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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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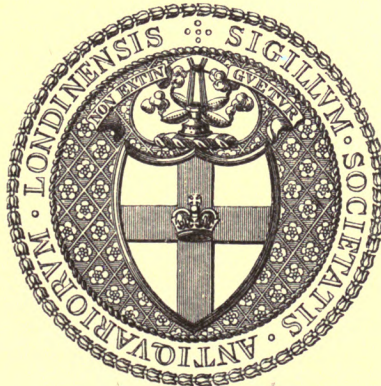
RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY,

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

VOLUME XXXIX.



LONDON :

PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET ;

SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN SOMERSET PLACE.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

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ETC.

I.—*Discovery of the Will of Hans Holbein, by WILLIAM HENRY BLACK, Esq., F.S.A.; with remarks on the same by AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, Esq., Director: in a Letter from the latter to the EARL STANHOPE, President.*

Read February 20th, 1862.

MY LORD,

THE Will of John or Hans Holbeine, recently discovered by Mr. Black in St. Paul's Cathedral, and communicated by him to the Society, with some remarks, on the 14th of February, 1861, has excited the interest not only of the Fellows of our Society, but also of artists and connoisseurs both in this country and abroad.

It was then generally felt that the discovery was one of extreme interest if it could be clearly shown that the testator was the great painter of that name; but some doubts on that point were expressed when the document was brought to the notice of the Society.

I regret that Mr. Black's numerous engagements have prevented him from completing, as he intended, a detailed communication on the subject; since his habits of research and experience as an antiquary would have rendered it of peculiar value.

In the absence of such a communication, I venture to address to your Lordship a few remarks which I trust may be sufficient to establish beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Will in question is that of Hans Holbein the painter.

The registry of wills in which the document was found is that of the Commissary of London; these were till lately preserved in St. Paul's Cathedral, and

consisted of the wills of such persons as died within his jurisdiction, not having *bona notabilia* out of it. The document occurs in the book called Beverley, folio 116, and runs as follows:—

[WILL OF HANS HOLBEIN.]

IN the name of God the father, sonne, and holy gohooste, I, JOHN̄ HOLBEINE, servaunte to the Kynges Magestye, make this my Testamente and last will, to wyt, that all my goodes shalbe sold and also my horse, and I will that my debtes be payd, to wete, fyrst to M^r Anthony, the Kynges servaunte, of Grenwiche, y^e of [*sic*] summe of ten poundes thurtene shylynges and sewyne pence sterlinge. And more over I will that he shalbe contented for all other thynges betwene hym and me. Item, I do owe unto M^r John of Anwarpe, goldsmythe, sexe poundes sterling, wiche I will also shalbe payd unto hym with the fyrste. Item, I bequeythe for the kynpyng [*keeping*] of my two Chylder wich be at nurse, for every monethe sewyn shylynges and sex pence sterlynge. In wytnes, I have sealed and sealed [*sic*] this my testament the vijth day of Octaber, in the yere of o^r Lorde God M^{lv}Cxliij. Wytnes, Anthoney Snecher, armerer, M^r John of Anwarpe, goldsmythe before sayd, Olrycke Obynger, merchaunte, and Harry Maynert, paynter.

XXIX^o die Mensis Novembris anno Domini predict. Johannes Anwarpe executor nominat. in testamento sive ultima voluntate Johannis alias Hans Holbein nuper parochie sancti Andree Undershafte defuncti comparuit coram Magistro Johanne Croke, &c. Commissario generali ac renunciavit omni executioni hujusmodi testamenti quam renunciationem dominus admisit deinde commisit administracionem bonorum dicti defuncti prenominato Johanni Anwarpe in forma juris jurato et per ipsum admissa pariter et acceptata. Salvo jure cujuscunque. Dat. &c.

Holbene.—XXIX^{no} die Mensis predicti commissa fuit administracio bonorum Johannis alias Hans Holbein parochie sancti Andrei Undershaft nuper abintestato defuncti Johanni Anwarpe in forma juris jurato ac per ipsum admissa pariter et acceptata. Salvo jure cujuscunque. Dicto die mens. &c.

The most important fact proved by this document, if it be the Will of Holbein the painter, is the date of the testator's death, showing that this great artist died in 1543, between the 7th of October and the 29th of November, eleven years before the usually received date, 1554. Nor is this a barren biographical fact; there are several paintings which either are dated subsequently

to 1543, or can be shown to have been painted after that date, that have usually been attributed to him; and all these must have been painted by some other artist, if Holbein died at the earlier date.

Before noticing the peculiarities of the document in question, it may be well shortly to review the events of the painter's life, as they were supposed to be known to us previously to Mr. Black's discovery.

The accounts that we have of Hans Holbein are full of discrepancies, and the documentary evidence concerning him is singularly scanty. It is generally agreed that John or Hans Holbein was the son of a painter of the same name, a citizen of Augsburg, and that he was born in 1498.^a His native place is usually stated to have been Basle, while some have supposed it to have been Grunstadt in the Palatinate; but the researches of Dr. Passavant^b have fixed Augsburg as the locality. The year of his removal to Basle is conjectured^c to have been 1516, as he is known to have painted at Augsburg in 1515 a remarkable picture of St. Sebastian, still preserved in that city; while in 1516 he painted portraits of Johann Herbster^d and of Burgomaster Jacob Meyer, both of Basle. In 1519 he was received into the guild of Painters at Basle, and in 1520 obtained the rights of citizenship.^e

The history and progress of this great painter's artistic life have been ably set forth by Dr. Waagen, in whose Handbook^f may be found ample details on this branch of the subject. It will be sufficient for our purpose to notice such only of his works as illustrate the chronology of his life.

Holbein, while at Basle, seems to have been much indebted to the patronage of Erasmus, whose *Moriæ Encomium* he illustrated;^g in 1523 he painted a portrait of that eminent man, now at Longford Castle, which is stated to be a picture sent by Erasmus to Sir Thomas More in 1525. It must, however, be acknowledged that there is no direct evidence of this. The statement is pro-

^a Patin, in his edition of Erasmus' "*Moriæ Encomium*," (Basle, 1676,) places Holbein's birth in 1495; but a portrait of the painter, dated 1543, ætatis 45, corroborates the usually received date. See the arguments on this point in Hegner, "*Hans Holbein der jüngere*," p. 35 (Berlin, 1827).

^b Kunstblatt 1846, No. 45 and 46.

^c Waagen, Handbook, p. 189.

^d In Mr. Baring's collection.

^e Hegner, p. 48, who gives good reasons why these entries do not apply to Holbein's father.

^f Handbook of Painting—German, Flemish, and Dutch schools, based on that of Kugler, and edited by Dr. Waagen, vol. i. p. 186.

^g Holbein's drawings were engraved and published in the edition of the *Moriæ Encomium* published by Patin at Basle in 1676.

bably founded on a letter from Sir Thomas More to Erasmus,^a dated the 18th of December, 1525, in which the former writes: "Pictor tuus, Erasme charissime, mirus est artifex, sed vereor ne non sensurus sit Angliam tam fœcundam et fertilem quam sperarat. Quamquam ne reperiat omnino sterilem quoad per me fieri potest efficiam." It will be noticed that More mentions neither the painter's name nor the subject of the work of art from which he judged of his skill. A portrait, however, was a likely present, more especially as More had in 1517 received very joyously a painting by Quentyn Matsys, representing Erasmus and Peter Ægidius together.^b

Disgusted with the little patronage bestowed on art at Basle, then torn to pieces by the violence of religious troubles which destroyed indiscriminately paintings and sculpture, Holbein started for England in 1526. We learn this from a letter of Erasmus,^c dated from Basle August 29th, 1526, and sent by the hand of Holbein to Peter Ægidius of Antwerp. He there writes: "Qui has reddit is est qui me pinxit; ejus commendatione te non gravabo, quanquam est insignis artifex. Si cupiet videre Quintinum, nec tibi vacabit hominem adducere, poteris per famulum commonstrare domum. Illic frigent artes; petit Angliam ut corradat aliquos angelatos; per eum poteris quæ volēs scribere."

He probably reached England towards the close of 1526 or at the commencement of 1527, where, we are told, he was hospitably received by Sir Thomas More. Van Mander,^d Holbein's earliest biographer, adds that he remained in Sir Thomas More's house for nearly three years (that is, till 1529 or 1530), when he was presented by his patron to the King, who received him into his service at a liberal salary. Dr. Waagen expresses some doubt whether so long a period elapsed before he entered the King's service; it is, however, remarkable that in the accounts of Sir Bryan Tuke, Treasurer of the Chamber,^e extending from 1st October, 20th Henry VIII. (1528), to May, 23rd Henry VIII. (1531), no notice of Holbein occurs, though several other painters are mentioned. Neither does his name appear in the Privy Purse expenses of the same monarch,^f extending from November, 1529, to December, 1532. The absence of his name in the latter accounts is not inexplicable; but its not occurring in the accounts of the

^a Erasmi Opera (1703), tom. iii. App. Epist. ccxxxiv.

^b See More's Letter to Ægidius in Erasmi Opera (1703), tom. iii. App. Epist. excii.

^c Erasmi Opera (1703), tom. iii. Epist. deccxxxii.

^d Het Schilder Boeck.

^e Extracts are printed in the Trevelyan Papers, Part I., edited for the Camden Society by J. P. Collier.

^f Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., edited by N. H. Nicolas (Pickering, 1827).

Treasurer of the Chamber, which included the monthly, quarterly, and half-yearly salaries of the Royal Household, seems to afford *primá facie* evidence that he was not in the King's service up to the month of May, 1531.

That Holbein was well known to many of the courtiers before that time is evident from the portraits of persons of note amongst them which he painted. The date 1527 appears on the portraits of Archbishop Warham;^a of Sir Henry Guldeford, Master of the Horse;^b of Sir Bryan Tuke, Treasurer of the Chamber;^c of Thomas Linaere,^d physician to Henry VIII.; and Nicholas Kratzer,^e astronomer to the King; and in 1528 he painted Richard Southwell, Privy Councillor.^f

In August, 1529, he returned for a while to Basle, where Dr. Waagen conjectures that he painted the picture of his wife and children, still preserved in that city. That he was in Germany in September, 1529, may be inferred from letters^g written in that month from Freiberg in Breggau by Erasmus to Sir Thomas More and his daughter Margaret Roper, in which he expresses his joy at receiving a picture or drawing of Sir Thomas More's family, which "Olpeinus" (Holbein) had brought to him. Writing to Sir Thomas More September 5th, Erasmus says: "Utinam liceat adhuc semel in vita videre amicos mihi charissimos quos in pictura quam Olpeius (*sic*) exhibuit utcumque conspexi summa cum animi mei voluptate." In his letter to Margaret Roper, September 8th, he says: "Vix ullo sermone consequi queam, Margareta Ropera, Britanniae tuae decus, quantam animo meo persenserim voluptatem quum pictor Olpeinus totam familiam istam adeo feliciter expressam mihi representavit, ut, si coram adfuissem, non multo plus fuerim visurus." Margaret Roper, in her answer to Erasmus,^h dated November 4th, 1529, speaks yet more clearly of Holbein's journey to Freiberg. She says: "Quod pictoris tibi adventus tantæ voluptati fuit, illo nomine, quod utriusque mei parentis nostrumque omnium effigiem depictam detulerit, ingentibus cum gratiis libenter agnoscimus."

On the 2nd of September, 1532, the magistrates of Basle wrote to Holbein, to induce him to return to their city, offering him thirty florins annually till they could provide for him better.ⁱ To this and the following year belong

^a In the Louvre, Paris.

^b At Windsor Castle.

^c At Corsham House; another is at Munich.

^d At Windsor Castle.

^e In the Louvre, Paris.

^f Dated 10 July, 1528, now in the Uffizzi, Florence.

^g Erasmi Opera (1703), tom. iii. Epist. mlxxiv. and mlxxv.

^h Erasmi Opera (1703), tom. iii. App. Epist. ccelii.

ⁱ "dreissig Stücken Geldes;" see Hegner, p. 242, where the letter is printed.

four portraits, all of them apparently representing foreigners. One of these is that of G. Gyze, in the Berlin Museum (No. 586), which represents a merchant. The name of Gysen or Gueyss was well known among the merchants of the Hanse in London.^a Another, at Windsor, is of an old merchant, who has been called "Stahlhof," a word which occurs towards the end of a partially obliterated inscription on the cover of a letter which he is represented as opening. As Stahlhof is simply the German for the Steelyard, the house of the Hanse merchants, it is more likely that it denoted the residence, or part of the title, and not the name, of the merchant. The third picture, dated 1533, is a beautiful portrait of a young man, who seems from an inscription on it to have been Derick Born, probably, from his name, a foreigner. The fourth, dated also 1533, is said to represent Geryck Tybis, or Geryck Tyler, and is in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna. These portraits, painted nearly at the same time, are apparently all of Germans, of whom two at least were most likely connected with the Hanse Corporation; it is, therefore, not improbable that it was whilst thus engaged, and before he had entered the King's service, that Holbein executed for the Hanse merchants of London two of the most important works that he painted in England, viz. the allegorical compositions of Riches and Poverty, now unfortunately destroyed.

Holbein is stated to have accompanied Henry VIII. to the meeting with Francis I. on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. I know not on what authority this statement is made; it may be based on a passage in the *Pittura scelta* of Catherine Patin,^c who tells us that Francis I. gave Henry VIII. a picture of Leonardo da Vinci in return for some paintings by Holbein; she does not, however, mention the occasion. It is probable that Holbein was in the King's service in 1536, as a portrait by him of Jane Seymour, now at Vienna, bears that date.

It is not, however, till 1538 that we find any direct evidence of Holbein being in the King's service. This is furnished to us in two ways: first by a letter to Lord Cromwell from John Hutton, the King's agent with the Regent at Brussels, preserved in the State Paper Office;^d secondly by the Book of Payments of the royal household, from February, 29th Henry VIII. (1538), to Midsummer, 33rd Henry VIII. (1541), formerly in the library of the Royal Society, and now in the British Museum.^e

The letter was written by Hutton from Brussels, 14th March, 1538, in the midst

^a Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte des Hansischen Stahlhofes zu London*, Hamb. 1851, pp. 80, 81, 173.

^b Woodcuts representing both subjects have appeared in Waagen's *Handbook*, vol. i. p. 199.

^c *Pittura scelta*, da Carla Caterina Patina, Cologne, 1691, p. 36.

^d State Papers, Henry VIII. vol. viii. p. 17.

^e Arundel MS. 97.

of the negociation for a marriage between Henry VIII. and Christina Duchess Dowager of Milan, daughter of Christian King of Denmark, and niece to the Emperor Charles V. In it he says, "The 10th of this present monethe, in the evenyng, arivid here your lordshipis sarvand Philip Hobbie, acompenied with a sarvand of the Kynges Majesties namyd Mr. Haunce; by wiche Phillip I recevyd your Lordshippis letter, beryng date at Saynet Jamys the second day of this present; th'effect whereof apercevyd, havng the day beffore sent wone of my sarvandes towardes youre Lordshipe withe a picture of the Duches of Myllain, I thought it very nesisarie to stey the same, for that, in my openion, it was not soo perffight as the cawsse requyrid, neither as the said Mr. Haunce cowlde make it."^a By Mr. Haunce I think we may certainly assume that Holbein was meant. Hutton goes on to say that he had told the Regent that Cromwell, having heard of the beauty, &c., of the Duchess of Milan, was anxious "to procure her perffight picture," for which purpose he had sent "a man very excellent in making of phisanymies." The Duchess having consented, "the next day foloyng, at wone of the cloke in the aftre noon, the lord Benedike cam for Mr. Haunce, whoo, havng but thre owers space, hath shoid hym self to be master of that siens, for it is very perffight; the other is but sloberid in comparison to it, as by the sight of bothe your lordshipe shall well aperceve." The expenses of Philip Hoby are thus entered in the Book of Payments, under March A° xxix. (1538): "Item, p^d to Philipe Hoby, by the Kinges commaundement, certefyed by my lord privy seale lettre, for his costes and expences sent in all possible diligence for the Kinges affaires in the parties of beyonde the see, xxij li. vi s. viij d."

The Book of Payments contains the accounts of Sir Bryan Tuke, Treasurer of the Chamber, and includes the salaries to various members of the household, paid monthly, quarterly, or half-yearly. It extends over thirteen quarters, in each of which Holbein's name occurs; there are besides a few entries relating to him in the general accounts. Some of the entries have been quoted by Walpole, and by Sir Harris Nicolas; but it may be as well to give all of them in their proper order. They are as follows:—

Lady Day, Anno xxix. (1538):—Item for Hans Holben, paynter, vii li. x s.

Midsummer, Anno xxx.:—Item for Hans Holbyn, paynter, for one hole yere's annuitie advaunced to him beforehand the same yere, to be accomptedde from o^r Ladye dey last past, the somme of xxx li.

^a Presumed to be the picture at Arundel Castle. (Waagen, Handbook, p. 201.) This is, however, a full-length picture, carefully painted, and could not have been executed in the time. Perhaps it was painted from a sketch made by Holbein on this occasion.

Michaelmas, A° xxx. :—Item for Hans Holbyn, paynter, wages—*nihil*^a quia solutum per warrantum.

December, A° xxx. :—Item payde to Hans Holbyn, one of the Kingis paynters, by the Kingis commaundement, certefyed by my lorde pryviseales lettre, x li. for his costis and chargis at this tyme sent abowte certeyn his Gracis affares into the parties of high Burgony, by way of his Graces rewarde, x li.

