgences or Bulls; but I censure that greatest of triflers, who, thinking

nothing of amendment of life, presumes to place his whole trust in human pardons. Whoever will here be persuaded to consider, what a shipwreck of religion there is among mankind, partly from the vicious conduct of those who vend the Papal Indulgences,* partly through the fault of such as accept them far differently than they ought to do, it will be allowed to be worth while to admonish youth on this matter. But this, I am told, is not very agreeable to the proctors: my good fellow, if they are honest men, they will rejoice that the simple folk should be admonished; but if gain is more sought by them than godliness, I take my leave of them!"

* See Chaucer's character of the Pardoner, a man of most abandoned morals; and so also a less known poet:

Then preched a Pardoner, as he a prest were,
 Broughte forth a bulle with many bishopes seles,
 And seide that hymself myghte assoilen hem alle,
 Of falshod, of fastynge, of avowes y-broken.
 Lewed men loved it wel, and liked hise wordes,
 Comen up knelynge to kissen hise bulles.
 He bouched him with his brevet and blered hire eighen,
 And raughte with his rageman rynges and broches.
 Thus thei gyven hire gold, glotons to kepe, &c.

VISION OF PIERS PLOUGHMAN.

PILGRIMAGE FOR RELIGION'S SAKE.

*The scene of the Colloquy is ANTWERP, the Speakers
MENEDEMUS and OGYGIUS.*

Me. How comes this? Is not that my neighbour Ogygius, whom no one has seen for these six months? He was reported to be dead. It is the very man, unless I am completely deceived. I will go and speak to him. How are you, Ogygius?

Og. How are you, Menedemus?

Me. What country has restored you in safety to us? There was a sad rumour in circulation that you had gone the way of all flesh.

Og. Nay, thank God! I have meanwhile been so well, that I was scarcely ever better.

Me. May you always refute such foolish reports in the same manner! But what means this? You are covered with scallop shells, (1) stuck all over

with leaden and tin figures, (2) adorned with straw necklaces, (3) and a bracelet of serpents' eggs. (4)

Og. I have visited Saint James of Compostella (5); and, on my return, the sea-side Virgin so famous with the English; or rather I have revisited her, for I had seen her three years before.

Me. From curiosity, I suppose?

Og. Nay, from motives of religion.

Me. This religion, I suppose, has been taught you by Greek literature? (6)

Og. My wife's mother had bound herself by a vow, that, if her daughter had a son born alive, I should in person salute Saint James, and offer our thanks.

Me. Have you saluted the saint only in the name of yourself and your mother-in-law?

Og. Nay, with the devotions of the whole family.

Me. I fancy not a whit less prosperity would have befallen the family if you had left James unsaluted. But, pray, what did he reply to the thanksgiver?

Og. Nothing; but when I made my offering he appeared to smile, and slightly bend his head, and at the same time he bestowed this scallop shell.

Me. Why should he give that rather than any thing else?

Og. Because the neighbouring sea brings him plenty of them.

Me. Oh benignant saint! so serviceable to the ladies, and so generous to his guests! But is not this a new kind of vow, that a person should do nothing himself, and impose the work upon others? If you were to bind yourself by a vow, that if any thing *you* were about went on well *I* should fast twice a week, do you think I should perform your vow for you?

Og. I do not think you would, even if you made the vow in your own person; for it seems a favourite sport with you to mock at the saints. But it was my mother-in-law's doing. The custom must be observed. You know women's fancies; and, moreover, it concerned my own welfare.

Me. If you had not kept the vow, what danger would there have been?

Og. The saint could not have prosecuted me at law, I admit; but he might have been deaf to my vows for the future, or he might silently have sent some calamity on my family. (7) You know the way with the great.

Me. Tell me, how goes on that most worthy man James?

Og. Much colder than formerly.

Me. What is the reason? Old age?

Og. You trifler! you know the saints do not grow old. But this new doctrine, which is spread so widely through the world, makes him less frequently visited than of yore; and those who come, salute him only; they give nothing, or as little as possible, saying that the money may be better spent upon the poor.

Me. Impious opinion!

Og. And thus so great an apostle, who was wont to glitter all jewels and gold, now stands a bare block; with scarcely a tallow candle to light him!

Me. If this be true, there is some danger lest the same should befall the other saints.

Og. Yes; an epistle is carried about, which the Virgin Mary herself has written on this matter.

Me. Which Mary?

Og. She who is named *a Lapide*.

Me. At Basle, (8) if I am not mistaken?

Og. The same.

Me. So you tell me of a stone saint. But to whom has she written?

Og. The letter itself gives the name.

Me. By whom was it sent?

Og. No doubt by the angel who wrote and placed it in the pulpit from which the preacher it is addressed to holds forth. You must not suspect any deception, for I can show you the autograph epistle.

Me. Can you then recognise the handwriting of the angel who serves the Virgin as secretary?

Og. Why not?

Me. How then?

Og. I have read the epitaph of Beda, which

was engraved by the angel: (9) the characters agree throughout. And I have read the scroll sent to Saint Giles: (10) the resemblance is exact. Are not these sufficient proofs?

Me. May one look at it?

Og. You may, if you will swear to secrecy.

Me. Oh, you might as safely speak to a stone.

Og. But now there are even stones that have the bad character of concealing nothing. (11)

Me. Speak then to a dumb man, if you can scarcely trust a stone.

Og. I will read it on this condition, that you listen with both ears.

Me. I will.

Og. "Mary the Mother of Jesus greets Glaucoptus. Be it known to you, that you have advanced greatly in my favour, inasmuch as, following Luther, you earnestly argue that it is a work of supererogation to invoke the saints. For before this I have been plagued to death with the impertinent supplications of mortals. All things were demanded of me alone, as if my Son were

always an infant, because he is represented and painted so in my arms, and still hanging on his mother's breast; and as if he did not venture to deny any petition, for fear I should in turn refuse my nourishment to him. And sometimes they would even make such requests to a virgin, as no youth of any modesty would venture to put to a bawd, and which I am ashamed to commit to writing. Meantime the merchant, preparing to sail into Spain for his trade, commends to my charge the virtue of his mistress. And the professed nun, at the moment that she casts aside her veil in preparation for flight, commits to me the care of her reputation, which she herself is about to throw away. The godless soldier, when led to the slaughter, cries out to me, Blessed Virgin, grant me a rich booty! The gamester exclaims, Favour me, oh goddess, and part of the gain shall be yours. And if the dice favour them but little, they tear me with their reproaches, and foully curse that I was not the abettor of their wickedness. One who is projecting some base speculation exclaims,

Grant a large profit! If I at all refuse, they expostulate, saying, Then you cannot be the Mother of Mercy! Others' vows are not so impious as they are foolish. The maid cries, Mary, give me a handsome and rich husband! The wife cries, Give me fine children! The lady with child cries, Grant me a happy time! The old woman cries, Grant I may live long without cough and thirst! The silly old man cries, Make me young again! The philosopher cries, Grant that I may weave indissoluble problems! The priest cries, Give me the best benefice! The bishop cries, Take care of my church! The sailor cries, Grant me prosperous voyages! The abbat cries, Shew me thy Son before I die! The courtier cries, Grant me clean confession at the hour of death! The countryman cries, Send seasonable showers! The countrywoman cries, Keep our flocks and herds in safety! If I deny anything I am immediately cruel. If I refer them to my Son, I hear, He wills whatever thou wilt! Thus I alone, a woman and a virgin, am to give help to sailors and soldiers, traders and

gamesters, maids and mothers, courtiers, kings, and husbandmen. But what I have already told is the least of what I suffer. Now indeed I am much less troubled with these matters; and on that account I should render you the greatest thanks, if this convenience did not bring a greater inconvenience with it. There is now more ease, but less honour and less profit. Formerly I was addressed as the Queen of Heaven, the Lady of the World: now I scarcely hear from a few a single 'Ave Maria.' Formerly I was clothed with jewels and gold, I abounded in presents, my offerings were of gauds and gems: now I am scarcely covered with half a petticoat, and that eaten by the mice. My yearly revenue is barely sufficient to keep a wretched attendant to light me a tallow candle or taper. And even this might be borne, if worse was not threatened. You go so far, they say, as to drive out of the churches whatever belongs to the saints. Again and again take care what you do! There is not one of the other saints who cannot revenge himself. Peter, if turned out of the church,

can in turn lock the doors of heaven against you. Paul carries a sword. (12) Bartholomew is armed with a knife. William under his monk's gown is entirely armed, and not without a heavy spear. (13) And how can you encounter George the knight on horseback, formidable both with his spear and his sword? Nor is Anthony defenceless; he has his sacred fire. (14) And the rest have either their weapons, or their calamities, which they can inflict on whom they will. But me, although unarmed, you cannot cast forth, unless at the same time you cast out my Son, whom I bear in my arms. From him I will not allow myself to be torn away; either you turn him out together with me, or you must retain both, unless you would have the church without Christ.

“So much I wished you to understand: and you must consider what answer to make me; for the matter is very much at my heart.—From my stone house, on the kalends of August, in the year of my Son's passion 1524, I the Virgin have signed this with my stone hand.”

Me. A very threatening and formidable epistle! Glaucoplutus, I think, must take care.

Og. If he is wise.

Me. Why has not that excellent James written on the same subject?

Og. I know not; unless it is that he is further off, and in these times all letters are intercepted.

Me. But what fate carried you back into England?

Og. A wonderfully favourable wind invited me thither, and I was almost pledged to the sea-side Virgin, that I would revisit her after two years.

Me. What to seek of her?

Og. Nothing new: only those usual petitions, the health of my family, the increase of my estate, a long and happy life in this world, and eternal happiness in the next.

Me. Could not our own Virgin Mother bestow the same? She has at Antwerp a far more magnificent church than that at Walsingham.

Og. I do not deny she might; but in various places she grants various things, whether because

she so thinks proper, or, as she is kind, because in this she accommodates herself to our desires.

Me. I have often heard about James; but, I pr'y-thee, describe to me the domain of this sea-side saint.

Og. I will gratify you as briefly as I can. It is the most celebrated place throughout all England, nor could you easily find in that island the man who ventures to reckon on prosperity, unless he yearly salute her with some small offering according to his ability.

Me. Where dwells she?

Og. At the extreme coast of England on the north-west, (15) at about three miles' distance from the sea. It is a town maintained by scarcely anything else but the number of its visitors. (16) It is a college of canons, but of those which the Church of Rome terms *regular*, a middle kind between the monks and those termed secular canons.

Me. You describe amphibious animals, such as the beaver.

Og. Yes, and the crocodile. But, without fur-

ther caval, I will give you some notion of them in three words. In things disallowed they are canons, in things allowed they are monks.

Me. You still speak to me in riddles.

Og. But you shall have a mathematical demonstration. If the Roman pontiff were to launch his thunderbolts against all monks, then they would be canons, and not monks; but, if he were to allow all monks to take wives, then they would be monks.

Me. Oh what new privileges! I wish they would take mine!

Og. But to proceed. This college has scarcely any other resources than from the bounty of the Virgin. (17) For, though the larger offerings are preserved, all that is in money, or of inferior value, falls to the sustenance of the flock, and of their head, whom they call the Prior.

Me. Are they of good reputation?

Og. They are highly spoken of; richer in piety than in revenue. The church is graceful and elegant; but the Virgin does not occupy it; she cedes it, out of deference, to her Son. She has

her own church, that she may be on her Son's right hand.

Me. On his right hand? To which point then looks her Son?

Og. Well thought of. When he looks to the west, he has his Mother on his right hand. When he turns to the sun-rising, she is on the left. Yet she does not even occupy this; for the building is unfinished, and it is a place exposed on all sides, with open doors and open windows, and near at hand is the ocean, the father of the winds.

Me. It is hard. Where then does the Virgin dwell?

Og. Within the church which I have called unfinished is a small chapel, made of wainscot, and admitting the devotees on each side by a narrow little door. The light is small, indeed scarcely any but from the wax-lights. A most grateful fragrance meets the nostrils.

Me. All these things accord with religion.

Og. Nay, when you look in, Menedemus, you would say it was the mansion of the saints, so much

does it glitter on all sides with jewels, gold, and silver.

Me. You make me long to go there.

Og. You would not repent your journey.

Me. Is there no sacred oil there?

Og. You simpleton! That oil does not exude except from the *tombs* of the saints, as Andrew and Katharine. (18) Mary was not buried. (19)

Me. I forgot myself, I admit. But finish your story.

Og. The wider religion extends itself, the greater the variety of things shown in various places.

Me. And perhaps that the return may be the richer; according to the proverb—

When many bands are on the plain

The booty's quickly sought and ta'en.

Og. And showmen are always at hand.

Me. Were they some of the canons?

Og. By no means: they are not required, lest by occasion of religion they should be alienated from religion; and, while they minister to the Virgin, should too little regard their own virginity. Only,

in the inner chapel, which I have described as the shrine of the holy Virgin, one canon attends the altar.

Me. For what purpose?

Og. That he may receive and take charge of what is given.

Me. Must those give who are not inclined?

Og. Not at all; but a kind of pious shame brings some to the point, that they give if any one is standing by, though they would not if no observer was present; or, at least, they give somewhat more largely than they would otherwise have done.

Me. You describe a very natural feeling, and one which I have often noticed.

Og. Nay, but there are those so devoted to the most holy Virgin, that, whilst they feign that they are themselves going to place an offering on her altar, with wonderful dexterity they filch away what some one else has placed there.

Me. Suppose no one was on the watch, still would not the Virgin immediately launch forth her vengeance upon such?

Og. Why should the Virgin do that, any more than the Heavenly Father himself? whom some are not afraid to despoil of his ornaments, and even break through the church wall for the purpose.

Me. I cannot satisfy myself, whether one should be most astonished at their impious audacity, or at the forbearance of the Deity.

Og. On the north side there is a gate,—not of the church, I must tell you, but of the exterior wall with which the whole precinct of the church is inclosed. It has a very small wicket, such as is seen in the gates of noblemen, so that any one wanting to enter is obliged first to subject his limbs to attack, and then must also stoop his head.

Me. It would not be very safe for an enemy to enter by such a wicket.

Og. You are right. Our reverend guide related that once a knight, seated on his horse, escaped by this door from the hands of his enemy, who was at the time closely pressing upon him. The wretched man, thinking himself lost, by a sudden aspiration commended his safety to the Virgin, who

was so near: for he had determined to fly to her altar, if the gate had been open. And lo! the unheard-of occurrence! On a sudden the man and horse were together within the precincts of the church, and the pursuer fruitlessly storming without.

Me. And did he make you swallow such a wonderful story?

Og. Unquestionably.

Me. That could not be very easy with such a philosopher as you.

Og. He pointed out a brass plate nailed to the gate, representing the knight who was saved, attired in the fashion then usual in England, and which we now see in old pictures; according to which, the barbers of that age must have starved, and also the weavers and dyers. (20)

Me. Why so?

Og. Because he had a beard as long as a goat's, and all his dress had not a wrinkle; so tightly was it fitted, that it seemed to contract his body. There was also another plate, showing the figure and size of the opening.



Me. It would be wrong to doubt any longer.

Og. Under the wicket was an iron grating, allowing only a foot-man to pass; as it would not be proper that any horse should again tread the spot, which the former horseman had consecrated to the Virgin.

Me. Right enough.

Og. To the east of this is a chapel full of wonders. Thither I go. Another guide receives me. There we worshipped for a short time. Presently the joint of a man's finger is exhibited to us, the largest of three: I kiss it; and then I ask, Whose relics were these? He says, St. Peter's. The apostle? I ask. He said, Yes. Then, observing the size of the joint, which might have been that of a giant, I remarked, Peter must have been a man of very large size. At this one of my companions burst into a laugh; which I certainly took ill, for if he had been quiet the attendant would have shown us all the relics. However, we pacified him by offering a few pence. Before the chapel was a shed, which they say was suddenly, in the winter season,

when everything was covered with snow, brought thither from a great distance. (21) Under this shed are two wells, full to the brink; (22) they say the spring is sacred to the holy Virgin. The water is wonderfully cold, and efficacious in curing the pains of the head and stomach.

Me. If cold water can cure the pains of the head and stomach, very soon oil will extinguish fire.

Og. You are told a miracle, my good fellow: for what miracle would there be if cold water merely satisfied thirst? And this is only one part of the story. They affirm that the spring suddenly burst from the earth at the command of the most holy Virgin. Whilst looking around carefully at everything, I asked how many years it might be since that little house was brought thither: he answered, Some centuries. "But the walls," I remarked, "do not bear any signs of age." He did not dispute the matter. "Nor even the wooden posts:" he allowed that they had been recently put up, and indeed they spoke for themselves. "Then," I said, "the roof and thatch appear to be new." He agreed. "And

not even these cross-beams," I said, "nor the rafters, seem to have been erected for many years." He assented. "But," I said, "as now no part of the old building remains, how do you prove that this was the cottage which was brought from a great distance?"

Me. Pray how did your conductor extricate himself from this difficulty?

Og. Why, he immediately showed us a very old bear's skin fixed to the rafters; (23) and almost ridiculed our dulness in not having observed so manifest a proof. Thus convinced, and asking pardon for our slowness of apprehension, we turned towards the heavenly Milk of the blessed Virgin.

Me. Oh mother most imitative of her Son! He has left us so much of his Blood upon earth; (24) she so much Milk, as it is scarcely credible should have belonged to a single woman with one child, even if the infant had taken none of it!

Og. They make the same remarks of our Lord's cross, (25) which is shown privately and publicly in so many places, that, if the fragments were brought

together, they would suffice to freight a merchant-ship; and yet our Lord bore the whole of his cross.

Me. Does not this seem inexplicable to you also?

Og. It may perhaps be called wonderful, but not inexplicable; since our Lord, who increases these things at his will, is omnipotent.

Me. You account for it very piously: but I fear that many such things are fabricated for lucre.

Og. I cannot think that God would suffer himself to be mocked in that manner.

Me. Not! whilst the Mother, and the Son, and the Father, and the Holy Ghost are alike robbed by the sacrilegious, and do not even disturb themselves so much as to drive away the wretches even by a nod or a murmur? So great is the forbearance of the Deity.

Og. So it is: but hear the rest. That Milk is kept on the high altar, in the centre of which is Christ; at his right hand, for honour's sake, his Mother; for the Milk personifies the Mother.

Me. It can be easily seen then?

Og. Inclosed in crystal.

Me. It is then liquid?

Og. How can you talk to me of liquid, when it was effused fifteen centuries ago? It is dried up; you would say it was ground chalk, mixed with white of egg.

Me. Why then do they not show it uncovered?

Og. Lest the virgin Milk should be contaminated by men's kisses.

Me. You say well: for there are those, I fancy, who bring to it a mouth neither pure nor chaste. (26)

Og. As soon as the canon in attendance saw us, he rose, put on his surplice, added the stole to his neck, prostrated himself with due ceremony, and worshipped: anon he stretched forth the thrice-holy Milk to be kissed by us. On this we also, on the lowest step of the altar, religiously fell prostrate; and, having first called upon Christ, we addressed the Virgin with a little prayer like this, which I had prepared for the purpose: "O Virgin Parent! who with thy maiden breast hast deigned to give milk to thy Son Jesus, the Lord of heaven and earth, we beseech thee, that, being purified by his blood,

we also may attain to that happy childhood of dove-like simplicity, which, guiltless of malice, fraud, and deceit, earnestly desires the true milk of the Gospel, until it grows into the perfect man, to the stature of the fullness of Christ, whose happy communion thou enjoyest for ever, with the Father and Holy Ghost. Amen."

Me. A very pious prayer. What reply did she make?

Og. Each appeared to assent, if my eyes were not deceived. For the holy Milk seemed to leap a little, and the Eucharist shone somewhat brighter. Meanwhile the ministering canon approached us, saying nothing, but holding out a little box, such as are presented by the toll-collectors on the bridges in Germany.

Me. Ah! I have often enough cursed those begging-boxes, when travelling through Germany.

Og. I gave a few pence, which he offered to the Virgin. Presently, by means of an interpreter well skilled in that language, and a youth of much courtesy of address,—his name, if I mistake not, was

Robert Aldrich, (27) I inquired, as civilly as I could, by what proofs he was assured that this was the Milk of the Virgin. This I wished to learn with a really pious desire to be able to stop the mouths of those who are accustomed to ridicule everything of this kind. At first the canon turned away his face, and was silent: I directed the interpreter to repeat the question, but with even more delicacy than before, so that, if he had addressed with such words the Mother herself when recently brought to bed, she could not have taken it amiss. But the canon, as if possessed by a fury, looking aghast upon us, and apparently horrified at the blasphemous inquiry, replied, "What need to ask such questions, when you have the authenticated inscription?" And he seemed ready to turn us out as heretics, if a few pence had not smoothed down the man's ferocity.

Me. What did you then?

Og. We? What should you think? Just as if we had been beaten with cudgels, or struck with lightning, we slunk away, humbly begging pardon for our audacity: for so it is proper to do in holy

matters. Thence we went to a little house, the hostel of the heavenly Virgin. On our way thither, one of the inferior members of the convent showed himself, and watched us as if with suspicion; a little further on another came, also looking at us; and afterwards a third.

Me. Perhaps they wanted to take your portrait.

Og. But I imagined a far different thing.

Me. What then?

Og. That some sacrilegious thief had pilfered something from the ornaments of the holy Virgin, and that suspicion had fallen upon me. So, entering the chapel, I salute the Virgin Mother with this little prayer: "O, only of all women Mother and Virgin, most happy Mother, most pure Virgin! now we impure visit thee pure, we salute thee, we worship thee with our poor offerings: I beseech that thy Son may grant to us, that, imitating thy most holy manners, we also may, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, be enabled spiritually to conceive the Lord Jesus in the inmost bowels of the soul, and when once conceived never to lose him.

Amen." And at the same time kissing the altar, I laid down some pence, and departed.

Me. How did the Virgin take this? Did she make no nod to signify that your prayer was heard?

Og. The light, as I said, was doubtful, and she stood in the dark at the right side of the altar. Moreover, the speech of the last canon had so overcome me, that I did not dare to raise my eyes.

Me. So the result of this pilgrimage was not particularly happy?

Og. Nay, it was most highly so.

Me. You restore me to life again: for my heart had fallen to my feet, as old Homer says. (28)

Og. After dinner we returned to the church.

Me. Did you dare, when suspected of sacrilege?

Og. I was so perhaps; but I had no suspicion of myself. The mind conscious of rectitude knows no fear. I was attracted by a desire to see the inscription to which the canon had referred us. After a long search we found it at last; but fixed so high that it was not every sight that could read it. My eyes are such that I can neither be pro-

perly called lynx-eyed, nor altogether purblind. So whilst Aldrich read it I followed him as he went, not entirely trusting him in a matter of such importance.

Me. Was all incredulity shaken off?

Og. I was ashamed that I had at all hesitated: so plainly was the whole thing stated,—the name, the place, the mode of the transaction: in short, nothing omitted. A man named William, born at Paris, not only pious in other respects, but especially zealous in collecting the relics of the saints throughout the world, having travelled over many countries, and everywhere visited the monasteries and churches, at length arrived at Constantinople. There this William's brother was bishop; and, when he was preparing for his return, this bishop informed him of a certain virgin devoted to God, who possessed the Milk of the Virgin Mother; observing how abundantly fortunate he would be if, either by entreaty, or purchase, or by contrivance, he could obtain any portion of it; for all the other relics, which he had hitherto collected, were nothing

to that holy Milk. Hereupon William did not rest until he had begged half of that Milk. With this treasure he fancied himself richer than Cræsus.

Me. I should think so : and beyond all his hopes.

Og. He hastens straight home : on the journey he is attacked by a fatal disease.

Me. There is nothing in human life either lasting or entirely prosperous.

Og. On perceiving his danger, he privately summons a Frenchman, his most intimate companion upon his pilgrimage ; and, having solemnly stipulated secrecy, he commits to him the Milk, with this condition, that, if he returned home safe, he should deposit that treasure on the altar of the holy Virgin, who is worshipped at Paris in a magnificent church, looking on either side on the passing Seine, and where the river itself seems as a mark of honour to give place to the divinity of the Virgin. To be brief, William was buried. The other hastens on ; but was in turn seized by a fatal illness, and when he despaired of recovery, he delivered the Milk to an English comrade, very strictly binding him

that he should do what the Frenchman was himself to have done. The latter dies; the former takes the Milk, and deposits it on the appointed altar, in the presence of the canons of that place, who were then as yet termed *regular*, as they still are at St. Genevieve. From them he obtained half of the Milk; and when he had brought this to England, he at last, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, carried it to Walsingham.

Me. This story is certainly very consistent.

Og. Nay, lest any incredulity should remain, there are appended the names of suffragan bishops, imparting to those who visit it, and do not omit some slight offering, as much indulgence as they are empowered to bestow. (29)

Me. How much is that?

Og. Forty days.

Me. Are there days even in purgatory?

Og. Of course there is time.

Me. When they have bestowed the whole of this allowance once, is all they have to bestow exhausted?

Og. By no means. For what they give bubbles up again; and it happens directly contrary to the cask of the Danaidæ; for that, though constantly filling, is yet always empty; but if you draw for ever from this, there is still no less in the cask.

Me. If the forty days were accorded to a hundred thousand men, would each have so many?

Og. Just so many.

Me. And if those who have received forty before dinner again ask for forty after supper, would they be ready for delivery?

Og. Yes, were it ten times in the same hour.

Me. If I had but such a little bank at home, I would not ask for more than three pence at a time, if they run out as freely.

Og. You might as well wish you were made all of gold, if you were to have all your desires. But I return to my story. From a kind of pious scruple this proof was added: the Milk of the Virgin, which is shown in many other places, is deserving of high respect; but this is more to be revered than the rest, because, whilst that was scraped from

stones, this flowed from the very breasts of the Virgin.

Me. How did that appear?

Og. Oh! it must have been related by the virgin of Constantinople, who presented the Milk.

Me. And she perhaps was informed by Saint Bernard—

Og. So I think.

Me. Whose good fortune it was to taste the Milk from the same breast which was sucked by the child Jesus. (30) And for that reason I am surprised that he is styled the mellifluous Bernard and not the lactifluous. But how can they call that the Milk of the Virgin which did not flow from her breasts?

Og. It flowed like the other; but, being received by the stone on which she happened to sit, it dried up: and then, by the will of God, it was thus multiplied.

Me. Just so: proceed.

Og. Well, then, we had completed our inquiries, and were preparing to depart, walking about in the

mean time, and looking whether there was anything more, worthy of observation, when again some of the inferior brethren were at hand, who looked at us askance, pointed with their fingers, ran forwards, retired, ran forwards again, nodded, and appeared inclined to address me, if they had but courage enough.

Me. Did not that alarm you?

Og. Nay, I turned my face towards them, smiling, and looking as if I would invite them to speak. At length one approached, and asked my name: I give it. He then inquires whether I was the same person who three years before had fixed up a votive inscription in Hebrew characters? I confessed I was the man. (31)

Me. Did you then write it in Hebrew?

Og. Oh no! but they call Hebrew whatever they do not understand. Presently there came up, summoned by them as I suppose, the Protos-Hysteros of that convent.

Me. What sort of dignity do you call that? Have they not an abbat?

Og. No.

Me. Why so?

Og. Because they do not understand Hebrew.

Me. Nor a bishop?

Og. Oh dear, no!

Me. Why?

Og. Because the Virgin, even now, is too poor to buy the expensive mitre and staff. (32)

Me. Not even a provost?

Og. Not even that.

Me. What prevents it?

Og. Because Provost is a name of dignity, not of sanctity. And so colleges of canons reject the name of Abbat, and willingly adopt that of Provost.

Me. But I never before heard of this protos-hysteros.

Og. Then you are shockingly unskilled in grammar.

Me. I have heard of the hysteroproton in rhetoric.

Og. You have it. This man, who is next to the Prior, is the Posterior-Prior.

Me. You mean the Sub-Prior.

Og. He saluted me very courteously. He tells me how laboriously many had strived to read those verses : how many spectacles had been wiped in vain : how often some old doctor of theology or of law had come, and been conducted to the inscription. Some had said they were Arabic characters, some that they had no meaning : at last one was found who read the title. That was written in Latin words and characters, but in capitals. The verses were Greek, written in Greek capitals, which at first sight seemed to look like Latin capitals. When requested, I gave the meaning of the verses in Latin, rendering them word for word. I had then repeatedly to decline a reward offered for this little task, but I declared that nothing was so difficult that I would not most eagerly undertake in the service of the most holy Virgin, even if she were to send me with letters to Jerusalem.

Me. What need could she have for you as a letter-carrier, when so many angels attend her both at her hands and feet? (33)

Og. He then drew out of a bag a portion of

wood cut from a beam on which the Virgin Mother had been seen to rest. (34) A wonderful fragrance at once proved it to be a thing extremely sacred. For my part, having received so distinguished a present, prostrate and with uncovered head, I kissed it three or four times with the highest veneration, and placed it in my purse.

Me. May one be allowed to see it?

Og. As far as I am concerned you shall be welcome; but I would not persuade you to look at it if you are not fasting, or—

Me. Show it to me; there is no danger.

Og. There then.

Me. Oh, how fortunate you are in such a present!

Og. Ah, be assured, I would not exchange this fragment, small as it is, for all the gold of the Tagus: I will inclose it in gold, but so that it may shine through crystal.—Then the Hystero-Protus, when he sees me so reverently handling that gift, deeming me not unworthy to be trusted with greater things, inquires whether I had ever seen the

secret parts of the Virgin. That term not a little disconcerted me; yet I did not dare to inquire what he might call the secret parts of the Virgin. Forsooth in matters so sacred even a slip of the tongue is not free from danger. I said that I had not seen them, but that I was very desirous to do so.—Now I am led on as if in an ecstasy. Several wax-candles are lighted; and a small image is produced, neither excelling in material nor workmanship, but in virtue most efficacious.

Me. The size is not of much consequence in the performance of miracles. I have seen Christopher at Paris, (35) who is not merely a waggon's load, or a colossus, but just equal to a mountain; yet he is not celebrated for any miracles that ever I heard.

Og. At the feet of the Virgin is a jewel, to which no name has yet been given in Latin or Greek; the French have named it a toad-stone, (36) because it so imitates the figure of a toad, as no art could do the like. And what makes the miracle greater, the stone is very small; the figure of the

toad does not project, but shines as if inclosed in the jewel itself.

Me. Perhaps they imagine the likeness of a toad, as on cutting the root of fern we imagine an eagle. And as boys, what do they not see in the clouds? dragons breathing flames, mountains burning with fire, armies rushing to battle.

Og. No, you may be assured that no living toad shews itself more plainly than it was expressed there.

Me. So far I have borne with your tales; but now you must find some one else to swallow the toad.

Og. I am not surprised, Menedemus, that you are so disposed. No one would have persuaded me, even if a whole college of divines had asserted it, unless with these eyes, these very eyes I say, I had seen it, examined it, and proved it. But still you seem to me to be very unskilled in natural history.

Me. Why so? Because I do not believe that asses fly?

Og. Are you not aware how the hand of Nature sports in the representation of the colours and shapes

of all things, not only in her other works, but particularly in precious stones? Then what wonderful powers has she bestowed upon those stones, utterly incredible, unless experience had practically given us faith! Tell me, would you believe that steel untouched would be attracted by the magnet, and again be repelled by the same, unless you had seen it with your eyes?

Me. No indeed, although ten Aristotles had sworn it.

Og. You must not, then, pronounce everything fabulous that you have not already ascertained by your own experience. In *ceraunia* we see the resemblance of lightning; in *pyropus* living flames; in *chatazia* both the appearance and the cold of hail, even if you cast it into the midst of the fire; in the emerald the deep and pellucid waves of the sea; the *carcinias* imitates the form of a sea-crab, the *cepites* that of a serpent, the *scarites* of a fish, the *hieracites* of a hawk; the *geranites* shows the mimic head of a crane; the *ægophthalmus* shows a goat's eye; there is one which has a pig's eye,

another three human eyes together; the lycophthalmus has a wolf's eye painted in four colours,—fiery-red and sanguine, and in the midst black bordered with white: if you open a black cyamea you find in the middle a bean; the dryites imitates the trunk of a tree, and also burns like wood; cissites and narcissites represent ivy; astrapias casts rays of lightning from a white or azure centre; phlegonites shows a fire within, which cannot come forth; in anthracites you may see some sparks shoot out; crocias gives the colour of the crocus, rhodites of the rose, chalcites of brass; actites resembles an eagle with a fiery tail; taos has the figure of a peacock; chelidonia of an asp; myrmecites has the figure of a creeping ant within it; cantharias exhibits an entire beetle; scorpites wonderfully represents a scorpion. But why should I pursue these things, which are innumerable, whilst there is no part of nature, either in the elements, or in animals, or in plants, which she, as if in wantonness, has not imitated in stones? Do you wonder, then, that a toad is figured in this gem?

Me. I wonder that Nature should find sufficient leisure so to sport in the imitation of everything.