By High Burgundy it is probable that Franche Comté was meant, then in the possession of the Emperor. It does not appear what was the occasion of Holbein's journey. Walpole supposed it to have been for the purpose of painting the portrait of the Duchess of Milan; but that, as we have seen, had already been obtained, and the negociations for the marriage had been entirely broken off. Holbein may have taken the opportunity, when so near Basle, of paying a visit to that city; which he is known to have done in the autumn of 1538, when the burghers bestowed on him an annuity of forty florins for two years, and proposed giving him an annual salary of fifty florins if he would live there. That Holbein was at Basle in September, 1538, is shown by a letter from Rudolph Gualter to Bullinger, written in the middle of that month. "Venit," he says, "nuper Basileam ex Anglia Joannes Holbein, adeo felicem ejus regni statum prædicans, qui aliquot septimanis exactis rursus eo migraturus est."^b

The next entry in the book of payments is,

Christmas, A° xxx. (1538) :—Item for Hans Holbyn, paynter, *nihil*.

Sir Harris Nicolas, in noticing this entry, brings it forward as a proof that Holbein was abroad. It seems, however, fully explained by the prepayment of a year's salary at the previous Midsummer, although the reason why nothing was paid to him is here omitted. A roll of new year's gifts of Christmas anno xxx. (1538) seems to show that the painter was not absent. Among the gifts to the King we find :—

By Hanse Holbyne a table of the pictour of the p'nce (Prince's) grace.

In return, the present from the King is thus entered :—

To Hanse Holbyne, paynter, a gilte cruse w^t a cover (Cornelis) weing x oz. quarter.^c

The painting presented by Holbein was probably one of the pictures of

^a Sir Harris Nicolas has misread this word, which is written n^l., as ijli.

^b Hegner, p. 246.

^c From the original roll *penes* J. B. Nichols, Esq., F.S.A. This entry has been quoted by Walpole, who suggests that Cornelis signifies Lucas Cornelli, the painter. There can, however, be little doubt that it is Cornelius Hayes, the King's goldsmith, who is constantly mentioned both in the Privy Purse Expenses and in the Household Accounts.

Edward VI. as an infant; of which one is in the collection of Lord Yarborough, and another in the small Royal lodge, called Georgen-garten, at Hanover.^a

Lady Day, A° xxx. (1539).—Item for Hans Holbyn, paynter—nihil, quia prius per warrantum.

Midsummer, A° xxxi.—Item for Hans Holbyn paynter, vij. li. x s.

July, A° xxxi.—Item to Mr. Richard Bearde, one of the gromes of the Kingis privichambre, and Hans Holbyn, paynter, by like lettre sent into the parties of High Almayne vpon certain his gracis affaires, for the costes and chardgis of them bothe, xl li. And to Hans Holben, for the preparacion of such thingis as he is appoynted to carie with him, xij li. vi s. viii d.—in alle the somme of liij li. vi s. viij d.

This entry refers to another portrait of a lady, the cause of great trouble to the Princess whom it represented, viz., Anne of Cleves.^b It is explained by a letter from Nicholas Wotton to Henry VIII., dated from Duren, 11th August, 1539, where he says,^c “ Your graces seruante Hanze Albein hath taken th’effigies of my ladye Anne and the ladye Amelye, and hathe expressyd theyr imiges very lyvely.”

September A° xxxi.—Item paide by the Kingis highnesse commaundement certefied by my lorde pryvyeales lettres to Hans Holbenne, paynter, in the advaancement of his hole yeres wagis beforehande, afre the rate of xxx li. by yere, which yeres advaancement is to be accompted from this present Michaelmas, and shall ende ultimo Septembris next commynge, the somme of xxx li.

Notwithstanding this entry, we find:—

Michaelmas, A° xxxi.—Item for Hans Holbyn, paynter, vij li. x s.

Christmas, A° xxxi.—Item for Hans Holbyn, paynter, vii li. x s.

Lady Day, A° xxxi. (1540).—Item for Hans Holben, paynter, vii li. x s.

Midsummer, A° xxxii. (1540).—Item for Hans Holben, paynter, vii li. x s.

September, A° xxxii.—Item paide to Hans Holbyn, the Kingis paynter, in advaancement of his wagis for one half yere beforehande, the same half yere accompted and reconned fromme Michaelmas last paste, the somme of xv li.

Michaelmas, A° xxxii.—Item for Hans Holbyn, paynter, nihil, quia prius per warrantum.

Christmas, A° xxxii. (1540).—Item for Hans Holbyn, paynter, wages, nihil, quia prius per warrantum.

March, A° xxxii.—Item paied to Hans Holben, the Kingis painter, in advaancement of his half yeres wages before hande, after the rate of xxx li. by yere, which half yere is accompted to beginne primo Aprilis A° xxxij°. domini Regis nunc, and shall ende ultimo Septembris then next ensuyng, the somme of xv li.

Lady Day, A° xxxii. (1541).—Item for Hans Holben, paynter, wages, nil, quia præmanibus.

Midsummer, A° xxxiiij°. (1541).—Item for Hans Holbyn, paynter, nihil, quia prius.

The volume of accounts closes with the payments of this quarter; it may be

^a See Literary Remains of Edward VI., edited by J. G. Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., p. cccxlv.

^b Presumed to be the one now in the Louvre. Waagen, Handbook, p. 201.

^c Cott. MS. Vitel. B. xxi. 186. Printed in Ellis, Original Letters, first series, vol. ii. p. 122.

mentioned that, among those who received quarterly salaries, there were at this time only three other persons who had been paid beforehand.

These entries bring us down to the year 1541. No notice of Holbein has been brought to light in any public document subsequent to this date. An entry in the accounts of Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, preserved among the Loseley MSS. was communicated to the Society by William Bray, Esq., Treasurer, in 1816. It is undated,^a but may fairly be considered to belong to the reign of Edward VI.; it is as follows:—"Item for a peynted booke of Mr. Hanse Holby making, 6 *li.*" This entry does not, however, state or imply that Holbein was then living, or that the payment was made to him.

There are, however, a few paintings of a later period than 1541, which should be noticed as illustrating the further portion of the artist's life; and some others, executed after the date of the Will under consideration, the claims of which to be by him must be examined.

A portrait of Holbein by himself, dated 1543, was formerly in the Arundel Collection, and a fine portrait of Henry VIII., also dated 1543, is preserved at Viscount Galway's, at Serlby; the latter is the latest picture quoted by Dr. Waagen,^b as belonging to the class of Holbein's paintings characterised by a tender reddish flesh tone.

Dr. Waagen says, "About the year 1546, another and final change in the master's colouring took place, consisting of a light-yellowish local tone in the flesh, though retaining still the grey shadows. Portraits of this character are those of Henry VIII. at Windsor Castle, and of his son Edward VI. in the same place. This period also includes the large picture of Edward VI. in Bridewell Hospital. The bad state and high position of this, the most important work of Holbein's latest time, permit no opinion, properly speaking, upon it." To this period Dr. Waagen also ascribes a picture, dated 1550, at Longford Castle, and a portrait, dated 1547, belonging to Mr. Neeld.^c Before proceeding further, it may be well to remark that the picture at Bridewell is now generally acknowledged not to be by the hand of Holbein. The portrait of Henry VIII. at Windsor is unsigned; and so is that of Edward VI. at the same place, painted about 1552; the latter, moreover, though in the catalogue of Charles I.'s pictures, is not there attributed to Holbein. Another portrait of Edward VI. as King (at Wilton), though inscribed with the name of Holbein, is considered, both

^a *Archæologia*, Vol. XVIII. p. 325. See also the Loseley MSS., edited by A. J. Kempe, p. 92.

^b *Handbook*, vol. i. p. 201.

^c *Art Treasures*, ii. 246.

by Walpole and Waagen, to be unworthy of his hand. One, however, of the pictures attributed to Holbein^a by Dr. Waagen requires to be more particularly noticed, as it seems sufficient in itself to cast doubt on the whole of the so-called later style, quite apart from the new light thrown on the question by the Will. It is a picture at Longford Castle, called by Dr. Waagen "Sir Anthony Denny."



It represents a man in armour, with the trunk of a tree behind him; at his back is slung a musket, on the barrel of which is inscribed ÆTATIS XLII. MDL. T. W., which we may presume to be the initials and age of the person represented, and the date. Sir Anthony Denny was born in January, 1500-1; and had he not died in 1549, the year before the picture was painted, he would have been then in his fiftieth year. That the initials are those of the person represented, and not of the artist, is shown by an artist's monogram on the upper part of the barrel, which is composed of the letters H E; the E is very clear, and it is therefore impossible to read it with Dr. Waagen, H. F. (Holbein Fecit). The

monogram in question was employed by Lucas de Heere,^b but he is stated to have been born in 1534, and would have been only sixteen years of age in 1550; moreover, he is supposed not to have come to England till the reign of Elizabeth.^c

In connection with the name of Sir Anthony Denny should be noticed a beautiful design by Holbein for a clock, formerly in the collections of Mariette and Walpole, and now preserved in the British Museum. It bears the inscription, "Strena facta pro Anthony deny Camerario regis quod in initio novi anni 1544 regi dedit." This, it will be seen, relates to the New Year's day next after Holbein's death, should the Will be established as his; and, as it is reasonable to suppose that more than three months would have been required to make so elaborate and complicated a piece of mechanism, there is nothing in this inscription which is inconsistent with his having died in October or November, 1543.

Having thus seen how slight is the supposed evidence of Holbein having been alive subsequent to the year 1543, let us pass to the notices of his death.

^a Art Treasures in Great Britain, Supplement, p. 355.

^b A portrait of Henry VIII. at Trinity College, Cambridge, bears the same monogram and date; as does likewise one of Elizabeth Brandon at Wentworth Castle, dated 1550.

^c Dallaway, in the list of Holbein's works which he appended to Walpole's memoir of this artist, includes three other portraits, viz.: John Dudley Duke of Northumberland, 1545, at Penshurst; Sir Edward Grimstone, æt. 20, 1548, at Gorbambury; and Sir Thomas Chaloner, æt. 28, 1548. The originals of which it would be desirable to examine before expressing an opinion.

The usually received account of Holbein's death is that given by Karl van Mander, in his *Lives of Painters*. This writer was born in 1548, and died at Amsterdam in 1606, having published his work in 1604. This seems to have been the source from which all subsequent biographers of Holbein have drawn their materials. The passage may be translated as follows: "Thus did Holbein die in London, of the plague, in great distress, in the year 1554, fifty-six years old."^a

Descamps^b amplifies and alters this: "Holbein mourut de la peste à Londres en 1554, âgé de 56 ans, comblé de gloire et de biens."

Such may be said to have been the state of our knowledge respecting Holbein previous to the discovery of the Will by Mr. Black. It will now be well to examine that document, to ascertain how far the internal evidence that it furnishes goes to establish it as the Will of Hans Holbein, and then to state what corroborative evidence subsequent researches have brought to light.

The Will is that of a John, alias Hans Holbeine, as the administration acts show; and from his name he was evidently a German. He is moreover described as "servaunte to the Kynges Majestye," and no Holbein but Holbein the painter is known to have answered that description at the period in question. That he should be called the King's servant rather than the King's painter is not surprising, for we find him so denominated in the letters from Hutton and Nicholas Wotton, noticed above. The testator would seem to have been a person whose means were small, or who was in difficulties for money—a condition which fully agrees with the entries in the Book of Payments, where we find his salary to have been generally paid in advance.^c With regard to the children, we may fairly presume that they were illegitimate. It is generally supposed that one of the reasons he had for leaving Basle was the bad temper of his wife, and there is no evidence to show that she accompanied or followed him to England.^d The description given by Dr. Waagen of the picture Holbein painted of his wife and children, which is still preserved at Basle, shows how little there was to attract him at home. "The cross-looking woman"^d he says, "with red eyes, the

^a "Soo is Holbein in groote benoutheydt te Londen ghestorven van de Pest A° 1554, oudt 56 Jaren." (Van Mander, *Het Schilder Boeck*, 1604, f. 224.)

^b *Vies des Peintres Flamands*.

^c It should, however, be stated as to this, that in 1540 Sigismund Holbein, of Berne, made his Will, in which he leaves to his dear brother's son, Hans Holbein the painter, burgher of Basle (the subject of this notice), all his household property, furniture, &c., at Berne. (See Hegner, "Hans Holbein der jüngere," p. 24.) This accession of worldly goods should have relieved the artist from his apparent state of poverty, but there is no evidence when Sigismund Holbein died, and he may have survived his nephew, or died about the same time. At any rate, the English Will need not have affected property on the Continent.

^d From a letter from the magistrates of Basle, 1538, it is clear that he had not then had her over.

plain little girl, and the half-starved boy-baby, are not attractive." These children could hardly be those which he mentions as at nurse, for the picture in question was in all probability painted in 1529, fourteen years previous to the date of the Will. The character given of Holbein by Walpole, as fond of wine and women, would accord with some irregular connection, and it should not be forgotten that at the period in question Holbein had only reached his forty-fifth year.

We may now consider the condition of the various persons whose names are mentioned in the Will. Mr. Anthony may have been (as was suggested by Mr. Black) Anthony Anthony, of the Ordnance Department,^a a person whose pursuits much accorded with those of the painter. In the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VIII.^b is an entry on the 10th of September, 1531: "Paied to Anthony Anthony, for a clocke in a case of gold, x li. x s." In the Pepysian Library at Cambridge are preserved two curious rolls, beautifully drawn and written on vellum, with embellishments of gold, entitled "A Declaration of the Royal Navy of England, composed by Anthony Anthony, one of the officers of the Ordnance, and by him presented to King Henry VIII. an. regni 38. Dñi 1546," &c. An illustration in one of the rolls, representing the great ship Harry Grace à Dieu, has been engraved in the *Archæologia*, Vol. VI., Pl. xxii. p. 208. The third roll from the same set is now in the British Museum, and bears Anthony's signature.

When we remember the numerous designs for jewels and goldsmith's work^c which Holbein made, it is not surprising to find him connected with John of Anwarpe, a goldsmith. Holbein may have made the goldsmith's acquaintance through Peter Ægidius, of Antwerp, the friend of Erasmus. However this might be, the goldsmith seems to have been connected with the court. In the State Papers of Henry VIII.^d is a report to the King of bills stamped during the month of January, 38 Henry VIII. (1547), in which occurs this item: "4. A warraunt to S^r Edmunde Pekham [Treasurer of the Myntes] to delyver to John Andewarpe and Peter Richardson, goldesmythes, to be by them employed to your Majestie's use, 80 oz. of crowne golde, of the value of 47s. the oz., amounting to 188£." A still more direct evidence is afforded by the Privy Purse expenses of Princess Mary,^e where we find, under March, 1537: "Item, payed for goldsmythes workes for my ladies grace to Johan of Andwarpe, iiij li. xvij s. vij d." In

^a See, however, a suggestion on this point made by Mr. Nichols, *infra*, p. 36.

^b Ed. Sir H. Nicolas, p. 161.

^c For instance, the curious volume in the British Museum from the Sloane Collection.

^d Vol. i. p. 892.

^e Ed. Sir F. Madden, p. 20.

the Book of Payments by the Treasurer of the chamber,^a we find under the date of April, A° xxxi. (1539): "Item, paide to John of Andwarpe by the Kingis commaundement, certified by my lord priviseales lettre for the charges in causinge certain the Kingis lettres of importance to be convayed with all diligence to Christopher Mounte and Thomas Pannell, his gracis seruantes and oratours in Jarmayne, the somme of 1 s."

As to Anthony Snecher, armourer, his name shows him to have been a foreigner, perhaps one of the "Almayne armourers" at Greenwich, whose monthly salaries are entered (but without any names) in the Royal Household books; his occupation might have brought him into contact with Holbein the painter, who made several designs for ornamental weapons, which are preserved among his drawings in the British Museum.

Respecting Henry Maynert, painter, I have been unable to obtain any particulars. His German name and his calling both accord with his presence as a witness to this Will, if it be that of Holbein the painter. He may possibly have been related to John Maynard, one of the painters employed in making the tomb of Henry VII.^b

The next point to be considered is the residence of the testator, in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft. Some of the circumstances of the well-known story of Holbein's kicking down stairs an intrusive peer seem to suggest that he had lodgings, or at any rate a studio, in the royal precincts. Vertue surmised that he died in the Duke of Norfolk's house in the Priory of Christchurch, near Aldgate, then called Duke's Place, which is, however, shown by Walpole to be an error, as the priory did not come into the Duke of Norfolk's possession till 1558. Strype, in his additions to Stowe's Survey,^c under the account of St. Catherine Cree church, says, "I have been told that Hans Holben, the great and inimitable painter in King Henry the eight's time, was buried in this church, and that the Earl of Arundel, the great patron of learning and arts, would have set up a monument to his memory here had he but known whereabouts the corpse lay."

Now St. Catherine Cree is the next parish to St. Andrew Undershaft, and the churches are very near each other,^d and may be almost said to stand in the same street, while Duke's Place is close by. Some direct evidence connecting Holbein with St. Andrew Undershaft will be brought forward presently.

^a Arundel*MS., 97.

^b See Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting," reign of Henry VIII.

^c Edition of 1754, vol. i, p. 397.

^d No information is to be derived from the registers, as the registers of burials of St. Andrew Undershaft do not commence till 1558, as I have been informed by H. C. Coote, Esq.; while those of St. Catherine Cree church date only from 1663.

The next matter to be noticed is the discrepency between the date of the administration acts, 1543, and the usually received one of Holbein's death, 1554. All authors seem to agree in following Van Mander, that Holbein died in London of the plague. Sandrart, however, who wrote his "Teutsche Academie" in 1683, and who, from his intercourse with Lord Arundel and others, may have had more full information, says that Holbein was, in 1554, at the age of fifty-six, carried off by the plague then raging in London.^a Now, as Mr. Black remarked, the year 1554 was not a plague year; on the other hand, there was a severe pestilence in London in the autumn of 1543—as we learn from Stowe's Annals:—

"In the meane space," he says, "to wit, on the 28 of July, Anthony Parson, Robert Testwood, and Henry Filmer were brent at Windsore. And a great death of pestilence was in London, and therefore Michaelmas terme was adjourned to S. Albons."

It is not impossible that the haste and confusion occasioned by the pestilence may account for several apparently careless expressions in the will, and acts of administration. No executor is named in the will, although in the first administration act John of Anwarpe is spoken of as such. I am, however, indebted to the kindness of a legal friend for some remarks on these points, which are given below.^b

I have endeavoured to give an outline of the chronology of Holbein's life as it is to be derived from published documents or notices, and I have attempted to show how far the Will, from its contents, seems likely to be that of the painter. It

^a "Wurde er 1554 im 56 Jahre seines Alters von der damals in Londen wütenden Pest hingerafft."

^b Though the two official acts which follow the copy of the Will may at first appear inconsistent both with the Will and also with each other; yet, if we suppose that John Anwarpe was considered to have been appointed executor by implication (which the law allowed), much of the seeming inconsistency will disappear. The object of the renunciation may have been either to obviate some doubt which existed as to whether John Anwarpe was so made executor (for the language is hardly strong enough), or to avoid certain liabilities that would have affected him as executor, but not as administrator. Formerly a person was said to have died intestate, not only when he left no Will, but also when he left a Will and appointed no executor, or appointed executors and they all renounced. In this administration act the testator is accordingly said to have died intestate. The word *abintestato* should, I presume, have been *ab intestato*. *Abintestatus* was not common for intestate; the more usual Latin term was *intestatus*, or *ab intestato*, as may be seen in Lynwode's Provinciale (Tabula, s. v.). Carpentier gives *abintestatus* as used in France. *Ab intestato* was in use in this country as late as the reign of Elizabeth. (See West's Symboleography, s. 650.) The great difficulty in these official acts is how John Anwarpe could have been executor and Mr. Anthony not. If the latter had been executor also, and died before the testator, that should and in all probability would have been mentioned. However, if he were Anthony, the King's servant, he is known to have survived the testator. The second of the two official acts is almost a repetition of the first, and both are dated on the same day. Such an administration in modern times would have been called an administration *cum testamento annexo*.

now remains for me to communicate to your lordship the result of some further inquiries, and to acknowledge the kindness of various friends who have assisted me in making them.*

It was known that wills of other persons of the name of Holbein were to be found in the Prerogative Court, and one of our Fellows (H. C. Coote, Esq.) most kindly undertook to examine them. At folio 20 of the book called Populwell is the will of Johannes Holbyn, proved in 1548 by his widow Alice, his sole executrix. From the tenor of this will the testator seems to have been a country gentleman. He describes himself as of North Stoke, a parish four miles north-west of Bath, and leaves a sum of money to the Cathedral of Wells. His son John is appointed overseer of the will. The will of Johannes Holbeme, of Holbeme, is registered at folio 43 of the same book. He seems to have been another country gentleman, and his will was proved about a year subsequently to that last mentioned.

The former of the two wills above noticed is so far interesting, that it illustrates and disproves a conjecture made by Vertue and Walpole. They mention a Holbein, on the authority of registers at Wells, as living in the time of Henry VII., whom they conjecture to have been a relation of the great Holbein, and possibly the author of some early paintings. This conjecture had been contradicted by foreign writers on other grounds; but it is evident that it relates to an ancestor or relative of the John Holbyn who died in 1548, and who, like him, was probably an Englishman.

I am indebted to Joseph Burt, Esq., of the Record Office, for kindly making search for me in many documents there preserved, subsequent to the 32nd of Henry VIII., the last year in which any documentary evidence of Holbein's being alive was known. The negative results of these inquiries are best shown in his own words:—

“I have gone through all the Wardrobe and Household matter here, subsequent to the 32nd of Henry VIII., and nearly the whole of the Exchequer matter, without finding Holbein's name at all. These accounts are probably imperfect; and as to those of the Exchequer, it is difficult to say at that period where a certain kind of entry should be found. I looked also to the accounts of the Exchequer just anterior to the usual date of the death of Holbein, and I was unable to find his name.”

I am indebted to Walter Nelson, Esq.,^b of the Record Office, for an important

* It may be well to notice that some letters in the State Paper Office, dated 1527, which are indexed by Thomas, under Hans *Holbein*, relate to Hans *Holm*, a native, apparently, of Mecklenburgh.

^b Since deceased.

document, though of an earlier date. It is an extract from a subsidy roll^a for the City of London, dated the 24th October, 33 Henry VIII. (1541), and is as follows:—

“ Aldgate Warde

.
The Parisshe of Saint Andrewe Undershafte

.
Straungers

Barnadyne Buttessey, xxx li. xxx s.
Hanns Holbene in fee, xxx li. iij li.”

In these subsidies it was usual to tax “lands, fees, and annuities”^b at double the rate of goods; which accounts for the difference of the payments between Buttessey and Holbein. In the Royal accounts the payments to Holbein are sometimes noticed as wages, sometimes as an annuity; while other payments of a similar kind, although fees or annuities, are included under the general term “wages,” and evidently looked upon as synonymous terms for the salaries paid by the King to various members of his household. In any case, the salary of Holbein, the painter, rendered him liable to be rated, as a foreigner, at the high amount above mentioned. Now, the last entry of a salary paid to Holbein is of Midsummer 1541, but a few months before, when he was receiving from the King a salary of the very amount of that of Hans Holbein of the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, the identical parish in which the testator lived.

The only further piece of evidence to be brought forward, though of some importance, is of a negative kind. The unfortunate loss of many of the royal accounts had prevented us from tracing further the payments to Holbein. It has, however, been remarked by previous writers^c that it was very singular that the name of Holbein did not occur in the accounts of the mourning given

^a Mr. Nelson was also kind enough to furnish me with an extract from another subsidy roll, in which a person of the name of Hugh Holbeine is mentioned. From the sum, however, at which he is assessed, it is probable that he was an Englishman. It is an extract from an indenture of a subsidy roll for the City of London, made the 4th day of April, 35 Henry VIII. :—

“ Coleman Street warde, St. Margarettes parysshe.

Mr. Sadler, Alderman, in goodes mee li xl li.

Hugh Holbeine iij li vj d.”

^b Stowe's Annals.

^c See Nichols's Literary Remains of Edward VI.

for the King's servants at the funeral of Henry VIII., or in the payments to the household of Edward VI., in which other painters are mentioned. Still, such an omission might be accounted for by a change in the household, or in other ways.

Sir Frederic Madden has, however, very kindly placed in my hands an abstract, which he made some time since, of a volume* in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, being the accounts of Sir Bryan Tuke, treasurer of the chamber, extending from October, anno 35 Henry VIII. (1543), to November, 36 Henry VIII. (1544). The first quarterly payments are for Christmas 1543, the first quarter-day subsequent to the death of the testator; but, although other artists are mentioned, *the name of Holbein does not occur*, nor is it mentioned in any of the subsequent entries in the volume. It would, no doubt, have been more satisfactory if his name had appeared and against it had been added, as in the case of another painter, "Nihil quia mortuus," or if some payment had been made to his executors for a portion of salary due to him. But such an omission as the latter may be fully accounted for by the practice which seems so often to have prevailed of paying his salary beforehand.

I trust that sufficient evidence has been brought forward to show that the testator of the will discovered by Mr. Black coincides with Holbein the painter, in his name, his position, his probable nationality, his necessitous circumstances, his associates, his residence, and the pestilential season in which he died; while, by shortening the artist's career by eleven years, we account for the omission of his name from all documents between 1543 and 1554, and for the paucity and mediocrity of the works attributed to his later years.

It now must be the task of those competent for the enquiry, to discover, if possible, the artists by whom the pictures, subsequent in date to 1543, and usually attributed to Holbein, were really executed; by doing which they will add still further to the value of the discovery made by Mr. Black, and contribute most useful materials to the history of art in England.

Believe me, my Lord, to be yours very faithfully,

AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS.

To the Right Honourable
The Earl Stanhope, P.S.A.

* This volume was sold at the sale of Craven Ord, June, 1829.

II. *Notices of the Contemporaries and Successors of Holbein. Addressed to*
AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, *Esq. Director, by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read March 13, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE Will of Hans Holbein, discovered by Mr. Black, and so successfully identified in your recent communication to the Society, is a piece of historical evidence of which it is scarcely possible to over-estimate the value. It has, in fact, material influence upon the whole history of Art in this country for some years after its date, upsetting and contradicting an incalculable number of hasty and injudicious assertions,^a and rendering necessary a fresh series of investigations, to be conducted upon safer premises and with more careful conclusions than those which have satisfied the biographers and connoisseurs of former days.

It has been so much the practice, as in many similar cases, to attribute to that great painter every contemporary work that by any presumption, however extravagant, could be assigned to his hand, that it is something to have obtained a limit after which any such ascription is impossible. It is now ascertained beyond dispute that Holbein could have produced no works later than the year 1543, whilst hitherto his era has been extended for eleven years longer.

When, in the year 1859, I compiled a Catalogue of the Portraits of King Edward the Sixth (of which I had the pleasure to present a copy to the Society), I commenced my introductory statements by remarking that "Nearly all the portraits of Edward the Sixth are attributed to Holbein, who was resident in England at the time of the King's birth, and is generally supposed to have remained in this country throughout Edward's life;" but I also then added, "It is remarkable how entirely destitute we are of written evidence of Holbein's continuance in this country after Edward's accession to the throne. Still, his works must be considered the best evidence of his presence,—that is, *so far as they can be proved to be his.*"

^a Dr. Waagen mentions, as in Mr. Neeld's collection, "A male portrait: inscribed *Æt. suæ 48, Anno Domini 1547.* This has quite the natural and animated air of Holbein, and the admirable drawing of the hands *which distinguishes his later pictures.* It is finely executed in a powerful brown-red tone." (The Treasures of Art in Great Britain, vol. i. p. 245.) In many other places the critic speaks of Holbein's *later* style, observed from pictures which, like this, were certainly produced after Holbein's death. It might appear invidious to collect all the instances of this; but the reader of Dr. Waagen's criticisms should in future never lose sight of this circumstance.

Edward the Sixth died in the sixteenth year of his age; but at Holbein's death he was only in his sixth year. It is now therefore clear that Holbein's portraits of Edward must represent him in the first and shorter period of his life, and at least four years before he came to the throne. I am aware of three pictures only that bear this test,—those belonging to the King of Hanover, the Earl of Yarborough, and the Duke of Northumberland; the two former, which are nearly identical, representing the royal child at half-length with a rattle, the third representing him standing, and about two years of age. These three may be regarded as unquestionably works of Holbein. There are also his three drawings of the Prince in the royal portfolio at Windsor: the first taken from Edward in infancy, the second at the age of four or five, and the third in profile, apparently still older—though certainly not much so, if by Holbein. There may probably be pictures from the two latter drawings; but I have yet to identify them. Since my Catalogue was printed I have seen the Marquess of Exeter's picture at Burghley, which Dr. Waagen describes as “King Edward VI. at the age of seven or eight years, by Holbein,”^a and have found it neither answer to one name nor the other.

But the most remarkable result of Holbein's Will with respect to the portraits of Edward the Sixth is that we have now to find other painters for the two best known pictures of the royal boy, the originals of countless engravings. I mean those at Christ's Hospital and at Petworth (dated 1547), which nearly resemble each other. There is also at Christ's Hospital another excellent picture, which in the reign of Elizabeth belonged to Sir Anthony Mildmay, and is inscribed “Edwardus Walliæ Princeps anno ætatis suæ 9;” others at Kimbolton Castle and at Loseley^b in Surrey, which were painted in the following year, the first of his reign; a picture at St. Chad's, Lichfield, in the possession of Charles Holland, Esq. M.D. F.R.S. representing the King when about twelve years old;^c

^a It is a child holding flowers, and probably an Italian picture, in the style of Bronzino or Federigo Barocci (somewhat later than Holbein's time).

^b The picture of Edward the Sixth, at Loseley, was painted at the time of his coronation, as stated in this inscription (here copied literally): EDVARDI SEXTI ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIBERNICE REGIS VERA EFFIGIES EO PRIMUM TEMPORE QUO REGIA CORONA EST INSIGNITUS, ÆTATIS SUE 10. A'NO 1549 (in error for 1547). It is a three-quarters length. The king is attired in a coat of cloth of gold, furred; having sleeves of white satin, worked with black thread, and many jewels set on; a doublet of crimson velvet, worked with gold thread; a collar of pearls having larger jewels at intervals; a black cap, and feather falling to the left. His right hand is partly in a pocket; the left on the hilt of his sword, which is of silver, inlaid as with niello. The face is well painted and expressive.

^c Of this picture, as it is unnoticed in my catalogue, I am glad to supply the following description, communicated to me by W. S. Walford, Esq. F.S.A: It is on canvas, almost square, and represents the King nearly to the knees, standing, his face not quite full, but turned a little to the right. He is in a

another, a picture at Chicksands in Bedfordshire, in which the King stands like his father, with his legs apart, apparently about fifteen years of age; the picture at Windsor Castle, of the same age, which Dr. Waagen pronounced to be an indubitable specimen of Holbein's later manner; and one at Narford in Norfolk, highly commended by Waagen as one of Holbein's latest works; besides other pictures perfectly genuine and original, as portraiture of the King, but which it is now clear are not the works of Holbein, to whom they have been usually attributed.

Upon the great picture at Bridewell Hospital, of Edward the Sixth transferring that palace to the City of London, which was engraved by Vertue in 1750, and afterwards adopted into the series of historical prints published by the Society of Antiquaries, it is only necessary to observe that it represents an occurrence which took place in 1553, ten years after Holbein's death, and that consequently it is simply impossible that he could have painted it, notwithstanding that one of the figures in the background was asserted by Vertue, and by Walpole, to be Holbein's own portrait. Upon this picture I had remarked (in 1859), that "It is not now regarded as Holbein's work, as it bears no comparison with his capital picture at Barber-Surgeons' Hall of King Henry the Eighth granting his charter to that company." But, after all, though not a masterly work of art, it is a valuable item among our very few historical pictures, and it would be desirable to recover its real history, of which we now literally know nothing.

To return to the King's portraits, many of which are far more excellent productions than the great picture at Bridewell, it now becomes an interesting question, to whom are they to be attributed, and who *were* those contemporaries of Holbein, working in this country, who were manifestly artists of very creditable abilities, but whose reputation has been undeservedly swallowed up in the lustre of his renown. Having collected a few notes with a view to such an inquiry, I beg to communicate them to you, as suggestions which may in the

mulberry-coloured suit—coat, doublet, and hose, with a gold pattern on it; the coat loose, and edged with ermine, and a narrow line of ermine spots runs down each arm. There is a short perpendicular line of such spots on the neck or collar of the doublet in front. The George is suspended by a blue ribbon passing round the neck (Edward was not a Knight of the Garter before his accession to the throne). The cap is black, with a white feather. The right arm rests at the elbow on a table, upon which lies an octavo book, bound in red. The right hand, on the forefinger of which is a ring, holds a pair of gloves near the body. The left hand, on the little finger of which is also a ring, rests against the hip, the little finger being about three inches above the upper part of the hilt of the sword. There is neither crown nor sceptre, nor any other emblem of royalty. This is the only picture of Edward in which a book has been observed. It was purchased by its present owner with the house, which was formerly that of the well-known virtuoso, Mr. Greene; and it is possibly the same picture of King Edward that was formerly at Maple Hayes, which is about a mile from Lichfield. Like others, it has been attributed to Holbein.

hands of more competent connoisseurs, and those who have better means of observation, tend to the formation of some satisfactory conclusions.

The names that have occurred as Painters employed by King Henry the Eighth are—

John Browne,
Andrew Wright,
Vincent Volpe,
Anthony Toto,

Bartholomew Penne,
Luke Hornebaud, and
Gerard Hornebaud,
and a female named Alice Carmillian.

In the reign of Edward the Sixth we meet with another “*paintrix*” named Levina Terling.

Besides these, there were certainly in England during this period, or perhaps only for short visits, three able portrait-painters, of whom too little is hitherto known, named Johannes Corvus, Gerbicus Flicciis, and Guillim Stretes.

John Browne, Andrew Wright, and Anthony Toto were successively Serjeant-Painters to Henry the Eighth. Walpole notices them all slightly, but has placed them in inverted order, introducing Toto first, and afterwards stating that Wright flourished ‘in the beginning of Henry’s reign,’ and that Browne built Painters’ Hall “in the 24th of Henry.” The truth turns out to be that Browne received his appointment in the third of the King’s reign, 1511, and died in the year mentioned by Walpole; whilst Wright survived to the year 1543; and was then succeeded by Toto.

I will here transcribe Walpole’s statements respecting the three:

“Toto was Serjeant-Painter, and in Rymer are his letters of naturalization. . . . Felibien mentions this painter, and his coming to England. . . . But Toto’s works are all lost or unknown, his fame, with that of his associates, being obscured by the lustre of Holbein.

“Henry had another Serjeant-Painter before 1534, whose name was Andrew Wright. He lived in Southwark, and had a grant of arms from Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter. His motto was, *En Vertu Delice*; but he never attained any renown; indeed this was in the beginning of Henry’s reign, before the art itself was on any respectable footing.

“Another Serjeant-Painter in this reign was John Browne, who, if he threw no great lustre on his profession, was at least a benefactor to its professors. In the 24th of Henry he built Painters’ Hall for the Company, where his portrait is still preserved.”

JOHN BROWNE was for more than twenty years Serjeant-Painter. By patent dated at Eltham, on the 20th Dec. 3 Henry VIII. (1511), he was appointed the King’s Painter, with *2d.* a day out of the issues of the lordship of Whitley in

Surrey, and four ells of cloth at Christmas annually, of the value of 6s. 8d. an ell, from the keeper of the great wardrobe.^a

In right of his office, John Browne had the provision of coats for the heralds. There is an entry of forty shillings paid in 1528 to John Browne the King's Painter for a tabard of sarsenet, painted for Nottingham pursuivant.^b

He was elected an alderman of London on the 7th May, 1522, for the ward of Farringdon Without, but was at first unwilling to accept the office, and was committed to ward for refusal. He afterwards appeared, in order to comply, and it being necessary that he should be translated to one of the twelve principal companies, desired to be admitted of the Mercers, but, there being already six aldermen of that mystery, he was translated to the Haberdashers.^c On the 21st July, 1523, he was translated from the ward of Farringdon Without to that of Farringdon Within. In 1525, before he had served the office of sheriff or mayor, he was on his own request discharged from the office of alderman, for which he gave to the Chamber of London two great standing salts of silver gilt.