Og. She wished to exercise the ingenuity of the human intellect, and even thus to drive us from idleness. And yet, as if there was nothing with which we could beguile the tedium of time, we go mad upon buffoons, upon dice, or upon fortune-telling.

Me. Your sentiments are perfectly just.

Og. It is added by some who are not of light authority, that if you apply vinegar to this kind of stones, the figures are seen to move their limbs as if swimming about.

Me. Why do they attach a toad to the Virgin?

Og. Because all filthiness, malice, pride, avarice, and whatever belongs to human passions, has been by her subdued, trodden under foot, and extinguished.

Me. Alas for us who bear such a toad in our breasts!

Og. We shall be pure, if we diligently worship the Virgin.

Me. How does she delight to be worshipped?

Og. You would pay her the most acceptable worship if you were to imitate her.

Me. You have spoken most judiciously. But that is very difficult.

Og. It assuredly is, but at the same time most excellent.

Me. Come, finish your story.

Og. He then exhibited the golden and silver statues. "This one," says he, "is entirely gold; this is silver gilt;" he added the weight of each, its value, and the name of the donor. (37) When, wondering at everything I saw, I was congratulating the Virgin on her fortunate opulence, the reverend showman says to me, "Since I see you are a pious spectator, I should not think it right to conceal anything from you; you shall see the Virgin's most secret treasures;" and at the same time he drew forth from the altar itself a world of admirable things, the individual articles of which, if I were to proceed to describe, this day would not suffice for the relation. So that pilgrimage terminated most

fortunately for me. I was abundantly gratified with sights; and I bring away this inestimable gift, a token bestowed by the Virgin herself.

Me. Have you made no trial of the powers of your wood?

Og. I have: in an inn, before the end of three days, I found a man afflicted in mind, for whom chains were then in preparation. This piece of wood was placed under his pillow, unknown to himself: he fell into a sleep equally deep and prolonged; in the morning he arose of whole mind.

Me. Perhaps it was not madness, but drunkenness only. That malady is wont to be cured by sleep.

Og. When you feel inclined to jest, Menedemus, take care to choose some other subject; to jest upon the saints is neither pious nor safe. Nay, the man himself related, that he had seen in his sleep a woman of admirable beauty, who presented to him a cup.

Me. It was hellebore, I imagine.

Og. What it was is uncertain; but this is most certain, that the man's reason is restored.

Me. Have you passed in neglect THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, THE ARCHBISHOP?

Og. The very last I should neglect. No pilgrimage is in higher estimation.

Me. I am desirous to hear about it, if it is not troublesome.

Og. Nay, I shall be gratified by your listening. That part of England which is opposite to France and Flanders is called Kent. Its chief city is Canterbury. In this city there are two monasteries nearly contiguous, each following the rule of Saint Benedict. That which is dedicated to Saint Augustine seems the older; the other, which is now called Saint Thomas's, (38) appears to have been the see of the archbishop, where with a few chosen monks he passed his life, as prelates still have houses near to the church, but separate from the houses of the other canons. For formerly almost all bishops and canons were alike monks. That is evidenced by clear remains of antiquity. But the church dedicated to Saint Thomas erects itself to heaven with such majesty that even from a dis-

tance it strikes religious awe into the beholders. So now with its splendour it dazzles the eyes of its neighbour, and as it were casts into the shade a place which was anciently most sacred. There are two vast towers, that seem to salute the visitor from afar, and make the surrounding country far and wide resound with the wonderful booming of their brazen bells. In the porch of the church, which is towards the south, are stone statues of the three knights who with impious hands murdered the most holy man: their family names are inscribed—Tuscus, Fuscus, and Berrus. (39)

Me. Why is so much honour bestowed on the impious?

Og. The same degree of honour is bestowed upon them which is bestowed on Judas, Pilate, Caiphas, and the band of wicked soldiers, which you see laboriously sculptured on golden altars. Their names are added, that the guilt of their crime should ever attach to them. They are thrust forward into sight, that no courtier should hereafter lay his hands upon bishops, or upon the property of

the church. For those three courtiers, after the perpetration of their crime, were seized with madness, nor were they restored to reason until the intercession of the most holy Thomas had been implored.

Me. Oh the unfailing clemency of the martyrs!

Og. On your entrance, the edifice at once displays itself in all its spaciousness and majesty. To that part any one is admitted.

Me. Is nothing to be seen there?

Og. Nothing, except the magnitude of the structure, and some books fixed to the pillars, (40) among which is the Gospel of Nicodemus, (41) and the monument of I know not who.

Me. What comes next?

Og. The iron screens stop further progress, but yet admit a view of the whole space from the choir to the end of the church. To the choir you mount by many steps, under which is a passage leading to the north. At that spot is shown a wooden altar, dedicated to the holy Virgin, but mean, nor remarkable in any respect, unless as a monument of

antiquity, putting to shame the extravagance of these times. There the pious man is said to have breathed his last farewell to the Virgin, when his death was at hand. (42) On the altar is the point of the sword (43) with which the head of the most excellent prelate was cleft, and his brain stirred, that he might be the more instantly despatched. The sacred rust of this iron, through love of the martyr, we religiously kissed. Leaving this spot, we descended to the crypt. (44) It has its own priests. There was first exhibited the perforated skull of the martyr; (45) the forehead is left bare to be kissed, whilst the other parts are covered with silver. At the same time is shown a slip of lead, engraved with his name, THOMAS ACRENSIS. (46) There also hang in the dark the hair shirts, (47) the girdles, and bandages, with which that prelate subdued his flesh; striking horror with their very appearance, and reproaching us for our indulgence and our luxuries.

Me. And perhaps reproaching even the monks.

Og. That I am neither able to assert nor to deny; nor indeed is it any business of mine.

Me. You say very true.

Og. From hence we returned into the choir. On the north side the armaries were unlocked: it is wonderful to tell what a quantity of bones was there brought out,—sculls, jaw-bones, teeth, hands, fingers, entire arms; on all which we devoutly bestowed our kisses; and the exhibition seemed likely to last for ever, if my somewhat unmanageable companion in that pilgrimage had not interrupted the zeal of the showman. (48)

Me. Who was he?

Og. An Englishman, named Gratian Black, (49) a learned and pious man, but not so well affected towards this part of religion as I could wish.

Me. Some Wickliffite, I suppose.

Og. I do not think so; although he had read Wickliffe's books; where he got them I cannot say.

Me. Did he offend the priest?

Og. When an arm was brought forward which had still the bloody flesh adhering to it, he drew back from kissing it, and even betrayed some signs of weariness. The priest presently shut up

his treasures. We next viewed the table of the altar and its ornaments, and then the articles which are kept under the altar, all most sumptuous; you would say that Midas and Cræsus were beggars, if you saw that vast assemblage of gold and silver.

Me. Was there no kissing here?

Og. No; but another kind of sentiment came across my mind.

Me. What was that?

Og. I sighed that I had no such relics at home.

Me. What an impious thought!

Og. I confess it, and I devoutly prayed the saint for pardon before I moved a step from the church. After this, we were led into the sacristy. (50) Good God! what a display was there of silken vestments, what an array of golden candlesticks! (51) There we saw the pastoral staff of Saint Thomas. It appeared to be a cane covered with silver plate; it was of very little weight, and no workmanship, nor stood higher than to the waist. (52)

Me. Was there no cross? (53)

Og. I saw none. A pall was shown, which, though wholly of silk, was of a coarse texture, and unadorned with gold or jewels. There was also a sudary, dirty from wear, and retaining manifest stains of blood. These monuments of the simplicity of ancient times we willingly kissed.

Me. Are not they shown to anybody?

Og. By no means, my good friend.

Me. Whence then was such confidence reposed in you that no secret thing was reserved?

Og. I had some acquaintance with the reverend father William Warham, the archbishop; (54) he had given me a note of introduction.

Me. I hear from many that he is a man endowed with singular courtesy.

Og. You would rather say that he is courtesy itself, if you knew him. He has such learning, such simplicity of manners, such piety of life, that you would find him deficient in no quality of a perfect prelate.—From this place, then, 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. (55) Here an unforeseen accident nearly destroyed all our pleasure.

Me. What misfortune have you now to relate?

Og. My companion Gratian by no means advanced in favour; after a short prayer he asked the attendant priest: "Here," says he, "good father, is it true what I hear, that Thomas while alive was exceedingly kind to the poor?" "Most true," said he; and he began to relate many of his acts of beneficence towards the destitute. Then Gratian remarked, "I do not imagine that such disposition of his is changed, unless perhaps increased." The priest assented. He said again: "Since, then, that most holy man was so liberal towards the poor whilst he was still poor himself, and required the aid of money for his bodily necessities, do you not think, that now, when he is so wealthy, nor lacks anything, he would take it very contentedly, if any poor woman, having starving children at home, or daughters in danger of prostitution from want of

dowry, or a husband laid up with disease, and destitute of all assistance, should first pray for pardon, and then take from these so great riches some small portion for the relief of her family, as if receiving from a consenting person, either as a gift or a loan?" When the attendant on the holy head made no answer to this, Gratian, being of an ardent temper, added, "I am clearly convinced that the most holy man would rather rejoice that even when dead he should relieve by his riches the wants of the poor." Then the priest began to knit his brows, to protrude his lips, and to look upon us with Gorgonian eyes: nor do I doubt but that he would have cast us out of the church with disgrace and reproaches, if he had not known that we were recommended by the archbishop. However, I pacified the man's anger with some apologies, declaring that Gratian had said nothing seriously, but had merely indulged his usual habit of banter; and at the same time I laid down a few pence.

Me. I really very much commend your piety. But still it sometimes seriously occurs to me, whe-

ther those can be regarded as blameless who consume so much wealth in building, adorning, and enriching churches, that they altogether exceed all moderation. (63) I confess that in sacred vestments and in the vessels of the Church a dignity is due to divine worship: and I would wish the structure to have its majesty. But to what purpose are so many holy-water vessels, so many candlesticks, so many golden statues? to what purpose the immense cost of what they call organs? Nor, meanwhile, are we content with single organs only. To what purpose is that musical din, provided at great expense, whilst at the same time our brethren and sisters, the living temples of Christ, perish with thirst and hunger?

Og. In these matters, indeed, no pious and wise man would not prefer moderation; but, since this fault arises from a species of extravagant piety, it claims indulgence, especially when we recollect the various disorders of those who despoil churches of their wealth. It is generally given away by princes and monarchs, and destined to perish more lament-

ably in gaming or in war. And if you alienate anything from this source, at first it is regarded as sacrilege; next, those who have been accustomed to give withdraw their hands; finally they are even led on to rapine. (56) Therefore the ecclesiastics are more the guardians than the masters of these things. Finally, I would rather see a church abounding in sacred furniture, than, as some are, bare, dirty, more like stables than churches.

Me. But we read that formerly those bishops were applauded who sold the sacred vessels, and with the produce relieved the poor.

Og. And they are applauded still, but applauded only; there is neither liberty nor inclination to imitate them, I imagine.

Me. I interrupt your narrative; I now wait to hear the end of the story.

Og. You shall have it: I will conclude it in a few words. At this moment the head priest came forward.

Me. Who was he? the abbat of the place?

Og. He has a mitre, and he enjoys the reve-

nuc of an abbat; he only wants the name, and is called Prior, because the archbishop is there in the place of an abbat: for of old whoever was the archbishop of that district was also a monk.

Me. Forsooth I could bear even to be called a camel, if my revenue was suitable to an abbat!

Og. He appeared to me to be a man equally pious and judicious, nor unskilled in the Scotian theology. (57) He opened to us the shrine, in which what is left of the body of the holy man is said to rest.

Me. Did you see the bones?

Og. That is not permitted: nor indeed is it possible without the aid of a ladder: but a wooden canopy covers the golden Shrine; and when that is drawn up with ropes, inestimable treasures are opened to view. (58)

Me. You amaze me.

Og. The least valuable portion 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. There some monks stood around

with much veneration: the covering 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.

Me. He must needs be blessed with an extraordinary memory.

Og. You guess right: but it is helped by exercise, for he frequently goes through his muster-roll. From hence we returned to the crypt, where the Virgin Mother has her abode, but a somewhat dark one, being hedged in by more than one iron screen.

Me. What was she afraid of?

Og. Nothing, I imagine, except thieves. For I have never seen anything more burdened with riches.

Me. You are telling me of untold wealth.

Og. When lamps were brought, we beheld a more than royal spectacle.

Me. Does it surpass Walsingham in riches?

Og. In outward show it far surpasses her; what her hidden riches are she only knows herself. This is not shown except to men of high rank, or great friends. Lastly, we were conducted back to the sacristy: there was brought out a box covered with black leather; it was laid upon the table and opened; immediately all knelt and worshipped.

Me. What was in it?

Og. Some torn fragments of linen; and most of them retaining marks of dirt. With these, as they told us, the holy man used to wipe the perspiration from his face or his neck, the runnings from his nose, or such other superfluities, from which the human frame is not free. There my friend Gratian again ran into not the best favour. To him, who was at once an Englishman, a person well known, and of no small consequence, the Prior graciously offered to present one of the pieces of linen, imagining that he was making a present that would be most highly acceptable. But Gratian, not sufficiently grateful, drew it together with his fingers, not without some intimation of disgust, and disdain-

fully replaced it; pouting out his lips as if imitating a whistle, for he had that trick, if anything offended him, which at the same time he deemed beneath his regard. My heart was at once agitated with shame and fear. But the Prior, with his usual good sense, pretended not to notice it; and after offering us a cup of wine he courteously dismissed us. When we had returned to London—

Me. What business had you there, when now you were not far distant from your own coast?

Og. That is true; but I purposely avoided that coast, which is more infamous for cheats and robberies than any Greek rock is for shipwrecks. I will tell you what I witnessed at my last passage. A good many were being conveyed from the shore at Calais in a boat to the larger ship. Among these there was a young Frenchman, poor and ragged. From this man they demanded a halfpenny: for so much they extort from every one for the shortest freight. He pleaded his poverty: they for a jest searched him, and, having taken off his shoes, they found within the folds of the soles ten or twelve pence:

these they openly seized, laughing and jeering at the wretched Frenchman.

Me. How did the young man take it?

Og. What could he do? he wept.

Me. Did they act thus upon any authority?

Og. Only upon the same by which they rob the trunks of travellers, and take their purses, whenever they find an opportunity. (59)

Me. It is surprising that they should venture on such injustice, when so many witnesses were present.

Og. They are so accustomed to it that they think they have a right to do it. Many observed it from the large vessel; in the boat were some English merchants, who in vain murmured at it. The men gloried as if they did a clever thing, in thus over-reaching the rogue of a Frenchman.

Me. I should think it very good sport to bring those maritime thieves to the gallows.

Og. But either coast alike abounds with such. So you may guess

What may not tyrants dare, when thieves do thus?

On this account I shall for the future prefer some circuit to that short passage. Besides, as to the infernal regions the descent is easy, but the return very difficult, so along this shore the entrance is not very easy, and the departure most difficult. Some skippers of Antwerp were waiting at London; with them I determined to trust myself to the sea.

Me. Has that city such virtuous sailors?

Og. As a monkey is always a monkey, so I confess a sailor is always a sailor: but, if you compare the sailors of Antwerp with those who have learnt to live by robbery, they are angels.

Me. I must remember it, if I am ever bitten with a fancy of visiting that island. But return to the path from which I have led you astray.

Og. Know, then, that those who journey to London, not long after leaving Canterbury, find themselves in a road at once very hollow and narrow, and besides the banks on either side are so steep and abrupt, that you cannot escape; nor can you possibly make your journey in any other direction. On the left hand of this road is a hospital

of a few old men, (60) one of whom runs out as soon as they perceive any horseman approaching; he sprinkles his holy water, and presently offers the upper part of a shoe, bound with a brazen rim, in which is a piece of glass resembling a jewel. Those that kiss it give some small coin.

Me. In the same road I would rather meet with an hospital of old men than a band of valiant robbers.

Og. Gratian rode on my left hand, next to the hospital; he was covered with water; however, he endured that. When the shoe was stretched out, he asked the man what he wanted. He said, that it was the shoe of Saint Thomas. On that my friend was irritated, and turning to me he said, "What, do these brutes imagine that we must kiss every good man's shoe? Why, by the same rule, they would offer his spittle to be kissed, or other bodily excrements." I pitied the old man, and by the gift of a small coin I comforted his trouble.

Me. In my opinion, Gratian was not irritated entirely without reason. If the shoes and slippers

were preserved as a proof of simplicity of life, I would not blame them: but it appears shameless to me to obtrude slippers, shoes, and sandals to every one to be kissed. Though if a person chose to do so of his own accord, from any strong feeling of piety, I think it might be pardonable.

Og. I must own that these things had better not be done: but from such matters as cannot be at once corrected I am accustomed to gather whatever good can be found in them. Meanwhile I have pleased myself with this reflection, that a good man is like a sheep, a bad man like a noxious animal. A viper after it is dead can indeed bite no longer, but it kills by its stink and its poison; the sheep, during its life, nourishes with its milk, clothes with its wool, enriches with its dung; when dead, it furnishes a useful hide, and it is altogether fit for food. Thus violent men, and those who are devoted to this world, whilst they live, are disagreeable to all; when dead, with the din of their knells and their ostentatious funerals they are still troublesome to the survivors, and sometimes also from the inaugu-

rations of their successors, that is, from new exactions; but the good in every way make themselves of great benefit to all. Thus this saint, whilst he was alive, by his example, his learning, his admonitions, invited to piety, relieved the destitute; and, when dead, he is of almost greater utility. He has raised this most magnificent church, he has conciliated the highest deference to the order of priests throughout England. Finally, this fragment of his shoe supports this little community of poor men.

Me. That is indeed a pious meditation: but I wonder that you, as you are of this mind, have never visited the cave of Saint Patrick, (61) of which they tell some prodigious tales, nor, as it seems to me, very probable ones.

Og. Nay, no relation of that can possibly be so prodigious but what it must be surpassed by the reality.

Me. Have you then made your pilgrimage even so far as that?

Og. I have crossed those truly Stygian straits, I have descended into the jaws of Avernus: I have

witnessed all that is going on among the people below !

Me. I should very much like to hear some account of them, if you do not mind the trouble.

Og. Well then, this must be only the commencement of our conversation, already, I think, long enough for a beginning. I am going home, to order my supper to be got ready ; for I have had no dinner.

Me. Why no dinner ? out of religion ?

Og. Not at all : but out of spite.

Me. Do you spite your own belly ?

Og. No, but the covetous cooks : who, whilst they do not provide what they ought, still do not hesitate to charge their guests what they ought not : and thus I am wont to be revenged on them. If I have any hope of a pretty good supper, either with a friend or at a tavern a little more liberally conducted, my stomach goes without its dinner. But, if my luck brings me such a dinner as I like, about supper-time my stomach begins to crave again.

Me. Do you not blush to appear sparing and stingy ?

Og. Menedemus, those who expend their blushes in such things, believe me, make a prodigal expenditure. I have learned to save mine for other occasions.

Me. Now I long to hear the rest of your story ; so expect me as a guest at your supper-table ; there you will tell it more at your ease.

Og. Forsooth, I take it very kind that you volunteer to be my guest, whilst many though earnestly pressed refuse ; but this favour shall be returned to you twice over, if you will sup at home to-day. For my time must now be occupied in the affairs of my family. But I have a plan more convenient for both of us. To-morrow do you prepare dinner for me and my wife at your house ; then my stories may be extended even to supper-time, until you confess you have had enough of them : and, if you desire it, we will not even leave you at supper. Why do you scratch your head ? Only take care to prepare for us ; we will not fail to come.

Me. I would prefer the stories unpurchased. But come, a little dinner shall be given you ; it

will however be an insipid one, unless you season it with good stories.

Og. But hold, do not you feel a little inkling to go upon these pilgrimages?

Me. Possibly I shall when you have finished your account of them: as I am now inclined, I am satisfied in going the round of the Roman stations.

Og. The Roman? when you have never seen Rome.

Me. I will tell you. My circuit is made at home, in this manner: I enter the parlour, and take care that the modesty of my daughters is safe from attack. Next I proceed to the offices, and watch what the men and the maids are about; thence into the kitchen, observing whether there is any need of reproof; thence to another and another place, noticing what my children are doing, what my wife, being careful that everything should go on in due order. These are my Roman stations. (62)

Og. But Saint James would take care of these things for you.

Me. That I ought to take care of them myself, the Holy Scriptures instruct me; but I have never read the commandment, that I should entrust them to the saints!



Est qui Hierosolyman, Romam, aut Divum
Jacobum adeat, ubi nihil est illi negotii, domi
relictis eum uxore liberis.

DES. ERASMI *Moræ Encomium.*

NOTES.

(1) *Covered with scallop-shells.*

No symbol of pilgrimage is better known than the scallop-shell; so that no modern artist or costumier would think of representing a pilgrim without this appurtenance. Thus in a masquerade before queen Elizabeth a pilgrim was "clad in a coat of russet velvet, fashioned to his call, his hat being of the same, with scallop-shells of cloth of silver." The prototype of such designs seems to have been the image of Saint James himself, who was generally represented in this attire, though in Spain he appears as an armed cavalier. Fuller, indeed, in his *Holy War*, asserts that the escallop-shells were assumed because used for cups and dishes by the pilgrims in Palestine; and he derives the armorial bearings of Villiers,—a cross charged with escallops,—from the Crusades. But, from what is said by our own author, and by other older authorities, it would seem that the escallop-shell was peculiar to Com-

postella. Piers Plowman especially names the "shelles of Galice." What is still more decisive, Alexander III, Gregory IX. and Clement V. by their bulls granted to the archbishops of Compostella a faculty to excommunicate all persons who should sell these shells to pilgrims anywhere except in that city.

(2) *Stuck all over with tin and leaden images.*

Not only the hat, but all parts of the dress, of the returning pilgrim, had these memorials fixed upon them. The pilgrim in Piers Plowman wore

An hundred of ampulles*
 On his hat seten,
 Signes of Synay,
 And shelles of Galice,
 And many a crouche on his cloak,

* The "ampulles" were probably brought from Rheims, where the kings of France were usually crowned, and anointed from the *sainte ampouille* there preserved. Philip de Commines, speaking of the death-bed of Louis XI. says that the Holy Vial of Rheims, which had never been removed before, was brought to his chamber at Plessis, and stood when he died upon the head of his cupboard, for he intended to be anointed with it again, as he had been at his coronation. "Some were of opinion," adds Commines, "that he intended to have anointed himself all over; but that was not likely, for the vial was but small, and no great store of oil in it. I saw it myself at the time I speak of."

And keyes of Rome,
 And the vernycle bi-fore,
 For men should know
 And se bi hisc signes
 Whom he sought hadde.

Chaucer's pardoner, to show he had come from Rome,

A vernicle hadde he sowed upon his cappe;

being a memorial of the Saviour's portrait impressed on an handkerchief, exhibited at St. Peter's.

The course of proceeding at Canterbury is minutely described by the continuator of Chaucer, and the intention specified in terms remarkably similar to those alleged by Piers Plowman. After all their devotions had been duly performed at the shrine,

Then, as manere and custom is, signes there they bought,
For men of contré should know whome they had sought,
 Eche man set his silver in such thing as they liked.
 And in the meen while the miller had y-piked
 His bosom ful of signys of Caunterbury brochis,
 Though the pardoner and he pryvely in her pouches
 They put them afterwards that noon of them it wist.

Afterwards, on going to dinner,—

They set their signys upon their hedes, and some oppon their
 capp,
 And sith to the dyner-ward they gan for to stapp.

The custom had commenced even in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, who in his early life was a contemporary of the martyred archbishop. Describing an in-

terview which he had, on arriving in London, with the bishop of Winchester, he says, that it was perceived that he and his fellows were lately come from Canterbury, because the signs of Saint Thomas were hanging from their necks.*

Louis XI. on his interview with Henry king of Castile in 1462 was observed to wear a very old hat, with a leaden image in it (as says Philip de Commines): and in such guise he is familiar to the readers of Quentin Durward.

There is an essay on these Pilgrims' Signs, by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in the first volume of the Journal of the British Archæological Association: some specimens are there engraved, and others in Wright's Archæological Album, 1845, and in M. Rigollot's "Monnaies inconnes des Evêques des Innocens, des Fous," &c. Paris, 1837.

The trinkets of Compostella are still in the highest estimation. The silversmiths of Santiago "assert that a silver Santiago on horseback is an infallible security against ague and robbers: and certainly, as such a *santito* only costs a few shillings, the insurance is not an unsafe speculation, as it is like a waterman's protection badge. We appended such a medallion to our *Zumarra*, and travelled hundreds of leagues over every part of Spain, without sickness, sorrow, or even being robbed, except by innkeepers; all which was attributed by an

* "Cum signaculis B. Thomæ a collo suspensis."—Anglia Sacra, ii. 481.

excellent canon of Seville to the special intervention of the Captain-General of the Spains (Saint James is a military patron, like the English Saint George); and certain it is that very few Gallician soldiers ever omit to stow away in their *petos*, or linen gorget waddings, a *Santiagito* and rosary, which ought to turn aside bullets and bayonets."—Murray's Hand-book of Spain, p. 671.

(3) *Hung with straw necklaces.*

This allusion I am unable to explain, as I do not find such emblems elsewhere mentioned.

(4) *With bracelets of serpents' eggs.*

Erasmus here means the rosary, which was usually carried upon the arm, and which was strung as the eggs of serpents were supposed to be connected.

Mr. Ford, in Murray's Hand-book of Spain, has given the following note upon the rosary, when describing the cathedral of Compostella:—

“The fourth and last side opens to the north, on the *Azabacheria* or *Plaza de San Martin*. The former term is derived from *azabache*, jet, of which vast quantities of rosaries used to be made and sold on this spot to the pilgrims as they entered, just as is done at Jerusalem,

and in the Great Court of Mecca. The whole thing is borrowed from the oriental: thus *azzabach*, the Persian *schabah*, signifies "small black beads." The making these chaplets constitutes a lucrative trade in all pilgrim cities, whether in the East or in the Peninsula. The mendicant monks manufacture their *cuentas*, counters, from a brown sort of mais berry, which were the precise Moslem *sibhá*, counters, and made of berries, *hab*; the divisions were marked by cuttings of vines, *sarmientos*. They presented these holy beads as a great favour to those who put money into their purses, and the counting them affords an occupation to the indolence of devout Spaniards; so the pious Moors are always telling their *twer*. The modern Egyptian Mahomedan's chaplet, the *seb'hhah*, *soob'hhah*, consists of ninety-nine small beads, with marks of divisions between them. (Lane, i. 92.) At each of these beads the Moslem repeats an epithet in praise of God, whose name is reserved as a climax for the last and largest. In the jealous worship of one God, the Mahomedan contrasts with the Marian Spaniard, who, having borrowed the *rosario* from him, has adapted it to his female worship. Few Spanish females ever go to church without this oriental appendage; and their devotion is.

'To number Ave Marias on their beads.'

"The Dominicans were the managers and great preachers of its virtues and miraculous properties, the

Virgin having given her own chaplet of beads to Saint Dominic, which was called a rosary from the sweet perfume which it emitted. It is carried in the hand, or tied round the neck, while the excellent rope of Saint Francis is only worn round the waist. The hands of many Spanish monks have been observed after death to be perfumed with attar, from their constantly holding the *rosary*, and never washing off its fragrance, just as the cigar has the same effect on profaner fingers. The illiterate, both Moors, Chinese, and Spaniards, find these beads to be a convenient help in the difficult arithmetical operations of counting the "long prayers" and frequent repetitions which Christianity especially condemns, and the Pope and Mahomet especially require, since such mere repetitions have in both creeds an actual saving virtue of themselves, where *forms* have been substituted for spiritual essentials. The *rosario* ought to contain 150 beads, in which only one *Pater noster*, one Lord's prayer, is allowed for every ten *Ave Marias*,—'but one ha'penny-worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack!' But these jet chaplets are gloomy when compared to those made in the bright South. Few however of the *rosarios* of the golden age of Spain have escaped the sacrilegious melting-pot. Those of Cordovese and Mexican manufacture are exquisitely wrought in pure gold filigree, and studded with precious stones; but the virtues of the rosary would form a hand-book of themselves."

(5) *Saint James of Compostella.*

This shrine was at the town of *Santiago*, in the ancient kingdom of Gallicia, and is constantly mentioned by the English pilgrims of the middle ages by the same name translated. Whenever the pilgrimage of "Saint James" is mentioned, it means the pilgrimage to Compostella. The latter name is derived from *campus stelle*, because a star denoted where the body of the saint was concealed. "The great celebrity of this shrine is attributed to the circumstance of the Spaniards being kept back, by papal prohibition, from joining in the crusades, or in pilgrimages to Jerusalem, because they had the infidel in their own territory. It is remarkable that the Spanish Moors had anticipated their Christian neighbours in this species of substitution: for, as Mecca was in the hands of the khalif of the East, his rival in the West sanctioned a local shrine at Cordova, and a visit to the Ceca in that city, where some of the bones of Mahomet were pretended to be preserved, was declared to be in every respect equivalent to a pilgrimage to Mecca. In like manner the imitating Spaniards, who could not go to Jerusalem, set up their local substitute; they chose their mountain capital, where they too said their prophet was buried: thus the sepulchre at Compostella represented alike those of Jerusalem and Mecca. A corn tax, estimated at 200,000*l.* a year, was formerly collected throughout Spain for the shrine of Compostella, and

was not abolished until 1835. The duty of visiting Compostella, which, like that of a pilgrimage to Mecca, was absolutely necessary in many cases to take up an inheritance, led to the construction of roads, bridges, and hospitals,—to armed associations, which put down robbers and maintained order: thus the violence of brute force was tempered.” (Mr. Ford, in Murray’s *Hand-book of Spain*, to which the reader may refer for further illustrations of the place and its superstitions.)

An instance of pilgrimage from England to Compostella occurs as early as the reign of Henry II. in the case of Maurice de Barsham, (of East Barsham, not far from Walsingham,) who made on his departure a donation to the priory of Castle Acre. (Blomefield and Parkin’s *Norfolk*, fol. iii. 759.) In 10 Edward II. the celebrated commander Sir James Audley had been captured at sea on his passage to Saint James. (*Archæologia*, xxvi. 345.) Mr. Ford supplies, in addition, the following important particulars relative to the intercourse between England and Compostella:—

“At the marriage of our Edward I. in 1254, with Leonora, sister of Alonzo el Sabio, a protection to English pilgrims was stipulated for: but they came in such numbers as to alarm the French, insomuch that when Enrique II. was enabled by the latter to dethrone Don Pedro, he was compelled by his allies to prevent any English from entering Spain without the French king’s permission. The capture of Santiago by John of Ghent

increased the difficulties, by rousing the suspicions of Spain also. But in the fifteenth century the number of English pilgrims was great: Rymer mentions 916 licences granted in 1428, and 2460 in 1434. The decay of the pilgrimage mentioned by Erasmus is confirmed by Molina, who says that "the damnable doctrines of the accursed Luther diminished the numbers of Germans and *wealthy* English."

There is an amusing old English ballad, describing the distresses on shipboard on a voyage to Saint James, written about the reign of Henry VI., in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, 1841, 8vo. i. 2.

(6) *Greek literature.*

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to observe that this is one of the quiet ironies so continually thrown out by our author. Erasmus had devoted himself to the extension of Greek learning, which he had publicly taught at the university of Cambridge, as well as in other places. He had been accustomed to hear all kinds of absurd objections to it, and whatever ignorant or prejudiced people were inclined to dislike was ascribed to its influence. He chose to place pilgrimage in the same predicament.

(7) *Some calamity on my family.*

Thus the parishioners of Glastonbury were told that if they did not duly observe Saint Dunstan's day, nothing prosperous would happen to them during that year, or they would sustain some heavy losses in their cattle or estates.—*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 231.

(8) *Maria a Lapide.*

I have translated *apud Rauracos* "at Basle," but have been unable to ascertain whether the church referred to was in that city itself, or somewhere in the neighbouring country.

(9) *The epitaph of Beda.*

This alludes to a story which seems to have been invented to account for the unusual epithet *venerabilis* being attributed to Beda, instead of the more usual one of *sanctus*. It is as follows :—When, after the death of the learned Anglo-Saxon, one of his scholars was endeavouring to compose an epitaph upon him in a single leonine verse, he began, *Hac sunt in fossa*, and would have concluded with *Bedæ sancti* or *presbyteri ossa*, but could not manage the metre, no other word occurring to

him; so that at last he went weary to bed. And behold! in the morning he found engraved on the tomb by the hands of an angel—

Hæc sunt in fossa Bedæ Venerabilis ossa.

The inscription which was visible in the time of Erasmus on the shrine of Beda in the abbey church of Durham, and which is historically known to have been inscribed by Bishop Pudsey at the beginning of the twelfth century, commenced in like manner, and consisted of these four lines—

Continet hæc theca Bedæ Venerabilis ossa.
 Sensum factori Christus dedit, æsque datori :
 Petrus opus fecit, præsul dedit hoc Hugo donum ;
 Sic in utroque suum veneratus utrumque patronum.

(10) *The scroll brought to Saint Giles.*

Saint Giles was abbat of Arles in Provence, in the time of the emperor Charlemagne; who invited him to Orleans, and requested him to intercede with the Almighty for the pardon of his sins. The saint was performing this office, when an angel appeared, and laid upon the altar a scroll thus inscribed,

Egidii merito Caroli peccata remitto.

(11) *Stones which conceal nothing.*

The Dutch annotators of Erasmus say that he here alludes to the Lapis Lydius, or touchstone used for testing metals: but an Englishman will think of his own proverb, Stone walls have ears.

(12) *Paul carries a sword.*

The conceit of Erasmus in this passage, that the saints might turn their instruments of martyrdom into weapons of defence, was anticipated, so far as Saint Paul is concerned, in the motto of a very elegant monastic seal, which represents a kneeling monk, holding the banner of the Church of London, charged with a figure of Saint Paul, bearing his sword drawn. This motto is derived from

NON SINE CAUSA GLADIUM PORTAT.

(13) *Saint William.*

We had in England a saint of this name at York, who was one of the early archbishops; and another at Norwich, a boy said to have been martyred by the Jews; but the saint to whom Erasmus alludes was a count of Aquitaine, one of the most distinguished commanders

under Charlemagne, who in his latter days, in the year 806, retired into a monastery which he had founded near Lyons. Hence the combination in his costume of the warrior and the monk.

(14) *Saint Anthony hath his sacred fire.*

This alludes to the disease now known as erysipelas. Mr. Pettigrew, in his interesting work on Medical Superstitions, 8vo. 1844, remarks that, "Bollandus gives an account of many miracles wrought by the intercession of Saint Anthony, particularly in the distemper called *sacred fire*, which since his time has been called Saint Anthony's fire; it having miraculously ceased through his patronage when raging violently in many parts of Europe in the eleventh century."

(15) *Situation of Walsingham.*

The words of the original are, "Ad extremum Angliæ finem, inter Occidentem et Septemtrionem, haud procul a mari, passuum fere tribus millibus:" a description which certainly is far from accurate, and which would be enough to puzzle any commentator, if it was not ascertained from so many other proofs that Walsingham is intended. There is, indeed, a note in the Dutch editions

of the Colloquies, the writer of which was so far misled as to suppose the *Virgo Parathalassia* was "Saint Maries," near Falmouth, in Cornwall (an evident confusion with Saint Mawe's). Even as respects the distance of Walsingham from the sea, Erasmus had not preserved an accurate recollection. It is about seven miles from the town of Wells, the nearest port, and eight from the sea; but most of the pilgrims coming by sea would probably land at Lynn, at a distance of twenty-seven miles.

(16) *It is a town maintained by scarcely anything else but the number of its visitors.*

There is a remarkable similarity between this passage of Erasmus and the description given by Mr. Russel of Mariazell, in Styria, the modern focus of Austrian pilgrimage. "The town," says that traveller, "is small and mean-looking; it consists, in fact, principally of inns and alehouses, to accommodate the perpetual influx of visitors, which never ceases all the year round, except when snow has rendered the mountains impassable. The immense size of the beds in these hostelries shows at once to how many inconveniences the pious are willing to submit. The pilgrims, however, who can pretend to the luxury of a bed are few in number. Above all, during the time that the annual procession from Vienna is on

the spot, it is not possible that the greater part of the crowd can be able to find lodgings; and, though there were accommodation, no small portion of them are too poor to pay for it. These, from necessity, and many others from less justifiable motives, spend the night in the neighbouring woods, both sexes intermingled; and till morning dawns they continue drinking and singing songs, which are anything but hymns of devotion. Fighting used to be the order of the night, so long as the procession from Gratz (which likewise is always a numerous one) performed its pilgrimage at the same time with that from Vienna. It was found necessary to put a stop to this public scandal, by ordering the pilgrimages to take place at different times." About 80 different processions of pilgrims proceed annually to Mariazell from different places in the Austrian dominions. The Vienna procession arrives on the 2nd of July; that from Gratz on the 12th of August; and the total number of pilgrims who visit the spot in one year is about 100,000. In Dr. Dibdin's Bibliographical Tour there are some graphic representations, by Mr. F. C. Lewis, of the bivouacs of these pilgrims on their journey.

(17) *This college has scarcely any other resources than from the bounty of the Virgin.*

Here Erasmus was not fully informed. The priory

had considerable landed property, the annual income of which amounted to 39*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* in the 26th Hen. VIII. whilst the offerings were as follows:—In the Chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary, 250*l.* 1*s.*; at the sacred Milk of the blessed Virgin, 2*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*; in the Chapel of Saint Lawrence, 8*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.*

(18) *Andrew and Katharine.*

The tomb of Saint Andrew was at Constantinople: that of Saint Katharine at Mount Sinai—"ex ejus tumulo oleum indesinenter emanat: quod cunctorum debiliū membra sanat." (Petrus de Natalibus, lib. x. ca. cv.) The same miraculous virtues were attributed to the tomb of Saint Perpetuus, at Dinan in Britany; and are assigned by Matthew Paris to that of Robert the founder of the house of Gilbertines at Knaresborough.

In his treatise called "Ecclesiastes," or the Preacher, Erasmus thus enumerates the *posthumous* merits of the saints: "Ad insequens tempus pertinent, prodigia mortem consequentia, et fons salubris aquæ illic exiliens ubi martyris caput amputatum terram contigit, aut *oleum medicantis efficacis sponte resudans e monumento*, aut ad martyrum monumenta profligati demones, quæ pro divinis testimoniis haberi debent."

(19) *Mary was not buried.*

It is unknown how long the Virgin survived the crucifixion of our Saviour: Epiphanius saying it was for twenty-four years, other writers for twelve; whilst in the vision of Saint Elizabeth of Seonangia it is related that it was for little more than a year. This version seems to have been adopted to accommodate the circumstance of all the apostles being brought together to her death-bed. The same vision relates that on the fortieth day after her death her soul was re-united to her body, and she was carried up to heaven. But those who believed this *corporeal* assumption—which was not universally the case, Saint Jerome thinking it safer to suppose the assumption was only of her soul—were not content without making it take place on the third day after death, after the prototype of our Lord's resurrection. The Assumption was a solemn festival of the Church, observed on the 15th of August.

(20) *The knight who was saved from his pursuer.*

An English version of this story is cited in Blomefield's History of Norfolk, from an old MS. which described the wicker gate as "not past an elne hye, and three quarters in bredth. And a certain Norfolk knight, Sir Raaf Boutetourt, armed cap a pee, and on horseback,

being in days of old, 1314, pursued by a cruel enemy, and in the utmost danger of being taken, made full speed for this gate, and, invoking this lady for his deliverance, he immediately found himself and his horse within the close and sanctuary of the priory, in a safe asylum, and so foiled his enemy."

Though it must be regretted that Blomefield did not print the "old MS." here quoted more at full, or at least state where it was preserved, yet it combines with other proofs to show that Erasmus closely described what he had actually seen at Walsingham, without (as some might suspect) drawing upon his invention, or borrowing (as Fosbroke imagined) incidents from Loretto or elsewhere.

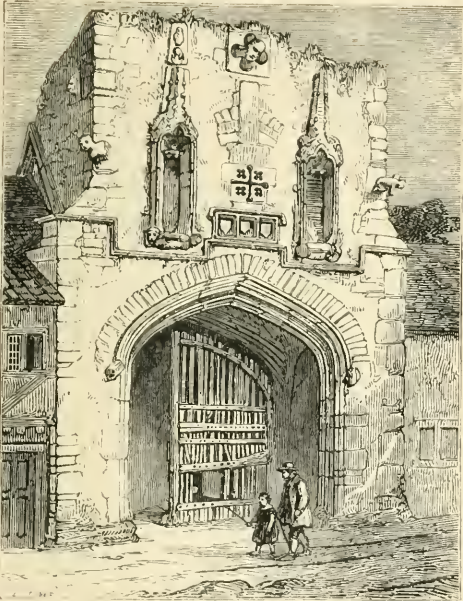
As to the costume in which Erasmus describes the knight to have been represented, we must not be surprised if we do not find it coincide with the date assigned to the occurrence; for it was very possible that the plate was engraved at a period considerably later, and it is well known that it was the practice with the medieval artists to adopt the costume of their own day. Supposing the plate to have been engraved in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the knight would very likely appear with a very slender waist; and even earlier, from the time when Edward the Third wore the very long beard which appears on his effigy in Westminster Abbey, many of his knights may have followed their sovereign's fashion. Of the bifid beard worn in the reign of Richard II. there are abundant examples. I have been favoured by the Rev.

Charles Boutell, M.A. the author of the beautifully embellished volume on "Monumental Brasses and Slabs" recently published, with the use of the engraving which faces p. 18. It is the brass of Sir William de Tendring, who died in 1408, in the church of Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk.

The gateway in the story may be presumed to have been that of which a view is here presented to the reader, and which, when Mr. Cotman drew it, appears to have had an old pair of gates, with the very wicket which was the supposed scene of the miracle. This is now altered: but the gatehouse remains, standing in the town street, and opposite to it was formerly a range of cooks' shops and houses of entertainment for the pilgrims, one of which, when Mr. Gough visited the town in 1763, retained its old sign, of a drinking-pot, carved in stone. The head in a quatrefoil in the front of the gateway, and two smaller ones in the side walls, are portions of the original design, and intended to represent the porter and warders on the look-out.

(21) *The shed brought from a great distance.*

This part of the mysteries of Walsingham was directly parodied from the famous shrine of Loretto, which, next to Rome itself, was the great focus of Italian pilgrimage. The *santissima casa* of Loretto is supposed to have been



GATEHOUSE OF WALSINGHAM PRIORY.

the scene of the Annunciation at Nazareth, first conveyed by angels to Tersato in Dalmatia, and thence, in 1294, to Loretto. It is incased with marble, but at the distance of half a yard,—“the house itself,” writes the Earl of Perth in 1695, “you see within, plain and pure, like our blessed Lady’s condition,”—and around them both a spacious church was erected. It was in imitation of this that “the new work” was erected around the wooden chapel at Walsingham; and if Erasmus failed at all in his recollections of the place, we might suppose that he did so in attributing to the building which stood over the Wells the legend which (following the Loretto prototype) more properly belonged to the wooden chapel within the Virgin’s church. His account, however, is confirmed by the document noticed in Note 23.

(22) *Two wells, full to the brink.*

These wells still exist, lined with ashlar stone, and near them is what appears to have been a bath, but whether formed in the days of the canons, or since, is not clear. The wells are now called “The Wishing Wells,” and the popular topographical books on Norfolk say “that the devotees to the Lady of Walsingham were taught to believe that whosoever was permitted to drink of these waters might obtain what they *then* wished for.” But this seems rather to be a *modern* superstition, or fancy, borrowed from other well legends.

“The holy wells are (now) quite plain, round, and uncovered, and on one side of them is a square bath ; on the other side, a small early-English doorway.”—Mr. J. H. Parker’s *Architectural Notes*, prepared for the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain, 1847.

(23) *The bear’s skin fixed to the rafters.*

In the Queries prepared for the visitors sent by Henry VIII. to make inquisition at Walsingham, a very curious document, which will be found in the Appendix, it is asked, “What of the house where the beere-skyne is ? and of the knyght ?” And they conclude with inquiring, “And whether the house over the welles were not made within tyme of remembraunce, or at the leastwise renewed ?” Indeed it may be surmised that many of these queries were suggested by a perusal of Erasmus’s account.

(24) *So much of his Blood upon earth.*

There were two legends respecting relics of the Blood of Christ, one that it was caught by the blessed Virgin and Saint John, as it flowed from his side upon the cross ; the other, that it was collected by Nicodemus and Joseph when they took down the body and placed it in the tomb.

As may be supposed from the expression of Erasmus, many churches claimed to possess portions of it, among which some of the best known were that of Santa Croce in Rome, the cathedral of Bruges in Belgium, and the abbey of Fescamp in Normandy. In England it was the boast of Glastonbury, of Westminster, of Hailes in Gloucestershire, and of Ashridge in Buckinghamshire. At the first of these, it formed an accessory to the religious romance of Joseph of Arimathea, the fabulous founder of Glastonbury, who was said to have brought into Britain two silver vessels filled with the Saviour's blood, which, by his order, were buried in his tomb. The blood at Westminster was sent to king Henry the Second by the Master of the Temple at Jerusalem, attested by the seal of the Patriarch; and Matthew Paris relates that in 1249 the king summoned his nobles and prelates to celebrate the feast of Saint Edward in Saint Peter's church, *pro veneratione sancti Sanguinis Christi nuper adepti*. The relics at Hailes and at Ashridge were originally one, obtained from Germany by Edmund earl of Cornwall, who when a boy with the king his father (Richard king of the Romans, the younger son of king John) noticed it among the imperial treasures, it having been originally brought by Charlemagne from Greece. It was a portion only however of the German relic that was acquired by the earl; and this he brought to England in a vessel of gold, which he offered in person at the altar of the monastery which

his father had founded at Hailes, near Wincheombe. Afterwards founding on his own part the college of Bonhommes at Ashridge, near his manor of Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, they acquired of his gift another portion of the same relic. Indeed they claimed to have two-thirds of the quantity which the earl had brought from Germany, whilst only one-third was left at Hailes: yet the latter place was the most famous in England for this particular object of superstitious veneration, and Chaucer in his *Pardoner's Tale* mentions as among "outrageous othes"—

By Goddes precious herte, and by his nailes,
And by the blood of Crist that is in Hailes.

The ecclesiastical historians of the party of the Reformation have generally recounted a story of the Blood of Hailes that it was discovered to be duck's blood, which was renewed every Saturday. This is derived from a statement written by William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI.; but a different account is furnished by the commissioners sent purposely to examine the supposed relic in the 30th Hen. VIII. They describe it as having been "inclosed within a rownde vesalle, garnyssid and bownd on every syde with sylver," and the relic itself "to be an unctuowse gumme colouryd," which when in the glass appeared to be a glistening red like blood, but when removed was yellow, like amber or base gold, "and doth cleve-to, as gumme

or byrdlyme." "Upon the faith of this report, the bishop of Rochester (John Kelsey) preached at Paules crosse, Nov. 24, 1538, and there showed the bloud of Hailes, and affirmed the same to be no bloud, but honie clarified, and coloured with saffron, as had beene evidentlie proved before the king and his council." (Holinshed.) The commissioners' certificate is printed by Hearne at the end of his edition of *Benedictus Abbas Petrob.* 8vo. 1735, p. 751, with fac-similes of the seals and signatures of the commissioners, (who were Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, the prior of Worcester, the abbot of Hayles, and Richard Tracy, esq.) and accompanied by an historical dissertation by the Rev. George Coningsby. See also further on this subject in Todd's *History of the College of Ashridge*, folio, 1823, and Wright's *Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 237.

(25) *Our Lord's cross.*

Scarcely any inventory of relics is preserved which does not include portions of the True Cross: and few churches of importance, or pious persons of wealth, would be deficient in this very favourite object of devotion. The majority of its possessors were probably unconscious of the circumstance that their good fortune was shared by so many others; but if such an objection was ever forced upon their notice, it was answered in the manner

hinted at by Erasmus, that the wood itself, like the widow's cruise, possessed miraculous powers of self-multiplication.* At Bury were "peces of the holie crosse able to make a hole crosse of."†

A very voluminous legend was fabricated as the History of the Holy Cross, which will be found in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jos. de Voragine, and in several distinct books. Among others, there is a Dutch edition of 1483, with 64 woodcuts, the text of which is reprinted in Dibdin's *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. iii. pp. 348-377, with a poetical translation by Mr. R. W. Wade. In this religious romance the existence and adventures of the True Cross were not only traced downwards from the Crucifixion, but upwards as a beam and a tree to the creation of the world. Seth, the son of Adam, is related to have repaired, by direction of his father, to the gate of Paradise; where the guardian angel, having allowed him a hasty glance at the wonders of the garden, placed in his hand three seeds from the Tree of Life, and directed him to deposit them in the mouth and nostrils of Adam,

* What Erasmus has said of the True Cross has passed almost into a proverbial expression. A favourite American writer of our own times, in describing the fabricated relics of a shrine of modern idolatry, says, "There was an ample supply also of Shakspeare's mulberry-tree, which seems to have as extraordinary powers of self-multiplication as the wood of the True Cross, of which there is enough extant to build a ship of the line."—Washington Irving's *Visit to Stratford-upon-Avon*.

† Wright's *Letters on Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 85.

when laid in his grave. From these seeds arose a tree, which was cut down for the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem; but, like the "corner-stone" of Scripture, it was eventually rejected by the builders. The story then proceeds, that the Queen of Sheba took notice of this timber, and prophetically announced that it would be the wood whereon He should hang through whose death the kingdom of the Jews would be brought to an end. The discovery of the Cross by the empress Helena is related to have taken place shortly after the signal victory which her son Constantine obtained, under its tutelary influence, over his rival Maxentius. It was dug up from Mount Calvary. The feast of the Invention (or discovery) of the Holy Cross was observed throughout Christendom on the 3rd of May; and on the 14th of September there was another, called the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which commemorated its being brought back in triumph to Jerusalem by the Emperor Heraclius, after it had been for some time in the possession of the Persians. A curious series of fresco paintings, representing the history of the Cross, was discovered in 1804 on the walls of a chapel at Stratford-upon-Avon, which had belonged to the town guild, named of the Holy Cross; and they were engraved by the late Thomas Fisher, F.S.A. in a volume completed in folio, 1838, with letter-press by the present writer.

King Henry the Seventh bequeathed by his will to the altar which was to be made within the grate of his tomb

“ *our grete pece of the holie Crosse*, which by the high provision of our Lord God was conveyed, brought, and delivered to us from the Isle of Cyo in Greece, set in gold, and garnished with perles and precious stones; and also the precieuse relique of *oon of the leggs of Saint George*, set in silver parcell gilte, which came to the hands of our broder and cousyn Lewys of Fraunce the tyme that he wonn and recovered the citie of Millein, and given and sent to us by our cousyne the cardenel of Amboys, legate of Fraunce; the which pece of the holie Crosse, and leg of Saincte George, we wol bee set upon the saide aulter, for the garnisshing of the same upon al principal and solemne festes, and al other festes, after the discrecion of our chauntery preists singing for us at the same aulter.”

(26) *Some pilgrims neither pure nor chaste.*

The justice of this stigma upon pilgrimages is confirmed by numberless authorities, ancient and modern. The following passage is quite coincident with the censures of Erasmus:—“ Friar Donald preached at Paules Crosse that our Ladie was a virgin, and yet at her pilgrimages there was made many a foule meeting; and loud cried out, Ye men of London, gang on yourselves with your wives to Wilsdon,* in the divel’s name, or else

* Wilsdon, on the road to Edgeware, a short suburban pilgrimage.

keepe them at home with you, with a sorrow." (Camden's Remaines, p. 281.) There are some graphic sketches of these characteristic evils of pilgrimages in the discussion between archbishop Arundell and Thorpe the Lollard in the Introduction to the present volume.

(27) *Robert Aldrich.*

The companion and interpreter of Erasmus at Walsingham was subsequently Bishop of Carlisle. Robert Aldrich, a native of Burnham in Buckinghamshire, was a scholar of Eton, and elected to King's college, Cambridge, in 1507. He was one of the itinerant preachers appointed by the university in 1523; and was a master of Eton School. He was made archdeacon of Colchester in 1531, a canon of Windsor and registrar of the Garter in 1534, provost of Eton 1536, and bishop of Carlisle in 1537. He died at his episcopal manor of Horncastle, in Lincolnshire, March 5, 1555-6. Several of his letters to Erasmus, and others of Erasmus to him, are extant. His epistolary skill was also employed by the university of Cambridge, to address the King: "Anno 1527. Magistro Aldryg, pro tribus litteris missis ad dominum regem, 10s." He was the author of a volume of Epigrams; and of some theological treatises. He is highly eulogized in the *Encomia of Leland*.

(28) *As your Homer says.*

The line in the Iliad is this, (O. 280)

Τάρβησαν, πᾶσιν δὲ παρὰ ποσὶ κάππεσε θυμός·

Their hearts with fear seemed falling to their feet.

(29) *Indulgences.*

The documents against which Erasmus directs the shafts of his satire in these passages, were the usual certificates procured by the custodians of local shrines, in order to recommend their advantages to the community.

When king Henry the Second had offered his relic of the True Blood to the church of Saint Peter at Westminster, he is said to have procured from several bishops indulgences to those who might visit it, amounting to six years and 116 days of pardon.

In 1307, Gilbert bishop of Orkney (a suffragan of the see of Norwich) granted an indulgence of forty days of pardon to all persons of the diocese who should come in pilgrimage to Saint Edmund's image in the chapel at Hoxne in Suffolk, or who left any legacies towards repairing it, or made any offerings there by themselves or others.—Blomefield, ii. 438.

Fac-simile engravings of eight indulgences are to be seen in Fisher's Paintings, &c. at Stratford-upon-Avon, folio, 1838. They were all granted in favour of the Guild

and Chapel of the Holy Cross in that town, but for various specific objects, and for various terms of indulgence. A brief enumeration of them will help to elucidate the views with which such documents were framed. They are: 1. Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, in 1270, for forty days, to benefactors to the hospital; 2. the same bishop, 1276, forty days, to those offering prayers in the chapel for certain parties there interred; 3. Rowland Jorse, archbishop of Armagh, 1312, for forty days, to benefactors of the chapel; 4. Walter Maydenstone, bishop of Worcester, 1314, for twenty days, with the like object; 5. Thomas Cobham, bishop of Worcester, 1325, for thirty days, to contributors to the bell-tower; 6. Robert de Stratford, bishop of Chichester, 1354, for forty days, to those who should devoutly say the Lord's Prayer and the Angels' Salutation (*Ave Maria*) for the soul of master Ralph Hatton of Stratford, late bishop of London (believed to have been the uncle of the bishop granting this); 7. William Whittlesey, bishop of Worcester, 1367, for forty days; and 8. Henry Wakefield, bishop of Worcester 1381, for forty days. These last two are especially remarkable as depicting of the superstitious worship of the Virgin and of a local pilgrimage. The former grants to those who for the sake of pilgrimage (*peregrinationis causa*), oblation, or devotion, should visit the image of the glorious Virgin Mary in the parish church of Stratford-upon-Avon. or so often as before that image they should five times devoutly

repeat the angelic Salutation, namely, Ave Maria, in honour of the five chief joys of the same glorious Virgin, with kneeling or devout inclination of the body or head, forty days of pardon. The latter was issued, in nearly the same terms, to those who should contribute to the ornaments of the Virgin's altar, or to its lights, or should repeat her Salutation five times.

An indulgence for the church of Allhallows Barking, in London, is printed at length in Newcourt's Repertorium; and a long catalogue of indulgences granted to contributors to the fabric of the church of Durham forms an Appendix (pp. 129—138) to the Rites, &c. of Durham, published by the Surtees Society in 1842.

(30) *Saint Bernard.*

Saint Bernard (born in the year 1090) rendered his name famous as the founder of the Cistercian order, and as the author of many homilies, discourses, and epistles. Erasmus, in his *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, censures Saint Bernard for too freely borrowing the phraseology of Scripture; a fault common to the early monastic writers, who adapted or rather perverted it to commonplace topics or even to jocose allusions.* He was the

* "Sunt qui ludunt verbis Scripturæ divinæ, ac veluti fit in contonibus poetarum, ad alienum sensum ceu per jocum abutun-

son of a knight in Burgundy, and of a mother distinguished for her piety, who is related to have dreamed before his birth that she was pregnant of a beautifully white barking whelp, which was interpreted to the effect that he would become an excellent preacher. The prodigy to which Erasmus alludes in the text has not been discovered by the Editor: though he has consulted the last and best life of Saint Bernard, written by Dr. Neander, of which there is an English translation by Miss Wrench.

(31) *Votive inscription.*

The inscription left by Erasmus at Walsingham in the year 1511, (as then mentioned by him in a letter to Ammonius, which has been noticed in the Introduction,) occurs in his Works, collected by Frobenius, in fol. Basil. 1540, tom. v. p. 1109, as follows.

tur. Quod aliquoties facit divus Bernardus, venuste magis quam graviter, meo quidem iudicio. Sic enim imbiberat vir ille sacras literas, ut nusquam non occursarent. Nam quod hodie quidam, si quando festivi student videri, verba mystica depravant ad jocos scurriles, non solum indoctum est, verum etiam impium, et supplicio dignum." This style of writing will be found strongly exemplified in the Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, and in the Latin poetry attributed to Walter Mapes, two of the publications of the Camden Society.

The original Latin title is wanting; but the appearance of the inscription itself in capital letters is here restored.

Des. Erasmi Roterodami carmen Iambicum, ex voto dicatum Virgini Walsinghamicæ apud Britannos.

Ω ΧΑΙΡ' ΙΗΣΟΥ ΜΗΤΕΡ ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΕΝΗ,
 ΜΟΝΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ,
 ΑΛΛΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑΣ ΣΟΙ ΔΙΔΟΑΣΙ ΔΩΡΕΑΣ,
 'Ο ΜΕΝ ΓΕ ΧΡΥΣΟΝ, 'Ο ΔΕ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΝ,
 'Ο ΔΕ ΤΙΜΙΟΥΣ ΦΕΡΩΝ ΧΑΡΙΖΕΤΑΙ ΛΙΘΟΥΣ.
 ΑΝΘ' 'ΩΝ ΑΠΑΙΤΟΥΣ' 'ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕΙΝ ΔΕΜΑΣ,
 ΑΛΛΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΛΟΥΤΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΟΥ
 ΚΥΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΡΑΤΟΝ ΟΥΝΟΜ' ΕΛΠΙΖΕΙΝ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ,
 ΠΥΛΙΟΥ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΛΙΩΝΑΣ ΛΑΧΕΙΝ.
 ΑΥΤΟΣ Δ' ΔΟΙΔΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΗΣ, ΠΕΝΗΣ Γ' 'ΟΜΩΣ
 ΣΤΙΧΟΥΣ ΕΝΕΓΚΑΣ, ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΞΕΕΣΤ' ΑΛΛΟΤΙ,
 ΔΟΣΕΩΣ ΑΜΟΙΒΗΝ ΕΥΤΕΛΕΣΤΑΤΗΣ, ΓΕΡΑΣ
 ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ΑΙΤΩ, ΘΕΟΣΕΒΗ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝ,
 ΗΑΣΩΝ Θ' ΑΠΑΞ 'ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΝ.
 ΕΥΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΑΣΜΟΥ.

Which may be thus translated,—

Hail! Jesu's Mother, blessed evermore,
 Alone of women God-bearing and Virgin,
 Others may offer to thee various gifts,
 This man his gold, that man again his silver,
 A third adorn thy shrine with precious stones:
 For which some ask a guerdon of good-health,
 Some riches; others hope that by thy aid



SEAL OF ETON COLLEGE.

They soon may bear a father's honour'd name,
 Or gain the years of Pylus' reverend sage.
 But the poor poet, for his well-meant song,
 Bringing these verses only,—all he has,
 Asks in reward for his most humble gift
 That greatest blessing, piety of heart,
 And free remission of his many sins.

THE VOW OF ERASMUS.

(32) *The expensive mitre and staff.*

This alludes to the cost which was attendant upon the process of procuring, from the papal see, exempt jurisdictions for the great abbeys, and by which their superiors were elevated to the dignity of mitred prelates.

(33) *So many angels attend her at her hands and feet.*

It was usual to exhibit the Virgin surrounded with angels, particularly in representations of her Assumption, of which an example is given in the annexed seal of Eton College, made in the reign of Edward the Fourth, whose arms thereon are placed between his usual supporters, two lions.

In the Coronation of the Virgin she was also represented surrounded with angels, two of which bring down

a crown for her head. Others hold censers, and others lighted candles.

(34) *The beam on which the Virgin had rested.*

The particular legend here referred to is not known to the present Editor; but several similar stories are current. In Spain the Virgin came down to Zaragoza to visit Saint Iago, and that city claimed on that ground the supremacy of Arragon. So Toledo owes its elevation in Castile to the like compliment paid to Saint Ildefonso; and the slab on which she there alighted is encased in red marble, and railed off, with this inscription, "Adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus." (See the Handbook of Spain, p. 485.)

(35) *Saint Christopher at Paris.*

There were few images more frequent in churches than those of Saint Christopher, if we may judge from the number of paintings of this subject which are still discovered from time to time in our own churches, among which has been one in Becket's Crown at the eastern termination of Canterbury Cathedral.

The figure of Christopher, carrying the infant Saviour across the stream of a river, is supposed to have been

symbolical of the whole Christian profession: besides which, the personification was accounted the patron of fishing, hunting, and country sports, which of course made him a very popular saint.

Erasmus has again introduced the gigantic Christopher of the church of Nôtre Dame at Paris in his colloquy called "The Shipwreck," when describing the religious vows made by the passengers in their distress—

Anthony. Did no one think of Christopher?

Adolphus. I heard one, and could not help smiling, who with a shout, lest he should not be heard, promised to Christopher who dwells in the great church at Paris, and is a mountain rather than a statue, a wax image as great as himself. He had repeated this more than once, bellowing as loud as he could, when the man who happened to be next to him, and knew him, touched him with his finger, and hinted, "You could not pay that, even if you set all your goods to auction." Then the other, in a voice now low enough, that Christopher might not hear him, whispered, "Be still, you fool! Do you fancy I am speaking in earnest? If I once touch the shore I shall not give him a tallow candle."

Anthony. Oh the blockhead! I suppose he was some Dutchman.

Adolphus. No: but he was a Zealander.

This colossal figure stood near the western entrance of the church of Nôtre Dame, against the second pillar, and opposite to it, against another pillar, was the effigy

of a knight on his knees, on a platform which bore this inscription :

“ C'est la representation de noble homme messire Antoine des Essars chevalier, jadis sieur de Thieure et de Glatigny au Val de Galie, conseiller et chambellan du roy nostre sire Charles sixiesme de ce nom : lequel chevalier fist faire ce grand image en l'honneur et remembrance de monsieur saint Christophle en l'an 1413. Priez dieu pour son ame.”

This extraordinary monument is said to have been erected in remembrance of the deliverance of Antoine des Essars, who, having been arrested with his brother the *Surintendant des Finances*, who was beheaded, dreamed that the giant saint came to his prison window, broke the bars, and carried him off in his arms. He was declared innocent a few days after.

In a Latin poem entitled *Lutecia*, written by maistre Raoul Boteray, Avocat au Grand Conseil, the statue is thus described :

Eecce sub ingressu, primisque in faucibus ædis,
 Moles gigantea sese ingredientibus offert
 Portitor immanis Christi, frons torva, trucesque
 Illi oculi, et vasto grandes in corpore setæ,
 Atque humeri ingentes, admirandique lacerti,
 Instar montis enim est Christum illa ferentis imago,
 Quam stupet aspectu primo novus advena in urbem.
 Fert manus annosum nodoso eortice quecreum,
 Qua saliat undas, qua rapidos secat arduus annes,
 Præruptæ rupis dorso connixus inhæret.

This wooden giant was removed in 1785.

An image of Saint Christopher was deemed a charm against sudden death. Erasmus, when discoursing on this subject, says, "Horrendum est male mori, non subito. Atque hic superstitiosus mortalium timor sibi vana fingit remedia, *simulacrum Christophori*, certas preculas ad Virginem matrem, voces ac notulas quasdem magicis non dissimiles." Epist. 671, ad Jod. Gaverum.

In his Praise of Folly, Erasmus again alludes to this superstition; if a person, he says, paid his devotion to Saint Christopher early in the morning, it was believed he would be safe from death during that day; and in his Colloquy on a Soldier's Life, he mentions that soldiers used to draw a figure of Christopher with charcoal upon the cloth of their tents, no doubt with the like idea of its protective influence.

(36) *The French have named it a toad-stone.*

The word alluded to is *crepau dine*, which has been used in several senses: that which seems to answer nearest to the present passage is: "A kind of stone which was formerly supposed to be found in the head of a toad, and which is the tooth or palate of a fish petrified."—Dictionnaire de l'Academie Française, 1835. But still this does not correspond with the "pellucid" stone described by Erasmus.