He made his will^d on the 17th Sept. 1532, and on the 21st of the same month

^a Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 3, m. 8. Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII. catalogued by J. S. Brewer, M.A. 1862, art. 2053.

^b Memoir of Henry FitzRoy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset (Camden Society, 1855), p. lxxxvii.

^c These curious particulars, and those which follow, are derived from the City Records at Guildhall.

^d By access to the documents of the Court of Probate, recently accorded to historical and literary inquirers pursuant to the liberal and judicious arrangements of Sir Cresswell Cresswell, I am enabled to offer the following abstract of this Serjeant-Painter's testamentary injunctions:—

The will of John Browne, citizen and haberdasher, and late alderman of London, made the 17 Sept. 1532. He desires to be buried in the parish church of Saint Vedast "in a chapel there dedicat of our Lady, in the north partie of the same chapel before our Lady there." He leaves all his goods moveable and unmoveable, catalles, and debts desperat and sperat, to be equally divided in three equal parts: to Anne his wife one part after the use and custom of the city of London; another to Elizabeth and Isabell his daughters at their full and lawful age of twenty-one or marriage; and the third to the performance of his legacies and bequests. To the high altar of Saint Vedast "where I am parishener," for tithes forgotten, x s.; twenty torches and four great tapers to brenne and serve at his dirige and mass of requiem, and to each of twenty-four poor men holding them, viij d. To the two orders of Black and Grey Friars of London "to th' intent they bringe my body to erthe," viij s. to each. A priest to pray for his soul and the soul of Alice his late wife, his father, mother, and children's souls, for one year, vij l. "And I will that immediately after my death, in as convenient tyme as may be, there shalbe saide and doone in the said church of Saint Vedast, for my soule and the soules above rehersed, one trentelle of masses, and also oone solempne Dirge and masse of requiem by note. Item, I will that there shalbe expended of my goodes at the solempnization of the saide Dirge and masse, in wax and black clothe as hereafter shalbe expressed to be gevyne; for drynkings and an honest dynner to be had and made amongs myne honest neighbours and my ffeliships of Haberdashers and Paynterstayners, the tyme of my burying, and other necessary charges at the same tyme,

he conveyed to his brethren of the Paynter-Stayners a house in Trinity-lane, which he had purchased nearly thirty years before, and which has from that

the sum of forty poundes stirlinges. Item, I will that myne executrice provide asmoche black clothe for gownes with parcell of the said xl li. to these persones folowing: First, to my wife, children, and all that be my servauntes the day of my dethe, Richard Calard and his wife, Edmund Lee and his wife, to every of them a black gowne. Item, I give and bequethe to every man and woman dwelling in the village of Kyngslonde the tyme of my decese "fourre pens a pece." Anne his wife to have his dwelling house in Kingslonde, in the parish of Hackney, with his tenantry there, garden, orchard, and close, charged to pay during her life xxvj s. viij d. yerely to a priest to sing masse every Sunday and Friday in the Spittall house of Kingslonde. Anne his wife to have all his interest in the house he now dwelt in by lease from the prior and covent of St. Bartholomew in London; also a warehowse and howsing in the parish of St. Vedast which he held by lease from the parson and churchwardens of that church; also his new howse that he had buylded that he had purchased of maister Solicitor, the chief Baron of the King's exchequer, and maister Milles of Hampton; also his lease of a garden at London Wall held of the chamber of London; also the remainder of a lease for 99 years (whereof more than fifty years were past) from the dean and chapter of Newark by Leicester of a brewhouse called the Swan on the hope without the Barre of the new Temple of London, to be charged with keeping an obit or anniversary in the church of St. Mary le Strand at the expense of iiij s. Five marks to the marriage of poor maidens, to every poor maid vj s. viij d. He remits and forgives to Nicolas Golafre, his wife's brother, the xx li. that he borrowed from him, and all other sums owed by him. "Item, I bequethe my great boke of armys, and my boke of trickys of armes, and my boke of armys and badges in my studye, unto Rychard Bygnalle now being my servaunte, with a grynding stone and a moler, so always that my wife enjoy the same during her widowhode. Item, I will that John Childe shalhave all my other grynding stones with other implementes belonging to my craft at such prises as I paide for them myself, and other thinges necessarie, be it coloures, silke, or golde, as shall amount in all to the value of xx li. stirlinges at the prices as they cost, soo always and upon condicion that he be at my wife's comaundment, and to werke her werke and noone other during hir widowhode, or elles my said wife to kepe the same goodes for so longe tyme as she occupieth myne ocupacion." To the fraternity of Jesu holden under Powles xl s. To his cousin Edmund Lee, goldsmyth, his second violet gowne furred with martern pootes; to his wife his best black gown single. To Richard Calard his best prymmmer that John Worsopp gave him. Among poor householders in the parish of Saint Vedast xl s. To poor prisoners within Newgate every year during his wife's life one cartload of straw. To the church of Saint Vedast two banners and two stremers "of the best sorte that I shalhave at the tyme of my deathe, with a remembraunce on them for me to be prayed for." To the parish church of St. Mary Axe where his father and mother lyen buried a banner cloth of silk and a torch. Eleven other torches to various churches, two of them to Saint Vedast, one to St. Michael in Hoggane lane, one to St. Peter in Chepe, one to St. Mathewe in Friday street, one to St. Mighell at the querne, one to St. Martin within Ludgate, one to our Lady Staynynges, one to our blessed Lady atte Strande without Temple bar, one to Hackney, and one to Newington in Middlesex. To John Baynard goldsmith, his flat ring of gold. To Sir John Parr, priest, a black gown. To John Howell, painter, a doblet. To the sexton of Saint Vedast a doblet; to Lambe, late his bedyll [as alderman], a doblet; to John Hare a doblet; to Thomas Edward, skynner, a doblet. To the Spittelle howse of Kyngeslonde vj s. viij d. To the Spittell howse called the Lock in Kent street vj s. viij d. (Other legacies to servants.) To the poor people of the ocupacion of Paynter-stayners xx s. to be delt at the tyme of his death. Whereas the convent of Crossed friars in London owed him c li. he desired that, to provide for masses at the altar of

time continued to be the Painters' Hall.^a Dying soon after, he was buried in the church of St. Vedast, at the west end of Chepe; and his will was proved on the 2d Dec. following.

Scala Celi in their conventual church for fifteen years, there should be yearly abated the sum of vj li. xiiij s. iiij d. His executrix to distribute yearly in the parish of St. Vedast between Michaelmas and Christmas a cartload of coals. To Christopher More, gentleman, his standing cupp with a cover of silver and gilt, with a pomegranate on the top, of the value of v li. To the parish clerk or conducter of Saint Vedast vj s. viij d. yerely (during his wife's life), that is to say, quarterly xx d. "to cause his children to say *De profundis* every night after that antem is doone, over my grave, for my soule, my children's soules, and all Christian soules." His wife executrix, and as overscers Richard Calard, paynter-stayner, and Edmund Lee, goldsmith. His messuage in Brede otherwise Brothe street, in the parish of Allhallows Bredestreet, bought of Thomas Candishe late of the Exchequer, to his wife, charged with the maintenance of an obit or anniversary during her natural life in the church of St. Vedast, at the cost of x s., remainder to Isabell his daughter, and the heirs of her body, which failing, to his daughter Elizabeth, her heirs and assigns. Proved by Anne the widow and executrix 2 Dec. 1532. (Prer. Court of Canterb. Trower 21.)

^a "In Trinity Lane, on the west side thereof, is the Painter-Stayners' Hall, for so of olde time were they called: but now that workemanship of stayning is departed out of use in England."—Stowe's Survey of London, 1598. The site of the hall is first described in 2 Hen. VI. as a tenement with shops and appurtenances in Hoggen lane and Trinity lane, in the parish of the Holy Trinity the Little, near Queenhithe, of which the reversion then belonged to John de Padyngton, son and heir of Henry de Padyngton, after the decease of Katharine daughter of John atte Pitte, by virtue of the will of Henry de Padyngton dated 49 Edw. III.; situate between the garden of Edward Salle clothworker on the north, the tenement of Ralph Marke brewer on the south, the highway of Hoggen lane on the west, and the highway of Trinity lane on the east. It was sold to John Browne, paynter-stayner of London, for the sum of xxx^{li} sterling, by Thomas Lupsett citizen and goldsmith of London, pursuant to indenture dated 14th Oct. 20 Hen. VII. By deed dated 21 Sept. 24 Hen. VIII., John Browne, citizen and haberdassher of the city of London, conveyed the estate to Richard Rypyngale, Richard Laine, Thomas Alexander, John Hethe, Richard Gates, Andrew Wright, Thomas Crystyne, William Lucas, William Hauntlowe, and Robert Cope, citizens and painter-stayners; and appointed Richard Callard, citizen and painter-stayner, to give seizin of the same, which was done in the presence of Richard Madok carpenter, James Cokke haberdasher, William Watton tailor, William Adnet miller, William Stokeley baker, Christopher Wright painter-stayner, and Henry Rowce notary. In 1549 a fresh feoffment was made, whereby the tenement, "nunc vulgariter dictum Paynters' hall," was conveyed by Thomas Alexander, John Hethe, and William Lucas (the survivors of the first feoffment) to John Wysdom senior, David Playne, Thomas Ballard, Thomas Uncle, Thomas Cob, Thomas Spenser, John Feltes, William Wagynnton, Melchior Engleberd, John Wysdom junior, George Wysdom, William Cudnor, Richard Flynte, and Richard Wright, citizens and painter-stayners. On this occasion seizin was given on the 3rd August, in the presence of John Robynson and Henry Machyn merchaunt taylors (the latter the writer of the Diary printed for the Camden Society), Thomas North and Henry Patynson clothworkers, William Drowght brownebaker, and Edward Braynewoode court letter writer, citizens of London, William Watson botcher, Thomas Dyx yoman, Richard Canton yoman, and many others there present.

I have derived these particulars, hitherto unpublished, from the archives of the Company, by permission of the Court of Assistants, and by the courteous accommodation of Mr. P. N. Tomlins and Mr. F. G. Tomlins, their clerks.

The arms of "John Browne de London, payntor," occur in a volume at the College of Arms (2nd G. 4, p. 3) entitled "Guifts of arms, temp. Hen. 8th." They are, Argent, on a fess embattled counterembattled sable three escallops of the first, on a canton quarterly gules and azure a leopard's face or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable, a crane's head azure, beaked gules, winged or, the neck and wings each charged with an escallop counterechanged, and holding in its beak an oak-branch fructed proper.^a

His portrait, mentioned by Walpole, is still preserved at Painter-Stainers' Hall. It is not, however, contemporary; but apparently painted after the Great Fire of 1665,^b as a substitute for one that had previously existed. He is attired in the gown and gold chain of an alderman.

In the Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary occurs under the date of Nov. 1544 the following entry: "Item paied to one John that drue her Grace in a table v^{li}." Sir Frederic Madden, in his annotations on those accompts, remarked that this John might either have been Hans Holbein or John Browne. We know now it was neither Holbein nor Browne, because they were both dead in 1544: and we have therefore still to inquire what other John was then painting portraits in England. Sir Frederic Madden has remarked that there is a picture of Mary inscribed "LADI MARI DOUGHTER TO THE MOST VERTVOVS PRINCE KINGE HENRI THE EIGHT. THE AGE OF XXVIII YERES. ANNO D'NI 1544," of which an engraving was made by Thane in 1778, which was probably the very picture for which she paid 5*l.* in that year. Where it now is I do not know. Sir Frederic also noticed a portrait in the British Museum (presented by Sir Thomas Mantell) which is inscribed "MARIA PRINCEPS AN^o DOM. 1531," with initials, which had been read I. B. This picture, however, does not resemble Mary: it is evidently a foreign portrait; the initials appear to be a cypher of H. B., and the inscription has a suspicious appearance.

ANDREW WRIGHT probably had the appointment of Serjeant-Painter on the death of John Browne. In the same year (1532), by the name of Andrew Oret, he is recorded to have received thirty pounds for painting the King's barge and the covering of the same.^c His grant of arms, alluded to by Walpole, from a

^a These are said, in the E. D. N. Alphabet of Arms, to have been altered to a totally different coat and crest, but which, in the Visitation of London 1568, G. 10, f. 60, appear to belong to the family of Gardiner, by grant of Gilbert Dethick, Garter, to Thomas Gardiner, of South Brent, Somerset, gent., dated 2 July, 3 and 5 Phil. et Mary. See also Register of Nobility and Gentry, vol. i. f. 214. (All at Coll. Arm.)

^b It is on canvas, and the head is set within an oval border painted to represent a carved frame. This was a fashion prevalent in the reign of Charles the Second, as appears in portraits of the Duchess of York, the Duchess of Cleveland, Bishop Burnet, and others.

^c Privy Purse Expenses of Henry the Eighth, (edit. Nicolas,) p. 195.

MS. of Peter le Neve, but not described, I have been unable to find at the College of Arms. He died in the same year as Holbein, a few months earlier, and his will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 29th May, 1543.^a He left estates at Stratford le Bow, at "the Gleane"^b in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, "the Bottle" in Bermondsey, and at Cowden, in Kent, where he had a manufactory of "pynck."^c He desired to be buried, like his predecessor Browne, in the church of St. Vedast, and requested his friend Garter (Christopher Barker) to be overseer of his will, a circumstance which testifies to his connection in business with the College of Herald.

VINCENT VOLPE was another painter of the same class as Wright and Browne. In 1514 he supplied streamers and banners for the great ship the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, and in some part of the accompts he "calls himself Fox," translating his name into the vernacular of this country.^d On the 20th May, 1530, he was paid for trimming the King's new barge, sixteen marks; but in the following

^a The will of Andrew Wright, citizen and paynter-stayner of London, is dated on the 15th March, 1543, 34 Hen. VIII. He desires his body to be buried within the church of Saint Vedast in Westchepe in London, and bequeaths to the high altar of that church iij s. iiij d. for tithes and oblations forgotten. He gives all his lands, free and copyhold, at Stratford the bowe to be sold for the payment of his debts, and to pay his eldest son Christopher x li., his son Richard x li., and to Richard, so long as he lived with his mother, iiij li. yearly. His lease of the houses, gardens, with the appurtenances, called *The Gleane*, in the parish of St. Oluffe, Southwark, to his wife for life, and after her death to his son Richard, and the heir males of his body. His two houses called *The Bottle* in Barmonsey Strete to his daughter Dorothy, to be sold for her best advantage, or else xxx li. in ready money. All his lands and tenements in the parish of St. Oluffs which he bought of Christopher Eggesfield to his wife for life, and after her decease to his son Christopher and the heir males of his body. "Also I give unto my said sonne Christofer all my fattes, vesselles, cawdrons, with other utensiles which is at Cowden necessary for the making of pynck, except the barchelles that be full of pynck, those I geve unto my wife." His ring of gold worth four marks, which he wore daily, to pay to the poor of St. Oluff's xxij s. viij d., and the rest as his wife should think best. The debt of seven score and ten pounds due from William Kendall to be equally divided between his wife and two sons. His daughter-in-law Leatys Wright is released from all debts. To Andrew son of George Wright deceased a gowne of pewke furryd with foynes, weltyd with black velvet, "which lieth in my best gowne." He left his wife executor, and requested his welbeloved friend maister Garter to be overseer of his will, and to be good and aiding to his wife and children, and left him twenty shillings. Proved 29 May, 1543, by Annes relict and executrix. (Prerog. Court of Canterbury, 20 Spert.)

^b My friend Mr. G. R. Corner, F.S.A., has in his possession copies of various documents relative to "the Gleane." Its site is still denoted by Gleane Alley in Tooley Street.

^c Pink was a vegetable pigment, answering to the *giallo santo* of the Italians, and *stil-de-grain* of the French. See Mrs. Merrifield's *Ancient Practice of Painting*, p. clxiv. The name appears to have come from the Dutch *pincken*, to sparkle; and Dutch pink is still in use, as well as Italian pink, brown pink, &c.

^d Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. catalogued by J. S. Brewer, M.A. 1862, vol. i. p. 781.

December he occurs in a somewhat different capacity: "Item the vij. daye, paid to Vincent, the King's paynter, for paynting of a plat of Rye^a and Hastings, iij li. x s." I think it therefore by no means improbable that Vincent Volpe may have been the painter of some of those curious military pictures, something between plans and bird's-eye views, that are still to be seen on the walls of Hampton Court. The pictures of the Field of Cloth of Gold, and others of that class, formerly engraved by this Society, must have exercised the hands of artists of considerable skill. Vincent Vulpe received in 1528 wages of fifty shillings quarterly.^b By a warrant dated on the 3rd July in the following year, his wages were doubled, and he was to be paid in future after the rate of 20*l.* a-year,^c and he continued in receipt of the same at Lady-day 1530.^d This amount, it will be remembered, is two-thirds of that assigned to Holbein.

But at the same time there was a painter in the royal pay who received a still higher salary. This was LUKE HORNEBAUD, who had monthly wages of 55*s.* 6*d.*^e or 33*l.* 6*s.* a-year, whilst GERARD HORNEBAUD at the same time had monthly wages of 33*s.* 4*d.*^f Of these two names Walpole has made one artist, whom he calls Gerard Luke Horneband.^g Some of this family are mentioned by the continental biographers of painters;^h and they inform us that Gerard, the father

^a In Horsfield's History of Sussex, 4to. 1835, vol. i. p. 487, is an engraving of an old view of Rye, copied from a picture in the possession of E. J. Curteis, esq. of Windmill Hill, Sussex, said to have been "painted in the 15th century." Mr. Holloway remarks (in his History of Rye, 8vo. 1847, p. 305,) that "This view must have been taken some time after the year 1540, as the monastery within the town, and Camber Castle without, both appear represented in it. The interior of the town, as there shown, is very similar to what it is at present." The date 1540 is named, because Camber Castle was erected in 1539 or 1540. Vincent Volpe's plat was doubtless taken with a view to the King's works of defence on this coast.

^b Trevelyan Papers, i. 144.

^c Ibid. p. 157.

^d Ibid. p. 177.

^e In Feb. a^o xxix^o (1536-7). "Item, for Luke Horneband paynter lv s. vjd." (MS. Arundel, Brit. Mus. 97, f. 3b.) This is the same book which Walpole has misquoted both for the name and the sum, which he gives as "56 shillings and 9 pence." Among the rewards on New year's day a^o xxx is "Item, to Luke Horneband y^t gave a skryne vjs. viijd." (Ibid. f. 55 b.)

^f Trevelyan Papers, i. 139, 146, 147.

^g Under the name of *Gerard Lucas Horebout* was exhibited at Manchester in 1857 a picture belonging to Sir Culling Eardley, Bart. described as "The Root of Jesse." This picture (it was stated) is referred to in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *Flemish Painters*, pp. 126 and 360. By Waagen (*Supplementary volume*, 1857, p. 279) it is assigned to an earlier date—"towards 1500."

^h *Het Schilder Boeck door Carel van Mander* (otherwise called Carel Vermander van Molebeke), Haerlem, 1604, 4to.), fol. 204, b. *La Vie des Peintres Flamands, &c. par J. B. Descamps*, Paris, 1753, i. 77. *De Levens en Werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kuntschilders, &c. door J. Immerzeel*. Amsterdam, 1842, ii. p. 55.

of a Luke, was born at Ghent in the year 1498; and that the church of St. John in that city formerly contained two pictures by him, of the Flagellation of our Lord and the Descent from the Cross. He appears to have been already in this country in the year 1529, for in that year his wife was buried in Fulham church,* and his daughter Susanna was then the wife of master Henry Parker the king's bowman.^b

This SUSANNA HORNEBAUD is stated to have practised painting in miniature in England with the greatest success, being much patronised by Henry the Eighth and all the Court.^c She closed her days here in wealth and honour, after having married (we must presume after Parker's death) an English sculptor named Worsley, bearing which name she died at Worcester.^d

* As recorded on a brass plate thus inscribed:—

Hic jacet domicella Margareta Svanders nata Gandavi Flandria, que ex magistro Gerardo Hornebolt, Gandauensi pictore nominatissimo, peperit domicellam Susannam vxorem magistri Johannis Parcker, Archarii Regis, Que obiit Anno d'nj M^occccxxix xxvj Novēbris. Orate p' a'i'a.

This brass-plate is of Flemish work, and its design is peculiar. It is of the lozenge form of a modern hatchment, measuring inches on each side. The inscription appears upon an oblong tablet, held by two angels. Above the tablet is a demi-figure of the deceased, in a shroud: and below it a shield of arms, of which the dexter side is a chevron between three birds, and over all an inescutcheon charged with a cross moline between four crescents; the impalement, quarterly, 1 and 4, a winnowing van and in chief a mullet; 2 and 3, a chevron between three Moor's heads coupéd. The plate was exhumed in the year 1770, in digging for the foundation of a pillar, during repairs of the church. There is an etching of it published by Simco, 1794; another, more accurate, in the Illustrations to Lysons; and a small woodcut in Faulkner's History of Fulham, 1813.

In Nicholas Charles's "Church Notes," MS. Lansdowne 874, under Fulham, the shield is drawn, with the name "Richard Svanders."

^b John Parker was also a yeoman of the robes. (Trevelyan Papers, i. 158.) He is styled *valettus robarum* in a deed 20 Hen. VIII. (Cart. Antiq. Brit. Mus. 75 D. 67.)

^c Lodovico Guicciardini, when enumerating, in 1567, the best painters of the Netherlands, after mentioning "Luca Hurembout di Guanto grandissimo pittore, et singulare nell' arte dell' alluminare," proceeds to notice female artists, and the first of three whom he names is "Susanna sorella di Luca Hurembout prenominato: la quale fu eccellente nella pittura, massime nel fare opere minutissime oltre a ogni credere, et eccellentissima nell' alluminare, in tanto che il gran' Re Henrico ottavo con gran' doni et gran' prouisione la tirò in Inghilterra, doue visse molti anni in gran' fauore et gratia di tutta la Corte, et iui finalmente si mori ricca et honorata." Descrizione, di M. Lodovico Guicciardini Patritio Fiorentino, di i tutti Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore. In Anversa, 1567, folio, p. 98.

^d "... zijnde dochter Suzanna om hare verdiensten als schilderesse, in Engeland in hooge achting stond, en te Worcester is overleden, zijnde zij met den Engelschen beeldhouwer Whorstleij gehwd geweest." Immerzeel, *ut supra*. It would be satisfactory to know from what authority this modern writer acquired his information.

Gerard Hornebaud himself is stated to have died in England in the year 1558. In that case he was here for thirty years. But the Flemish biographers of the painters tell us nothing of LUKE HORNEBAUD, who in 1529 was receiving from Henry the Eighth the higher rate of wages.^a He was possibly Gerard's elder brother.^b He had been made a denizen by patent dated 22 June, 26 Hen. VIII. (1524), being described as a native of Flanders, and was licensed to keep in his service four journeymen or covenant servants born in parts beyond sea, notwithstanding the statute to the contrary. By another patent dated the same day he was appointed Painter to the King, and obtained a tenement and piece of ground in the parish of St. Margaret Westminster.^c

Luke Hornebaud died in April or May, 1544, as appears from a household book in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps.^d He was paid his monthly wages in April, but in May is entered against his name,—

“Item for Lewke Hornebaude, paynter, wages ni^l. quia mortuus.”

It would be desirable to discover, if possible, some further historical information respecting these two Hornebauds, for without that it is scarcely safe to proceed to appropriate any pictures to their names. I may venture however to suggest that it is not improbable that some portraits that have been attributed to Lucas de Heere (whose initials are the same) really belong to Luke Hornebaud.

It is further not impossible that either Luke or Gerard Hornebaud may have produced many of the pictures that have usually gone by the name of Holbein.

^a In the roll of New Year's Gifts, 30 Hen. VIII. the very last item is: “By Lewcas paynter a skrene to set afore the fyre, standing uppon a fote of woode, and the skrene blewe worsted.” He received in return a gilt cruse weighing 10½ oz.; which was the like return that was made on the same occasion to Hans Holbyne for a table of the picture of the Prince's Grace; and to Anthony Toto for a fine table painted, the subject of which is not described.

^b Vasari, in his brief notices of various Flemish artists, enumerates, as miniaturists, “Lucas Hurembout of Ghent, Simon Benich of Bruges, and Gherardo, also of Ghent,” the last believed by Morelli, *Notizia di disegno*, &c. to be Gerard van den Meer; by others Gerard Horebout. “There are, besides, (he adds) certain women who have herein distinguished themselves; as, for example, the sister of Lucas above mentioned, who was invited to England by Henry VIII. and lived there in great honour her whole life long. . . . Levina, daughter of the above named Master Simon, of Bruges, who was nobly married in England by Henry VIII. was held in great esteem by Queen Mary, and is now in much favour with Queen Elizabeth.”—Vasari's *Lives of the Painters*, translated by Mrs. Jonathan Foster, (edit. Bohn, 1852,) vol. v. p. 462.

^c Patent 26 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. (32), communicated by James Gardiner, esq. to *Notes and Queries*, II. iv. 357.

^d I am indebted for this information to Sir Frederic Madden, K.H.

Dr. Waagen remarks of the portrait of Henry the Eighth at Luton House, that it is "exactly like the picture by Holbein at Warwick Castle, only less finished. If by *Gerard Horeboud*, as stated here, it is a copy from Holbein."^a I would rather say that, as the almost forgotten name of Hornebaud (whether Gerard or Luke) has clung to this picture,—and certainly no one would have substituted it in the place of Holbein's,—there is great probability that the work really belongs to him: and, if the picture at Warwick Castle so nearly resembles it, why should not that be his too? Again, a portrait of Henry the Eighth at Kimbolton Castle is stated to be a "duplicate of the picture at Warwick;"^b and Dr. Waagen says, that the picture at Windsor "greatly resembles that in Warwick Castle."^c

Holbein can well spare all these. Dr. Waagen^d has thus minutely described the Warwick picture:—

"HOLBEIN.—King Henry VIII. To the knees, the size of life; full front. The square face is so fat that the several parts of it are quite indistinct. There is in these features a brutal egotism, an obstinacy, and a harshness of feeling, such as I have never yet seen in any human countenance. In the eyes, too, there is the suspicious watchfulness of a wild beast, so that I became quite uncomfortable from looking at it a long time; for the picture, a masterpiece of Holbein, is as true in the smallest details as if the King himself stood before you. In the very splendid dress much gold is employed. The under-sleeves are of gold, with brown shadows; the hands most strikingly true to nature; in the left he has a cane, and in the right a pair of gloves; on his head a small cap. The background is bright green. The want of simplicity of the forms, the little rounding of the whole, notwithstanding the wonderful modelling of all the details, the brownish red local tone of the flesh, the grey of the shadows, and the very light general effect, show this picture to be a transition from the second to the third manner of Holbein, and that it may have been painted about 1530."

I had formerly, in the margin of my copy of Dr. Waagen's book, remarked the inconsistency of this last conclusion of the critic,—that the picture should have been painted about 1530, that is, seventeen years before the King's death, and when he was not yet forty years of age,—with the previous description of his square face, and fat and bloated aspect: but, now we know that Holbein was

^a Treasures of Art in Great Britain, 1854, iii. 482.

^b Manchester Exhibition Catalogue, 1857, British Portrait Gallery, No. 48.

^c Treasures of Art in Great Britain, ii. 432.

^d Treasures of Art in Great Britain, iii. 215.

departed in the year 1543, is it not much more probable that this portraiture was taken by another master during the last four years of the King's life? and will not that account for the artistic defects which Waagen has ventured to point out, "notwithstanding the wonderful modelling of all the details" of this "masterpicce"?

The painter, whoever he may prove to have been, who produced these latter pictures of Henry the Eighth, may well have been the author of those of Edward the Sixth at Petworth and Christ's Hospital, which I have already mentioned as the likeness of the young King most frequently repeated by engravings.

In the biography of the Gerard Hornebaud who was born in 1498 he is stated to have had a son Lucas, who practised as a portrait painter, but where he worked, or when he died, is not stated.

About six years after the denization of Luke Hornebaud, King Henry conferred the like favour upon ANTHONY TOTO, by letters patent dated the 22nd June, 1538. They describe him as the King's servant, and born in the city of Florence under the obedience of the Emperor. Vasari, the biographer of the Italian painters, mentions incidentally both Anthony Toto and his father. The father, who occurs only by his surname dell' Nunziata, was a humble artist, a "maker of puppets," that is, of crucifixes and madonnas, but a general favourite for his facetious humour, and fond of practical jokes, of which Vasari relates some instances. He was, moreover, a man of distinguished ability in various matters, more especially in the preparation of fireworks, and the girandoli which were made every year at Florence for the festival of St. John. His portrait, "a most life-like head," was placed by his friend Ridolfo Ghirlandajo in his great picture of Christ bearing his Cross, painted in 1504 for the church of San Gallo at Florence.^a

His son Toto dell' Nunziata became a pupil of Ridolfo, and took part with his master in painting a Madonna and the Infant Christ, accompanied by two saints, in the church of San Pietro Scheraggio.^b One of his fellow-students was Perino del Vaga, of whom Vasari has written the life at full. In that memoir Toto is again mentioned, and it is related that he afterwards went to England, where he "entered the service of the King of that country, for whom he executed numerous works; some of which were in architecture, more especially the principal palace of that monarch, by whom he was very largely remunerated."^c

^a See Vasari's *Lives of the Painters, &c.*, (edit. Bohn, 1852,) vol. v. p. 5.

^b *Ibid.* p. 12.

^c *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 79.

This palace could be no other than that of Nonesuch,^a erected by Henry the Eighth during the latter years of his reign, near the village of Cheam in Surrey.

Hanc quia non habeat similem laudare Britanni
Sæpe solent, NULLIQUE PAREM cognomine dicunt.

Lelandus.

The similarity in sound of Nonesuch to Toto's surname of dell' Nunziata suggests a passing remark; but this may be only an accidental coincidence. The propriety of its name, in the sense of a *nonpareil*, is shown by every description that we have of its very singular design and ornamentation, upon which Anthony Toto exercised all his hereditary talent in imagery. The original and principal structure was of two stories, the lower being of substantial and well-wrought freestone, and the upper of wood, "richly adorned and set forth and garnished with a variety of statues, pictures [*i.e.* coloured figures in relief,] and other artistic forms of excellent art and workmanship, and of no small cost."^b Its roof was covered with blue slate. In the centre, over the gate-house to the inner court, was a clock-turret, and at either end of the structure, east and west, was a large tower of five stories high, commanding an extensive prospect. This singular building remained in good condition for more than a century; for it is noticed both by Evelyn and by Pepys, in their diaries, in the year 1665, when it was temporarily occupied by the office of the Exchequer during the prevalence of the plague in London. "I took (says Evelyn) an exact view of the plaster statues and bas-relievos inserted 'twixt the timbers and punchions of the outside walls of

^a This interesting fact, hitherto unknown to our architectural historians or to those of the county of Surrey, has been pointed out to me by W. H. Carpenter, esq. F.S.A., Keeper of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Upon the general history of Nonesuch Palace I many years ago compiled a long memoir, printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1837, to accompany a copy of Hoefnagle's view, which was drawn in 1582, and published in "Urbium Præcipuarum Mundi Theatrum quintum. Auctore Georgio Braunio, Agrippinate." This view regards the palace from the rear, because the quadrangle erected by Lord Lumley concealed on the other side the more curious architecture. There is a second ruder view, but which also affords much information as to the forms and ornaments of the structure, at the corner of Speed's Map of Surrey. It is likewise taken from the rear, but within the garden wall; and the inner quadrangle, with the clock-turret, is shown by a sort of bird's-eye perspective. This is copied in the Pictorial History of England. In the list of maps, views, and portraits appended to Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, views of Nonesuch by Hoefnagle and Hogenbachius are named as distinct prints. There is none by Hogenbachius. That by Hoefnagle is copied in Lysons's Environs of London, in Queen Elizabeth's Progresses (lithog. by Bouvier), and in the Gentleman's Magazine as above. There is also an early copy of it in "Principum Christianorum Stemmata, ab Antonio Albizio nobili Florentino collecta," folio, 1627, fol. xvi.

^b Survey of the Parliamentary Commissioners in 1650.

the court, which must needs have been the work of some celebrated Italian. I much admired how it had lasted so well and intire since the time of Henry VIII. exposed as they are to the air, and pity it is they are not taken out and preserved in some dry place: a gallery would become them. There are some mezzo-relievos as big as the life.^a The story is of the Heathen gods, emblems, compartments, &c. The palace consists of two courts, of which the first is of stone, castle-like, [built in the reign of Elizabeth] by the Lord Lumley; the other of timber, a Gotiq fabric, but these walls incomparably beautified. I observed that the appearing timber punchions, entrelices, &c., were all so covered with scales of slate, that it seemed carved in the wood and painted, the slate fastened on the timbers in pretty figures, that has, like a coat of armour, preserved it from rotting. There stand in the garden two handsome stone pyramids." Pepys describes the same features as "figures of stories, and good painting of Rubens' or Holbein's doing; and one great thing is that most of the house is covered, I mean the posts and quarters in the walls, with lead and gilded."

In the earliest description of Nonesuch, that published in Braun's *Civitates*, 1582, it is stated that Henry the Eighth "procured many excellent artificers, architects, sculptors, and statuaries, as well Italians, French, and Dutch, as natives, who all applied to the ornament of this mansion the finest and most curious skill they possessed in their several arts, embellishing it, within and without, with magnificent statues, some of which vividly represent the antiquities of Rome, and some surpass them:" terms which are echoed by Camden in his

^a JOHN HETHE, citizen and paynter-stayner of London, was in the royal employment, and was very probably one of those engaged at Nonesuch. By his will dated 1 August 1552 he bequeathed to his second son Lawrence "all my moldes and molded worke that I served the Kinge withall," and to Lancelot his elder son "my frames, tentes, stoles, patrons, stones, mullers, with other necesaries belonging or appertaining to Payntour's crafte." To each of his apprentices he left vj s. viij d., and a grinding stone. (Prerog. Court of Canterb. Tashe 18.) The following items of this will are also remarkable: "To the company whereof I am free, to make them a recreation or banket ymmediatye after my decease xx s. To the knights of the Round Table (if I do it not in my lifytyme) xx s. to be spent at Myle end." The latter were no doubt a volunteer company of bowmen. He desired his widow might "have an honest room in my house, keeping herself sole and unmarried, and using herself after an honest maner with quyetness and love;" and he desired "nothing in my hall to be moved, as tables, tresselles, stoles, portalles, virgynalls, hangynges, targettes, pictures in tables, so long as my said wife dwell in the house." An account of John Hethe's funeral, after which the mourners were entertained "with wine and figs, and good ale, and a great dinner," will be found in Machyn's Diary, p. 32; concluding with a statement that, as directed in the will, "his company hnd xx s. to make merry withall at the tavern." Two autograph signatures, *By me Joh'n Heth'*, are attached to he deed of feoffment of 1549 mentioned in the note at p.