(37) *The gold and silver statues.*

No catalogue of these treasures is known to be now in existence ; but we have testamentary record of two of the most remarkable. Bartholomew lord Burghersh, K.G., by his will, made in 1369, ordered a statue of himself on horseback to be made in silver, and offered to our Lady of Walsingham ; and King Henry VII. in his lifetime had given a kneeling figure of himself, which is thus alluded to in his will :—

“ Also, if it be not perfourmed by our self in our life, we wol that our executours cause an ymage of silver and gilt, of like facion and weight as is the ymage that we have caused to be made to be offred and sette before our Lady at Walsingham, to be made, with this scripture, Sancte Thoma, intercede pro me. The same ymage for a perpetuall memorie to bee made offred, and sette before Sainete Thomas of Canterbury, in the metropolitan churche of Canterbury, in suche place as by us in our life, or by our executours after oure deceasse, shall be thought mooste convenient and honourable, and as nighe to the Shrine of Saint Thomas as wel may bee : And that upon booth the sides of the table whereupon our said ymage shall knele be made a brode border, and in the same graven and written with large letters, blake enameled, theis words, REX HENRICUS SEPTIMUS.”

The “fashion” of this kneeling effigy, the more particular description of which is dispensed with by the re-

ference to that at Walsingham, is probably supplied by a preceding bequest made in the same will to the Shrine of Saint Edward at Westminster :

“ Also we wol, that our executours, yf it be not doon by our selfe in our life, cause to be made an ymage of a king, representing our owen persone, the same ymage to be of tymber, covered and wrought accordingly with plate of fyne gold, in maner of an armed man, and upon the same armour a coote-armour of our armes of England and of France enameled, with a sword and spurres accordingly ; and the same ymage to knele upon a table of silver and gilte, and holding betwixt his hands the crowne which it pleased God to geve us with the victorie of our enemye at our first felde : the which ymage and crowne [apparently the identical crown placed on Henry’s head at Bosworth field,] we geve and bequethe to Almighty God, our blessed Lady Saint Mary, and Saint Edward King and Confessour ; and the same ymage and crowne, in the fourme afore-rehersed, we wol be set upon and in the mydds of the creste of the Shryne of Saint Edward king, in suche a place as by us in our life, or by our executours after our deceasse, shall be thought moost convenient and honorable : And we wol that our said ymage be above the kne of the hight of thre fote, soo that the hede and half the breste of our said ymage may clerly appere above and over the said crowne ; and that upon booth sides of the said table be a convenient brode border, and in the same be graven and written with large

letters, blake-enamelled, theis words, REX HENRICUS SEPTIMUS."

(38) *Now called Saint Thomas's.*

This was a slight misapprehension on the part of Erasmus ; but some other authors have adopted it, and among them archbishop Parker, in the Lives of his predecessors (*art.* Becket). The shrine of Saint Thomas was, indeed, by far the principal object of devotion at Canterbury ;* and Professor Willis remarks, "There is some ground for supposing that the chapel which was erected on the site of that of the Holy Trinity was dedicated to Saint Thomas, for it was always called the Chapel of St. Thomas. Gervase so designates it, and it is even so described in Hollar's plan. Now, however, it has resumed its ancient title of the Trinity Chapel." But the dedication of the cathedral at large was to Christ, and by that name it has been constantly designated at all periods of its history.

Camden, in his *Britannia*, while following the description of Erasmus, silently corrected this error. He says

* For this we have the authority of Cardinal Morton, that the oblations made yearly to the shrine of Saint Thomas amounted on an average to 800*l.* or 1000*l.* ; those to our Lady to 200*l.* ; those to Christ sometimes to five marks, sometimes to twelve marks, *hoc anno nihil.* Appeal, &c.

of the city, "Sacrarum vero ædium magna structura et frequentia celeberrimas quasque superavit. Inter has duæ maxime enituerunt, Christi scilicet et S. Augustini, utrumque Benedictinis monachis oppletum. Christi templum, in medio quasi urbis sinu, *tanta majestate se in cælum erigit, ut procul etiam intuentibus religionem incutiat.*" The latter passages are copied, word for word, from the "Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo."

(39) *Tuscus, Fuscus, and Berrus.*

These are not much like the real names of the reputed assassins of Becket, who were four in number,—William de Tracy, Reginald FitzUrse, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Brito; and of whom some notice will be found, combined with the account of the Murder given in the Appendix. Hasted supposes that the statues mentioned by Erasmus stood in the four niches still remaining over the doorway of the South Porch of the cathedral. (History of Kent, fol. 1799, iv. 519.) This porch was erected towards the close of the fourteenth century.

(40) *Books fixed to the pillars.*

This was a practice customary both before and since the invention of printing. A remarkable inscription still

remains in Saint George's chapel, Windsor, opposite the monument of Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, who died in 1482, recording such a benefaction :

“ Who lyde this Booke here ? The Reverend Fader in God Richard Beauchamp, Bischop of this Diocess of Sarysbury. And wherefore ? To this intent, that Preestes and Ministers of Goddis Chirch may here have the occupacion thereof, seyyng therein theyr divyne servyse, and for all othir that lystyn to sey thereby ther devoeyon. Askyth he any spiritual mede ? Yee, asmoche as oure Lord lyst to reward hym for his goode intent ; praying every man, whose duté or devoeyon is eased by thys booke, they woll say for hym thys commune oryson, *Domine Jesu Christe*, knelyng in the presence of this holy crosse, for the wyche the Reverend Fadir in God aboveseyd hathe grauntid of the tresure of the Chirche to every man xl. dayys of pardon.”

It is well known that, after the Reformation, it was usual to fix the printed Bible, the Homilies, and other books in churches : but further information on this subject than had previously been collected will be found in an article by Mr. Dawson Turner in the Gentleman's Magazine for Feb. 1846, accompanying an engraving of the closet and desk made for Fox's Book of Martyrs in Lessingham church, Norfolk.

(41) *The Gospel of Nicodemus.*

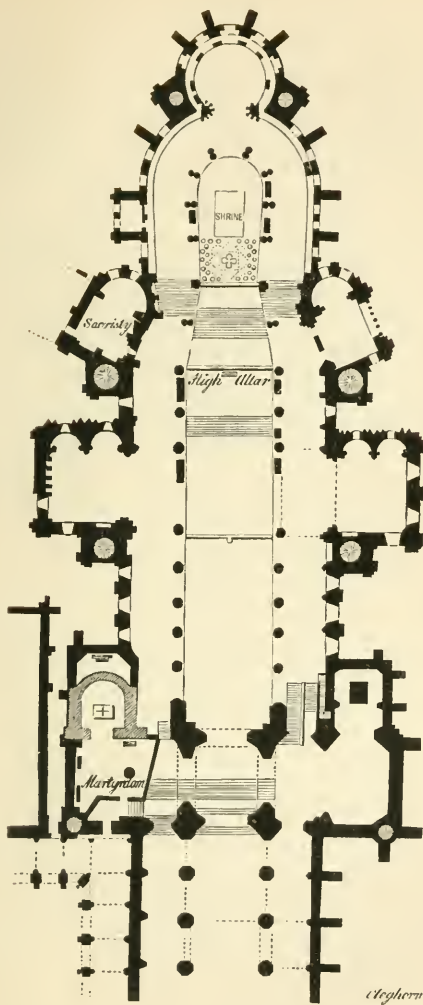
The spurious Gospel of Nicodemus, which Erasmus suggests was preferred at Canterbury to those of the Evangelists, had been printed at London by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509, with woodcuts (see *Typographical Antiquities*, by Dibdin, vol. ii. p. 144). For the dates of other editions, see Watt's *Bibliotheca* and Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*.

(42) *Altar of the Virgin.*

“There the pious man is said to have breathed his last farewell to the Virgin when his death was at hand,” was the story told to Erasmus; and, from the usual pictures of the saint's martyrdom, it was no doubt supposed that his death took place at the foot of an altar. But in truth the altar was erected after the catastrophe, as is clearly stated by the historian Gervase, who describes the spot where the holy Thomas fell as being in front of the solid wall, which is shaded in the accompanying Plan, at the entrance to the north transept (afterwards called *The Martyrdom*). Gervase adds, “The pillar which stood in the midst of this cross, (or entrance to the transept,) as well as the vault which rested on it, were taken down in process of time, out of respect for the martyr, that *the altar, elevated on the place of the martyrdom*, might be seen from a greater distance.”

“ A stone (remarks Professor Willis) is still pointed out on the pavement, which tradition assigns as the exact spot on which Becket fell : a small piece has been cut out of it, which is said to be still preserved at Rome. In some of the monastic representations of Becket’s fall he is slain at the very foot of an altar, but this is only introduced to heighten the sacrilege. The altar [described by Erasmus, and shown in the Plan,] was erected afterwards, and the nearest altar was that of Saint Benedict [in the centre of the ancient apse*]. Thus, comparing representations of this murder on the seals of the archbishops, that of Boniface, 1259, has no altar ; on the seal of Robert, 1273, the altar is in the background, and Becket has his back to it ; on the seal of John Peckham, 1278, the altar again disappears ; but in the seal of John Stratford the victim kneels at the altar with his back to his assailants, and this position is retained in the seals of Islip, Langton, and Arundel.” At the moment when Becket was encountered by the king’s knights, he had just crossed the north transept from the door leading from the cloisters, and was mounting the steps towards the choir, in which the monks were then performing their vespers. He turned round to confront his enemies, and after an altercation, which is fully described by the chronicler, was struck and fell on the spot. The scene

* The apse, which is shaded in the Plan, was removed in 1449, and in its place was erected the Lady Chapel, which still remains.



PLAN OF PART OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

of this great event in the annals of Canterbury was afterwards walled off, in the manner shewn in the Plan, and called THE MARTYRDOM, the following verses being inscribed on the door of entrance :

“ Est sacer intra locus venerabilis atque beatus
Presul ubi sanctus Thomas est martyrizatus.”

This partition was removed in 1734, in consequence of its foundations having given way from interments.

The espousals of king Edward the First with Margaret of France were solemnized by archbishop Robert on the 9th Sept. 1299, at the cloister-door near the door of the Martyrdom.

(43) *The point of the sword.*

The sword of Richard Brito, one of the murderers, supposed to have been that which inflicted the fatal blow, was fractured on the spot by striking against the pavement ; and the monks consequently preserved the piece broken off, as an object of veneration, and a source of profit. In the account of the cofferer of Queen Philippa, 25 Edw. III. after an offering of 40*s.* made to Saint Thomas's shrine, is an entry of 5*s.* offered *ad punctum ensis*. Prince Edmund offered 12*d.* at the shrine, 12*d.* *ad punctum ensis*, and 12*d.* at the head of Saint Thomas ; and the countess of Ulster 5*s.* at the shrine, and 12*d.* *ad punctum ensis*. (Pegge's Beauchief Abbey, p. 6.)

It is also mentioned in the will of the Black Prince, dated 1376, in which he directs certain tapestry which he left to the church of Canterbury to be distributed between the high altar, the altar where Monsieur Saint Thomas lies, the altar where the head is, and the altar where the point of the sword is ; and, if there was still to spare, the rest about his own tomb. This tapestry was a "hall," or entire suit, that is to say, a dossier, eight side pieces, and two bench-pieces, worked with white ostrich-feathers on a black ground, and having red borders, ornamented with swans having lady's heads.

In the horrid circumstance of the martyr's brain being "stirred" by one of the assassins, Erasmus has followed the historical narratives of the murder.

(44) *The Crypt, or Undercroft.*

The crypt, says Erasmus, "had its own priests." There were several chantry chapels in it ; one of which was founded by the Black Prince in 1363, in the south transept, (endowed with the manor of Vauxhall at Lambeth, still belonging to the church of Canterbury,) and which became in the reign of Elizabeth the church of the French Protestant refugees. But the principal feature of the crypt was the chapel of the Virgin in its centre, immediately beneath the high altar of the church.

Though now in great decay, it has vestiges of its ancient magnificence, particularly the stone screen-work.

The Black Prince in his will desired to be buried “en l’eglise cathedrale de la Trinité de Canterbire, où le corps du veray martir mousire seint Thomas repose, en mylieu de la chapelle de Notre Dame Undercrofte, droitement devant l’autier, siqe le bout de notre tombe devers les pees soit dix peez loinz de l’autier:” but from these directions the executors afterwards thought proper to deviate, erecting the prince’s tomb on the upper floor of the church in the chapel of Saint Thomas, immediately to the south of his shrine.

In 1395 Lady Mohun of Dunstar founded a perpetual chantry in the Undercroft, and her monument forms part of the screen of the Lady Chapel. There is another monument of Isabel, countess of Athol.

Subsequently, archbishop Morton, who died in 1500, desired by his will to be buried “coram imagine beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ vulgariter nuncupata *Our Lady of Undercroft*,” and a chantry of two priests was established at his tomb. He had a magnificent brass on the pavement, the outlines of which are shown in Dart’s view of the Chapel; and a monumental effigy, which still remains.

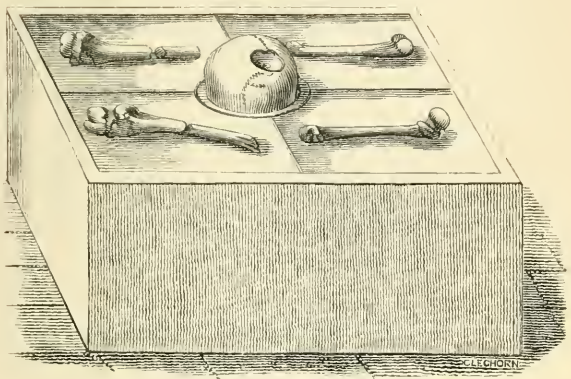
The body of Becket was buried the day after his death in the undercroft of the Trinity Chapel, which was then the easternmost portion of the cathedral (see the spot denoted by fig. 24 in the Plan at p. 39 of Professor

Willis's Architectural History). It remained there for fifty years, at which time, the church having been considerably lengthened, it was translated to the shrine in the upper church on the 7th July 1220. In that shrine it reposed only a few feet further towards the east than it had done in the crypt.

(45) *The perforated skull of the martyr.*

This was usually known as *Saint Thomas's head*; which formed a separate exhibition in the reign of Edward the Third (see Note 43) and so continued until the last. It seems to have been exhibited on a square table, together with bones, as shown in the annexed engraving, which is copied from the same page of a Cottonian manuscript as the shrine described hereafter. There was an explanation adjoining the sketch, which is now nearly burnt away, (the volume having been injured in the fire of the Cottonian collection,) but from the Latin translation given on Dugdale's engraving of this subject it seems to have been to the effect that this was an iron table, on which the bones of the martyr were displayed, together with his scull, showing the spot where death was inflicted.

The following account of a visit paid to Canterbury in the year 1538, by a Frenchwoman, "the lady of Mon-



SAINT THOMAS'S HEAD.



treill," when on her return from the court of Scotland,* may be here introduced :—

“ By ten of the cloc, she, her gentilwomen, and the said ambassadour [of France,] whent to the church, where I showed her Sainete Thomas shryne, and all such other thinges worthy of sight; at the which she was not litle marveilled of the greate riches therof, saing it to be innumerable, and that if she had not seen it, all the men in the wourlde could never a made her to belyve it. Thus, over looking and vewing more then an owre, aswell the shryne as Saint Thomas hed, being at both sett cousshins to knyle, and the Pryour openyng Sainet Thomas hed, saing to her 3 tymes, ‘ This is Saint Thomas Hed,’ and offered her to kysse; but she nother knyled, nor would kysse it, but still vewing the riches therof. So she departed, and whent to her lodging to dinner.”†

Before closing this Note it may be well to notice a popular error, into which many writers have fallen, arising from a confusion between Becket's head, the crown of which had been cut off, and Becket's crown, the name given to the vaulted dome, which formed the termination of the church, towards the east. Batteley, Gostling, and Ducarel, imagined the head “ was probably in that part of the cathedral called Becket's

* See State Papers, 1830, vol. i. p. 581; and Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, ii. 107.

† William Penison to the Lord Privy Seal (Cromwell), State Papers, 1830, vol. i. p. 583.

Crown," and the misconception was as old as archbishop Parker.* Erasmus says plainly that it was shown him in the Undercroft.

(46) THOMAS ACRENSIS.

Becket's mother is said to have been a Saracen ; his father a citizen of London. His birth is generally stated to have taken place in London ; but, from his being called Acrensis, it would seem to have been at Acre, in the Holy Land. The chapel in Cheapside, London, founded by the Archbishop's sister, and now the Mercers' Chapel, was generally known by the name of St. Thomas of Acre.†

The inscribed slip of lead seen by Erasmus was evidently such as it was usual to deposit in coffins, in order to identify the corpse in case it should be disturbed. The grave of archbishop Richard, the immediate successor of Becket, was opened in the year 1632,

* — "in quo caput ejus seorsim a cadavere situm Thomæ Martyris Coronâ appellabatur." *Lives of the Archbishops*, p. 209.

† Knight, in his *Life of Erasmus*, p. 245, says that Becket was so named because he was born in the parish of St. Thomas de Aeres in London ; a statement which is copied by Jortin, *Life of Erasmus*, p. 37. But there never was any parish so called, and the chapel in Cheapside was dedicated to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, otherwise called Saint Thomas of Acre.

and in it was found, together with his pastoral staff and a chalice, a leaden inscription.

So, when saint Dunstan's tomb was opened in 1508, there was found between the two leaden coffins a small leaden plate lying on the breast of the body, inscribed with these words, *litteris Romanis*,

HIC REQVIESCIT SANCTVS DVNSTANVS
ARCHIEPISCOPVS.

In 1830 a grave was opened in Peterborough minster, which was identified as that of abbat Alexander, who died in 1226, by a piece of lead four inches long, inscribed ABBAS : ALEXAN'.

(47) *The hair shirts, &c.*

Gervase, in narrating the original interment of the archbishop, thus describes his dress:—"And, that I may truly relate what I saw with my eyes and handled with my hands, he wore next to his skin a hair shirt (*cilicium*), then a linen one (*staminium*), over these the black cowl, then the alb in which he was consecrated, the tunic also, and dalmatic, the chasuble, pall, and mitre. He had hair drawers (*femoralia cilicia*), with linen ones over, woollen hose, and sandals."

In the inventory of relics (described in the next note) we find that all these vestments were carefully preserved

until the Reformation, and of course were those which were exhibited to Erasmus :—

“ *In a great round ivory coffer, oblong at its head, and rimmed with copper, are contained—*

“ The white mitre, with orfrees (or gold fringes), of Saint Thomas the Martyr, in which he was buried.

“ Item. Another white mitre of the same, which he used on ordinary feasts.

“ Item. His gloves, adorned with three orfrees.

“ Item. His sandals, of Inde (purple silk), embroidered with roses, besants, and crescents of gold, with strings of black samiet, embroidered.

“ Item. His hair shirt.

“ Item. Part of his couch and girdle.

“ *Also, in the same coffer, rolled up in a white diaper cloth, are contained—*

“ Some of the dust of the body of the blessed Thomas the Martyr.

“ Item. Of his hood and other vestments.

“ Item. Of his coverlid (*? co-opertura*).

“ Item. Of his cowl.

“ Item. Of the band of his hair shirt.

“ Item. Of his flesh and blood, *resolutis*.

“ Item. Of his girdle.

“ Item. Of his hair.

“ Item. Of his pillow.

“ Also, in the same coffer, in another cloth, of silk, are folded up portions—

“ Of the chasuble (*casula*) of Saint Thomas.

“ Item. Of his dalmatic.

“ Item. Of his tunic.

“ Item. Of his stamen (or linen shirt).

“ Item. Of his hood against rain.

“ Item. Of cloth stained with his blood.

“ Item. Of his cowl.

“ Item. Of the kerchief of his head. [*De pallio capitis ejusdem.*]”

“ Item. His whip made of cords.”

Again, in another receptacle, a standing *tabula*, was another portion, *De cilicio*, of the hair shirt.

There are also several other relics of the martyr in the course of the long inventory. Although his body was supposed to rest in his shrine, and his head at the altar assigned to it, portions of his dust or “flesh and blood resolved,” were in various other receptacles, as well as in many other distant collections, for which see a note in the Appendix.

In a silver gilt phylactery, or casket, adorned with jewels and an oblong round crystal, were portions of his chasuble and sandals. In a little silver gilt cup was his pall. In the fifth ivory coffer were portions “of the flesh, blood, and many other relics of the blessed Thomas the Martyr.”

(48) *The relics.*

Erasmus says, the exhibition of the relics at Canterbury "seemed likely to last for ever," and we must acknowledge there was good ground for his apprehensions when we look at the Inventory of these treasures, which is still in existence. It has been preserved in one of the cartularies of Christ Church, Canterbury, now the Cottonian MS. Galba E. iv., and it is printed as an Appendix to Dart's History of Canterbury Cathedral, where it occupies more than eight folio pages, and comprises upwards of four hundred items.

It commences with a list of twelve bodies of saints, placed in different parts of the church; and then proceeds to the contents of "the great armary near the high altar," which is that Erasmus particularly mentions. Here are first described three heads, those of Saint Blasius, Saint Fursæus, and Saint Austroberta, each inclosed in a head of silver, gilt, and the two latter likewise enamelled. Next follow in the catalogue eleven arms of saints, namely, Symeon the Old, Blase, Bartholomew, George, Wlstan, Richard bishop of Chichester, Romanus the bishop, Gregory the pope, Hugh bishop of Lincoln, Mildred the virgin, and Edburga; but all these were in like manner incased in arms of silver and gilt, so that scarcely any of them could have disgusted Erasmus or his companion in the way he describes. Possibly, some of the other mortal remains, such as "part of the

arm of Saint Jerome," or "part of the arm of Saint Paulinus the bishop," may have been more exposed to view.

It would not be easy, in a short space, to give an accurate idea of this extraordinary assemblage of holy curiosities. Besides the bones, the dust, the hair, the teeth, and other corporeal relics of the saints, there occur continually portions of their attire, and of other articles connected with their domestic history, such as the bed of Saint Mary, the wool which she wove, and the garment which she made. There were also several other fragments from localities in the Holy Land, such as the rock on which the cross of Christ stood, his sepulchre, his manger, the table where he supped with his disciples when he washed their feet, the column to which he was bound when he was flagellated by the cursed Jews, and the stone whereon he had stood when he ascended into Heaven. Nor were these wonders confined to the story of the New Testament. In the great armory was also Aaron's rod; and in the fourth copper coffer was a portion of the oak on which Abraham mounted that he might see the Lord, and even a specimen of the clay of which God moulded Adam!

The reliquaries of Canterbury were not, however, wholly unrivalled elsewhere. I have described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Nov. 1842, the Inventory of the abbey church of Saint Bertin at St. Omer's, made in the year 1465, a roll measuring 11 feet 8 inches in length,

and 12 inches in width ; and the extracts there given will be found to be parallel in character, and in several instances identical, with those above cited.

Inventories of the relics at Exeter, Reading, York, Lincoln, and Windsor, will be found in the *Monasticon*, and a list of those at Warwick in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*.

The relics in the church of Wittenburg, a collection which had been much increased by Frederic of Saxony, before Luther had opened that sovereign's eyes to their worthlessness, amounted to the number of 19,374, according to an inventory of them drawn up by Spalatinus in the year 1523. A still more extraordinary account, if possible, is that given by Seckendorf of the relics and indulgences preserved in the church of Hall. *Commentarius historicus et apologeticus de Lutherismo*, lib. iii. p. 372.

(49) *Gratian Black.*

(JOHN COLET.)

The Latin name in the original is *Gratianus Pullus*. That the person so designated was Dr. John Colet, Dean of Saint Paul's, and the founder of Saint Paul's School,*

* Dr. Knight was not aware of the real name of the Englishman, when noticing the visit to Canterbury in his *Life of Erasmus*, p. 116;

is proved beyond doubt by a passage in the *Modus Orandi Deum* of Erasmus, in which he alludes to the slipper of Saint Thomas kept at Herboldown, and to the linen rags shown in the cathedral, stating that he had seen them exhibited in company with John Colet, whose behaviour he describes as in the Colloquy. The passage is as follows :

“ In England they offer the slipper of Saint Thomas, formerly Bishop of Canterbury, to be kissed, which perhaps is the slipper of some varlet ; and, however that may be, what is more absurd than to worship a man’s slipper ? I have myself, when they exhibited the torn linen rags, with which he is said to have wiped his nose, seen the Abbat and the rest who stood by, ready to worship when the reliquary was opened, fall upon their knees, and raise their hands with all the gesticulation of adoration. To John Colet, who was then with me, these things appeared offensive ; to me it seemed better to bear with them until an opportunity might arise to correct them without commotion.”

We further learn the circumstance which suggested the name *Pullus* to Erasmus, from a passage in the minute picture he has left of this amiable man : “ Non nisi *Pullis*

there calling him Gratian Pullen ; nor was Dr. Jortin apprised of it until it was pointed out by an anonymous correspondent (acknowledged in his *Addenda*, p. 706). Sir Roger L’Estrange, in his translation, made the name “ Gratian Pull.”

vestibus utebatur, cum illic vulgo sacerdotes et theologi vestiuntur purpura :” that is, he wore only *black* gowns, though the higher ranks of the clergy in England were usually attired in the scarlet robes of doctors of divinity.

But the whole of the character of Colet,* as depicted by Erasmus, is so highly interesting that the reader cannot fail to be pleased with it.

It was written in 1520, soon after the death of its subject, at the request of Jodocus Jonas of Erfurt; and in conjunction with the character of Jehan Vitrier, a Franciscan Friar at St. Omer’s, who had equally attracted the esteem of Erasmus, and in some respects resembled our amiable Londoner.†

* In the portraits of Colet he appears, not in this his ordinary attire, but in the proper dress of a doctor. The picture engraved by Vertue for Knight’s Life of Colet was one which had been in the hands of Bishop Stillingfleet, and then belonged to Mr. John Worthington. Another, which Dr. Knight mentions as belonging, when he wrote, to Thomas Selater Bacon, esq. was afterwards bought by the Rev. W. Cole “at an auction of the goods of Robert King, esq. heir to Mr. Bacon, at Catlepe, near Lynton, July 21, 1749. He is in a scarlet cap and gown, with his neck quite naked, and is like that in Holland’s Heroologia and Lupton’s Lives of the Protestant Divines. W. COLE.” (M.S. note in Cole’s copy of Knight’s Life of Colet.) There is a second portrait of Colet in Dr. Knight’s book, from a limning in a MS. at Cambridge; it represents him in a surplice and the hood of a canon, kneeling before Saint Matthew.

† Vitrier, at the recommendation of Erasmus, had paid Colet a

“ Since you so earnestly request me, my worthy friend, to sketch for you a little picture of the life of John Colet, I will do so with the greater pleasure, because I imagine you are seeking for some distinguished example of excellence, by which to regulate your own conduct. Truly, my dearest Jonas, whilst I must allow that I have associated with many whose characters I have highly admired, yet I have never yet seen one whose conduct did not appear to me deficient in some quality of Christian piety, when I brought him into comparison with the purity of these two persons, with one of whom I became acquainted at a town of Artois called St. Omer, when the plague (so far happy for me) drove me from Paris to that town ; with the other in England, whither my regard for my pupil Lord Mountjoy had led me. (Erasmus then first draws the character of Vitrier, after which he proceeds as follows :)

“ And perhaps Colet is the more admirable character on this account, because neither the indulgence of fortune, nor the impulses of nature, attracting him in a far different direction, could divorce him from the pursuit of a religious life. For he was born of parents of rank and opulence, and that in London,* where his father had twice

visit in England; and Colet afterwards told Erasmus that a Minorite had been with him, with whose judicious and pious conversation he had been wonderfully delighted. This is mentioned by Erasmus in the same letter to Jodoeus Jonas.

* Erasmus had taken up the idea, whether well founded or not,

filled the office of chief magistrate, there called Mayor.* His mother, who is still surviving, a woman of distinguished excellence,† had brought her husband eleven sons and as many daughters, of all which Colet was the eldest, and therefore the sole heir according to the Eng-

that the English deemed it an especial honour to be London-born. In a letter to Johannes Faber he says of Sir Thomas More: "natus est Londini, in quâ civitate, multò omnium eeleberrimâ, natum et educatum esse apud Anglos nonnulla pars nobilitatis habetur." At a time when the civic offices were uniformly filled by merchants of the greatest opulence, and those offices usually led to the grade of knighthood, (then really a grade in society, and not a mere personal decoration,) it may readily be imagined that such might be the case.

* Sir Henry Colet was Lord Mayor of London in 1486-7 and 1495-6, and, dying in 1510, was buried at Stepney.

† In Lady Colet we are presented with one of the many instances in which the mothers of great men seem to have fashioned in some degree after their own virtues the excellence of their sons. Erasmus repeatedly speaks of her with the highest encomium, and recurs to her name in one of his letters written at so late a date as 1532, as an example of having, from piety towards God, borne her family afflictions with such fortitude that, even in extreme old age, when approaching her 90th year, she was so hale in aspect, and so cheerful in spirit, that it might have been supposed she had never shed a tear nor borne a child. The society of Erasmus had made an equally favourable impression upon her. One of the letters of Colet, addressed "Erasmò suo," is dated from her house at Stepney thus: "Vale, ex rure Stepneiano, apud genetricem: quæ adhuc vivit, et belle senescit, et de te sæpius hilarem et jucundam facit mentionem."

lish law, even if they had lived, but of them all he alone was surviving when I first began to know him. In addition to these advantages of fortune, he possessed a person handsome and well-grown. Whilst still a youth in his native country, he had diligently perused the whole of the scholastic philosophy, and had attained the degree of Master of the Seven Liberal Arts, and there was not one of them in which he was not a sound and elegant proficient, for he had not only most eagerly devoured the books of Cicero, but had steadily digested the works of Plato and Plotinus, and left no department of mathematics untouched. Afterwards, as a merchant seeking after good things, he visited France, and then Italy. There he entirely devoted himself to the study of divinity. But having already travelled with great eagerness through every branch of literature, he chiefly delighted in those ancient fathers, Dionysius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, and, among the rest, none did he attack oftener than Augustine;* nor yet did he entirely neglect Scotus and Thomas (Aquinas), and the rest of that kidney, if the matter anywhere required it. In the books both of the

* "Nulli erat iniquior quam Augustino," are the words of the original, by which Erasmus clearly meant to imply that Colet read Augustine more than the other Fathers; but Dr. Knight, who in several other places wanders considerably from the sense of the original, here runs directly counter to it, giving his translation thus, "but he had the least relish of all to S. Austin." *Life of Colet*, p. 12.

canon and civil law he was not indifferently versed. Lastly, there was no book containing the history or the laws of our forefathers which he had not perused. The English nation has those who have done the same for their countrymen that Dante and Petrarch have for the Italians ; and, by perusing their compositions, he polished his language, and even thus armed himself for his efforts in the pulpit.

“ When he was now returned from Italy, quitting his parental roof, he preferred to reside at Oxford. There he publicly and gratuitously lectured on all the epistles of Saint Paul. It was here I began to know him, for at that period some good fortune had brought me also there ; he was then about thirty years old, my junior by two or three months. He had as yet taken no degree in divinity, nor attempted so to do ; yet there was in Oxford no doctor either of divinity or of law, no abbat nor any other dignitary, but what came to hear him, even bringing their note-books with them ; whether this is to be recorded as a proof of the estimation of Colet, or of their own love of study, who though old men were content to learn from a young man, and being doctors from one who was not a doctor ; notwithstanding, he afterwards willingly took the title of doctor, which he received more that he might adhere to the usual custom, than that he was ambitious of it.

“ From these pious labours, by the favour of King Henry the Seventh, he was recalled to London, and made

Dean of Saint Paul's, that he might preside over the community dedicated to the author of those epistles which he so deeply loved. And that dignity is the foremost of its kind in England, although there are others of greater revenue. Here the excellent man, considering himself called to labour, not to dignity merely, amended the decayed discipline of his chapter, and, which was then a new thing, he began to preach on every feast in his church, besides the extraordinary sermons which he gave sometimes at court, and sometimes in various other places. Moreover, in his own church he did not take his text indifferently from the Gospel, or from the Apostolic epistles, but he proposed some one argument, which he followed up in various discourses to its close; as the Gospel of Matthew, the Creed, or the Lord's Prayer. And he had a numerous congregation, amongst which were many of the principal men of the city, and of the King's court.* The dean's table, which had previously under the name of hospitality administered to excess, he reduced to frugality: for, having for some years before wholly abstained from suppers, he saved evening entertainments.† Moreover, since he dined somewhat late,

* Among his greatest admirers was Sir Thomas More, one of whose letters, addressed to Colet, is extant, lamenting his absence at that time from London, because the writer thus at once lost his most delightful society, his most prudent advice, his example, and his most impressive sermons—*cujus gravissimis concionibus excitari*.

† To this point Erasmus again alludes in a letter written shortly

even on that account he had not so many guests, and still fewer because the preparation was frugal though becoming, and the sitting but short; and, finally, the discourse was only such as would please the learned and the good. As soon as grace was said, some boy, with a clear voice, distinctly read a chapter from the Epistles of Paul or the Proverbs of Solomon: after which, the dean himself would usually refer to some chosen passage, and make it the subject of discourse, inquiring from the learned, and even from intelligent laics, what each had to remark upon it. And he would so temper the discussion that, whilst it was at once pious and earnest, yet it excited neither weariness nor distaste. Again, towards the close of the repast, when now the company were pretty well satisfied, and that to the extent of sufficiency rather than indulgence, he started some other discussion, and so he dismissed his guests refreshed alike in mind as in body, to go away better men than they came, not overburdened with the viands they had eaten.