Britannia, who declares that Nonesuch was “built with so much splendour and elegance that it stands a monument of art, and you would think the whole science of architecture exhausted on this one building. It has such a profusion of animated statues and finished pieces of art, rivalling the monuments of antient Rome itself, that it justly receives and maintains its name from them.”

Henry the Eighth did not commence the erection of Nonesuch before 1538, for it was in that year that he acquired the site, previously called Cuddington. It was still unfinished at his death, and remained so during the reign of Edward the Sixth; but in that of Mary it was completed by the Earl of Arundel, “after the first intent and meaning of the said King his old maister,”^a and the front quadrangle was afterwards added by the Earl’s son-in-law Lord Lumley: from whose hands it reverted to the Crown in 1591 by exchange for other property.

Toto is also noticed by Lanzi in his *History of Painting in Italy*. That author closes his catalogue of the second epoch of the Florentine school with “two illustrious names”—Perino del Vaga and Toto dell’ Nuntiata; the latter of whom, he adds, was esteemed by the English as the best Italian of his time that had painted in their island, although he remained comparatively unknown in his native country. He further characterises him as a worthy rival of Perino.^b

Toto was in this country some eight years before he was made denizen, as appears by the warrant for his wages, which will be noticed presently in connection with those paid to Bartholemew Penni.

The kind of pictures that he produced may perhaps be gathered from his new year’s gift to King Henry in the year 1540, when this entry occurs:—

“Item to Anthony Totes servant that brought the King a table of the story of King Alexander, vj s. viij d.”

I extract this from a volume of the accompts of the Treasurer of the King’s Chamber, now preserved among the Arundel MSS. in the British Museum, and which is the same that is quoted by Walpole on other occasions, as being formerly in the library of the Royal Society. From that or a similar volume Vertue made a like extract, which I have not been able to find, of the payment of 7s. 8d.

^a *Contemporary Life of the Earl of Arundel*, edited by J. G. Nichols, 1833.

^b “Chiudo il catalogo con due nomi illustri; Perino del Vaga nominato e da nominarsi più volte, et Toto del Nunziata, che gl’ Inglesi computano fra’ miglior Italiani che dipingessero in quel secolo nella lor isola; restuto, come non pochi altri, quas’ ignoto fra noi. Nato d’ignobil pittore, riusu eccellente; e Perino stesso non ebbe nella scuola del Ghirlandajo un emolo che temesse al pari di lui.”—*Storia Pittorica della Italia*, di Luigi Lanzi. Milano, 1824, i. 221.

(no doubt an error for 6s. 8d.) to Anthony Toto's servant, when he brought to the King, at Hampton Court, "a depicted table of Colonia," an entry which it would be desirable to recover and verify, as it is difficult to understand the description of the picture.^a

I think it most probable that Toto was the person mentioned in Holbein's will as "Mr. Anthony the Kynges servaunte of Grenwiche," to whom the sum of 10*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* was due, and which debt the dying painter wished should be satisfied as early as possible, "and moreover I will that he shalbe contented for all other thynges betwene hym and me."

In the capacity of Serjeant-Painter he was charged, as his predecessors had been, with providing the tabards for the heralds; at the coronation of Edward the Sixth, he furnished all those required by the college, whether in satin, damask, or sarcenet, for Kings, Heralds, and Pursuivants. His name occurs as devising and drawing the patterns, and painting the properties, of the court masques during that reign.^b In 5 Edw. VI. he presented to the King as a New Year's gift "the phismanye of the duke of . . . [the parchment is decayed] steyned upon cloth of silver, in a frame of woode," and received in return a gilt salt with a cover weighing ix oz. iij q't' di.^c He was still Serjeant-Painter at

* To this suggestion I have since received the following very satisfactory reply from our Director:—

MY DEAR SIR,—The entry respecting the reward to Toto's servant is under the rewards given on New Year's Day, anno xxx, and is at folio of the Arundel MS. 97. As you conjecture, the sum is vi s. viij d., not vij s. viij d.; but Vertue has fallen into a more serious error in misreading the name of the painted table. The MS. reads quite clearly "Calomia," not Colonia, and the subject was, probably, the Calumny of Apelles, a favourite one with artists of this period. Apelles was falsely accused to Ptolemy, by Antiphilus, of having joined in the plot of Theodotas, and, having cleared himself, he commemorated the event in an allegorical picture, described by Lucian (*De Calumnia*, § 5). From his account several artists composed pictures. A drawing of the subject by Mantegna is in the British Museum, once in that of Burgomaster Six, where it was copied by Rembrandt, whose drawing is also in the national collection. An engraving of this design was executed by Mocetto early in the 16th century, and was copied in Limoges enamel by an artist named Kip. The enamel is in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton. Sandro Boticelli made another design of the same subject. His original painting is in the Uffizzi, at Florence, and is engraved in Kugler's Handbook (1855), Italian schools, vol. i. p. 201. A drawing of Calumny, by Raphael, is in the Louvre, and was engraved by Cochin in the 18th century. The subject is stated to have been painted by Benvenuto Garrofolo for the Duke of Ferrara; and by Luca Penni, from whose design an engraving was executed by George Ghisi in 1569. A painting of this subject by Federigo Zuccherò is at Hampton Court, and was, according to Baglioni, engraved in 1572 by Cornelius Cort. I have been unable to identify the picture by Toto in the list of Henry VIII.'s pictures.

Yours sincerely,

To John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A.

AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS.

^b Loseley Manuscripts, edit. Kempe, pp. 81, 84, 89.

^c From the original roll.

Edward's death, and for the King's funeral had an allowance of seven yards of black cloth, with three more for his servant.^a

I may here notice, by the way, that on the same occasion "Modena maker of the King's picture" received four yards of black cloth, and again, "NICHOLAS MODENA, kerver, four yards." At first sight the former entry seems to present us with the name of another painter, and he one who made the royal portraits: but a little inquiry will inform us of the particular "picture" so designated. It was then customary to apply the term "picture" not only to painted representations (which were indeed more usually called "tables") but also to carved figures, such as the images in churches; as in more recent times (and even still colloquially) the engravings in books have, with like latitude, been termed pretty pictures. There is no doubt that "the King's picture" mentioned in the expenses of his funeral was nothing more than the effigy carried and displayed on that occasion, surmounting his coffin,^b and that its maker Modena was the same individual as Nicholas Modena the carver. The name of that artist also occurs, with the designation "moulder," as making masks for the Christmas revels in the second year of King Edward's reign.^c He was retained at the wages of x li. a year, and a livery coat of xx s. by warrant dated 21 April, 29 Hen. VIII. (1537), and his wages were increased to xx li. per annum with a livery coat as before, by warrant dated on the 14th Jan. 31 Hen. VIII. (1539).^d On New Year's-day, 25 Hen. VIII., among the rewards is one "To Nicolas Modena, that brought the King a story of Abraham, vj s. viij d."^e In the roll of New Year's Gifts of 5 Edw. VI. occurs as presented "By Modeno a feire picture paynted of the Frenche king his hoole personage, sett in a frame of wodde," and there was given in return "To Modeno an Italion oone guilte salte with a cover" weighing x oz. iij qrt' di.

With Anthony Toto seems to have been associated, from his first settlement in

^a Archæologia, Vol. XII. pp. 381, 391.

^b Machyn, in his account of the same funeral, uses the term picture for the effigy—"then the chariot covered with cloth of gold, and on the chariot lay a *picture*, lying richly with a crown of gold, and a great collar, and a sceptre in his hand, lying in his robes, and the garter about his leg, and a coat in embroidery in gold." (Machyn's Diary, p. 40.) The same term is employed in the account of the funeral of King Henry the Seventh: on whose coffin was placed "a *picture* resembling his person, crowned, and richly apparelled in his parliament roobe, bearing in his right hand a sceptre and in his left hand a ball of gold."—Leland's Collectanea, iv. 303.

^c Loseley Manuscripts, edit. Kempe, p. 80. Also, in 1 Edw. VI. Nicholas Modena, stranger, and twenty-two other carvers preparing a mount for a masque.—Ibid. p. 74.

^d Arundel MS. 97, fol. 47 b, and fol. 119 b.

^e Sir Thomas Phillipps's MS.

this country, one BARTHOLEMW PENNI, another Florentine. Their wages were always paid together, though granted upon distinct warrants, both dated on the same day in the year 1530. The following is a specimen of the entries^a :—

“Item paid to Anthony Toto and Barthilmew Penne, paynters of Florance, upon several warrantes being datid the iijth day of June anno xxij^o, for their wages, after the rate of xxv li. a year to every of them, to be paid unto them quarterly, &c. during the Kinges pleasure, xvijli. xv s. ;” and so also their livery coats, as on the 8th Nov. 22 Hen. VIII. (1530) : “To Anthony Toto and Bartholemew Penne painters for their livery coats xlvs.”

Walpole says that the latter was “undoubtedly the same person with the painter called Luca Penni by Vasari,” and Dallaway also, in his notes to Walpole, affirms that Bartholemew was “certainly intended for Luca Penni.” This assertion appears to have been founded upon a passage in the biography of Gianfrancesco Penni, surnamed *Il Fattore*, a pupil of Raffaele and fellow-labourer with Julio Romano : in which it is stated that he had a brother named Luca, who, after having worked at Genoa, at Lucca, and other places in Italy with Perino del Vaga his brother-in-law, repaired to England, where King Henry the Eighth employed him, and where he produced a quantity of designs which were engraved in Flanders, and of which the prints are dispersed everywhere.^b There is probably here some confusion between two brothers. The prints in question are from the designs of Luca Penni,^c who was certainly employed in France by Francis the First, in decorating the palace of Fontainebleau, in conjunction with Rosso otherwise called Maître Roux : but there are some score of entries at least in the royal accòmpts to prove that the Penni employed by Henry the Eighth was named Bartolomeo.

In his supplementary volume Dr. Waagen has attributed to Holbein a picture in the Earl of Normanton’s collection at Somerley in Hampshire, called a “Portrait of Lady Jane Grey. Half-length seated.” He adds, “Why the, it is true, young and pretty lady here represented is so named, I cannot say. The letter D introduced in her dress, and supposed to allude to her name as the wife of Lord Dudley, is not sufficient basis for such an appellation. All those qualities, however, proper to Holbein’s later period—his elevation and delicacy of

^a See Trevelyan Papers, i. 167, 170, 177, 195, 203, 205.

^b Felibien, *Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus excellens Peintres*, Trevoux 1725, tome i. 350. He is mentioned again in tome ii. 105.

^c They are signed with a monogram of L.P. See Strutt’s *Biographical Dictionary of Engravers*, 4to. 1785, ii. 213; Bryan’s *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, 4to. 1816, ii. 181.

conception, freedom of motive, beauty of form, and masterly modelling in a cool local tone—are seen here. When I saw the picture in Lord Normanton's house in London, in 1835, it was most arbitrarily attributed to Luca Penni." (Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain, 1857, p. 364.) How far it is probable that the picture thus highly commended represents Lady Jane Grey I cannot say. If Dr. Waagen be right in attributing it to Holbein, it must be misnamed, as Lady Jane was only six years old at Holbein's death in 1543. But surely there was some ground for assigning it to Penni, perhaps Luca, perhaps Bartolommeo. The great names are not relinquished for the less: though the contrary course is in constant operation.

The female artist named ALICE CARMILLION appears, like Susanna Hornebaud, to have been a painter in miniature. She was already retained in the King's service in the 20th Hen. VIII. 1528, at the quarterly wages of xxxiijs. iiijd.^a When paid a reward of xs. in return for her new year's gift in 1539 she is styled "Alye Carmylion myllyner,"^b and again "Ellis Carmillion millyner," when paid her quarter's wages at Midsummer, 1541.

LEVINA TERLING was another painter in miniature. She was the daughter of Simon Benich of Bruges, also a miniaturist, who passed some time in England, and her husband appears to have been an Englishman.^c In the reign of Edward the Sixth her name succeeds to that of Alice Carmillion. At Midsummer, 1547, "maistris Levyn Terling paintrix," was receiving quarterly wages of x li.^d In 1556 she presented to Queen Mary, as a new year's gift, a small picture of the Trynitie.^e In 1558 (the 1st of Elizabeth) she presented "The Queen's picture finely painted upon a card," which remained with her Majesty, under the care of Mrs. Newton; and had in return "oone casting bottell guilt," weighing 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. In 1561, on the like occasion, there was presented, "By Mrs. Levina Terling, the Queenes personne and other personnages in a box fynely painted." This

^a Trevelyan Papers, i. 144, 148, 160, 170, 177, in all which pages she is styled "paynter."

^b Ibid. p. 161.

^c See the passage of Vasari already cited in p. 30, which Ludovico Guicciardini (in 1567) copies and somewhat enlarges, as follows:—"Leuina, figliuola di maestro Simone di Bruggia gia mentionato, la quale nel miniare come il padre è tanto felice et eccellente, che il prefato Henrice Re d' Inghilterra la volle con ogni premio haver' a ogni modo alla sua corte, oue fu poi maritata nobilmente, fu molto amata dalla Regina Maria, et hora è amatissima dalla Regina Elisabetta." *Descrittione, &c. ut supra*, p. 100. Levina is not known by her married name to the biographers of the artists; but there can be no doubt that Levina Terling is the same person as the daughter of Simon Benich.

^d Trevelyan Papers, i. 195, 203, 205.

^e Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. xxxiv.

present was so much esteemed by the Queen that it remained "with her said Majestie," *i.e.* was retained in her own keeping. The paintrix received in return "one guilt salt with a cover," weighing $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz.^a

There was also a female painter named KATHARINE MAYNORS, who received letters of denization, dated on the 11th Nov. 1540.^b She was then described as a widow and a native of Antwerp. No mention of her works has occurred to me.

Three Portrait Painters of this period are commemorated by Walpole and Dallaway for little more than a single picture. The portrait of Bishop Fox (when blind), preserved at his college in Oxford,^c is signed *Johannes Corvus Flandrus faciebat*; of whom nothing further is known.^d A portrait of Archbishop Cranmer, at Jesus college, Cambridge, was the work of one whom Dallaway^e names Gerberius Fleccius. The third is Guilim Stretes, who painted Edward the Sixth and the Earl of Surrey.

The christian name of Flicciis is uncertain, and appears in a variety of forms. His portrait of Cranmer, now in the British Museum (which is engraved in Lodge's Portraits) is inscribed *Gerbicus Flicciis Germanus faciebat*. It was painted when the Archbishop was in his 57th year, that is, in the year 1546.^f In Mr.

^a Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. pp. 117, 126.

^b Pat. 32 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 38. Notes and Queries, II. iv. 357.

^c Engraved by Vertue 1723, and published in Fiddes's Life of Wolsey. The portrait of Bishop Tonstall, also engraved in that work, has a very similar air to that of Fox, and may not improbably be by the same hand.

^d See the letter of Mr. Scharf, hereafter.

^e Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, edit. 1828, i. 105.

^f The portrait of Cranmer in Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire, folio, 1677, that in Strype's Memorials of the Archbishop, that engraved by Vertue, and other copies, are stated to be after Holbein. But they are all alike from Flick's picture, in which the Archbishop holds a book with both hands. Besides the name of the painter, which is at the top of the picture, there are various other inscriptions. One is, *Anno etate 57, Julij 20*; probably for 2^o, the Archbishop having been born on the 2nd July, 1498. On the book in his hand is, *Epist' Paulj*. On a book on the table, *Anom. de fide et operib.* On another book, two words, no longer legible, from the paint having been rubbed off. On a letter this address: *Too the most Reverend fathere in Gode and my syngulare goode Lorde my Lorde tharchbusshope off Canturbury his grace be thes dd.* On the forefinger of his left hand is the same armorial ring of which an impression is engraved in Gorham's Reformation Gleanings, 8vo, 1857, p. 12. He is seated in an ivory chair, beautifully inlaid with ebony. In this picture Cranmer appears with a closely-shaven chin; whereas there is another portrait of him with an exceedingly long flowing beard. This will be found in Verheiden's Imagines, Holland's Heroologia, Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, &c. His biographer, Mr. Todd, condemns the latter as bearing no resemblance to the genuine portraits of him. It is possible, however, that the Archbishop may have allowed his beard to grow during his last imprisonment, and that he may have had this appearance at his martyrdom. Granger mentions that Vertue on one occasion engraved the head of Cranmer, (that by Flick,) and gave it by mistake the name of Archbishop Parker.

Richardson's collection, sold in London in May 1815, were two drawings after paintings said to be signed *Gertardus Fliccus* 1547.^a

At Newbottle, the seat of the Marquess of Lothian, are several pictures which are attributed to *Fliccus*; but, if the account^b of them be correct, they are not portraits from the life, as three are heads of the James's kings of Scotland, and another the head of the Earl of Douglas killed at the battle of Otterburn.

At Irnham, in Lincolnshire (the seat of Lord Clifford), is a fine full-length of Thomas first Lord Darcy of Chiche, Lord Chamberlain to King Edward the Sixth, dated 1551. Its painter's name is there called *Gerbicius Flick*.^c

I am inclined to regard Gerbicus as his real name, although upon his own portrait it appeared (if correctly read) in the two additional varieties of *Gerlachus* and *Gerlin*. This portrait was in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Monkhouse, D.D., a Fellow of this Society, who died in 1793; but I have been unable to discover where it is now preserved. It is thus described by Dallaway, in his edition of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*:—

“ Dr. Monkhouse, of Queen's college, Oxford, has a small picture on board, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$, containing two half-length portraits neatly executed. The one has a pallet in his hand, the other a lute, the date 1552, and over their heads the two following inscriptions:—

Talis erat facie Gerlachus Flicciis, ipse
Londonia quando Pictor in urbe fuit:
Hanc is ex speculo pro caris pinxit amicis,
Post obitum possint quo meminisse sui.
Strangwish thus strangely depicted is,
One prisoner for the other has done this,
Gerlin hath garnisht for his delight
This woerck whiche you se before your sight.