“He took the greatest delight in conversation with his friends, and often prolonged it far into the night; but all his discourse was either upon literature or upon religion. If he found any lack of agreeable talk (for it was not

after Colet's death to Thomas Lupset, in which he approves the intention expressed by that person, of making Colet his model:—“but,” he adds, “that you follow his example in debarring yourself wholly from suppers, of that indeed I do not approve, nor did I approve of it in him.”

every one that pleased him,) one of his servants used to read from the Holy Scriptures.

“HE SOMETIMES MADE ME THE COMPANION OF HIS TRAVELS. No one could be more joyous than he then was; but he had always some little book with him, and all his discourse was seasoned with religion. He was so impatient of everything filthy, that he could not even bear indecent or ambiguous words. In every thing of domestic furniture, in preparation for meals, in apparel, in books, he was anxious to be neat, but did not aim at magnificence. He wore only black gowns, whilst in that country the priests and doctors of divinity are dressed in scarlet. His upper garment was always of woollen, and plain; if the cold required it, he further protected himself with linings of fur.

“Whatever income he derived from his office, he left that to be expended by his steward for domestic purposes; that which he had of his paternal inheritance (and it was very great) he distributed himself in pious uses. For having, upon his father's death, inherited a large accession of fortune, for fear he should contract any harm from keeping it, he devoted it to the construction of a new School in the cemetery of Saint Paul's, which he dedicated to the Boy Jesus, a handsome fabric, to which he added houses as handsome, for the residence of the schoolmasters, whom he endowed with an ample salary, in order that they should teach gratuitously; yet providing that the school should not receive beyond a

fixed number. He divided it into four apartments. Into the first boys enter as catechumens, but no one is admitted that is not already able to read and write. The second receives those who are taught by the Under-master ; the third those whom the Upper-master instructs. These two parts are separated from each other by a curtain, which is drawn, or withdrawn, at pleasure. Above the master's chair is a seated figure of beautiful workmanship, the Boy Jesus, in the attitude of teaching, whom the whole flock, on entering and leaving the school, salutes with a hymn ; (and above is the face of the Father, saying, *IPSUM AUDITE!* for these words he inscribed at my suggestion.*) In the fourth or last apartment is the chapel, in which divine service may be performed. The whole school has no corners or closets, so that it gives no room for eating or sleeping. Every boy has his own seat on benches, gradually rising, and at fixed intervals. Every class has sixteen, and the boy who heads his class has a seat a little raised above the rest.) Nor is any applicant admitted indiscriminately, but a choice is made of dispositions and capacities. This most sagacious man perceived that the chief hope of the

* Erasmus composed several poetical inscriptions, which were placed in various parts of the school : they will be found in Knight's Life, p. 140. Under the image of the Child Jesus was this distich :

“ Discite me primum, pueri, atque effingite puris
Moribus ; inde pias addite literulas.”

State consisted in the judicious education of youth.* Though the undertaking incurred an immense expen-

* The dean employed Erasmus, then at Cambridge, to seek there for masters for the new school ; and Erasmus, in a letter to Colet, related the following anecdote of what occurred to him when so engaged :

“ I am reminded of an incident which will make you smile. Whilst I was making some overtures respecting an Under-master, among the masters of arts, one of them (not the lowest in repute) said with a sneer, ‘ Who could bear to pass his life in that school among a parcel of boys, when he could possibly get his living any where else ? ’ I quietly replied, that the office of instructing youth in good manners and literature appeared to me a particularly honourable one, and that Christ had not despised that period of life, which was the best qualified for the reception of good, and the most promising of a fruitful return, since it was as it were the seed-plot and nursery of the State. I added, that all men of true piety were agreed that no service was more acceptable to the Almighty than that of bringing children to Christ. But upon this he turned up his nose, and derisively said, ‘ If any one wants to be altogether the servant of Christ, he should enter a monastery and follow its rule.’ I answered, that Paul places true religion in the duties of charity ; and that charity consists in benefiting our neighbours to the utmost of our power. He rejected this sentiment as not orthodox. ‘ Well,’ he added, ‘ you see we scholars have left all, and must therefore be in a state of perfection.’ No man, I replied, can be said to have left all, who, when he has the power to benefit many by his exertions, declines the office because he deems it too humble. And so, to avoid further dispute, I took my leave of him. Take this as a sample of the wisdom of a Scotist, and a taste of his charming conversation.”

diture, yet he allowed no one to share it with him. Somebody had bequeathed towards the building a hundred pounds of English money; when Colet perceived that on this ground the laity would claim I know not what right of interference, he, with the permission of his bishop, appropriated that money to the purchase of sacred vestments for the Church. To the management of the estates and the whole trust he appointed, not priests, not the bishop, nor the chapter, as it is called, not great men, but certain married citizens,* of approved character. When he was asked the reason, he said that,

* *Cives conjugatos*. The trustees were, it is well known, the Company of Mercers, of which the founder's father Sir Henry Colet had been a member, and *conjugati* might perhaps be translated "associated." Colet's high opinion of the married men is, however, noticed in another passage; and such is the usual import of the Latin word here employed.

In his dialogue *De Pronunciatione* Erasmus again describes the difficulties experienced in this matter—

Ursus. Thus John Colet, a man worthy of perpetual remembrance, when he had added a school for boys to the church of Saint Paul's, found his greatest difficulty in determining to whom he should consign the government of the institution. The bishops deem such a matter unworthy of their care. The schoolmen fancy their calling is rather to collect fees than take charge of schools, and think they have filled their office fairly if they do not tithe the schoolmaster. In colleges of canons the worse part almost always bears sway. The magistrates either want judgment, or favour private interests.

Leo. What plan did he at last adopt?

Ursus. He set over his school a married man, and who was rich

though nothing was entirely certain in human affairs, still he found less corruption in men of that class.

“ And whilst every body approved this work, at the same time many wondered why he had built such a magnificent house * within the precinct of the monastery of Carthusians, which is not far from the royal palace called Richmond. He said that he was preparing it as a seat for his old age, when, unequal to his labours, or broken by disease, he might be compelled to retire from the company of men. There it was his intention to philosophise with two or three chosen friends, among whom he was accustomed to number me ; but death interposed. For after he had been attacked a few years before with the pestilent sweat, a disease which peculiarly troubles Britain, it seized him a second and a third time ; and, although he recovered, yet from the relics of the disease he contracted a disorder of the bowels, which proved fatal to him. One physician thought him to be dropsical. Dissection gave no additional information, except that his liver was found partially diseased.

“ He was buried at the south side of the choir in his own church, in a humble tomb, which he had some years before destined for that purpose, adding the inscription, JOAN. COL.

in children. He entrusted its superintendence to certain lay citizens, of whose integrity he thought so highly that he had good hope it would descend to their next heirs.

* See the passage of Colet's will in Additional Notes.

“ I shall conclude, my Jonas, by recounting a few particulars, first of his own disposition, then of the peculiar opinions, and lastly of the trials, which discovered the simple piety of the man, the least part of which he owed to his natural constitution. In truth, he was possessed of a remarkably high spirit, was most impatient of injury, wonderfully inclined to love, and indulgence, and sleep, and immoderately addicted to jests and drollery : these things he himself confessed to me : nor was he entirely free from the failing of avarice.

“ Against these frailties he so contended by his philosophic and sacred studies, by his vigils, his fastings, and prayers, that he passed the whole course of his life pure from the defilements of this world ; for, much as I saw of him in private life and in familiar conversation, I never could find but that he preserved the flower of chastity even to his death. He dispersed his wealth in charitable purposes ; by his good sense, he brought his lofty spirit into subjection,* so that he would even allow himself to

* An interesting anecdote, in which Colet and Warham are actors, and which illustrates this point of the dean's character, is related by Erasmus in a letter to Jod. Gaverus :

“ He was on the worst terms with his uncle, a man very old and of perverse temper. The strife was not about goat's wool, or (as they say) of an ass's shadow, but about a great sum of money, enough to create a war between father and son. Colet, being invited to dine with the reverend father William archbishop of Canterbury, had taken me as his companion in the boat. On the

be admonished by a child. His propensities to sexual love, to sleep, and excess he put to flight by continual abstinence from suppers, by uniform abstemiousness, unwearied application to study, and pious conversation ; and yet if an occasion ever offered itself, either when jesting with facetious persons, or when conversing with women, or when joining in great entertainments, you might notice

way he was reading from my *Enchiridion* the remedy of anger ; nor did he yet show why he chose to read it. At the dinner table it happened that Colet sat opposite his uncle, gloomy in face, neither speaking nor eating. But the archbishop has that happy art, to provide that none of his guests should fail in cheerfulness, by accommodating his discourse in turn to the tastes of all. He therefore directed the conversation to a comparison of ages, which gave rise to some talk among the silent ones, and at last the uncle, after the wont of old men, began to boast that, though so advanced in years, he retained so much vigour. After dinner there was some communication between them apart. When Colet had returned to the boat with me, he said, I see, Erasmus, that you are a successful man. I was wondering why he should call the most unsuccessful of men successful, when he related what bitter animosity he had entertained towards his uncle, so much so that he felt almost inclined to break through all the restraints of Christian moderation, and, disregarding the ties of kindred, to enter into open war with him ; and on that account he had taken my *Enchiridion* into his hands, that he might peruse 'the remedy of anger,' and it had answered the purpose. Soon after the conference, whatever it was, which had followed the dinner, the bitterness of either party had been modified, so that presently after, at the interposition of the archbishop, the whole affair was easily adjusted between them.' "

some vestiges of his natural disposition ; and on that account he generally abstained from the company of laymen, but especially from feasts ; and if he was sometimes compelled to attend them, he took with him either myself or some one like me, in order that by discourse in Latin he might be able to avoid idle conversation. And at the same time he would eat moderately of one kind of meat only, with one or two draughts of ale, abstaining from wine ; which he still enjoyed when good, but took with the utmost temperance. Thus, as if always holding himself in suspicion, he was cautious of every thing in which he could possibly give the least offence, for he was not unaware that the eyes of all were directed upon him. I have never known a more happy wit, and on that account he especially delighted in those who had the like talent ; but in these discussions he preferred those subjects which might be preparative for the immortality of a future life. Even if he sometimes relaxed into lighter conversation, there was still nothing in which he was not wont to philosophise. He delighted in the purity and natural simplicity of children, remembering how Christ had called upon his disciples to be like unto them ; and used to compare them to the angels.

“ Now, that I may perform the other part of my proposal, he differed much in his sentiments from the vulgar, but with admirable prudence he in this matter accommodated himself to others, that he might not offend any, or lest he should attract any disrepute in public fame, being

not unconseious how harsh are men's judgments, how prone to believe evil reports, and how much easier it is to blast any one's reputation with slanderous tongues, than to repair it with commendations. Among his friends and the learned he most freely proclaimed his real sentiments.

“ The Scotists, to whom of all men the vulgar attribute peculiar acumen, he used to say appeared to him slow and dull, and anything but clever; for to argue about the expressions and words of others, to object first to this and then to that, and to divide everything into a thousand niceties, was the part only of barren and poor talents.* Yet to Thomas (Aquinas), I know not why, he was more opposed than to Scotus; and indeed when I spoke in praise of him, as an author not to be despised among the more recent writers, because he seemed not only to have studied the Holy Scriptures and the fathers, (as I judged from what is called the *Catena Aurea*,) but also to have some earnestness in his writings, he repeatedly affected to pay no attention. But when again, in another con-

* The following passage of a letter from Colet to Erasmus, written in 1513, exemplifies his contempt of the Scotists: “ Since you write to me that you sometimes fight my battles with those warriors of Scotus, I rejoice that I have such a champion. But it is an unequal contest, and inglorious, for what praise have you if you drive off and crush flies? what favour do you confer upon me if you bring down swallows? The skirmishing may be unavoidable, but is neither sublime nor invigorating; however, it proves the regard and love you bear me.”

versation, I more strongly advanced the same arguments, he watched me as if to discover whether I was speaking seriously or ironically; and when he found I was in earnest, he exclaimed, with much excitement, ‘Why do you preach up that fellow? who, if he had not great arrogance, would not have defined everything with so much rashness and so much dogmatism, and if he had not possessed some worldly spirit, would not have so contaminated the whole doctrine of Christ with his own profane philosophy?’ I was struck by my friend’s ardour, and began to examine the writings of Thomas more strictly. What more need I say? I lost whatever estimation I had conceived for him.

“Whilst no one more sincerely cherished Christian piety, yet to monasteries (which, for the most part, are now falsely so called,) he was in no degree well-inclined, and gave them either nothing or very little, nor even left them anything at his death. Not that he entertained any hatred of the religious orders, but because their members do not act up to their vows; for he had himself intended to have withdrawn entirely from the world, if he could have anywhere found a society truly bound together in a rule formed on the law of the Gospel, and he confided that intention to me when I was about to go into Italy, remarking that he had known among the Italians some monks truly intelligent and pious. But he could not esteem that to be religion which is vulgarly taken for it, since it is very often a mere want of sense. He used,

however, sometimes to praise the Germans, as retaining some vestiges of pristine Christianity. He was wont to remark that he had never found morals less corrupted than amongst married people, because the natural affections, the care of children, and household affairs, act as it were as barriers to restrain them from lapsing into every kind of vice.

“ Although he lived in perfect purity himself, yet, in censuring the faults of others, he was less severe towards such transgressors who being priests, or even monks, sin only in point of chastity,—not that he otherwise than abhorred the vice of lechery, but because he found reason to esteem such persons comparatively much less criminal when he observed others who were proud, envious, railers and slanderers, hypocrites, vain-glorious, unlearned, wholly given up to covetousness and ambition, and yet seeming to set a high value on themselves; whilst the admitted infirmity of the former rendered them more humble and unassuming. He said that avarice and pride were more odious in a priest than if he kept a hundred concubines. Let it not be imagined that he thought incontinency a venial fault in a priest or in a monk, but merely that he deemed the other class to be further astray from true piety. To no human beings was he more hostile than to such bishops as act the part of wolves instead of shepherds; nor did he execrate any more than those who, whilst they recommend themselves to the people by frequent masses, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences,

yet are enslaved with all their hearts to the world, that is to say, to honours and emoluments.

“ He had derived some things from Dionysius and the other early theologians, upon which he still did not so absolutely rely, as to induce him ever to contend against the decrees of the Church, but yet so far that he was less opposed to such as do not approve the all-pervading image-worship in churches, whether as paintings, or in wood, stone, brass, gold, or silver; and also to such as doubt whether a priest notoriously and openly reprobate should perform any sacramental function, by no means favouring the erroneous judgment of such thinkers, but indignant at those who, by a life openly and unbecomingly corrupted, afford occasion for this kind of doubt.

“ The colleges, which with great and magnificent expense are established amongst the English, he used to say were an obstacle to efficient study, nor were anything more than the lounging-places of idle fellows; nor did he allow much greater merit to the public schools,* because the ambition of preferment and gain, pervading every thing, had corrupted the simplicity of all learning. Whilst he strongly approved of secret (or auricular) confession, asserting that he had never derived from any other source so much spiritual consolation and support,

* The schools at the universities are meant, not what we now call public schools, of which Colet himself set an example at St. Paul's.

he equally strongly condemned its anxious and too frequent repetition. And although it is customary with the priests in England to perform mass almost every day, yet he was content to do it only upon the Sundays and feasts, or at least on very few days besides those; whether because he was engaged in his sacred studies, by which he prepared himself for preaching, or in the business of his church, or whether he had found that he worshipped with greater devotion if it was with some intermission. Yet he by no means blamed the practice of those who chose to approach the Lord's table every day. Whilst himself exceedingly well-read, yet he did not praise that anxious and laborious learning, which is acquired from an application to all studies, and a perusal of all authors,—as it were a mixture from every cask: being used to say that the natural strength and simplicity of a man's genius was thus worn away, and his mind rendered less healthy and less accordant with Christian innocence and pure and simple charity. He valued the epistles of the apostles very highly, but so far did he prefer the wonderful majesty of the teaching of Christ, that he thought the writings of the apostles grew dim before it. All the sayings of Christ he had with great ability arranged under subjects, and had proposed to write a book upon them. He greatly wondered that priests, when engaged in business, should be obliged to repeat daily such lengthened prayers, even at their own houses or on a journey; for he was a great advocate for the solemn performance

of divine service. There are numberless things now most fully maintained in the public schools, from which he very far dissented; of these he was accustomed sometimes to debate among his friends, though with others he was more reserved, from fear that, whilst on one hand he might effect no alteration, unless for the worse, he might also, on the other, suffer loss of influence himself. There was no book so heretical that he had not attentively read; saying that he occasionally derived more profit from such than from those authors who so mystify everything, as often to cajole their followers, and sometimes even themselves.

“ He used to maintain that a flow of correct language was not to be sought from the precepts of the grammarians, which he asserted were an hindrance to good expression, and that it could not be attained except by perusing the best authors: but of this opinion he paid the penalty, for whilst he was both by nature and instruction eloquent, and had a wonderful supply of language when speaking, yet in writing he occasionally fell into those lapses which the critics find pleasure in pointing out. And on this account, if I am not mistaken, he abstained from writing books; and I wish he had not so done, for the thoughts of such a man, however expressed, would have been valuable.

“ And now, that nothing may be wanting for a complete Christian character of Colet, you must hear the storms which he had to encounter. He had never been

on good terms with his bishop,* of whose character it is enough to say that he was a superstitious and unbending Scotist, and on that score deemed himself a demigod ; of which tribe I may declare that, whilst I have known some whom I should be unwilling to call reprobates, yet I have never yet seen one who could, in my opinion, be called a true and sincere Christian. Nor was he a great favourite with many of his chapter, because he was somewhat tenacious of *regular* discipline ; and therefore they complained that they were treated as monks, although this chapter formerly was of that class, and is called in old documents the East Minster. But when now the malice of the old bishop, for he had arrived at eighty years of age, was so bitter that it could no longer be repressed, having called to his councils two other bishops of like opinions, nor less spiteful, he began to attack Colet with the weapons which such men are accustomed to employ when they are attempting any man's destruction. He was brought before the archbishop of Canterbury, upon certain articles, gathered from his sermons. One of these was, that he had taught that images were not to be worshipped. Another, that he had taken away from Saint Paul's its credit for hospitality,† inasmuch as,

* Richard FitzJames, a fellow of Merton college, Oxford, consecrated bishop of Rochester 1497, translated to Chichester 1503, to London 1505 ; he died in 1521.

† "quod sustulisset a Paulo laudatam hospitalitatem." This charge was, no doubt, directed not only against the dean's preaching,

when expounding that passage of the gospel, Feed, feed, feed my sheep, after having, in the two former places, agreed with other interpreters, Feed by examples of life, Feed by exhortation of doctrine, in the third place he dissented, denying that it was likely that the apostles, who were then poor, should be commanded to feed their sheep with temporal aid, and therefore in this place he had substituted something else. A third charge was, that when in his sermons he had said that some preached from book* (the lifeless practice followed by many in England), he had obliquely reflected upon the bishop, who, on account of his age, was accustomed to do so. The archbishop,† to whom the merits of Colet were perfectly known, undertook the defence of the innocent, becoming his patron instead of judge, at the same time that Colet himself disdained to reply to these charges, and others still more foolish. Still the spite of the old man did not rest; he attempted to excite the king's court against Colet, and particularly the king himself, having now taken up a new charge, that he had publicly declared in a sermon, that an unjust peace was preferable

but his practice also, as described in another passage. It is impossible not to notice how widely Dr. Knight has misinterpreted the sense of these words,—“That he preach'd against the temporal possessions of bishops.”—*Life of Colet*, p. 89.

* Fox, who has followed Erasmus in describing this prosecution, terms this “preaching from bosome-sermons.”

† Warham.

to the justest war; for at that time war was in preparation against the French. This tale was chiefly promoted by two Minorites:* one of those firebrands obtained a mitre: the other was wont in his sermons to harangue with good jaws against poets, for so he designated Colet, whilst he was far from versed in poetry, although not unskilled in music. Here the king, a young man of uncommon talent, gave an evident instance of his judgment, most deserving of a throne, for he privately encouraged Colet to persevere in amending by his sound doctrine the very corrupt manners of that age, and not to withdraw his light in those most lowering times: he told him he was well aware of what instigated those bishops against him, and he was also informed how much the English nation had profited by his example and his teaching. He added, that he would himself so restrain their attempts, that it should be evident that others would not be able to attack Colet with impunity. Upon this Colet thanked the king for his favourable intention, but deprecated what he proposed, declaring his unwillingness that any one should suffer on his account, and that he would rather resign the preferment he held.

“ But some time after another occasion was given, by

* One of these was Henry Standish, provincial of the Franciscan Order in England, and in 1518 made bishop of St. Asaph. He also made some similar attacks on Erasmus. see Jortin's *Life*, i. p. 220; ii. 154, 262. The other person was friar Bricot, afterwards mentioned.

which they hoped they should at last ruin Colet. An army for France was to be got ready by Easter. On Good Friday Colet preached before the king and the court in an admirable manner on the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians, that under the standard of their king they should both fight and conquer; but as for those who from hatred, or ambition, foully engaged in mutual war and slaughter, they served not under the banners of Christ but of the devil; and at the same time he showed them how difficult a thing it is to die a Christian death; how few enter into war uninfluenced by hatred or avarice; how barely possible was it for the same man to have that Christian charity, without which no man shall see God, and to thrust his sword into the bowels of his brother. He added, that they ought to imitate their own prince Christ, rather than the Cæsars and Alexanders. And many other things he then delivered to the same purpose; so that the king was somewhat alarmed lest this sermon should take away the resolution of the soldiers whom he had mustered. Upon this all Colet's ill-wishers flew at him as they would at a toad, hoping that now the king's mind might be embittered against him. By the king's command Colet was summoned to his presence. He had dined in the little monastery of Franciscans, which adjoins the palace of Greenwich. As soon as the king saw him, he went down into the garden of the monastery,* and on Colet's approach dismissed all his

* There is a similar anecdote to this in the history of Sir Thomas

attendants. When they were alone he commanded the dean to be covered, that they might enter into familiar conversation, and thus the most gracious prince began : ‘ Be under no needless alarm, master dean ; I have not called for you to disturb your most pious labours, which I entirely approve, but I would disburden my conscience of some scruples, and by the aid of your advice more rightly fulfil my duty.’ But I need not repeat the whole conversation, which was prolonged for nearly an hour and a half. In the mean time Bricot was exulting in the court, supposing that Colet was at last in danger ; whereas the king was agreed with him in all points, except that he wished that what Colet had spoken with perfect truth he had said in a somewhat more explanatory way, on account of the rude soldiers, who might interpret it otherwise than he had said, namely, to the effect that among Christians no war is just. Colet by his prudence, and by his remarkable moderation of sentiment, not only satisfied the king’s mind, but even increased his previous favour. When they had returned into the palace the king, before dismissing Colet, drank to his health, and having embraced him most graciously, and promised every thing that can be expected from the most loving sovereign, he

More, which will be more familiar to most readers than the present. How the king came unexpectedly to Chelsea, and dined with him, and after dinner walked in his garden for the space of an hour, holding his arm about his neck.

dismissed him. Now the tribe of courtiers standing round was awaiting the end of that conference, and the king, in the hearing of all, said, 'Every one may have his own doctor, and each may favour his own; this is the doctor for me.' So the wolves departed hungry, as they say, and especially Bricot; nor from that day did any one venture to impeach Colet."

Such is the interesting character of Dean Colet, drawn by his friend Erasmus: a composition to which the writer refers with evident pleasure in the letter to Gouerus already quoted, when enumerating the various friends he had lost by death—

"After these was John Colet, who departed in about the fortieth year of his age. The excellent qualities of this person what need is there to rehearse? since I have sufficiently depicted him in my (published) *Epistolæ*, and that to the letter (*ex vero*): for I knew the man intimately for many years."

It was five years before Colet's death that Erasmus had boasted of his friendship to Servatius;* and so reciprocal was the honour conferred by this friendship, that we may most appropriately close this long note with the observation of Granger, that "No higher testimony need

* "There is at London John Colet, the dean of Saint Paul's, a man who unites the deepest learning with admirable piety, and is of great authority with all people. He loves me so well, as all know, that he likes no one's company better than mine." (Letter to Servatius in 1514.)

to be given to the merit of Colet than his great intimacy with Erasmus. There was a similarity of manners, of studies, and of sentiments in religion, betwixt these illustrious men, who ventured to take off the veil from ignorance and superstition, and to expose them to the eyes of the world, and to prepare men's minds for the reformation of religion, and restoration of learning."

(50) *The sacristy.*

"This was probably the chapel of Saint Andrew, which in Hollar's plan is marked as the vestiarius."—(Willis.) It is accordingly marked *Sacristy* in the Plan given in this volume.

(51) *Treasures of the church.*

The amazing treasures of the church of Canterbury can only be properly appreciated by perusing the Inventory, made two centuries before the visit of Erasmus, which is printed in the Appendix to Dart's History of the Church, pp. iv—xviii. Of the "copes of profession," presented by suffragan bishops and abbats, there were sixty-five, besides many more of equal splendour. The crosses, chalices, and other church furniture, fill several

pages. The jewels immediately belonging to the shrine will be quoted in a subsequent Note.

(52) *The pastoral staff of Saint Thomas.*

Thus described in the Inventory just mentioned:

“Item. Baculus Sancti Thomæ de pyro, cum capite de nigro cornu.”

It was made of pear-wood, with a crook of black horn. So simple in the days of Becket was the episcopal crosier, which in later times was highly enriched with goldsmith's work and jewellery, (like the crosier of William of Wykeham, still preserved at New College chapel.) In illustration of this point, and of the archbishop's general attire, the Seal of Archbishop Becket is here (for the first time) engraved.

(53) *Was there no cross?*

The cross-headed staff, in distinction to the crosier, became the peculiar ensign of an archbishop. Sainted archbishops are always represented with it, and it is generally placed in the hands of archbishops on their monuments and seals. In the Canterbury series the first archbishop who bears it on his seal is Robert Kilwarby, consecrated 1272.



SEAL OF ARCHBISHOP BECKET.



(54) ARCHBISHOP WARHAM.

Next to lord Mountjoy, who had been the pupil of Erasmus on the continent, Warham was the earliest English patron of Erasmus. When the latter first came to England in 1509, the archbishop contributed five pounds towards his travelling expenses; and the next year Erasmus declared that the archbishop alone detained him in this country. In 1511 Erasmus thus wrote of Warham:

“ Whilst very many others treat me with marked kindness, so chiefly does that my especial Mæcenas the archbishop of Canterbury,—or rather not mine only, but the patron of all the learned, among whom I take the lowest place, if any at all. Almighty God! how felicitous, how copious, how ready, is the genius of that man! what skill in conducting the most important business! how extraordinary his learning! But then what unheard-of courtesy towards every one! what pleasantness in address! so that, in a manner truly royal, he dismisses no one from him depressed. Moreover, how great and what ready liberality! Lastly, in such an eminence of fortune and dignity, what an absence of pride! so that he alone appears to be unaware of his greatness. In protecting his friends no one is more faithful or more constant. In fine, he is a true primate, not only in rank, but in every kind of merit.” (Epist. 135.)

These were the terms in which Erasmus acknowledged his obligations to Warham at the time he was receiving his favours. After the archbishop's death he drew his character still more at length, and it deserves to be placed by the side of that of Colet, which the reader has already perused.

“ Here I am reminded of a man worthy of the memory of all posterity, William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England ; not only by that title, but in reality a theologian. He was a doctor of both laws ; he had distinguished himself in some embassies successfully accomplished ; and he had acquired the favour and esteem of Henry the Seventh, a prince of the highest judgment. By these steps he was raised to the eminence of the church of Canterbury, which ranks foremost in dignity in that island. To this charge, exceeding burdensome in itself, was added another still more so. He was obliged to undertake the office of chancellor, which indeed with the English is truly royal ; and to this officer only is the honour paid, of having the royal crown, with the sceptre placed upon it, borne before him, whenever he goes forth in public. For he is as it were the eye, the mouth, and the right hand of the king, and the supreme judge of the whole British dominion. This office he filled with such skill for many years, that you would have said he was born for that very business, and held no other charge. But at the same time he was so vigilant and attentive in matters relating to religion and his eccle-

siastical functions, that you would say he was engaged in no external concerns. He found time sufficient to discharge religiously the solemn duty of prayer, to perform mass almost daily, to be present besides at two or three services, to hear causes, to receive embassies, to advise the king if any thing of importance had arisen in court; to visit his churches, wherever his presence was required; to receive his guests, often amounting to two hundred; and lastly, his leisure was given to reading. For occupations so various he found one life sufficient, no part of which he bestowed on hunting, none on dice, none on empty tales, none on luxury or pleasures. In the place of all these amusements he had either some agreeable reading, or conversation with a learned man. Although he sometimes had bishops, dukes, and earls as his guests, yet dinner was always finished within the space of one hour. In the midst of a sumptuous table, as his dignity demands, it is incredible to say how he abstained from all delicacies. He rarely tasted wine, but generally, when already a septuagenarian, used to drink very weak ale, which they there call beer, and even that very sparingly. Moreover, when he had taken the smallest quantity of food, yet with the kindness of his looks, and the cheerfulness of his discourse, he enlivened the whole table. You perceived the same gravity either before or after dinner. He abstained entirely from suppers, or if some of his intimate friends, of which number we were, happened to be with him, he sat down, but scarcely touched

the viands ; but if no such company were there, he spent the time of supper either in prayer or in reading. And as he abounded himself in very happy pleasantries, but far removed from bitterness or indecorum, so he was pleased with the more free jests of his friends : yet he shrunk as much from scurrility or detraction as any would do from a serpent. Thus this excellent man made those days abundantly long, of the shortness of which so many complain.”—Ecclesiastes.

(55) *The whole figure of the excellent man.*

The Latin here is “*tota facies*,” which former translators have rendered “the whole face,” but it was more probably a whole-length than a head, whether a picture or statue ; and so professor Willis seems to think, calling it “the image of St. Thomas.” He also supposes the chapel in which it stood was the Corona. (Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral, p. 113.)

(56) *Spoliation of churches.*

This passage of the Colloquy is so exactly descriptive of the scenes which were enacted a few years after in England, that it might be deemed the production of one who witnessed them. An interesting paper, written by

an actual witness, has been published by Sir Henry Ellis in his last (the Third) Series of Original Letters, and gives a striking picture of the flood of avarice, spoliation, and oppression, which was suddenly let loose at the dissolution of monasteries : when, as Erasmus foresaw, those who had hitherto been accustomed to make their offerings to the houses of religion were led on in the general scramble to peculation and robbery.

The writer, who lived in Yorkshire, says, "it would have made a heart of flint to have melted and wept to have seen the breaking-up of the house, and their sorrowful departing ; and *the sudden spoil that fell the same day of their departure from the house*. And every person had every thing good-cheap, except the poor monks, friars, and nuns, that had no money to bestow of anything, as it appeared by the suppression of an abbey, hard by me, called the Roche abbey ; a house of white monks, a very fair-built house, all of freestone, and every house vaulted with freestone, and covered with lead (as the abbey was in England, as well as the churches be). At the breaking-up whereof an uncle of mine was present, being well acquainted with certain of the monks there ; and when they were put forth of the house, one of the monks, his friend, told him that every one of the convent had given to him his cell wherein he lied ; wherein was not any thing of price, but his bed and apparel, which was but simple and of small price ; which monk willed my uncle to buy something of him, who

said, 'I see nothing that is worth money to my use.' 'No?' said he, 'give me ij^d. for my cell door, which was never made with v^s.' 'No,' said my uncle, 'I know not what to do with it' (for he was a young man unmarried, and then neither stood in need of houses nor doors). But such persons as afterwards bought their corn and hay, or such like, found all the doors either open, or the locks and shackles plucked away, or the door itself taken away, went in and took what they found, and filched it away.

"Some took the service-books that lied in the church, and laid them upon their waine-coppes to peice the same: some took windows of the hayleith and hid them in their hay; and likewise they did of many other things; for some pulled forth the iron hooks out of the walls that bought none, when the yeomen and gentlemen of the country had bought the timber of the church. For the church was the first thing that was put to the spoil; and then the abbot's lodging, dorter and frater, with the cloister, and all the buildings thereabout within the abbey-walls; for nothing was spared but the ox-houses and swinecotes, and such other houses of office that stood without the walls, which had more favour showed them than the very church itself; which was done by the advice of Cromwell, as Fox reporteth in his book of Acts and Monuments. It would have pitied any heart to see what tearing up of the lead there was, and plucking up of boards, and throwing down of the spars; and when the lead was torn off and cast down into the church, and

the tombs in the church all broken (for in most abbeys were divers noble men and women, yea, in some abbeys kings, whose tombs were regarded no more than the tombs of all other inferior persons; for to what end should they stand, when the church over them was not spared for their cause?), and all things of price either spoiled, carped away, or defaced to the uttermost.

“ The persons that cast the lead into foddors plucked up all the seats in the choir, wherein the monks sat when they said service, which were like to the seats in minsters, and burned them, and melted the lead therewithall, although there was wood plenty within a flight-shot of them, for the abbey stood among the woods and the rocks of stone, in which rocks was pewter vessels found that was conveyed away and there hid; so that it seemeth that *every person bent himself to filch and spoil what he could, yea, even such persons were content to spoil them that seemed not two days before to allow their religion*, and do great worship and reverence at their mattins, masses, and other service, and all other their doings, which is a strange thing to say, that they could this day think it to be the house of God, and the next day the house of the devil; or else they would not have been so ready to have spoiled it.

“ For the better-proof of this my saying, I demanded of my father, thirty years after the Suppression, which had bought part of the timber of the church, and all the timber in the steeple, with the bell-frame, with others his

partners therein (in the which steeple hung viij. yea ix. bells ; whereof the least but one could not be bought at this day for xx^{li}. which bells I did see hang there myself more than a year after the Suppression), whether he thought well of the religious persons and of the religion then used ? And he told me yea ; for, said he, I did see no cause to the contrary. Well, said I, then how came it to pass you was so ready to destroy and spoil the thing that you thought well of ? What should I do ? said he. Might I not, as well as others, have some profit of the spoil of the abbey ? for I did see all would away, and therefore I did as others did.

“ Thus you may see, that as well they that thought well of the religion then used, as they which thought otherwise, could agree well enough, and too well, to spoil them. Such a devil is covetousness and mammon ! and such is the providence of God to punish sinners, in making themselves instruments to punish themselves, and all their posterity from generation to generation. For no doubt there hath been millions of millions that have repented the thing since ; but all too late. And thus much upon my own knowledge touching the fall of the said Roche Abbey.”—MS. Cole, vol. xii. Ellis, III. iii. 35.

(57) *The Prior.*

Thomas Goldwell, the last Prior of Canterbury, succeeded in 1517, and continued until the Dissolution, when

on the 4th April 1539, a yearly pension of 80*l.* was assigned him, together "with the office of one of the prebendaries there." It is obvious, therefore, that he conformed to the Reformation.

"A good Scotist" was a man well read in the learning of the great schoolman Duns Scotus, who lived in the latter part of the 13th century. The opinion which Colet entertained of the Scotists, and in which his friend Erasmus must have nearly coincided, has been seen in p. 149.

(58) *The Shrine.*

The Shrine of Saint Thomas was placed in the centre of the chapel, as shown in the Plan, and had in front of it a curious mosaie pavement, which still remains, executed in the manner termed *Opus Alexandrinum*, in which the pavements of most of the Roman basilicas are wrought, and of which there are also specimens at Westminster Abbey, in the pavements of the presbytery, of the chapel of Edward the Confessor, and also about his shrine, and the tomb of Henry III.—(Willis.)

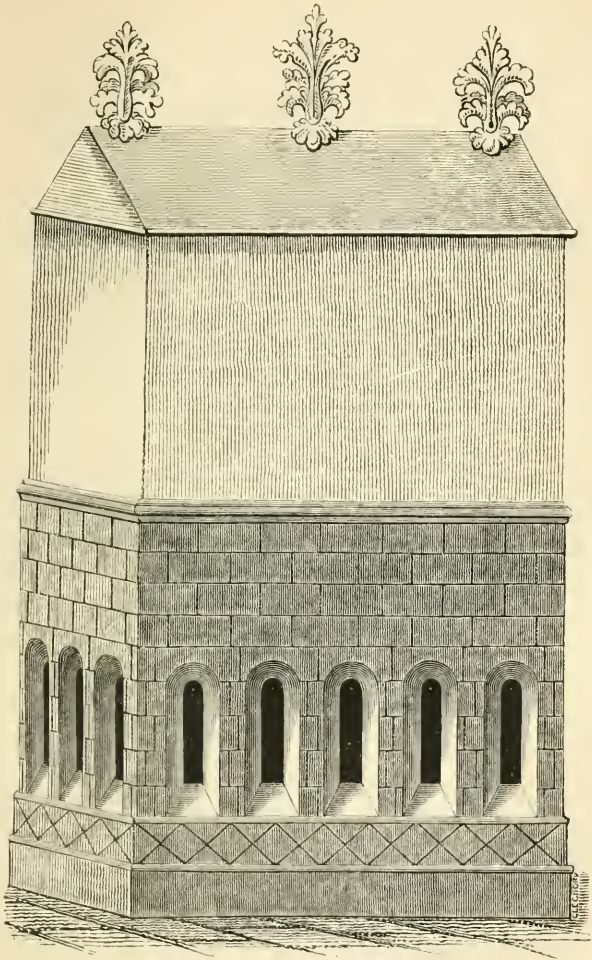
Stowe has preserved in his Chronicle the following description of the Shrine at Canterbury: "This Shrine was builded about a man's height, all of stone; then upward of timber, plaine; within the which was a chest of yron, conteyning the bones of Thomas Becket, scull and all, with the wounde of his death, and the peece cut

out of his scull layde in the same wound. These bones (by commandement of the lord Cromwell) were then and there brent. The timber-work of this shrine on the outside was covered with plates of gold, damasked with gold wier, which ground of gold was againe covered with jewels of golde, as ringes 10 or 12 cramped together with gold wyer into the said ground of golde, many of those rings having stones in them, brooches, images, angels, pretious stones, and great pearls, &c. The spoile of which shrine, in golde and precious stones, filled two great chests, such as sixe or seaven strong men could doe no more then convey one of them at once out of the church."

I suspect, however, that this description was chiefly derived from the Cottonian MS. Tib. E. VIII. and that it has been partially misunderstood. On f. 269 of that MS. there is a pen-and-ink sketch of the Shrine,* with some written description (in English) by its side, now partially burnt away by the Cottonian fire, but of which a Latin translation will be found on the engraving of this subject in Dugdale's Monasticon; and below the Shrine is drawn the square iron table on which the Skull stood, of which an engraving has been before given at p. 118.

Stowe supposed the latter was a chest of iron *within* the Shrine: but it seems more probable that the sketch

* This drawing seems to have been copied from some former original: which, if it could be recovered, might prove to be more accurately finished, and therefore afford additional information.



THE SHRINE OF SAINT THOMAS.

was intended to represent the place of exhibition of the Skull, in the Undercroft of the church.

The description of the Shrine in the Cottonian MS. so far as it can now be ascertained, was to this effect :

“ All above the stone worke was first of wood, jewells of gold set with stone wrought uppon with gold wier. Then agayn with jewells of gold, as broch[es, images of angels, and rings] 10 or 12 together, cramped with gold into the ground of gold. The s[poils of which filled two] chests, such as 6 or 8 men could but convay out of the church. At [one side was a stone, with] an angell of gold poyntyng therunto, offred there by a kinge of France : [which king Henry put] into a ring, and wear it on his thomb.”

There are also memoranda written against the three finials on the crest of the Shrine, that they were of silver gilt, the central one weighing eighty ounces, and the two others each sixty ounces.

In the Inventory of 1315, already mentioned, we have the following catalogue of the Jewels of the Shrine, under the three classes of rings, stones set in gold, and stones set in silver :

JOCALIA SANCTI THOMÆ.

Anulus pontificalis magnus cum rubino rotundo in medio.

Item. Anulus magnus cum saphiro nigro qui vocatur lup.

Item. Anulus minor cum saphiro nigro qui vocatur lup.

Item. Anulus cum parvo saphiro nigro qui vocatur lup.

Item. Anulus cum saphiro quadrato aquoso.

Item. Anulus cum lapide oblongo qui vocatur Turkoysc.

Item. Anulus j. cum viridi cornelin sculpto rotundo.

Item. Anulus j. parvus cum smaragdine triangulato.

Item. Anulus j. cum chalcedonio oblongo.

Item. Lapides ejusdem in auro situati,

Saphirus unus oblongus qui vocatur loup.

Item. Onichinus unus oblongus.

Item. Crapodinus unus in auro.

Item. Cornelinus unus sculptus et oblongus in auro.

Item. Crux aurea, cum tribus garnettis, quatuor perulis, et duobus granis saphiri.

Item. Firmacula iij. parva vetera, unde ij. cum parvis gemmis et j. cum nigro saphiro.

Item. Lapides ejusdem cum argento,

Lapis in forma piri.

Item. Jaspis unus rotundus.

Item. Unus peridot oblongus.

Item. Una prama rotunda in argento deaurato.

Item. Crapodinus j. in argento.

Item. j. Camau cum medietate hominis.

Item. Lapis j. niger quadratus.

Item. j. Anulus argenteus cum garnettis.

Item. *Os album rotundum in argento.*

Item. *Lapis R. de Weynchepe oblongus cum cornelino rubeo et capite hominis.*

There are probably further treasures belonging to the Shrine mentioned under the other heads of the Inventory. Thus among the chasubles is that of sir John Plukenet, knight, of purple cloth with golden pine-apples, and a large orfrey before and behind, bequeathed to the Shrine of Saint Thomas. Among six chalices of solid gold, one is described as,

Calix aureus ad feretrum, cum viridi amalio in nodo pedis.

Among the murrhine cups, was one called the Cup of Saint Thomas, lined with silver gilt, and having a chased foot. Another of the six golden chalices was that offered by Philip king of France ; and among the *Cuppæ ad Corpus Domini*, was one of gold offered by Louis king of France. Among the morses or clasps of copes, were six also called "of the king of France," silver, gilt and enamelled, three with imagery undescribed, and the other three having the crucifix on the right side, and the annunciation on the left. Thus it appears that the French monarchs made frequent offerings to Saint Thomas of Canterbury : and it will be observed that Erasmus remarks that several of the jewels of the Shrine were the gift of sovereign princes.

Amongst other Shrines of English saints, the most celebrated were those of Edward the Confessor at West-

minster, Edmund at Bury in Suffolk, Alban at the town named after him, and Cuthbert at Durham.

The CONFESSOR was not canonized until the pontificate of Alexander III. Thereupon king Henry the Third prepared a precious shrine, to which the body of the saint was translated at midnight on the 15th Oct. 1163. Afterwards, on king Henry the Third rebuilding the church, the original shrine was either inclosed or succeeded by the remarkable erection of Italian mosaic which has been suffered to remain to our own days. It is said to have been surmounted by another of fine gold and precious stones, so curiously wrought, that the workmanship even exceeded the material. Among the treasures of this shrine was an image of the blessed Virgin in ivory, offered by archbishop Becket, who had promoted the Confessor's canonization.

The shrine of SAINT EDMUND in Bury was also of two parts, or stages, which seems to have been the usual arrangement—the lower of stoue, and the upper of wood, incased with gold plate. An illumination of Lydgate's Life of St. Edmund, in the MS. Harl. 2278, represents the young devotee, king Henry the Sixth, kneeling before this shrine, in 1433. It is engraved in the new edition of the Monasticon, and in the Gentleman's Magazine for September 1822.

The shrine of SAINT ALBAN was renewed in costly goldsmith's work by abbat Simon towards the close of the twelfth century. On the two sides were figures in

relief representing the life of the blessed martyr ; at the head, towards the east, the crucifix, with Mary and John ; and in the front, towards the west, an image of the blessed Virgin, sitting on a throne, and holding her divine Infant in her lap. On both sides of the roof the order of the saint's martyrdom was represented. At the four corners were open turrets, with marvellous bosses of crystal. Within this sumptuous external covering, the older shrine was contained. It is said that the (inner) shrine of saint Alban is now preserved in the church of Saint Mauritius, belonging to the Theresian convent at Cologne. (See Matthew Paris ; Newcome's History of St. Alban's, pp. 63 and 75 ; and Messrs. Bucklers' Architectural History of the Church, 1847, pp. 47, 168.)

The Shrine of SAINT CUTHBERT at Durham is fully described in the curious account of that church written by one who remembered it in its state before the Reformation. It " was exalted with most curious workmanship of fine and costly green marble, all limned and gilt with gold, having four seats or places convenient under the shrine for the pilgrims or lame men sitting on their knees to lean and rest on, at the time of their devout offerings and fervent prayers to God and holy Saint Cuthbert for his miraculous relief and succour ; which being never wanting, made the shrine to be so richly invested that it was estimated to be one of the most sumptuous monuments in England, so great were the offerings and jewels bestowed upon it, and no less the miracles that were

done by it." There was a wainscot covering, let up and down by means of a pulley and rope, which at the same time set six silver bells in motion, in order to attract the attention of persons in distant parts of the church. The cover was gilt; on the north and south sides were painted "four lively images," on the east end our Saviour sitting on a rainbow, to give judgment, and on the west end the Virgin and our Saviour on his knee. The cover had a carved crest of dragons and other beasts; its inside was varnished of a fine sanguine colour, to be more perspicuous to the beholders, and when closed down it was locked at every corner.

Within the Feretory or Chapel of the Shrine, both on the north and south, were Almeryes for the Relics: made of wainscot, finely painted and gilt with little images: and at the same time that the shrine was uncovered, these almeryes were also opened for exhibition. (See more minute particulars in the Rites and Monuments of the Monasticall Church of Durham, Surtees Society's edition, 1842, pp. 3 *et seq.*)

The vice-prior of Durham was also keeper of the Feretory. "His office was that, when any man of honour or worship were disposed to make their prayers to God and to Saint Cuthbert, or to offer anything to his sacred Shrine, if they requested to have it drawn, then straightway the Clerk of the Feretory did give intelligence to his master, and then the said master did bring the keys, giving them to the clerk to open the locks of the Shrine.

His office was to stand by and see it drawn, commanding the said clerk to draw it. Also it was ever drawn in the matins time, when *Te Deum* was in singing, or in the high-mass time, or at evensong time, when the *Magnificat* was sung. And when they had made their prayers, and did offer anything to it, if it were either gold, silver, or jewels, straitway it was hung on the shrine. And if it were any other thing, as unicorn horn, elephant tooth, or such like thing, then it was hung within the Feretory, at the end of the Shrine. And when they had made their prayers, the clerk did let down the cover thereof, and did lock it at every corner, giving the keys to the vice-prior again." (Ibid. p. 79.)

(59) *Rapacity of the officers of the English
custom-house.*

This was an old personal grievance of Erasmus. On leaving England after his first visit, in 1499, a regulation was put in force against him, which prohibited any person from carrying out of the country coin exceeding in amount six angels. The king's officers at Dover took from him all the money he had above that sum, nearly twenty pounds, thus in fact depriving him of the fruits of his learned labours in England. (See his *Epistolæ*, Nos. 62, 80, 94.)

Again, when he passed over the straits in the year 1514, he suffered from what he deemed a wanton error, which he thus described to his friend Ammonius: "The passage was most fortunate, but still anxious to me. The sea perfectly calm, the wind favourable, the weather delightful, the time most convenient. For we sailed at about seven o'clock. But those maritime thieves carried my portmanteau, which was full of my writings, into another ship: a thing they do on purpose, in order that, if they find any suitable opportunity, they may steal away something: but if not, they extort some money, and sell you your own property. And so, when I supposed I had lost the work of so many years, I felt so troubled in mind that I think no parent could feel more on the death of his children. And indeed in all other matters they treat travellers in such sort, that it might be better to fall into the hands of Turks than theirs. I have often wondered with myself that these dregs of men are tolerated by the princes of England, to the great molestation of their visitors, and not without the highest disgrace of the whole island, considering every one on returning home relates how inhumanly he was received, and others form their opinion of the nation from the acts of these robbers." (Epist. 159.)

This second grievance, however, had evidently been surmounted before Erasmus wrote this letter, which is dated from the English castle of Hammes, near Calais, where he was then visiting Lord Mountjoy.

(60) *Herbaldown hospital.*

It is not a little remarkable, that while the lordly monasteries of Canterbury, with their incalculable riches, were swept away shortly after the visit of Erasmus, the humble hospital which he mentions with something like contempt, has remained to our own time.

It is situated at Herbaldown, about one mile from the West Gate of the city; and was one of three lazarehouses founded by archbishop Lanfranc, about the year 1084. Such hospitals were erected away from the town population, in order to avoid infection. The two other hospitals of St. James and St. Lawrence were suppressed after the Reformation, respectively in 1551 and 1557; but Herbaldown escaped, continuing to receive a yearly pension of 80*l.* from the archbishop, and other revenues, amounting in all to nearly 250*l.* in 1784. Its history, compiled by the Rev. Nicholas Battely and the Rev. John Duncombe, was published in 4to. 1785, in No. xxx. of the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*. An ancient church dedicated to Saint Nicholas was attached to the hospital, and the corporate seal represents a figure of that episcopal saint, with this inscription, *Sigill' infirmorum hospitalis Sc'i Nicolai de Herbaldoune*. On Saint Nicholas' day the brethren and sisters (for there were both,) had an annual feast; and a curious maple bowl is

still preserved which was used on these occasions. It has a silver rim, and a silver medallion at the bottom, its workmanship early in the 14th century, and representing a scene from the romance of Guy of Warwick.

GY DE WARWIC AD A NOVN

YCCI OCCIS LE DRAGOVN.

“ Of Warwick he hight Guyon.

Here he slays the dragon.”

(61) *Saint Patrick's Cave.*

In his *Adagia* Erasmus has again alluded to Saint Patrick's Cave. After explaining the proverb, *In Trophonii antro vaticinatus est*, as originating with a vision of Tartarus, related by Plutarch in the “Dream of Socrates,” he remarks, “This story seems to me so like that which is related of the cave of Patrick, in Ireland, that one might be thought taken from the other. Yet even now there are very many who descend: but after having first half killed themselves with a three days' fast, lest they should enter with a sound head. Those who have descended relate that they have lost their inclination for laughing for the rest of their lives.”

In the Colloquy before us, Erasmus seems to introduce the Cave of Saint Patrick last, as if he deemed it the crowning absurdity of Pilgrimage, and as if a mere allusion to it were sufficient: yet, so strong is the in-

veteracy of superstition, that this imposture has flourished down to the present time, and that even in the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. See Sir John Barrow's Tour round Ireland, Carleton's Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry, and a very interesting historical dissertation on this and cognate topics, entitled, "St. Patrick's Purgatory; an Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise, current during the Middle Ages. By Thomas Wright, esq. M.A., F.S.A." 1844. 12mo.

St. Patrick's Purgatory is situated on an island of Lough Derg, among the mountains of the county of Donegal. There are various records of its having been visited by pilgrims of the higher ranks in the middle ages, some of whom came even from the continent of Europe. An amusing account of it occurs in the Chronicle of Froissart, arising in a conversation between the author and sir William Lysle, as they were travelling together in Kent. "Than on Friday in the mornyng sir William Lysle and I rode together, and on the waye I demaunded of him, if he had bene with the kyng in the voyage into Ireland. He answered me, yes. Than I demaunded of him the maner of the hole that is in Ireland, called Saynte Patrykes purgatorye, if it were trewe that was sayde of it or not. Than he sayde, that of a suretye suche a hole there was, and that he him selfe and another knight of Englande hadde ben there while the kinge laye at Duvelyn, and sayde, howe they entred into the hole

and were closed in at the sonne goynge downe, and abode there all night, and the nexte mornynge issued out agayne at the son rising. Than I demaunded if he had any suche strange sightes or visions as was spoken of. Than he said howe that whan he and his felow were entred and past the gate that was called the purgatory of Saynt Patrike, and that they were descended and gone downe, thre or foure partes discendynge downe as into a cellar, a certayne hote vapure rose agayne them and strake so into their heedes, that they were fayne to syt downe on the stares, which are of stone. And after they had sytte there a season, they had great desyre to slepe, and so fell aslepe, and slept there all nyght. Than I demaunded if that in theyr slepe they knewe where they were, or what vysyons they had: he answered me, that in slepyng they entred into great ymaginacyons and in marveyulous dremes, otherwise than they were wonte to have in their chambres; and in the mornynge they issued out, and, wythin a shorte season, clene forgate their dremes and visyons, wherfore he sayde, he thought all that mater was but a fantasy."

(62) *The Roman stations.*

In his *Modus orandi Deum* Erasmus has frequent remarks on the images and pictures in churches. "It were to be wished," he says, "that nothing should be seen in

Christian churches but what is worthy of Christ. Now we see there so many fables and follies depicted, as *the seven falls of our lord Jesus*, the seven swords of the Virgin, or her three vows, and other idle inventions of that kind ; and then the saints not represented in a guise becoming them."

The general character of art in Roman Catholic churches has certainly not improved during the three centuries that have elapsed since Erasmus wrote. They are still crowded with images and pictures, which degrade the persons and subjects they are intended to honour. The *Stationes* are maintained in large churches, denoting the several halting-places of processions : they are generally numbered, and further marked by a very ordinary series of paintings, or perhaps of engravings, of "the seven falls of our lord Jesus," and other real or apocryphal scenes in the history of the Passion.

(63) *The sumptuousness of churches.*

The same arguments which Erasmus here advances as the joint sentiments of Colet and himself on the subject of church architecture and ornaments, he repeats in nearly the same terms in another Colloquy, and again with special reference to what he had seen at Canterbury :

"It appears to me that those are almost guilty of mortal sin, who proceed to immoderate expenses in the

building or adorning of monasteries or churches, whilst in the mean time so many living temples of Christ are in danger of starvation, are perishing from nakedness, or are distressed from the want of necessaries. When I was in England, I saw the tomb of Saint Thomas, loaded with jewels, countless in number, and of the highest value, beside other miracles of riches. I would rather that such superfluities were spent in aid of the poor than to be kept for princes, who will some day carry away all at once ; and I would adorn the tomb with boughs and garlands, which I think would be more acceptable to that most holy man." The Religious Feast.—He proceeds in the same place to censure the extravagant cost of the marble cathedral at Milan.

Worship of the Virgin and the Saints.

Though alive to the abuses to which the worship of Saints gave rise, Erasmus was not prepared to condemn it altogether. In his apology for his Colloquies, from which other extracts are given in the Preface to this volume, he states,

“ It is equally false that in the Colloquies the suffrages of the Blessed Virgin and of the other Saints are ridiculed, but I ridicule those who ask from the Saints things which they would not dare to ask from a good man ; or pray to certain Saints under the supposition that one or the other will or can more readily bestow this or that,

than any other, or than Christ himself. Nay, in the Colloquy on Youthful Piety the boy thus speaks, 'I have saluted some.' Whom? 'Christ and some Saints.' And a little after, 'Again in three words I salute Jesus and all the Saints, but especially the Virgin Mother, and those whom I esteem as my patrons.' And afterwards he mentions by name those he salutes daily."

Erasmus himself wrote an address to the Virgin, entitled, "*Observatio ad Virginem Matrem Mariam in rebus adversis*:" it is printed in his Works, edit. Frobenii, Basil. 1540, tom. v. p. 1030. There is the following passage, nearly similar to that in the text: "*Cum et filium genueris exorabilem, præterea sic tui amantem, sic observantem, quippe piissimum, ut nihil omnino neget postulanti.*" This seems, in fact, to be the great reliance of the Virgin-worshipper.

Those who wish to pursue this subject will do well to consult the Rev. Mr. Tyler's "*Mariolatry*," 8vo. 1844; and his more recent volume on *Image Worship*, 1847. The following particulars from the latter seem appropriate as an illustration of "the Virgin of Walsingham," and as showing how grievously the corrupt practices of the Christian Church have imbibed the spirit of the craftsmen of Ephesus.

In the 17th century was published a work by William Gumpfenberg called *Mary's Atlas*, being a description of all her miraculous images worshipped in every part of the world.

In 1839 a priest of Verona began to re-publish it, having added "the latest images which wrought wonders, to the end of the eighteenth century." This work has now reached six volumes (the last, in the British Museum, being published in 1842,) and already contains an account of 193 miraculous images ; yet these six volumes have reviewed only a part of Italy, and have not touched upon any other country.

In 1707 was published at Lisbon "Santuario Mariano," containing an account of the miraculous images of the Virgin venerated in Portugal and its dependencies. It fills no less than ten octavo volumes.



SEAL OF THE NUNNERY
OF IVYCHURCH, WILTS.

APPENDIX.

ENGLISH PILGRIMAGES IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE abuses of Pilgrimages were perceived and censured by the pious Lollard and the caustic satirist long before the time of Erasmus. The opinion entertained on the subject by the poet Chaucer is well known; but an earlier poet, John Longland, is not less severe in his picture. In his Vision of Piers Ploughman, which was written about the year 1362, he thus describes the lying, idleness, and mendicancy to which encouragement was given by this vagrant kind of life :

Pilgrymes and palmeres plighten hem to gidere,
For to seken seint James, and seintes at Rome,
They wenten forth on hire wey with many wise tales,
And hadden leve to lyen al hire lif after.
I seigh somme that seiden thei hadde y-sought seintes,
To ech a tale that thei tolde hire tonge was tempred to lye,
Moore than to seye sooth, it semed bi hire speche.
Heremytes on an heep with hoked staves
Wenten to Walsyngham, and hire weneches after,
Grete lobics and longe, that lothe were to swynke,

Clothed hem in copes, to ben knowen from othere,
 And shopen hem heremytes hire ese to have.

VISION OF PIERS PLOUGHMAN, written about 1362.

But the most interesting particulars I have met with in connexion with Pilgrimage in England are afforded by the narrative of William Thorpe, a Lollard, which describes his examination taken before archbishop Arundel at Saltwood castle, in the year 1407. One of the charges brought against this person was, that in a sermon preached at Shrewsbury he had maintained "that men should not goe on pilgrimages;" and on this question issue is joined in the discussion which ensued at his examination. The archbishop is represented as behaving with all the overbearing violence likely to animate the powerful when irritated; but a certain harshness towards all accused persons was an unbecoming characteristic of the rude justice of those times.

"And then he said to me, What saiest thou to the third point that is certified against thee, preaching openly in Shrewsburie that pilgrimage is not lefull; and, over this, thou saidest that those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterburie, to Beverley, to Karlington, to Walsingam, and to any such other places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in waste. And I said, Sir, by this certification I am accused to you that I should teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull; but I saide never thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and lefull, and full pleasant to God; and therefore, sir,

howsoever mine enemies have certified you of me, I told at Shrewsburie of two manner of pilgrimages.

“ And the archbishop saide to me, Whome callest thou true pilgrims ?

“ And I said, Sir, with my protestation, I call them true pilgrimes travelling towarde the blisse of heaven which, in the state, degree, or order that God calleth them to, doe busie them faithfullie for to occupie all their wits, bodelic and ghostlie, to knowe truely, and to kepe faithfullie, the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the seaven deadlie sins, and everie branch of them, ruling them vertuouslie (as it is said before) with al their wits ; doing discretlie, wilfullie, and gladly all the works of mercie, bodely and ghostly, after their cunning and power ; abling them to the gifts of the Holie Ghost, disposing them to receive them in their soules, and to hold therein the right blessinges of Christ ; busieng them to knowe and to keepe the seaven principall vertues ; and so then they shall obtaine heere, through grace, for to use thankfullie to God all the conditions of charitie ; and then they shall be moved by the good Spirit of God for to examine oft and diligentlie their conscience, that neither wilfullie nor wittinglie they erre in any article of beleefe ; having continuallie (as frailtie will suffer) all their businesse to dread and to flee the offence of God, and to love over all, and to seeke ever to doe, his pleasant will. Of these pilgrimes I said, whatsoever good thought that they any time thinke, what

vertuous worde that they speake, and what fruitfull worke that they worke, everie such thought, worde, and worke is a step, numbred of God, towarde him into heaven. These foresaide pilgrims of God delight sore when they heare of saintes or of vertuous men and women how they forsooke wilfullie the prosperitie of this life, howe they withstoode the suggestion of the fiende, howe they restrained their fleshly lustes, howe discret they were in their penance doing, howe patient they were in all their adversities, howe prudent they were in counselling of men and women, mooving them to hate all sinnes and to flie them, and to shame ever greatlie thereof, and love all vertues, and to drawe to them, imagining howe Christ, and his followers, by example of him, suffered scornes and sclauder, and howe patientlie they abode and tooke the wrongful manasing of tyrantes; howe homelie they were and servisable to poore men, to relieve and comfort them bodelie and ghostlie, after their power and cunning; and howe devout they were in praiers, howe fervent they were in heavenlie desires, and howe they absented them from spectacles of vaine sayings and hearings; and howe stable they were to let and destroe all vices, and howe laborious and joyfull they were to sowe and to plante vertues. These heavenlie conditions and such other have pilgrimes, or endeavour-them for to have, whose pilgrimage God accepteth.

“ And againe, I saide, as their workes show, the most parte of men and women that goe now on pilgrimages

have not these foresaide conditions, nor loveth to busie them faithfullie for to have. For, as I well know, since I have full oft assaid, examine, whosoever will, twenty of these pilgrimes, and he shall not find three men or women that know surely a commandment of God, nor can they say their Pater Noster and Ave Maria, nor their Creed readily in any manner of language. And, as I have learned, and also know somewhat by experience, of these same pilgrimes, telling the cause whie that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimage: It is more for the health of their bodies then of their soules; more for to have riches and prosperitie of this worlde then for to be enriched with vertues in their soules; more to have here worldlie and fleshlie friendship then for to have friendship of God and of his saints in heaven. For, whatsoever thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, nor of any other saint, cannot be had without keeping of God's commandments. Further, with my protestation, I saie now as I said in Shrewsbury, though they that have fleshly wils travell far their bodies and spend mickle mony to seeke and to visite the bones or images (as they saie they do) of this saint or of that, such pilgrimage-going is neither praisable nor thankfull to God, nor to any saint of God, since, in effect, all such pilgrimes despise God and all his commandements and saints. For the commandements of God they will nother know nor keepe, nor conforme them to live vertuously by example of Christ and of his saintes. Wherefore,

sir, I have preached and taught openlie, and so I purpose all my lifetime to doe with God's helpe, saying that such fond people waste blamefullie God's goods in their vaine pilgrimages, spending their goods upon vitious hostelars, which are oft uncleane women of their bodies; and at the least those goods with the which they should doe workes of mercie, after God's bidding, to poore needie men and women. These poore men's goods and their livelode these runners-about offer to rich priests, which have mickle more livelode then they neede; and thus those goods they waste wilfullie, and spend them unjustlie, against God's bidding, upon strangers, with which they should helpe and relieve, after God's wil, their poore needie neighbours at home. Yea, and over this follie, oft times divers men and women of these runners thus madlie hither and thither into pilgrimage borrow hereto other men's goods; yea and sometimes they steale men's goodes hereto, and they paie them never againe. Also, sir, I knowe well that when divers men and women will goe thus after their own willes and finding out on pilgrimage, they will ordaine with them before to have with them both men and women that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrimes will have with them bagge-pipes; so that everie towne that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canturburie-bels, and with the barking out of dogges after them, that they make more noice then if

the King came there away, with all his clarions and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a moneth out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an halfe yeare after great janglers, tale-tellers, and liers.

“And the archbishop said to me, Leud losell! thou seest not far inough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great travaile of pilgrimes; therefore thou blamest that thing that is praisable. I say to thee, that it is right wel done that pilgrims have with them both singers and also pipers; that when one of them that goeth barefoot striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him bleede, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosom a bagpipe, for to drive awaie with such mirth the hurt of his fellow; for with such solace the travaile and wearinesse of pilgrimes is lightly and merrily borne out.*

“And I said, Sir, St. Paule teacheth men to weepe with them that weepe.

“And the archbishop saide, What, janglest thou against

* The archbishop's argument is exactly that adopted by “our host of the Tabarde.”

Ye goon to Caunterbury; God you speede,
 The blisful martir quyte you youre meede!
 And wel I woot, as ye gon by the weye,
 Ye schapen you to talken and to pleye,
 For trewely comfourt ne merthe is noon,
 To ryde by the weye domb as a stoon:
 And therefore wol I make you disport.

PROLOGUE TO THE CANTERBURY TALES.

men's devotion? Whatsoever thou or such other saie, I saie that the pilgrimage that now is used is to them that do it a praiseable and a good meane to come the rather to grace."

MODERN PILGRIMAGE ON THE CONTINENT.