It thus appears that in the year 1552 this painter was a prisoner in London, together with an Englishman named Strangeways. What had brought them to that companionship I have met with nothing to shew: possibly they were prisoners for debt rather than religion, as was suggested by Dallaway, a fate which might have appeared more probable for the painter of Cranmer had the date been within the reign of Mary.

We now come to the name of GUILLIM STRETES, a Dutchman, who appears to have been the most esteemed and best paid painter in the reign of Edward the

^a Dallaway, in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*.

^b MS. Catalogue in Sir William Musgrave's collections, Addit. MS. (Brit. Mus.)

^c Neale's *Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats*, 1820.

Sixth, though but few of his existing works have, it seems, been identified. He enjoyed a higher salary than any we have as yet encountered. In the 6th Edward VI. it was reported that Gillam Strettes, Dutchman, the King's painter, had an annuity of 62*li.* 10*s.*^a His name also occurs in the records of the privy council as having received, in the year 1551, fifty marks in recompence for three great tables made by the said Guillim, whereof two were the pictures of his Highness (the King) sent to Sir Thomas Hoby and Sir John Mason (ambassadors abroad), and the third, a picture of the late Earl of Surrey attainted, which by the council's commandment had been fetched from the said Guillim's house.

Walpole supposed Stretes's picture of the Earl of Surrey to be the same which his father Sir Robert Walpole purchased from the Arundel collection in 1720, and gave to Edward Duke of Norfolk, and which is now at Arundel Castle.^b Dr. Waagen's account of this picture is as follows: "The Earl of Surrey, the poet, beheaded by Henry VIII.; under an arch, entirely surrounded with allegorical figures; at the sides, two armorial bearings. Inscribed, *William Strote*. This artist, whose name, properly speaking, is Street, formed himself obviously in manner of execution and conception from Holbein, with whose later portraits, which are somewhat grey in the flesh tones, he shows much affinity."^c The Rev. M. A. Tierney, in his *History of Arundel Castle*, 8vo. 1834, describes the picture more minutely, as a "whole length, standing under an arch, and resting with his right hand upon a broken pillar. The Earl is drest in a close suit of black richly embroidered with silver, and wears the garter; the impostes of the arch are supported by two female figures, each holding an emblazoned shield, one with the arms of De Brotherton, son of Edward the First, the other with those of France and England quarterly. Above the arch the letter H is upheld by two angels: round its front are inscribed the words ANNO DNI. 1546, ÆTATIS SUÆ 29: and on the pedestal of the broken column the motto SAT SUPEREST appears." Mr. Tierney remarks in a note that Dallaway had given two discrepant and equally inaccurate descriptions of this picture, one in *Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting*, and the other in *Dr. Nott's Memoir of Surrey*; stating in the latter work that the second royal coat was that of Edward the Con-

^a Report, MS. Soc. Ant. 209.

^b It is this portrait of the Earl of Surrey which is engraved in *Lodge's Portraits*. Like many others in that collection, the engraving only represents part of the original picture. The Earl's figure is cut off to a three-quarters length. The print, however, differs from every other in the book, a part of the ornamental framework being retained; still, the allegorical figures, and the shields they hold, are omitted.

^c *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, iii. 30.

fessor, for quartering which Surrey was specially indicted. Upon this erroneous suggestion Mr. Tierney founds a very positive opinion that this could *not* be the picture which by the council's commandment was fetched from Guillim Stretes' house. But this argument is not decisive, for the indictment does not connect the question of the Confessor's arms with any portrait of the earl. It does not state how, or when, those arms had been displayed. But as this picture paraded the royal arms, and that in a guise which might be esteemed even more aggressive than the cross and martlets of the Confessor, it may well have been obnoxious to the loyal councillors of the Tudor dynasty, and as it has the date 1546 there is certainly great reason to suppose it was the very painting upon which Stretes was employed when the earl was arrested, and which was afterwards surrendered to the council.

There is, however, a duplicate of this portrait at Knole, which is deserving of consideration, as it is an excellent picture.^a It displays, like the preceding, the royal shield of Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, and the motto *SAT SUPEREST*.

In the royal collection at Hampton Court is another picture called the Earl of Surrey,^b which was exhibited at Manchester in 1857, and in the official catalogue attributed to Holbein, with this quotation: "Walpole believed this to be by Holbein.—Walpole, by Wornum, p. 84." Dr. Waagen, in his critical catalogue of the Manchester Exhibition, remarked that it is "too weak in the drawing, and too poor in the landscape, for this great painter." The figure is a whole length, and of life size. He is standing, in a crimson suit decorated with gold, and a shirt worked with black thread. His right hand is on his hip; the left on his sword-hilt, a dagger at his right side.

In the same exhibition at Manchester was a picture of Edward the Sixth, which was distinctly attributed to "Guillim Stretes."^c It belonged to the late James Maitland Hog, Esq. and, having been previously shown in the museum of the Archæological Institute at their Edinburgh meeting, was engraved by Robert C. Bell for the Catalogue of that collection. It is a picture on panel, about two feet high, with a circular-headed frame. The King's portraiture is three-quarters length, his hands folded in front. His dress is white, trimmed with gold,

^a It is whole-length, like that at Arundel, not half-length, as stated by Dallaway in *Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting*, 1828, vol. i. p. 233.

^b An engraving was published (in colours) by Mr. Henry Shaw, F.S.A. in his "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages."

^c It was not placed in the Gallery of British Portraits, but in that of the Antient Masters, No. 509.

with a high collar; and he wears a collar of jewellery. On his head a flat cap and falling feather. Dr. Waagen, in his "Walk through the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester," observes that this picture is "Very interesting, as an instance of a clever English painter of the time of Holbein."

There was at Manchester^a another picture, assigned in the catalogue to Holbein; but which Dr. Waagen pronounced to be "too feeble, empty, and hard" for him. Its style is identical with that of the Earl of Surrey, and it is therefore probably to be assigned to the same painter. It is on panel, representing a lady in life-size of three-quarters length. The subject is Margaret Wotton, Marchioness of Dorset. Within her hands, which are brought together as in Stretes' picture of King Edward, she holds a stick and some flowers. On her fingers are no fewer than seven rings: on the right-hand first finger two, third one, fourth one; on the left-hand first finger two, fourth one. On either side of her head are the two following inscriptions:—

Ad hospitem pictor.

Tot proceres generosa parens, tot clara nepotum
Lumina quæ terris liquit sacravit Olympo:
Wuttoniam a genitore vides, a conjuge Graiam.

Wuttonia ad suos.

Vivite foelices, animisq. ingentibus ista
Sordida calcantes pedibus sublimia semper
Spirate, et certos vitæ melioris honores.

This picture is in the possession of the Duke of Portland.

At Southam, near Cheltenham, there was in 1819 a portrait of King Edward, attributed to Guillim Stretes. It was a whole-length: the ground formed by two Tuscan (or Doric) pillars of marble, and a curtain of green damask. The dress of a very stiff brown brocade, laced at the edges of the cloak. Upon the base of the pillars is written in gold letters,

Arte hath not miste, but lively expreste
The shape of England's Treasur;
Yet unexpress remaineth the beste
Virtues above all measur.

Exprimit Anglorum Decus en pictura, sed illa
Munera virtutum nulla pictura dabit.

And a very imperfect Greek inscription also.^b

^a British Portrait Gallery, No. 53.

^b Bigland's History of Gloucestershire; and Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1824, p. 393.

A picture of King Edward, which is in the Treasurer's house at Christ's Hospital, was said by Mr. Dallaway^a to resemble the last. I have seen it, and it was evidently painted towards the close of the King's life. His face is long, and feminine in aspect. His figure is to the waist, showing the shoulders, but scarcely the arms, and no hands. The dress is black, worked with borders of gold thread and nouches of jewels. His shirt collar is worked with black thread. He has a black cap surrounded with jewellery, and a black feather falling to the left side, the cap set aside a little to the right.

I have only further to add with regard to Guillim Stretes that in 1556 he presented to Queen Mary,^b as a new year's gift, "a table of her Majesty's Marriage,"—which would be a very interesting picture, if it could now be recovered.

I ought not to omit the name of NICHOLAS LYZARDE, as he was the second painter to Edward the Sixth, whilst Anthony Toto was Serjeant-Painter, and received four yards of black cloth for the King's funeral. He afterwards became Serjeant-Painter to Queen Elizabeth, and had (says Walpole) a pension for life of 10 li. a year and the same fee charged on the customs that had been granted to the serjeant-painters John Browne and Andrew Wright. His new year's gift to Queen Mary in 1556 was a table painted with the Maundy; to Queen Elizabeth, in the first year of her reign, "a table painted of the history of Assuerus," which was delivered to George Bredeman, keeper of the palace of Westminster; when he received in return one gilt cruse weighing viij oz. q^rtr. di. He died in the year 1571,^c when the register of St. Martin's in the Fields records that on the 5th of April was buried "Nicholas Lызard painter unto the Queen's majestie."

I will now close these remarks, which are, I am aware, very slight and imperfect, but which may form the commencement of more exact observations than

^a Anecdotes of Painting, 1828.

^b Queen Elizabeth's Progresses, vol. i. p. xxxv., and Nichols's Illustrations of Ancient Times, p. 14. The painter's name was there given as *Suete*, and confounded in the note with one *Shute*.

^c The will of Nicholas Luzard, Sergeant Paynter to the Queenes Majestie, inhabiting in the parish of Saynte Martynnes in the Fyeldes, is dated 14th Feb. 1570, 13 Eliz. He bequeaths xx s. to the poor of St. Martin's, "to be paid immediatly after my decease, and be distributed by the collectors of the said parish according to their discretions." To M^{res} Hill and M^{res} Colborne xx s. a pece. To Margaret his wife lxxx li. in money, and xx li. in household stuff. To his five sons, William, John, Nicholas, Lewes, and Henry, and to his four daughters, Hieronemy, Judithe, Christian, and Ellen, all his remaining goods &c. to be divided equally. Executors, his sons William and Lewes, and sons-in-law Thomas Lymbey and James Depree; overseers, Anthony Walker, clerk of the Queenes majesties great Wardrobe, and Thomas Fowler, comptroller of the Queenes majesties workes, and to each of them xl s. Proved 20 April, 1571. (Prerog. Court of Canterbury, Holney 18.)

those which satisfied Walpole and his commentators, in regard to the old artists employed in this country. A desire to enhance the value of pictures is continually at work to encourage their misappropriation to some great name; and that process, however unjust towards the minor stars, and however misleading to historical inquirers, can only be combated by a diligent collection of small items of information, by a careful comparison of dates, and by an impartial examination of existing pictures, as opportunities occur, assisted by sound judgment and a critical taste.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

Augustus W. Franks, Esq. Director S.A.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing the above I have been fortunate enough to discover the will of Luke Hornebaud in the Court of Probate, in Register Thirlby xxxviii. It is as follows :

In the name of God Amen. The yere of our Lorde God M^vcxliij, the raigne of our Soueraine Lorde Kinge Henrye the eight the xxxv yere of his most graciouse raigne, I Lucas Hornebolt, servante and painter unto the Kinges majestie, hole of mynd, this doo I ordeine and make my last will and testamente: First I bequeath my soule unto Allmightie God my maker and my Saviour, and my body to be buried where yt shall please my frendes in the parish of Saint Marteines in the Filde besides Charyngrosse. All my gooddes moveable and unmoveable, my dettes paied, I will they shalbe praysed and the value thereof to be devidid in thre equall porcions, and ij of thes porcions with all the apparell and jewelles that belonged unto my wyffes body I geve and bequeth unto Margaret my wyf, whome I make oone of myne exceutrices; the third porcion of my gooddes valued, my debtes payde, I geve and bequeth unto Jacomyne my doughter, whome I make th'other exceutrix. Item I wish that Richard Airell shalbe my overseer, and he to have for his paines vj^s viij^d. This will made the viij day of Decembre. Witnes Will'm Delahay and Robt. Spenser.

The will was proved before Richard Lyell, LL.D. in the Consistory Court of Westminster, May 27th, 1544, with administration to Margaret Hornebolt, his relict.

III.—*Additional Observations on some of the Painters contemporary with Holbein.*
By GEORGE SCHARF, Esq. F.S.A. In a Letter to J. G. NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A.

A portion read April 3, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,

I beg to address you a few notes which have been suggested by the perusal of your interesting paper upon the contemporaries and successors of Holbein. It is not easy to over-estimate the value of the researches which you have brought to bear on the subject. The termination of Holbein's career, 1543, as shown by Mr. Black's discovery of his will, and confirmed by the Director's investigations, furnishes us with one of the most important turning-points in the early history of art in England that have been met with for many years.

Posterity has not always endorsed the judgments of Horace Walpole on matters of art, or his opinions on the relative merits of particular paintings; and even Vertue has been found to have been blinded by preconceived notions, or warped by external considerations. The diligence and practical skill of the latter deserve, however, especial recognition; and his quick powers of observation have served to rescue from oblivion several important facts, which a few years later would have been lost beyond recovery. I can at once offer a case in point. You mention a painter, Joannes Corvus, whose name has not, as yet, been met with in any document, and whose existence as a painter in England was ascertained solely by his signature on the frame of a very meritorious portrait of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, in the hall of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Vertue engraved the picture in 1723, and at that time discovered also the artist, as we learn from Walpole^a, who adds, "The painter's name, *Joannes Corvus Flandrus faciebat*, is on the frame, which is of the same age with the picture, and coloured in imitation of red marble with veins of green."

Being interested in these matters, I proceeded to Corpus, and there found five pictures representing the venerable prelate. The heads are all on one scale, the size of life, but the panels are of various dimensions, and consequently exhibit more or less of the rest of the figure. None of the frames, unfortunately, correspond with the particular description given in Walpole's Anecdotes.

The principal picture was in the Hall, painted on a thick oak panel, with blue

^a Anecdotes of Painting, ed. Dallaway, vol. i. p. 106.

background, and in a showy modern gilt frame. I have no doubt that this is the picture which Vertue engraved, not only from the ornamental character of the inscription, retained also in the engraving, but also from the position which it occupies in the Hall.

The inscription on the picture in the President's Gallery is in Roman capitals, concluding "HANC REPURGATAM TABELLAM RESTITUIT JOHĒS HOOKER GENEROSUS EXONIENSIS 1579."

The picture in the Common Room is painted on a very thin panel, and of superior artistic qualities, although the surface has been extensively repainted. The frame is black and gold, and of modern workmanship.

The picture in the Library is very large, and shows the figure almost at full length, surrounded by various accessories. It has evidently been taken from the earlier picture, and bears date AN^o | 1604. It is painted on thick oak.

S | F

The fifth picture, in the Bursary, is small, and exhibits no hands. It is very brown in general tone, with a green background, and painted on thin oak.

The loss of the old frame with its curious inscription is now, I fear, beyond all remedy. The following item of Mr. Wyatt's account shows, I fancy, the date when the mischief was effected.

1820. Oct. 16. A large new frame with foliage and mouldings richly carved. Four bold spiral shields with arms on each, garter and mitre at the top, and gilding the same; for the original portrait of Bishop Fox the founder.

This is in fact the showy frame occupying the post of honour in the Hall. The present representatives of the frame-maker employed have searched in vain for all traces of the original.

Our loss in this respect has been, to some extent, counterbalanced by the recent discovery of another picture by the same artist, and authenticated in the same manner by his name being inscribed on the frame. The picture represents an interesting historical personage, being a genuine portrait of Mary Tudor, the sister of King Henry VIII. widow of the French King Louis XII. and wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.^a She is represented in a rich jewelled dress and hood of the period, resting both hands on a crimson cushion; her right holding an orange. Her face is seen in three quarters, turned to the right. The head-dress is bordered with pearls, gold, and jewels; and her brown hair is crossed with white bands, in the fashion of the day; a large black veil hangs down on each side of her neck. The back-ground represents white and yellow

^a A very similar picture at Southwick, in Northamptonshire, is engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol lxxv. page 697.

tapestry, having two arches, many ornaments, and an armed knight on horseback embroidered on it. Her dress is of lavender colour with a ribbing of horizontal gold lines showing *through* the colour, which, while it indicates some peculiar fabric of the period, is the more curious, as no gold is traceable (excepting on the black bands bordering the hood and on the neck) upon any of the rich jewellery and ornaments so profusely introduced. The picture was painted in 1532, and, although only a year before her death, exhibits a countenance of great beauty and youthfulness. The wooden frame was painted a dark red colour with occasional veins, as was that of the portrait of Bishop Fox, described by Vertue. The letters were black, heightened in some places, but very irregularly, with strokes of a pale yellow colour. Some parts were obliterated, but the following is a careful facsimile of that portion which refers to the painter, showing its present condition.

HANNES CORVVS
> F^rANT FACIEBAT

Next to the portrait, in two lines running along the edge of the frame, were the following particulars relating to the person represented :

MARIA SOROR . ILLVSTRISSIO REGI . HENRICO . viii . AC . GALLORVM REGINA .
CONIVNXQVE . ILLVSTRI PNCⁱPI CAROLO DVCI SVFFOCLE . AN^o ÆTATIS . SVÆ . XXXiiii^o
HAC SVB EFIGIE : PICTA.

The rest there can be little
doubt in restoring thus :

IOHANNES CORVVS
FLANDRVS FACIEBAT.

The picture was sold at Christie's as a Holbein on the 28th of January, 1860, (Lot 48), and, after considerable but careful restorations, has become the property of Sir Henry Des Voeux. The style of painting exhibits great refinement and a considerable mastery of the form of the human figure. The general tone is pale, and of a pleasing grey colour. These observations were made when the picture was publicly offered for sale; and I am glad to state that, notwithstanding the extent of restorations on the picture itself, the old frame and the mutilated inscriptions have been scrupulously preserved in their integrity.

It would be a point of special interest if we could meet with the signatures of any of the other painters mentioned in your paper, so as to enable us to identify their respective works. Failing this, it is only by classifying pictures according to technical peculiarities that any approach to such results can be obtained.