"One of the things which strike with surprise the English traveller is the extent to which the practice of making pilgrimages is, even at the present day, carried in the Catholic countries of southern and eastern Europe. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of pilgrims throughout the Austrian and Bavarian dominions, as well as in France, Spain, and Switzerland, make annually a journey to the shrine of some favourite saint, to kiss some precious relic, or to worship before some miracle-working picture or statue of the Virgin. Many of these pictures are of great antiquity, mostly in that rude style of art called Byzantine, executed by artists of the Greek empire; and not a few represent the Virgin and Child with a negro complexion. There is always some tradition or story of the origin of each attached to the shrine; and the string of miracles, which continue to the present day and which apparently are not likely to cease, are

carefully recorded, and generally detailed in printed books sold on the spot. The memory of these miraculous interpositions is further preserved by gifts deposited in the treasury of the church, usually consisting of models in silver, or even gold, of the parts of the body relieved of some ailment by the supposed intercession of the image, or by paintings, or votive tablets containing representations, rudely painted, of escapes from a shipwreck, a house on fire, a carriage which the horses have run away with, a broken bridge, the descent of an avalanche, and such perils and dangers by flood and field as flesh is heir to, which the actual interposition of the Virgin is supposed to have averted; and she is, in consequence, always drawn enthroned on the clouds, in the same manner as Jupiter is introduced in the old prints of *Æsop's Fables*. The palladium of the shrine, whether a hideous black figure carved in wood, or a stiff, ungainly picture covered over with embroidered and tinsel silk or velvet, with two holes cut in it to allow the heads of the Virgin and Child to be seen, is usually resplendent with gold, diamonds, and other precious gems, the gifts of wealthy pilgrims. The treasuries of these churches are stored with rich dresses, brocades, trinkets, and jewels, for the decoration of the image, and with costly plate for the service of the altar, which in some instances has accumulated to an enormous extent. Princes, popes, emperors, and kings, even down to modern times, have visited in person, and have contributed largely. The pil-

grimage church is usually approached by a little avenue of chapels somewhat like sentry-boxes, dotting the wayside. These are ornamented with paintings representing the sufferings of our Lord on the way to Calvary, and are called Stations or *Via Crucis*.

“In France the most celebrated shrines are at Puy, in the Valais, and that of Nôtre Dame de la Garde, at Marseilles, whose fame extends over the whole Mediterranean, so that even the poorest captain of a Maltese or Neapolitan trabacolo hangs up her picture in his cabin, and propitiates her by a burning lamp. In Spain, Saint James of Compostella; in Switzerland, our Lady of Einsiedeln; in Bavaria, the Black Lady of Altötting; in Austria, Maria Taferl; in Styria, Maria Zell, which is a German Loretto; in Bohemia, Saint John of Nepomuc’s shrine at Prague,—are the chief focuses of pilgrimage. It would be tedious to enumerate the number of shrines of minor repute in the Austrian states which have their votaries. Some pilgrimage churches have there sprung up even within the present century.

“Every year, at a stated season, printed bills are affixed to all the church doors of Vienna, stating the time fixed for the pilgrimage to Maria Zell, and the indulgences to be obtained by it. Pilgrims assemble from every parish on the day appointed, and, headed by priests and banners, they pour forth, in a long procession, men and women, from the gate. (See the extract before given in Note 16.)

“The Church of Rome, in her worldly wisdom, never

omits to take advantage of any circumstance which may make the observance of her rites attractive. Thus, if her masses and services are long, their tediousness is forgotten amidst ravishing strains of music and perfumed gales of incense; and the attention is riveted and amused by draperies and vestments, by gold, glitter, and paintings. If the pilgrimages she enjoins are wearisome, the spirits of the tired pilgrim are elevated and his strength refreshed by the balmy air of the mountain tops, and by all the charms of beautiful scenery and extensive prospects.

“There seems to be something particularly engaging in the worship on high places; the pilgrimage church is almost always situated high up on the mountains, and it seems as though so slight a physical approach to heaven had the effect of raising the mind above earthly things.

“There are few sounds more truly impressive than the chant of a band of pilgrims on their march, as it comes upon the ear amidst the lonely solitudes of the high alps, amidst cliffs and precipices. The simple peasants of Austria and Bavaria are no mean choristers, and the deep melody of their voices, the solemnness of the scene, and the earnestness of the manner of those who thus raise the hymn in the grandest temple of the God of Nature, serve to increase the effect which it produces on the mind. It is difficult not to believe them sincere who engage in these exercises of piety.” (Introd. to Murray’s *Hand-book for Travellers in Southern Germany.*)

“In Spain, as in the East, the duty of performing

certain pilgrimages was formerly one of the absolute precepts of faith. Spain abounds in sacred spots and "high places." Monserrat was their Ararat, Zaragoza and Santiago their Medina and Mecca. These were the grand sites to which it was necessary to "go up." In process of time the monks provided also for every village some consecrated spot, which offered a substitute for these distant and expensive expeditions: they will perish with the dissolution of monasteries, which derived the greatest benefit from their observance. Few pilgrims ever visited the sacred spot without contributing their mite towards the keeping up the chapel, and the support of the holy man or brotherhood to whose especial care it was consigned. "No penny no paternoster;" and masses must be paid for, as diamonds, pearls, and other matters, and the greatest sinners are the best customers. Although lighter in purse, the pilgrim on his return took rank in his village, and, as in the East, was honoured as a *Hadji*; the Spanish term is *Romero*, which some have derived from Roma, one who had been to Rome, a roamer; others from the branch of rosemary, *romero*, which they wore in their caps, which is a Scandinavian charm against witches; and this elfin plant, called by the Northmen *ellegrem*, is still termed *alecrim* in Portugal. Thus our pilgrims were called Palmers, from bearing the palm-branch, and *Saunterers*, because returning from the Holy Land, *La Sainte Terre*." (Introduction to Murray's Hand-book for Spain.)

WALSINGHAM.

THE priory of Walsingham was founded during the episcopate of William bishop of Norwich, who sat in that see from the year 1146 to 1174. It originated with Geoffrey de Favarches, who, on the day he departed on pilgrimage for Jerusalem, granted to God and Saint Mary, and to Edwy his clerk, the chapel which his mother Richeldis had built at Walsingham, together with the church of All Saints in the same town, and certain portions of land, with the intention that Edwy should found therewith an order of religion. This foundation was confirmed by Robert de Brucurt and Roger earl of Clare, the superior lords, in charters addressed to the bishop of Norwich already mentioned.*

* “This is the correct account of the foundation,” to adopt the words of the editors of the *New Monasticon*, vi. 71; and yet they proceed to say that “it should be told that a chapel was first built here dedicated to the Annunciation of our Lady, in 1061, by the mother of Geoffry, the widow of Richoldis de Faverches, which was afterwards in the reign of William the Conqueror converted into or made a part of the priory.” This latter, however, should *not* have been told except as the *incorrect* account. It is the account of Parkin in the *History of Norfolk*, *not* derived from the cartulary

The Pilgrimage to Walsingham commenced in or before the reign of Henry the Third, who was there in the year 1241. Edward the First was at Walsingham in 1280 and 1296, and Edward the Second in 1315.*

In 1361 king Edward the Third granted out of his treasury the sum of 9*l.* as a gift to John duke of Britany for his expenses in going in pilgrimage to Walsingham;† and afterwards, in the same year, to his nephew the duke of Anjou (one of the hostages of France) licence to be absent for a month from London, for his health and disport, “towards Saint Thomas of Canterbury and our Lady of Walsingham;”‡ and on the 20th Feb. 1363-4 he sent letters to the wardens of the marches towards

of Walsingham, which is cited in his margin, but, with the exception of the date—which it will be perceived is a century too early—from the *Icenia* of Spelman, whose Latin phrase “*conditum a Richolde vidua nobili, villæ domina*” (which she does not appear to have been), is translated by Parkin into “the widow lady of Ricoldie de Faverches.” Subsequent writers, including Mr. Taylor the author of the *Index Monasticus* of the Diocese of Norwich, and the editors of the *New Monasticon*, have continued to mistake the widow’s name for that of her husband; and Mr. Taylor falls into another misapprehension, in styling “Sir Geoffrey de Favarches, her son, afterwards earl of the Marches.” The meaning of his original was, that Geoffrey de Favarches, and afterwards the Clares, earls of the marches of Wales, were the principal early benefactors of the foundation.

* These dates are from Taylor’s *Index Monasticus*.

† Rymer, vi. 315.

‡ *Ibid.* 324.

Scotland, directing them to give safe-conduct to his brother David de Bruys (king of Scotland), to be accompanied by twenty knights, then intending pilgrimage to Walsingham.*

King Henry the Seventh, having kept his Christmas of 1486-7 at Norwich, "from thence went in manner of pilgrimage to Walsingham, where he visited our Ladies church, famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliverance."

And in the following summer, after the battle of Stoke, "he sent his banner to be offered to our Lady of Walsingham, where before he made his vows."†

King Henry the Eighth in his second year, shortly after Christmas, between Twelfth-day and the queen's churching, rode here; and in the said year, May 14, 6*s.* 8*d.* were paid to Mr. Garneys for the king's offering, as appears by a MS. of payments by the keeper of the privy seal, signed by the king's hand.

The interesting and well-known letter written by queen Katharine of Arragon to king Henry, announcing the victory of Flodden, concludes with telling him that

* Similar letters, bearing the same date, were issued in favour of Margaret wife of David Bruce, then intending pilgrimage to Saint Thomas of Canterbury; and one week earlier like letters had been granted in favour of the Earl of Marr, who was also intending pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Thomas, and was to be accompanied by twelve knights and their servants.—Rymer, vi. 434, 435.

† Lord Bacon's Life of Henry VII.

she was then on her way to Walsingham,—“and now goo to our Lady at Walsyngham, that I promised soo long agoo to see.”*

Several pilgrimages to Walsingham are incidentally mentioned in the Paston Letters.

In 1443, when John Paston lay ill at the Inner Temple, his mother “behested” (*i. e.* vowed) another image (in addition to a former offering or behest,) of wax, of his weight, to our Lady of Walsingham, sending at the same time four nobles to the four orders of friars of Norwich to pray for him; and his wife behested to go on pilgrimage both to Walsingham and to St. Leonard’s priory † on the same account.

On one occasion sir John Fastolfe mentions that “My lord of Norfolk is removed from Framlingham on foot to go to Walsingham,” and that he was afterwards expecting him to come to Caister; in 1469 king Edward was intending this pilgrimage, and the queen also, if God sent her health; again, John Paston writes from Norwich that the duchess of Norfolk would be there “tomorrow at night towards Walsingham;” and in 1471 “my lord of Norfolk and my lady” were together “on pilgrimage at our Lady, on foot, and so they went to Caister.” In 1478 it was expected that the duke of

* Ellis’s Orig. Letters, I. i. 89.

† St. Leonard’s priory without Norwich. Mr. Taylor (p. 66) mentions this and thirty other places in the county of Norfolk alone to which pilgrimages used to be made.

Buckingham should come on pilgrimage to Walsingham, and so to Bokenham castle to his sister lady Knevet.

Among other fond imaginations of the people, it was even believed that the galaxy or milky way was placed in the heavens to guide the pilgrims by night on their road to Walsingham, and it was therefore sometimes called the Walsingham Way. The principal earthly road by which they travelled is drawn upon the maps in Mr. Taylor's excellent *Index Monasticus*. It passed by Newmarket, Brandon, and Fakenham; and is still known as the Palmers' Way, and the Walsingham Green-way. It may be traced, along the principal part of its course, for sixty miles in the diocese of Norwich. Those pilgrims who came from the north crossed the Wash near Long Sutton, and went through Lynn, most probably taking the way which passed by the priories of Fritcham, Rudham or Roodham, and Cokesford. Another great road led from the east through the city of Norwich and Attleborough, by Bec hospital, where gratuitous accommodation for thirteen pilgrims was provided every night. At Hilburgh, Southacre, Westacre, Lynn, Prior's Thorns, Stanhoe, Caston, and many other places, were chapels at which the devotees, on their passage, offered up their orisons. The most remarkable of these is our Lady's chapel at Lynn, which contains a beautifully groined roof, and derived much wealth from the oblations of the pilgrims.*

* Taylor, p. xx.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF WALSINGHAM.

We are informed of the dimensions of the several churches at Walsingham by the measurements of William of Worcestre.*

He says, the length of the New Work of Walsingham was sixteen yards, its interior width ten yards. The length of the chapel of the blessed Virgin (that is, the wooden chapel) was seven yards, thirty inches; its width four yards, ten inches. The length of the whole church of Walsingham from the end of the chancel was 136 of Worcestre's paces, its breadth 36 paces; the length of the nave from the west door to the tower in the middle of the church 70 paces; the square of the tower 16 paces; the breadth of the nave without the two ailes 16 paces. The length of the quire was 50 paces, and the breadth 17. The cloister was square, 54 paces in each walk: the length of the chapter-house 20 paces, its

* The writer of the description in Mr. Britton's "Architectural Antiquities" charges Parkin (the continuator of Blomefield) with having confounded the New Work and the Chapel of the Virgin. This he has not exactly done: and, if he had, he would have been right. Parkin incorrectly conjectured that the New Work was "probably at the east end of the choir," instead of its being a separate building as Erasmus tells us. But Mr. Britton's author has himself gone wider astray; for he has confused the church of the Franciscan Friars of Walsingham with that of the Canons; and this although Worcestre had inserted the dimensions of the church of Scottow between the two.

breadth 10 paces, but the length of the entrance of the chapter-house from the cloister was 10 paces, so in all it was 30 paces.

“The remains of this once celebrated place (remarks Mr. Parker*) are now very small. Of the chapel of our Lady we have only part of a fine Perpendicular east front, consisting of two stair-turrets covered with paneling of flint and stone, with rich niches, &c. and five buttresses connected by the arch and gable over the east window; but the window itself is destroyed. In the gable is a small round window, with flowing tracery, set in the middle of a very thick wall.” This striking feature of the Walsingham ruins will be found represented in most of the engraved views of the place, of which the two best are that by Coney in the *New Monasticon*, and that in Britton’s *Architectural Antiquities*. Mr. Parker has followed former writers in calling this a part of the chapel of our Lady; but it must surely have belonged to the larger Priory church.

The ruins were more considerable when described by Parkin in Blomefield’s *Norfolk*, and when a view of them was published in the *Vetusta Monumenta* in 1720; but they have given way to trees, and walks, a trim lawn, and all the *agremens* of modern pleasure grounds. Some ruins close adjoining to the modern mansion are a portion

* Architectural Notes prepared for the Archæological Institute, 1847.

of the refectory : they consist of a range of four early Decorated windows, with the staircase to a pulpit in the wall. There is also a doorway and vault of another apartment. In the contrary direction (west of the church) are the Holy Wells, lined with plain ashlar stone ; on one side of them is a square bath (perhaps altered since the days of the canons) ; on the other, a small early-English doorway.

The family of Lee-Warner have owned this beautiful estate from the time of Dr. Warner, Bishop of Rochester, by whom it was purchased in 1766.

ARTICLES OF INQUIRY FOR THE MONASTERY OF
WALSINGHAM.

(MS. Harl. 791, p. 27.)

Walsingham.

1. In primis, whether there be inventarie allweys permanent in the house betwene the priour and the brethern of this house, aswelle of alle the juelles, reliques, and ornaments of the churche and chapel, as of alle the plate and other moveable goodes of this house. *Et si sic exhibeatur.*

2. Item, yf there be no such inventarie, whether there be any bokes made therof, and of the guyfte of the juelles that have bene geven to our Ladye. *Et si sic producat.*

3. Item, whether any of the said juelles, ornamentes, plate, or goodes hath bene alienated, solde, or pledged at any tyme heretofore. And yf there were, what they were, to whome they were solde, for how moche, whan, and for what cause.

4. Item, what reliques be in this house that be or hath bene moste in th'estimacion of the people, and what vertue was esteemed of the people to be in theym.

5. Item, what probacion or argument have they to shewe that the same are trewe reliques.

6. Item, in howe many places of this house were the said reliques shewed, and whiche were in whiche? and whether the kepers of the same did not bring about tables to men for their offering, as thought they would exacte money of theym or make theym ashamed except they did offer.*

7. Item, for what cause were the said reliques shewed in divers sundrye places more than alltogether in one place.

8. Item, what hathe th'offring made to our Ladye and to the said reliques bene worth a yere whan it hathe bene moste? what commonly? and what the laste yere?

9. Item, yf the said reliques be nowe layde aside, howe long ago, and for what cause they were so?

10. Item, what is the grettest miracle and moste un-

* This last clause is interlined in the MS. as if it had been suggested by the perusal of Erasmus's Colloquy: see p. 16.

doubted whiche is said to have bene doon by our Ladye here, or by any of the said reliques? and what prouffe they have of the facte or of the narracion therof.

11. Item, whether than (yf the facte be welle proved) the case might not happen by some naturalle meane not contrarie to reason or possibilitie of nature.

12. Item, yf that be proved also, whether the same might not procede of the immediate helpe of God? and why the successe of that case shulde be imputed to our Lady, and yet that to the image of our Ladye in this house more than another.

13. Item, whether the miracles were wonte to be declared in pulpite heretofore, and for what cause they were soe? a Whitesome Monday the faire tyme they were wonte to be opened.

14. Item, what is the sayng of the buylding of our Lady chappelle, and of the firste invencion of the image of our Ladye there; what of the house where the bere skynne is, and of the knyght; and what of the other wonders that be here, and what proves be therof?

15. Item, whether they knowe not that men shulde not be lighte of credite to miracles, unlesse they be manifestly and invinciblie proved.

16. Item, whether our Ladye hathe doone so many miracles nowe of late as it was said she did when there was more offring made unto her.

17. Item, what prouffe were they wonte to take of the miracles that the pilgremes did reporte shulde be made by

our Lady? and whether they bileved the parties owne reporte therin, or toke witnes, and howe they toke the deposicions of the same?

18. Item, whether our Lady's milke be liquid or no? and yf it be, *interrogatur ut infra*.

19. Item, who was Sextene upon a x. yeres agoo or therabout, and lett hym be exactly examined whether he hath not renewed that they calle our Lady's milke whan it was like to be dried up; and whether ever he hymself invented any relique for the augmentation of his prouffit; and whether the house over the welles were not made within tyme of remembrance, or at the lest-wise renewed.

LETTER OF RICHARD SOUTHWELL TO LORD CROMWELL,
AFTER THE VISITATION OF WALSINGHAM
IN 1536.

(MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 231.)

It maye please your good lordshipe to be advertised that sir Thomas Lestrangle and Mr. Hoges, accordinge unto the sequestratyon delegate unto them, have bene at Walsingham, and ther sequestred all suche monney, plate, juelles, and stuff, as ther wasse inventyd and founde. Emoung other thinges the same sir Thomas Lestrangle and Mr. Hoges dyd there fynd a secrete privye place

within the howse, where no channon nor annye other of the howse dyd ever come, as they saye, in wiche there were instreumentes, pottes, belowes, flyes of suche strange colers as the lick none of us had scene, with poyses, and other thinges to sorte, and denyd gould and sylver,* nothing there wantinge that should belonge to the arrete of multiplyeng. Off all wiche they desyred me by lettres to advertyse you, and alsoo that frome the Satredaye at night tyll the Sondaye next folowinge was offred at their now beinge xxxiiij^s. iiij^d. over and besyd waxe. Of this moultiplyeng it maye please you to cawse hem to be examyned, and so to advertyse unto them your further pleasure. Thus I praye God send your good lordshipe hartye helthe. Frome my pore howse, this xxv. of Julij, a^o xxviiij^o.

humblye yours to commande,

RIC. SOUTHWELL.

To the right honorable
and my syngular good
lord, my lord privye
seale.

* denied gold and silver, *i. e.* probably foreign and prohibited coins.

FATE OF THE ABBEY ON THE DISSOLUTION.

(From Sir John Spelman's History of Sacrilege.)

One [Thomas] Sydney, governor of the spital there, as was commonly reported when I was a scholar at Walsingham, was by the townsmen employed to have bought the site of the abbey to the use of the town, but obtained and kept it to himself. He had issue Thomas, and a daughter, mother to Robin Angust,* the footpost, of Walsingham.

Thomas, by the advancement of sir Francis Walsingham, brother to his wife, grew to great wealth, was customer of Lynn, and about a miscarriage of that place was long harrowed in law by Mr. Farmer of Barsham, and died leaving two sons.

Thomas, the eldest, having the abbey, &c. married, and died without issue male.

Sir Henry succeeded to the abbey, &c. married, and died without issue.

His lady, a virtuous woman, now hath it for life; the remainder being given for name-sake by sir Henry to Robert Sydney, the second son of the earl of Leicester.

* Robert Anguish, to whom a singular monumental tablet, of which there is an etching by Cotman, still remains in Walsingham church.

LAMENT FOR WALSINGHAM.

(*From the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1839.*)

In the wrackes of Walsingham
 Whom should I chuse,
 But the Queene of Walsingham,
 To be guide to my muse ?
 Then, thou Prince of Walsingham,
 Graunt me to frame
 Bitter plaintes to rewe thy wronge,
 Bitter wo for thy name.
 Bitter was it, oh, to see
 The sely sheepe
 Murdred by the raveninge wolves
 While the sheepharde did sleep.
 Bitter was it, oh, to viewe
 The sacred vyne,
 Whiles the gardiners plaid all close,
 Rooted up by the swine.
 Bitter, bitter, oh, to behoulde
 The grasse to growe
 Where the walles of Walsingham
 So stately did shewe.
 Such were the worth of Walsingham
 While she did stand,
 Such are the wrackes as now do shewe
 Of that [so] holy lande.*

* As ye came from the holy lande
 Of blessed Walsingham.—PERCY'S RELICS.

Levell, levell, with the ground
 The towres doe lye,
 Which with their golden, glittering tops
 Pearsed oute to the skeye.

 Where weare gates noe gates are nowe,
 The waies unknowen
 Where the presse of freares did passe,
 While her fame far was blown ;

 Oules doe srike where the sweetest himnes
 Lately wear songe,
 Toades and serpents hold ther dennes
 Where the palmers did throng.

 Weepe, weepe, O Walsingam,
 Whose dayes are nightes,
 Blessings turned to blasphemies,
 Holy deedes to dispites ;

 Sinne is where our Lady sate,
 Heaven turned is to helle,
 Sathan sitte where our Lord did swaye,
 Walsingam, oh, farewell !

This ballad is in the Bodleian, in a small 4to. volume,
 the principal part of which is occupied with a long peni-
 tential poem by Philip Earl of Arundel, eldest son of
 the Duke of Norfolk, who suffered in Elizabeth's time.



CANTERBURY.

And specially, from every schire's ende
Of Engelond, to Canturbere they wende,
The holy blisful martir for to seke,
That them bath holpen whan that they were seeke.

CHAUCER.

CHAUCER'S poem or series of poems called *The Canterbury Tales* is not completed in the way he evidently proposed. "It appears," remarks his editor Tyrwhitt, "that the design of Chaucer was not barely to recite the tales told by the pilgrims, but also to describe their journey, or

————— viage,

And al the remenaunt of our pilgrimage,

including, probably, their adventures at Canterbury as well as upon the road." But when they have passed "the waterynge of seint Thomas," the first halt after leaving Southwark, these interesting particulars are unfortunately not transmitted to us by the Poet; and we have little more than an account of the preparatory

gathering in Southwark, and a description of the various characters who composed the motley train.

At night was come into that hostelrie
 Wel nyne and twenty in a companye,
 Of sondry folk, by aventure i-falle
 In felaschipe, and pilgrymys were thei alle,
 That to-ward Canturbury wolden ryde.

They are all, however, individually immortalised by the graphic pen of the poet and by the graceful pencil of Stothard, and must be even now before the reader's eye.

Another poet, whose name is unknown, undertook the continuation of Chaucer's work, and has furnished some particulars of the conduct of the pilgrims when at Canterbury, already quoted in the note at page 71.

A very large house still existing in that city, at the corner of Mercery Lane in the High Street, (but now divided into several shops and tenements,) is said to have been the veritable Checquers inn, the principal hostelry in the times of Pilgrimage.

About the year 1500 the Shrine* was visited by a Venetian, who, after alluding to the Shrine of Saint Edward at Westminster, which he says surpassed that of Saint Martin of Tours, then generally esteemed the richest in Christendom, proceeds to describe more at full what he had seen at Canterbury.

* This contemporary account of the Shrine (taken from Relation of the Island of England, published by the Camden Society, 1847, p. 30) is additional to those already given in Notes 45 and 58.

“ The tomb of St. Thomas the martyr, archbishop of Canterbury, exceeds all belief. Notwithstanding its great size, it is wholly covered with plates of pure gold ; yet the gold is scarcely seen because it is covered with various precious stones, as sapphires, balasses, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds ; and wherever the eye turns something more beautiful than the rest is observed. Nor, in addition to these natural beauties, is the skill of art wanting, for in the midst of the gold are the most beautiful sculptured gems both small and large, as well such as are in relief, as agates, onyxes, cornelians, and cameos ; and some cameos are of such size that I am afraid to name it ; but everything is far surpassed by a ruby, not larger than a thumb-nail, which is fixed at the right of the altar. The church is somewhat dark, and particularly in the spot where the shrine is placed, and when we went to see it the sun was near setting, and the weather was cloudy ; nevertheless I saw that ruby as if I had it in my hand. They say it was given by a king of France.”—Though here called a ruby, it seems to have been a diamond : see hereafter, p. 224.

THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT THOMAS OF
CANTERBURY.

I have undertaken in Notes 42, 43, perhaps superfluously, to append some account of the fatal occurrence to which the church of Canterbury chiefly owed its celebrity and its attractions. The same object might have been sufficiently answered by a reference either to older biographies of Becket, or to those by Dr. Giles, * by Dr. Hook in his Ecclesiastical Biography, or the still more recent Lives of the Chancellors, by Lord Campbell, † and those of the Judges, by Mr. Foss. It was before adverting to any of these later writers, that the proposal in p. 114 was made.

An event which so deeply interested a large religious community, and which so frightfully disturbed the placid current of their ordinary monotonous existence, was recorded by some of them, as may be imagined, in its minutest circumstances ; leaving to the legendary writers of subsequent times little real occasion to exercise their wonted processes of amplification and embellishment. Still this copious supply of information was more calculated to encourage than to deter the inventive faculties of the martyrologists, and such was certainly the result. The ancient biographies of Saint Thomas of Canterbury

* The Life and Letters of Thomas à Becket, 1846. Two vols. Svo.

† Lord Campbell has followed Lingard's History.

are probably more voluminous than those of any other Englishman of early times. However, with respect to his murder, it is by no means difficult to distinguish those minute facts which are not likely to have been fabricated, and must consequently have been observed by eye-witnesses, from those additions—rather of things *dicta* than *acta*, the report of expressions and not incidents, which were worked into the narrative in order to enhance the glory of the martyr, whether by exaggerating the malice of his assailants, or by misrepresenting what was evidently a fortuitous, though very gross outrage, into a premeditated murder, and anticipated martyrdom.

Referring, therefore, to the biographies already mentioned for the fuller accounts, I shall content myself with detailing the actual circumstances under which Becket met his death.

It is clear that the intention of the king's knights was to arrest, not to murder, the archbishop of Canterbury. This is shown by the precautions taken along the coast against his escape, and the assistance claimed from the citizens of Canterbury, and the abbat of the monastery of Saint Augustine. These overt acts of hostility would not have been adopted by those who were contemplating the more summary decision of the sword, neither would such a parade of force, or so many agents, have been the means chosen to perpetrate a premeditated murder. It is highly improbable that, as some stories assert, four courtiers of high rank each distinctly volunteered to gratify

the king's vengeance, and then accidentally met soon after landing in England, and united their secret plans.

It was from the archbishop's castle of Saltwood, then in the custody of Randolph del Broc, to whom it had been committed by the king, with the other estates of the archiepiscopal see, that the knights came to Canterbury on the fatal morning of the 29th Dec. 1170. They first repaired to the monastery of Saint Augustine, which was generally in some degree opposed to that of Christ Church, and there consulted with Clarembald, the abbat elect, what steps they should take to effect their purpose. Soon after the archbishop had dined, he was surprised by their sudden entrance into his inner chamber, where they held a long parley with him, the dialogue of which is fully related by Gervase the Canterbury historian. Having received a determined repulse from the resolute churchman, they went out, in order to arm themselves and make preparations for his forcible arrest. The servants of the archbishop took this opportunity to fasten the gates; but Randolph del Broc, the king's *custos* of the see, who was well acquainted with all the approaches of the palace, led the knights again towards the archbishop's chamber by way of the orchard. His attendants, who had hitherto in vain urged him to flight, then hurried him through the cloisters into the church, where vespers were about to be sung; hoping that the knights might thus be deterred from their immediate purpose, and that other means might be devised for the archbishop's

eventual escape or concealment. The king's messengers, however, would not permit their object to be thus frustrated. They rushed into the church and overtook the archbishop as he had just passed across the north transept and was ascending the steps which led to the choir. On the approach of the armed men, Becket was deserted by all his terrified attendants, excepting Robert the canon of Merton, William FitzStephen the historian, and Edward Grim, another clerk, who afterwards wrote a narrative of the transaction.

Reginald FitzUrse was the foremost of the assailants, and he seized the archbishop by his pall, intending to drag him back across the church. A struggle ensued: the archbishop clung to a column and refused to move, though struck by one of the knights with the flat side of his sword. At this moment Becket is said to have exclaimed, "Touch me not, Reginald FitzUrse! Why should you treat me thus? I have granted you many favours. You are my man, and owe me fealty and obedience, —both you and your fellows." (For FitzUrse, Tracy, and Morville had all pledged their allegiance to Becket, kneeling before him whilst he was chancellor.) FitzUrse replied, "I owe you no fealty inconsistent with that I owe to my lord the king." These words were scarcely spoken when a blow was aimed with the sword either of FitzUrse or Tracy, which wounded the archbishop on the head, though its weight was chiefly received by the arm of the faithful clerk, master Edward Grim. When

Becket fell, another blow was aimed at him by Richard Brito, who cried, "Take that, for William's sake!" alluding to the animosity entertained by William count of Poictou, the king's brother, against the archbishop of Canterbury, for having opposed, on the ground of consanguinity, his projected marriage with the dowager countess Warren. Brito's sword, having cleft the skull of his victim, struck against the pavement, and the point was broken off. This was the *punctum ensis*, afterwards preserved as a relic of the martyrdom. (*See Note 43 antea.*)

The blow of Brito proved fatal; but the most horrible part of the outrage was the act, if we may believe it, of a subdeacon, Hugh of Horsea, whose real name is disguised by most of the chroniclers under the fictitious one of Mauclerc. It is thus described: "The martyr still breathed. But the deep wound on the head had exposed the brain to view, and the white medulla was stained with blood. To complete the murder, Mauclerc put his foot on the neck of the martyr, and bespattering the pavement with his blood and brain exclaimed,—Let us be off. He will rise no more!"

The body of the archbishop was for some time left at the spot where he had fallen: for the clerks and monks had fled in fear and consternation. At last Osbert, his chamberlain, ventured from his hiding-place, and having torn up his own gown, gathered together and disposed in somewhat decent order the mangled head, and covered it

up. The monks passed the greater part of the night in an agony of grief. As the morning dawned, they bound up the head with a linen bandage, and bore the body through the choir to the high altar. Robert the canon of Merton, who had been Becket's chaplain and inseparable companion, and his confessor from the day he was first ordained, made an oration over the body. He dwelt on his piety and sincerity, and showed to all the monks that of which they had previously been ignorant, the hair-cloth shirt which he wore next his skin. (See Note 47.) The first shock passed away, and the monks exulted in the martyr, whilst they sorrowed for the man. Arnald, a monk of the church, a worker in gold, and some others of the brotherhood, returned to the scene of murder. They carefully collected his blood and brains, which were scattered over the pavement, into a basin, and placed benches over the spot, that it might not be trod upon. The greater part of the monks passed the night in devotion and silence, repeating to themselves the prayers for the soul of the dead.

With the next day came a rumour that the servants of Randolph del Broc were preparing to drag the body from the church. The community determined, therefore, to bury it with all speed. The abbat of Bexley and the prior of Dover attended the obsequies. The body was not washed. It was clothed in the hair-shirt and drawers which he ordinarily wore, and his monk's habit; and further attired in the very same garment in which he

had been ordained, in his alb or surplice, a plain superhumeral, his mitre, his tunic, dalmatic, and pall, his gloves, ring, and pastoral staff, and other insignia of an archbishop. And thus the body was borne to the tomb.

THE FOUR MURDERERS OF BECKET.

The biographers of Becket do their best to pursue his murderers with strict poetic justice. It is stated that they rode the same night forty miles to a manor of the archbishop (very probably Mayfield in Sussex), and that having been men of great possessions, active soldiers, and in the strength of their age, yet now they became like men beside themselves, stupid, amazed, and distracted, repenting entirely of what they had done, and for penance took their way to the Holy Land. But Sir William Tracy being come to the city of Cosenza in Sicily, and lingering there, fell into a horrible disease, so that his body rotted off by putrefaction whilst he still lived; and all the four were dead within three years after the perpetration of their crime.*

* Sir Henry Spelman has preserved the memory of some further marvels which more than centuries after were still current with regard to the posterity of Tracy and Fitz-Urse :

“ Touching their issue, I find that Fitz-Urse fled into Ireland,

Such are the picturesque horrors which the ecclesiastical chroniclers were well inclined to receive and transmit as the fit conclusion to this irritating passage of their histories. But the records of the state have preserved, in a less questionable form, much that is opposed to their credibility.

All the four knights are allowed by Gervase to have been "distinguished for nobility of birth, illustrious in war, and very familiar companions of the king."

Hugh de Morville is described as "the most noble;" he was lord of Burgh-on-the-Sands in Cumberland, and is commemorated as a baron in the great work of Dugdale. He was still living in the reign of king John, when he had a charter for a market and fair at Kirk Oswald. (Lysons's Cumberland, p. 127.) At that place the sword which he used in the murder was long preserved, as stated by Camden in his Britannia. It is now attached to a statue erected at Brayton castle* to his

and I heard there that the wild Irish and rebellious family of M'Mahunde, in the north parts, is of that lineage. The family of another of them is, at this day, prosecuted with a fable (if it be so) that continueth the memory of this impiety; for in Gloucestershire it is yet reported that wheresoever any of them travelleth, the wind is commonly in their faces."—History of Sacrilege, edit. 1846, p. 96.

* Thomas Carlisle, a celebrated organ-builder, born at Carlisle in 1734, was also a sculptor. "His chief performance was finished in his sixty-seventh year. This was a statue as large as life of Sir Hugh de Morville, which he made for the late Sir Wilfrid Lawson,

honour. So various are men's judgments in matters of faith and politics !

William de Traci, who was the son of Gervase de Courtenai,* was afterwards high in authority in Normandy, holding the office sometimes called seneschal and sometimes justiciary. He was present at Falaise in 1174, when William king of Scotland became king Henry's liege man ; and in 1176 was succeeded in his office by the bishop of Winchester.

HONOURS PAID TO SAINT THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

Upon the death of the archbishop, all divine offices ceased in the church of Canterbury for one year, wanting nine days ; at the end of which, by order of the

Bart. of Brayton House, in Cumberland. It is clothed in armour, and holds *the very sword* with which that celebrated knight assisted in delivering the country from Thomas à Becket, the insolent primate of Canterbury." History of the Family of Carlisle, by Nich. Carlisle, esq. Sec. S.A. 4to. 1822, p. 45.

* Dugdale's Baronage, i. 622. He gave to the church of Canterbury the lordship of Dacombe, in the parish of Moreton Hampstead in Devonshire, probably in expiation of his offence.

pope, it was re-consecrated. Two years after, Becket was canonised by virtue of Pope Alexander's bull dated March 13, 1173. The same year the following collect was appointed to be used in all churches of the province of Canterbury, in expiation of the guilt of the saint's murder :

“ Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut qui ex iniquitate nostra reos nos esse cognoscimus, beati Thomæ martyris tui atque pontificis intercessione liberemur.

“ Amen.”

On the return of the king to England at the beginning of July 1174, he went with a penitent heart in pilgrimage to Canterbury. On his arrival there, on Saturday the 10th July, clothed in woollen, and with naked feet, he walked from the church of St. Dunstan without the city, and prostrating himself before the tomb of the martyr (then in the crypt), he voluntarily desired to be scourged by all the bishops, abbats, and every monk of Christ Church there present. He remained in prayer by the holy martyr all that day and night, taking no food, nor going forth at the call of nature, nor allowing any carpet, or any thing of the sort, to be placed under him.

After the morning lauds he went round to the altars of the upper church and the bodies of the saints there lying, and again returned to the tomb of Saint Thomas in the crypt. When the sabbath dawned he heard mass. Lastly, having drank of the water rendered holy by the martyr, and being adorned with a cruet (to carry some away :

see this explained hereafter, p. 226), he departed rejoicing from Canterbury.*

On Holy Thursday in 1177 he came again, and offered on the tomb of Saint Thomas a charter of new privileges to the church, which is recorded in the chronicles of Gervase. The same day also Philip count of Flanders and William de Mandeville took leave of the blessed Thomas to begin their journey to Jerusalem, hoping to do some great thing against the pagans; but they effected little or nothing.

In 1179 king Louis the Seventh came to visit the saint. King Henry met him at Dover, and on the 23rd of August both kings were received with due honour and ineffable joy by the venerable Richard archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of England, and by the convent of the church of Canterbury, and an innumerable multitude of the nobility of the kingdom, and so were conducted to the tomb of the martyr, where the king of France, having made a prayer, offered his golden cup, and a rent of a hundred measures of wine yearly.† He passed the night at the tomb of the martyr, and on the morrow asked and received fraternity in the chapter-house, having received his charter whereof he departed rejoicing, and re-embarked at Dover.‡

* Gervasius, sub anno.

† This yearly gift was reckoned as thirty-three *dolia* or tuns, in 22 Edw. IV. when the custom due on their importation was remitted to the prior and convent.—Rymer, *Fœdera*, xii. 166.

‡ Gervasius.

Among the offerings of king Louis on this occasion, though not specified by Gervase, is supposed to have been the great glory of the shrine, (already mentioned in pp. 167, 212)—“that renowned precious stone that was called the Regall of France, which Henry VIII. put into a ring,* which he wore on his thumb.” (Stowe, Chronicle, p. 155.)

In 1220 Becket's body was taken up, in the presence of king Henry the Third and a great concourse of the nobility, and deposited in the shrine erected in the upper chapel, at the expense of cardinal Langton, then archbishop. From that time forward the feast of his Translation was yearly kept on the 7th of July. Every fifty years there was a jubilee, which took place in the years 1270, 1320, 1370, 1420, 1470, and 1520.

THE RELICS OF SAINT THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

No sooner had the archbishop suffered than there was a crowd ready to struggle and scramble for his relics.

* From the ring this stone, it appears, was transferred to a collar; as, among jewels delivered to queen Mary, the 10th March, 1553-4, was “a coller of golde, set with sixtene faire diamountes, wherof the Regall of Fraunce is one, and fourtene knottes of perles, in everie knotte foure perles.” (MS. Harl. 611, f. 22.)

As Gervase the Canterbury historian relates, "He had scarcely expired, and lo! almost every one began to speak of him as Saint Thomas. You would scarcely find any one in the thronging multitude who was not desirous to be marked by his blood; for, putting their fingers into his blood, and invoking his name, they made the sign of the cross on their foreheads or on their eyes. Then that thrice holy blood was collected with the brains and fragments of bone, and carefully laid up,—after a short time to be exposed to the whole world!"

Thus, from the first, the mortal relics of the saint may be said to have been divided into three portions :

1. His body, placed in the shrine.
2. His head, or rather that portion of the skull which had been cut off.
3. His blood.

All of these were subjected to occasional abstraction or pilfering; unless we take the alternative of supposing that the relics of saint Thomas which were among the treasures of other churches besides his own were entirely fictitious fabrications.

At an early period the rival monastery of Saint Augustine at Canterbury began to boast of an acquisition, not very honourably obtained. Thorne, the biographer of the abbats of that house, relates that Roger, the successor of Clarembald, the contemporary of Becket, having been previously warden of the altar of saint Mary in the cathedral church, carried with him on his removal

a great part of the blood of saint Thomas, and a piece of his skull that was cut off. This led to a feud between the two monasteries, which was not set at rest until the community of Saint Augustine had conveyed some houses in return for the sacred spoil.

The monks of Christ Church, however, took care not to relinquish the credit of being the chief depositaries of the Blood of the martyr. As Gervase says, "There are in the church of Christ of Canterbury two volumes of his miracles, which it is unnecessary for me to insert in this compendium. But it is not beside my purpose to relate the way in which the blood of the new martyr, mixed with water, is given to drink, and to be carried away to the pious who desire it. A certain priest named William, a Londoner by birth, was struck dumb on the feast of saint Stephen the protomartyr: and it was told him in a dream, that he must visit the new martyr of Canterbury and drink his blood, that he might recover. He went, came to Canterbury, asked and obtained the blood, tasted it, and got well.

As soon as this was divulged to the people many came to ask for the same; when the holy blood was bestowed upon the sick, mixed with pure water, in order that it might last the longer, and not be given too freely to the unworthy.* On this account, water sanctified by the

* It may be doubted whether I am really quoting the words of Gervase, if I do not here add the actual expressions which in sober

blood of the holy martyr is carried forth into the whole world, and when given to the sick, and poured into some that have been dead, has both restored health to the former and life to many of the latter, through the merits of saint Thomas."

Notwithstanding this great and constant demand, the monks were still so provident that a little cruise still remained to excite the suspicions of archbishop Cranmer, who, in a letter to lord Cromwell dated the 18th August, 1538, thus expresses himself regarding it :

" Farther, by cause that I have in great suspect that saint Thomas of Canterbury his blood in Christ's church at Canterbury is but a feigned thing, and made of some red ochre, or of such like matter, I beseech your lordship that Dr. Lee and Dr. Barber my chaplains may have the king's commission to try and examine that and all other like things there."

With respect to relics of saint Thomas of Canterbury at other churches, a course of research, which the matter does not deserve, would probably considerably amplify the present Note : but the reader will accept the following items, which have incidentally occurred, as a specimen of what might be collected on this subject.

At the church of Saint Bertin at St. Omer, in the year 1465, there were several different relics of our saint :
as,

gravity he employs: ne videlicet sacer sanguis citius effunderetur,
vel indignis daretur uberius.

“*In uno feretro ligneo deaurato cum ymaginibus sancti Thome martiris et sancti Audomari.*”

“Item de sancto Thoma archiepiscopo, scilicet, De sanguine ejus De cerebro De cilicio De vestimentis ejus Et de sudario ejusdem.”

Again, “*In quodam vase ad modum crucis cum decollatione beati Thome martiris et in dorso est unus flos de argento.* De sanguine beati Thome martiris, De capillis beati Thome martiris et de staminea ejusdem.”

In a great egg also was part of the cloth stained with the brain and blood of the blessed Thomas.

At Windsor was a portion of the blood of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and also a shirt (*camisia*); at Warwick was a *cilicium* or hair-shirt; and at St. Alban's were portions of various of his garments:—

“De sancto Thoma archiepiscopo et martyre et de ejus cilicio, de cuculla, de casula, de dalmatica, et de pallio ejusdem.”

“In the nunnery of St. Mary at Derby the sisters were possessed of a piece of St. Thomas's shirt, which pregnant women held in great veneration.” (Compendium Compertorum, 1789, p. 80, a MS. at Chatsworth, quoted in Pegge's History of Beauchief Abbey, pp. 3, 6.) The same authority * states that his *Girdle* was at St. Mary's Chester.

* In addition, a *Grace-cup* will be found mentioned as formerly preserved at Alnwick, and now at Corby castle. This cup was once in the Arundelian collection, and was given by the Duke of Norfolk

At Bury St. Edmund's the visitors say, "Amongst the reliques we founde muche vanitie and superstition, as the coles that saint Lawrence was tosted withall, the paring of S. Edmundes naylles, *S. Thomas of Canterbury penneknyff*, and his bootes, and divers skulles for the hedache, peces of the holic crosse able to make a hole crosse, of other reliques for rayne, and certain other superstitious usages, for avoyding of wedes growing in corne, with suche other." (Wright's Letters on the Dissolution of the Monasteries, printed for the Camden Society, p. 85.)

To return, however, to the main deposit of the mortal relics of Becket. The statements both of Romanists and Reformers differ as to the fate of his bones. A bull of pope Paul III. declares that they were burnt,* and so do the great majority of authors, following an assertion of the chronicler Stowe, to that effect.† But this was contradicted by the "Declaration of Faith" put forth by royal authority in 1539,‡ and also by Polydore Vergil and

to the late Henry Howard, esq. It was attributed to Becket from its bearing the initials T. B. under a mitre; but modern skill in archæological chronology has reduced it to a very different æra, for it is really of the early part of the sixteenth century. It is engraved in the "Antiquarian Repertory," and in "Antiquarian Gleanings in the North of England," recently published by W. B. Scott of Newcastle.

* See hereafter, p. 233.

† See p. 166.

‡ See p. 235.

William Thomas the secretary of Edward VI. in his work entitled "Il Pelerino Inglese."*

The fact probably was, that the "holy head" (surmised not to have really belonged to Becket, inasmuch as his skull was nearly complete in the shrine,) was burnt, as a mere "relique," but that the bones of the saint taken from the shrine were buried near the spot where the shrine had stood, as was done with the remains of saint Swithin at Winchester, saint Hugh at Lincoln, and in other cases.

In the next century, however, the *Arms* of saint Thomas were shown in Portugal, a circumstance upon which Fuller makes these quaint but pertinent remarks :

"The English nuns at Lisbon do pretend (Anatomy of the Nuns of Lisbon) that they have both the arms of Thomas Becket archbishop of Canterbury ; and yet pope Paul III. in a public bull set down by Sanders (De Schismate Anglicano, lib. i. p. 171) doth pitifully complain of the cruelty of king Henry VIII. for causing the bones of Becket to be burned, and the ashes scattered in the wind : the solemnity whereof is recorded in our chronicles. And how his arms should escape that *bone-fire*, is to me incredible."—Church History, book vi.

Neither is the martyr's *Skull* even yet entirely at rest.

* "Butt this is true that the bones are spred amongst the bones of so many dead men, that, without some greate miracle they wyl not be founde agayne."—Il Pelerino Inglese, MS. Cotton. Vesp. D.

In a recent number of the *Tablet* (the London newspaper of the Romanists) it has been stated by Mr. Talbot that he has brought from Verona a piece of the skull, given him by the bishop of that city, and he proposes to offer it to the new church of Saint George, in St. George's Fields, provided he receives subscriptions sufficient to have a reliquary made "worthy to receive so valuable a relic as part of the skull of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, one of the patrons of England, and her most glorious martyr."

PROCEEDINGS OF HENRY VIII. AGAINST SAINT
THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

The noble author of the recent biography of the Lord Chancellors, who (as before remarked) has almost literally followed Dr. Lingard in his notices of Becket, has stated that Henry VIII. in the case of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, proceeded as if against a living party, instructing his attorney-general to file a *quo warranto* information against him for usurping the office of a saint, and formally citing him to appear in court to answer the charge. The legal biographer adds, that "judgment of *ouster* would have happened against him

by default, had not the king, to show his impartiality and great regard for the due administration of justice, assigned him counsel at the public expense; when, the cause being called, and the attorney-general and the advocate for the accused being fully heard, with such proofs as were offered on both sides, sentence was pronounced that Thomas sometime archbishop of Canterbury had been guilty of contumacy, treason, and rebellion: that his bones should be publicly burnt, to admonish the living of their duty by the punishment of the dead; and that the offerings made by the shrine should be forfeited to the Crown. A proclamation followed," &c.

Now all this, until we come to the proclamation, appears to be an historical romance, put together, according to the opinion of Archdeacon Todd in his *Life of Cranmer*, by Chrysostom Henriquez in his *Phoenix Reviviscens*, 1626, from the fictions of Sanders and Pollini: notwithstanding that Sanders has assigned a date (24 April, 1536) for the citation; another (11 June, 1538) for the trial; and Pollini adds that the order for the destruction of the shrine was made on the 11th August, 1538, and carried into execution on the 19th of the same month.

The privy-council books of the period are not extant, and there is no certainty how far Pollini may not have obtained some information not now apparent; but Dr. Todd remarks that the bull of pope Paul III. issued in 1538, would suggest to Sanders sufficient hints for the

story, to which his own imagination supplied the fictitious circumstances. That bull contains the following passage with regard to king Henry :—

—etiam in mortuos, et eos quidem quos in sanctorum numerum relatos universalis ecclesia pluribus seculis venerata est, feritatem exercere non expavit : divi enim Thomæ Cantuar. archiepiscopi, cujus ossa quæ in dicto regno Angliæ potissimum ob innumera ab omnipotenti Deo illic perpetrata miracula summa cum veneratione in arca aurea in civitate Cantuarien. servabantur, postquam ipsum divum Thomam, ad majorem religionis contemptum, *in judicium vocari et tanquam contumacem damnari et proditorem declarari fecerat*, exhumari et comburi et cineres in ventum spargi jussit ; omne plane cunctarum gentium crudelitatem superans, cum ne in bello quidem hostes victores sævire in mortuorum cadavera soliti sunt ; ad hæc, omnia ex diversorum regum etiam Anglorum et aliorum principum liberalitate donaria, ipsi arcæ appensa, quæ multa et maximi pretii erant, sibi usurpavit ; &c. (Bullæ, Romæ, 1673, vol. i. f. 701 ; Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 841.)

But the “Declaration of Faith,” issued by royal authority in 1539, contains a contradictory statement as to the burning of the bones, and does not at all confirm the supposed proceedings by *quo warranto*. The whole passage, written in justification of the destruction of shrines and reliquaries, is here given :—

“As for shrines, capses, and reliquaries of saints so

called, although the most were nothing less,* for as much as his highness hath found other † idollatry or detestable superstition used thereabouts, and perceived that they were for the most part feigned things ; as the Blood of Christ, so called, in some place was but a piece of red sylke, inclosed in a piece of thyck glass of chrystalline, in an other place, oyle colloured of *sanguinis drachonis* ; instead of the Mylk of our Lady, a piece of chalk or of ceruse ; our Lady's Girdle, and other innumerable illusions, superstitions, and apparent deceipts ; and more of the Holy Crosse than three waines may carry. His majesty, therefore, hath caused the same to be taken away, and the abusyve pieces thereof to be burnt. the doubtfull to be sett and hidden honestly away, for fear of idollatry.

“ As for the shryne of Thomas Beckett, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, which they called Saint Thomas, by approbations it appeareth clearly that his common legend is false ; and that at the time of his death, and long afore, he was reconciled to king Henry II. king of this realme, duke of Normandy and Guyene, and had no quarrell directly with him, but only against the archbishop of York, which arose from proud preheminences between them ; and by the strife thereof procured frowardly his own death, which they untruly call martyrdoine ; and happened upon the arrest of a

* *i. e.* anything but saints.

† *i. e.* either.

servant of his, whereupon the gentlemen that arrested him caused the whole city to rise in armes, and for that he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen, which then counsailed him to leave his stubbornness, and avoyde out of the way; and he not only called the one of them baud, but also took another by the bossome, and violently shook and plucked in such manner that he had almost overthrown him to the pavement of the church; so that upon this fray, the same, moved and chaffed, strake him, and so in the throng Beckett was slayne; and that he never did aete in his life sufficient to prove any holiness, but came to be the king's chancellour by money, was a great warriour, a brenner of townes, a croacher of benefices, a hunter and hawker, proud and seditious; by corruption and unlawful means obtained the archbishopricke of Canterbury, as he himselfe confessed openly to pope Alexander, and as by writeings and chronicks of good record, by his chapleins and brethren the bishopps of England made; and sundry of them above forty yeares printed in Paris, and never reprov'd; (although the mercy of God might be extended unto him) yet nevertheless it was arrested, that his shryue and bones should be taken away and bestowed in such place as the same should cause no superstition afterwards. * And, forasmuch as his head

* This passage is manifestly imperfect, but I have not been able to find any other copy of this document but that printed in Collier's Ecclesiastical History.

almost hole was found with the rest of the bones, closed within the shryne; and that there was in that church a great scull of another head, but much greater by the three-quarter parts than that part which was lacking in the head closed within the shryne, whereby it appeared that the same was but a feigned fiction. If this hede was brent, was therefore Saint Thomas brent? Assuredly it concludeth not."

On the whole it would seem that king Henry proceeded against saint Thomas of Canterbury in a much more sensible and judicious way than that represented by Sanders, and so easily credited by lord Campbell.

The first step made towards discrediting saint Thomas of Canterbury, together with other inferior and local saints, was taken in the injunctions issued by royal authority in 1536, for abrogating superfluous holidays. By this measure all holidays which fell in term-time, or in harvest, were no longer to be observed by the commonalty, but they were to work thereon as usual. As the season of harvest was reckoned from the 1st of July to the 29th of September, the feast of the Translation of saint Thomas, kept annually on the 7th of July, fell under this interdiction, and, though the mere ritual within the churches was observed as before, the multitude was no longer attracted to Canterbury by the ceremonial, or allowed to assemble to their wonted recreations.

Among other injunctions of the vicegerent Cromwell, issued shortly after, and addressed to ministers having

cure of souls, it was directed that the late order concerning the discharging certain superstitious holidays should be read to the people, with exhortations to govern themselves accordingly ; and then it was added, “ they shall not set forthe or extoll any images, reliques, or myracles for any superstition or luere, nor allure the people by any inticementes to the pilgrimage of any saynt, otherwise than ys permitte in the articles lately put forth by th’ auctoritye of the kinges majesty, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergye of this his realme in convocation, as though it were proper or peculiar to that saynt to gyve this commoditye or that, seeinge all goodnesse, helth, and grace ought to be both asked and loked for only of God, as of the very author of the same, and of none other; for without hym that cannot be gyven ; but they shall exhorte as well their parishners as other pilgrimes that they do rather applye themselves to the keypyng of Goddes commaundements and fulfilling of his workes of cheritye, perswading them that they shall please God more by the true exercising of their bodilie labour, travaile, or occupation, and providing for their families, than yf they went about to the said pilgrimages ; and that yt shall profitt more their soules helth yf they do bestow that on the poore and nedy which they wold have bestowed upon the said images or reliques.”

In 1538 the commemoration of the festival days of saint Thomas was ordered to be entirelye laid aside, and

the ordinary service for the day of the week to be used instead; and archbishop Cranmer himself set the example of disregarding the great festival of the Translation, by not fasting, as had been the custom, on the eve of it, but supping on flesh with his household.

It was in September of the same year that the Shrine was destroyed; and on the 16th Nov. 1538, in a proclamation on church matters, the king took the opportunity to give the final blow to the character of the martyr in the following plain-spoken terms:*

“Item, Forasmuch as it appeareth clearly that Thomas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly to withstand the holsome lawes established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king’s highnes most noble progenitor, king Henry the Second, for the common welth, rest, and tranquillity of this realme, of his forward mind fled the realme into France, and to the bishop of Rome, maintenour of those enormities, to pro-

* Proclamation printed at the time by Berthelet, extant in a transcript in MS. Cotton. Titus, B. 1. The same representation is repeated in letters under the signet, addressed in the following month to justices of the peace: a document printed in Burnet, vol. iii. Records, No. 63: and also, somewhat more briefly, in the Declaration of Faith already quoted. It would be difficult, perhaps, to find the authority for some of its statements; but, on the whole, it certainly presents the catastrophe, though in coarse and exaggerated terms, more truly told than in the elaborate and highly embellished narratives of the martyrologists.

cure the abrogation of the said lawes, whereby arose much trouble in this said realm. And that his death, which they untruly called martirdome, happened upon a reskewe by him made: and that, as it is written, he gave opprobrious wordes to the gentlemen which then counsailed him to leave his stubbornes, and to avoide the commotion of the people, risen up for that reskewe. And he not only called the one of them bawde, but also toke Tracy by the bosome, and violently shoke and plucked him in such a manner as he had almost overthrow him to the pavement of the church. So that uppon this fray, one of their company perceiving the same, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain.

“ And further, that his canonization was made up only by the bishop of Rome, because he had been a champion to mainteine his usurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquitie of the clergie.

“ For these, and for other great and urgent causes long to recite, the king's majestie, by the advice of his counsell, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that, notwithstanding the said canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exteriour conversation whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince. Therefor his grace straightly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, nor called a saint; but bishop Becket: and that his images and pictures,

through the hole realme, shall be put down and avoided out of all churches, chappelles, and other places. And that from henceforth the days used to be festivall in his name shall not be observed; nor the service, office, antiphones, collettes, and praiers in his name redde, but rased and put out of all the bookes. And that all other festivall daies already abrogate shall be in no wise solemnised, but his grace's ordenance and injunctions thereupon observed; to the intent his grace's loving subjects shall be no longer blindly led, and abused, to committ idolatrie, as they have done in times passed; upon paine of his majesties indignacion, and imprisone-mente at his grace's pleasure."

Sixteen months after this proclamation the humiliated monks of Canterbury surrendered their priory into the king's hands on the 20th March, 1539-40.



PILGRIM'S SIGN.

(See p. 70.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P. 6. *Glaucoplutus*.—Erasmus introduces this same character in his Colloquy named Ichthyophagia, where he is described as a very learned man, and one of chief influence in the city of Eleutheropolis, who got into a difficulty with the magistracy from having entertained one Eros (by whom Erasmus is supposed to mean himself) with a fowl for breakfast during Lent. Eleutheropolis is probably Fribourg.; but I have not discovered the real name of Glaucoplutus.

P. 77. *English Pilgrims to Compostella*.—In Caxton's Epilogue to "The Book named Cordyale," printed in 1480, he notes how Anthony earl Rivers, "since the time of the great tribulation and adversity of my said lord, hath been full virtuously occupied, as in going of pilgrimages to Saint James in Galice, to Rome, to Saint Bartholomew, to Saint Andrew, to Saint Matthew in the realm of Naples, and to Saint Nicholas de Bar in Puyle, and divers other holy places." And in lord Rivers' own preface to the Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers, printed in 1477, he himself relates that he went to "the jubilee and pardon at the holy apostle St. James in

Spain, which was the year of Grace a thousand cccc. lxxiiij. and in consequence shipped at Southampton in the month of July the said year.

P. 85. *The riches of Walsingham*.—Roger Ascham, when visiting Cologne, in 1550, makes this remark, “The Three Kings be not so rich, I believe, as was the Lady of Walsingham.”

Ibid. *Tombs running with oil*.—Matthew Paris (History, in anno 1239) reports that the tomb of Robert, founder of the Robertines at Knaresborough, abundantly cast forth a medicinal oil ; which possibly, remarks Fuller, “might be the dissolving of some gums used about his body ; and other natural causes may be assigned thereof. For mine own eyes have beheld, in the fair church of Ilminster in Somersetshire, the beautiful tomb of Nicholas Wadham, esq. and Dorothy his wife (founders of the uniform college of Wadham in Oxford), out of which, in summer, sweats forth an unctuous moisture with a fragrant smell, (which possibly an active fancy might make sovereign for some uses,) being nothing else than some bituminous matter (as by the colour and scent doth appear) used by the marbler in joining the chinks of the stones, issuing out chiefly thereabouts.”—Fuller’s Church History, Book vi. sect. 1.

P. 96. *The pilgrimage to Wilsdon*.—Dr. Crome, who was questioned before the bishops for heretical opinions in the year 1530, spoke thus of pilgrimages : “I thynke that pilgrimages maye be well doon, I never

sayde otherwise; but I have sayde oftyn, and now I wyll saye ageyne, Doo your dewtye, and then your devocion. First, I saye, doe those thynges the whyche God hath commaundyd to be doon; the whyche are the dedys of pytye; for those shalbe requyred of thy hande agayne. When thou comyst at the daye of judgement, He wyll not saye unto thee, *Why wentst thou not to Wylsdon a pylgrymage?* but he wyl saye unto thee, ‘I was an hungrede, and thou gavyst me no meat, I was nakyd, and thou gavyst me no clothys, and soche lyke. They that wyll leve the comawndements of God undon, and wyll followe and doe voluntarye dedys, whyche were nether comawnded by God nor yett by the churche, are greatlye to be blamyd, and are worthy to be punyshed.’
—Strype, Memorials, iii. Appx. x.

P. 98. *Indulgences.* One of these episcopal indulgences granted to Walsingham came before the notice of Blomefield, who thus describes it: “John Alcock, bishop of Ely, [1486-1500,] granted 40 days pardon or indulgence, to all who, before the altar of sir John Cheney knight, in the priory church, should hear mass, or the Lord’s prayer, with the angelic salutation, for the souls of sir John and the lady Agnes his wife.”

P. 107. *The Crepau dine.*—In Note 36, I might have referred to Nares’s Glossary, *v.* Toad-stone, and to Mr. Way’s note in the Promptorium Parvulorum, *v.* Crepawnde. In the latter work the word is Latinized *smaragdus*: and Mr. Way remarks, “On some of these

stones, according to Albertus Magnus, the figure of the animal was imprinted; these were of a green colour, and termed *crapaudina*, being possibly the kind here called *smaragdus*, a name which properly implies the emerald." Such was probably the stone at Walsingham, and two so called *crapodinus* (see p. 168) were on the shrine at Canterbury.

P. 107. *Pictures of Saint Christopher*.—"St. Christopher, before his martyrdom, requested of God that wherever his body was, the place should be free from pestilence, mischiefs, and infection; and therefore his picture or portrait was usually placed in public ways, and at the entrance of towns and churches, according to the received distich—

Christophorum videas, postea tutus eris."

Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, b. v. c. 16.

Chaucer's Yeman had

A Christofre on his brest of silver schene.

P. 135. *Scarlet gown of Doctors*. "And the archbishop saide to me; Thou judgest everie priest proud that will not go araied as thou doest. By God, I deme him to be more meeke that goeth every day in a scarlet gown, than thou in thy threed-bare blewe gowne."—Examination of Thorpe the Lollard, before archbishop Arundel.

P. 139. *Colet's lodging at Sheen charterhouse*.—"Item, as touchyng my logyng at the Charter-house, I wyll that all bordwork made of waynskott, as tables,

trestils, greate coffers, cupboards, and all painted images upon the walls, remayne to that lodgyng *in perpetuum* : all other stuff there besydes afore rehersed I wyl be disposed by the discrecion of myne executours."

And in a previous item, "I bequeathe to maister John Banburghe a silver pott having on the ere wryten *John Colett*, my bed at Charterhouse that I ley upon myself, with mattresse and blanketts to the said bed belonginge," &c.

P. 160. *The golden head, or portrait of Becket.*—In connection with the remarks made in Note 55, I must correct an inadvertence in my translation (p. 52), "the attendant on the *holy* head." The words in the original are "assessor capitis aurei," comparing which with the former description of the "tota facies optimi viri inaurata multisque gemmis insignita," it seems most probable that this was a portrait of Becket, painted in brilliant colours upon a gold ground, as was the usual practice of the early painters.

P. 180. *Worship of the Saints.*—In his Colloquy of the Rich-Poormen (the Franciscan friars) Erasmus speaks still more plainly on saint-worship :

Innkeeper. To-day is a holiday with us.

Conrad. To what saint ?

Innk. To Anthony.

Con. He was indeed a good man ; but why do you keep a holiday to him ?

Innk. I will tell you. This place is full of swine-

herds, because of the neighbouring oak-forest : and it is their belief that Anthony has especially the charge of that animal ; and so they worship him lest he should make them suffer for their neglect.

Con. I wish they would worship him in truth !

Innk. In what way ?

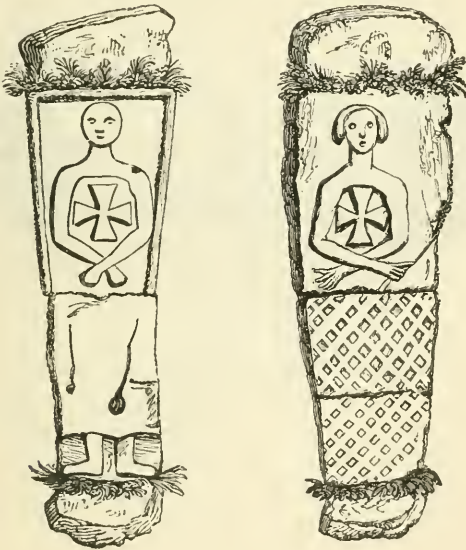
Con. He worships the saints best, who is most successful in following their examples.

THE PILGRIMS' TOMBS AT LLANFIIANGEL ABER
COWIN, CO. CARMARTHEN.

In the churchyard of Llanfihangel aber Cowin, in the county of Carmarthen, are three contiguous gravestones, which are known, from popular tradition, by the name of the Pilgrims' Tombs. The annexed engravings represent the super-incumbent slabs, together with their head and foot stones. Two of them are rudely sculptured with the human figure, each signed on the breast with a cross ; the third, which is ridged *en dos d'ane*, and ornamented with cable mouldings, has a cross inclosed in like mouldings on its headstone. These crosses seem to

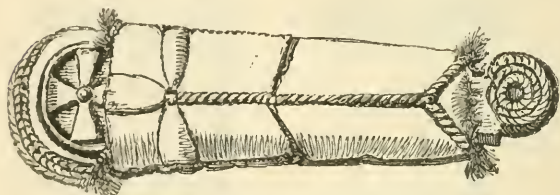
imply that the persons were *cruce signati*, or such as had undertaken a vow of pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

The Welsh, who were always superstitious, were greatly attached to enterprises of pilgrimage. The shrine of saint David was a favourite object of their devotion.



In the summer of 1838 the central grave was opened by some gentlemen resident at St. Clear's. At the depth of four feet they came to a coffin, the sides of

which were formed of six detached stones, one large slab being placed below and another above: in this they found several small bones, which had apparently been those of a young person, and half a dozen shells, answering by description to those worn on the hats and garments of pilgrims.—(*Gentleman's Magazine, New Series, vol. VIII. p. 576, vol. XI. p. 114.*)



Here down my wearied limbs I'll lay :
 My buttoned staff, my weed of gray,
 My palmer's hat, my scallop shell,
 My cross, my cord, and all farewell !

Epitaph, by Robert Herrick.

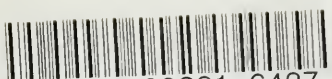
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