The name of Guillim Strete stands high as a court painter, and there is, both from his position in the King's service, and from the payments made to him, every reason to believe that he was an artist of very superior abilities. Nevertheless, we cannot, up to this time, point with certainty to any one of his works. Failing Holbein, no one else could be readily supposed to be the author of the admirable portraits of Edward VI. at Windsor Castle and Petworth. Both they and the half-length picture of the same monarch that was exhibited at Manchester in 1857 possess a silvery grey and soft tone which renders them probably the work of one and the same artist.

Having taken great interest in the question of Guillim Strete's performances, I recently paid a visit to Arundel Castle, and was there indulged with a leisurely inspection of the famous portrait of the Earl of Surrey, standing under an arch, attributed to that artist. Unfortunately the picture is placed in a very dark position; but the day happened to be unusually bright, and I had also the free use of a lighted taper for the inspection of any points of detail. The canvas itself is large and square, and has recently been relined. The figure of the Earl is closely fitted within a slight stone arch, shaped like the edge of a niche, surmounted with stone cupids and jars, and flanked externally by two standing statues; the one a nude youth to the left, resting on a shield bearing the arms of Brotherton; the other, on the right-hand side, a draped female holding a shield with the arms of England and France quarterly. The pedestals which support these stone figures are decorated with grotesque masks, and the ox-skulls so often seen upon antique altars and architectural friezes. The feet of the Earl are nearly on a level with the bottom of the picture. The style of the border-paintings is very coarse, and long subsequent, in point of execution, to that of the principal figure, which in itself disappointed me: in the first place, I could not detect on any part of the picture either the name or monogram of the painter; in the next, the drawing of the principal parts was weak, and there were such discrepancies in the composition as led me to the conviction that the picture before me was not absolutely and entirely original.

The portrait is mentioned by Horace Walpole in the *Anecdotes* as belonging to the Duke of Norfolk. Dallaway says, in a note, that "it was purchased in 1720 at the sale of the Arundel Collection at Stafford House, near Buckingham Gate, for Sir Robert Walpole, who made it a present to the late Edward Duke of Norfolk." But Horace Walpole himself, in a letter to his friend Richard Bentley, August 5, 1752, says that it was his father's, and that the Duke bought it at his brother's sale. This letter was written after a visit to Knole Park, near Seven-

oaks, the seat of the Duke of Dorset, where he had recognised a similar picture. Dallaway describes the Knole picture in a note as a *half-length*, and as a copy. But Walpole more correctly states thus,—“In the Gallery is a whole-length of the unfortunate Earl of Surrey with his device, a broken column, and the motto *Sat superest.*” He does not institute further comparison, or question its originality.

Having previously seen and studied the picture at Knole, I found myself well able to compare it and the Arundel picture together. At Knole the Earl does not stand under an arch; he stands freely, with a clear background of sky and solid masonry behind him. In the Arundel picture the arch interferes with the broken column on the left, and the cloak overlaps the framework on the opposite side. In the Knole picture is a stone niche in the left upper corner, containing the statue of a naked boy resting his left hand on a shield, bearing the Brotherton arms, but no other arms are introduced; below the figure is written, as if incised in the stonework,—

ANNO 1546,
ÆTATIS SVE 29.

In the Arundel picture this inscription is clumsily transferred to the curved stone over his head. I can only conjecture that the central figure in the latter picture is really of the date assigned to it, and that the rest was afterwards added, to meet particular requirements.^a The strength of drawing in the Knole picture, the force of light and shadow, the spirit of the distant landscape, the red and black chequered pavement, and the artistic effect of the dark stonework against the light side of his right cheek, are points that we vainly look for in the Arundel picture. In the latter the head is entirely surrounded with a dull heavy sky colour, and is comparatively deficient in relief. In the dining-room of this castle there happens also to be an old copy of a head of the Earl of Surrey; the head itself corresponds with the picture just spoken of, but the wall behind, and the form of the arch, show that the one at Knole was once recognised as the original. The Knole picture is very largely painted, in a rich golden tone, with full and solidly massed shadows; very different in these respects from the portraits of Edward VI. recently referred to. The picture reminds me very much of good Italian work; and upon the whole I must still look anxiously forward for something more conclusive as to the productions of Guillim Strete. Before leaving the Arundel picture, I may state that Mr. George Morant, who superintended

^a The picture at Arundel Castle, or rather the central portion of it, representing the Earl in three-quarter length, has been engraved from a drawing by Derby in Lodge's Portraits, and is, as far as it extends, exceedingly accurate.

the relining and restoration of the picture, assured me that there were no writings or indications on the back of the old canvas; for, had this been the case, he would not have failed to preserve them; nor had he at any time observed anything like a signature or monogram on the picture itself. The name Guillim Strete is written on a gold tablet appended to the frame; and I am at a loss to know on what other ground the accomplished critic Dr. Waagen was induced to describe the picture as "*inscribed William Strote.*"^a This is the more remarkable, as he proceeds to say that this artist's name "is, properly speaking, Street." This, however, may have arisen from an error on the tablet at that time existing.

The works of an excellent portrait painter found their way into England during the reign of Henry VIII., but it is not certain that the artist himself came to this country earlier than the time of Queen Mary. This was Joost (Justus) van Cleef, commonly known as Zotte, or Crazy Cleef. He seems to have been so called from his inordinate pride and conceit. Two excellent pictures by him were in the collection of King Henry VIII. They are now in the Picture Gallery of Christ Church Library, Oxford. Walpole first identified them as having been royal property, by the marks and numbers at the back. These marks are still perfectly plain, and are N^o. IR 22, and N^o. IR 25. I cannot so readily admit the validity of his conclusions from a reference to King Henry's catalogue, that they represent Frederic Duke of Saxony and Philip Archduke of Austria.^b They are, however, excellent pictures, and painted with all the breadth and boldness, especially in the foreshortening of the hands, peculiar to this artist. Portraits of himself as a young man, and of himself and his wife at a later period, are respectively preserved at Althorp^c and at Windsor Castle.

Van Mander^d says that he was the best colourist of his time, modelled his forms very carefully, and painted flesh like nature itself. His pictures were bought at high prices by the best judges. Vasari states that he was a great colourist, excellent at painting portraits from nature, and that he was much employed by Francis the First of France in painting both gentlemen and ladies.^e There is great uncertainty as to the period of his birth or his death, partly owing to there having been other artists of the same name; it seems from an engraved portrait that he was at any rate still living in 1544. Nagler^f states, apparently by inadvertence, that the preference shown by Henry VIII. to the works of Titian

^a Waagen, vol. iii. p. 30.

^b Walpole's Anecdotes, edited by Dallaway and Wornum, p. 64.

^c Dibdin, *Ædes Althorpiæ*, vol. i. p. 246.

^d Van Mander, vol. i. p. 149.

^e Vasari, Le Monnier's edition, vol. xiii. p. 150.

^f *Kunstler Lexicon*, vol. ii. p. 567.

over those of Van Cleef deprived the latter of his reason. It is more probable that, after residing at the French court, he made his way to England, having been recommended by Sir Antonio More to offer his works to King Philip^a on his arrival in this country; and that, as this monarch was well known to be a great admirer of Titian, the offence may have easily been given.

It is, however, not my object to dwell upon this master or his works at present. My desire in bringing his name thus prominently forward is to help to show that there were other painters of first-rate ability whose works were introduced into England during their lifetime, and who were highly appreciated, not only by the residents, but by the principal writers on art in foreign countries.

Vasari and Van Mander, writing at this period, also mention with great praise the portraits painted by Caius, or William Key, born in 1520 at Breda. Several of his works were introduced into England, as we find by the catalogues of the pictures of King Charles and the Duke of Buckingham. They are now no longer identified in the Royal or other Collections in this country; but a well-directed search may in due time succeed in attaining this object.

Vasari^b speaks of Key as an admirable artist, and a grave, moderate, and judicious person, and further states, that his pictures are distinguished by softness and grace, accompanied by a haziness of outline (*sfumate*). He was at the same time deficient in the force and fire which distinguished his fellow-pupil Franz Floris. Key was admitted into the Antwerp Academy in 1540, and died in that city 1568. The name is variously spelt. Immerzeel adopts Keij, Sandrart calls him Kay,^c and Van Mander has Key,^d whilst Vasari, who is not to be expected to be an authority on foreign names, calls him Guglielmo Cay de Breda.

I would fain mention one other painter, a distinguished Italian, who resided in England, and enjoyed as high favour with Henry VIII. as Toto del Nunziato. This was Girolamo da Treviso (or Trevigi), the son and pupil of Pier Maria Penacchi. Vasari gives his life in a distinct form, headed with a woodcut portrait.^e He was, according to this writer, born at Treviso, was an imitator of Raphael, and a good portrait painter. Having been driven from Bologna, he was recommended to visit England, and there received both employment and patronage from the King. In his service he exercised his talents as architect and engineer.

^a Van Mander, vol. i. p. 148.

^b Vol. xiii. p. 152.

^c Sandrart, vol. vii. p. 253.

^d Van Mander, vol. i. p. 181.

^e Le Monnier's edition, vol. ix. p. 51. Ridolfi, vol. i. p. 215.

He erected buildings in the Italian style which delighted and surprised the King beyond measure, who constantly loaded him with gifts, and assigned him a stipend of 400 scudi a year, giving him leave also to build himself a handsome house at the King's own expense. Girolamo lived most happily, and in the utmost content, thanking God and his good fortune for having placed him in a country where his merits were so well appreciated. But this unusual happiness did not last long; he went in his capacity of engineer to inspect the fortifications of Boulogne, in Picardy, where a cannon-ball struck him lifeless off his horse. He thus died in 1544 at the early age of 36.

Fortunately we can judge of the merits of this painter, since his chef-d'œuvre, an altar-piece painted for the church of San Domenico at Bologna, is now in the National Gallery. It passed through the collections of Mr. Solly and Lord Northwick, and was purchased for the nation in 1859.

There is a very striking picture, a full-length portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham at the age of 26, in one of the apartments at Gresham College, Basinghall Street. It was painted on the occasion of his marriage with Anne, daughter of William Ferneley, and widow of William Read, a Suffolk gentleman.^a The initials of Gresham and his wife, with the motto LOVE, SERVE, AND OBEI, are on the background on one side, and on the other is his merchant's mark surmounted with the date 1544, and THOMAS GRESHAM. 26. The picture is painted on panel and the figure life-size. He is represented standing on a brown pavement of square stones, clad entirely in black with broad bands of black velvet across the black satin body and shoulders of his dress. He wears a small black cap, and carries brown gloves in his right hand. The background consists of a stone wall, upon which the shadow of his figure is cast, as in the early portrait of Henry VIII. at Hampton Court, and the portrait of the same monarch at Warwick Castle. In the picture before us the shadows are truthfully carried backwards from each foot, as if in bright sunshine, across the pavement to the wall on the right hand. A skull, cleverly painted, lies on the ground at his right foot, below the inscription and merchant's mark on the wall. The frame itself is coeval with the painting, and is ornamented with gold letters on a broad blue ground, with the following sentence repeated on each of the four sides DOMINVS . MIHI . ADIVTOR . T . G .

The superior merit of this picture and its accordance in many respects with the style of Girolamo da Treviso lead me to consider him in all probability the painter.

^a Burgon's Life of Sir Thomas Gresham, vol. i. p. 49.

Gresham probably married Anne Read late in the year 1544, since she was not left a widow till the beginning of that year, and Girolamo's sudden death occurred in 1544 likewise. The masterly workmanship of this picture bears considerable resemblance to that of the Earl of Surrey at Knole, which has already been fully described. The existence of portraits of this high merit as works of art tends to prove that paintings of a superior quality found considerable patronage and encouragement among the wealthy and more enlightened classes of this period.

Respecting one of the artists you mention, viz. Nicholas of Modena, the carver and maker of sundry "pictures" of King Henry VIII., I would venture to suggest the possibility of his having been the author of a very beautiful little figure of the king, standing on the capital of an Ionic column, and carved in alto-relievo out of a slab of hone-stone, about 6 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is not only one of the most exquisite pieces of workmanship in point of finish and ornamentation that I have seen, but one of the *noblest* representations of King Henry in existence. It has evidently been painted, as traces of blue and crimson on the dress still remain in some of the hollows. The frame that at present incloses it is very unfavourable to the effect of the sculpture itself; but the work, taken as a whole, quite accords with the description you have quoted,^a and which I here take the liberty to repeat. "By Modeno a feire picture paynted of the Frenche King his hoole personage, sett in a frame of wodde." The application of the word "picture" in this sense is fully confirmed by the observations you have made on the same page.

This precious carving was purchased by Horace Walpole at the sale of Lady Elizabeth Germaine's property in 1707, and had formerly belonged to the Arundel Collection. It was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale^b in 1842, for the sum of 67*l.* 4*s.* to J. C. Dent, esq., of Sudeley Castle.

This little gem bears close relation in point of treatment, attitude, and costume, with a fine circular medallion of stone, in high relief, at Hampton Court, No. 348 of the present catalogue of that collection, and there unwarrantably assigned to Torrigiano, who finally quitted England in 1519, and died in Spain in 1522. The monarch here is represented at a period far beyond the prime of life, and it seems not unlikely that this fine medallion, now placed in a most disadvantageous position in the Long Gallery at Hampton Court, may prove to be the work of this same Nicholas of Modena.

You will perceive that I have not entered upon documentary ground, and that I have confined my observations almost entirely to the works of art themselves.

^a See ante, page 37.

^b Page 199, No. 52 of the Sale Catalogue.

For I feel convinced, that while some archæologists are doing good service by steadily and industriously working out and collecting documentary evidence respecting the employment of painters and other artists, others may be equally well engaged in carefully noting and classifying their observations on the productions of those artists; and thus by their united efforts they will throw the light of certainty on many obscure points in the history of art.

I must, in conclusion, offer both to yourself and Mr. Franks my warmest thanks for the services which your communications have rendered to the history of the arts in this country.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

GEORGE SCHARF.

To John Gough Nichols, Esq. F.S.A.

IV.—*Account of some further Discoveries of Flint Implements in the Drift on the Continent and in England.* By JOHN EVANS, Esq. F.S.A., F.G.S.

Read May 16, 1861.

It is now nearly two years since I had the honour of communicating to this Society an account of the discovery of flint implements fashioned by the hand of man, in undisturbed beds of gravel, sand, and clay, both on the Continent and in England.^a

The discoveries to which I then called attention were mainly due to the intelligence and energy of M. Boucher de Perthes, who for many years had carried on researches in the more recent geological deposits of the valley of the Somme, in the neighbourhood of Abbeville; but the facts which he had there brought to light were also substantiated and illustrated by discoveries made by other antiquaries at other times, and in other places.

Among these, that recorded by Mr. Frere in the 13th volume of the *Archæologia* was the most remarkable, both as affording incontestible evidence of a discovery of this nature some sixty years ago, and as showing the manner in which it was regarded by an intelligent observer at that time, when but little advance had been made in the science of geology. Mr. Frere's suggestion, that "the situation in which the weapons were found may tempt us to refer them to a very remote period indeed," was fully borne out by the facts which I was able to adduce, and which were to my mind of a most striking character. They afforded, indeed, strong if not conclusive evidence of the existence of man at that remote period, when the Siberian mammoth roamed through our forests, the extinct rhinoceros and hippopotamus frequented our marshy jungles and broadly-flowing rivers, and the mighty tigers, bears, and hyænas of our caverns preyed upon herds of oxen and horses of species now extinct.

^a *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 280.

It was, of course, conceded that this period might possibly be brought down nearer to our own times than had hitherto been supposed probable; yet the whole tendency of the evidence was to establish a far greater antiquity of the human race than was consistent with our ordinary chronology, though to what extent its bounds were to be transcended remained an open question.

Under such circumstances, it was but natural that the announcement of these discoveries of relics of human workmanship in juxtaposition with the remains of extinct animals, at a depth of fifteen or twenty feet from the surface in perfectly undisturbed soil, should not have immediately met with universal credence, but should by some have been received with doubt and mistrust.

There were sure to be many among those who could not do otherwise than accept the implements as of undoubted human workmanship, who would be inclined to suspect some flaw in the geological evidence; while among others who could not deny the force of that evidence, some would be disposed to regard the configuration of the flints as due to various natural causes, and not to human workmanship.

The closeness of the investigation to which these doubts gave rise has, however, served to dispel them; and at the present time there are, I think, but few among those who have paid any attention to the subject, who, however much they may be astonished at such a discovery, can do otherwise than accept it as true.

My object on the present occasion is not, however, again to enter either into the general evidence of the case, as to the human workmanship of the implements (for that is self-evident), or into minute details of all the circumstances under which they have been found. Neither do I desire to bring forward any theory based upon the facts at present in our possession, as to the precise degree of antiquity to be assigned to these implements, or to attempt to trace the succession of races of men in this part of the world during the vast period of time which must have elapsed since those who fashioned these flints perished from the face of the earth—a face, it is to be remembered, differing in several respects from that at present existing. I wish rather to give an account of the various fresh discoveries of these implements which have taken place both in France and in England during the last two years; and I do this in the hope that such Fellows of the Society, as may during this or ensuing summers be travelling in the neighbourhood of the places which I shall hereafter mention, may for themselves investigate the circumstances under which the discoveries have been made, and possibly make farther researches in other places.

The principal localities in France mentioned in my former paper were Abbeville and its neighbourhood (the scene of M. de Perthes' original discoveries), and the gravel-pits of St. Acheul, near Amiens. In neither of these localities have any very important fresh discoveries taken place, either to throw much new light upon the subject, or to invalidate former observations; though the flint implements are still found from time to time in the various pits, and at St. Acheul in considerable numbers. Much additional evidence of the geological nature and age of the containing beds has, however, been collected by Mr. Prestwich and Sir Charles Lyell, and will I hope shortly be made public. Many have been the visitors, both English and foreign, to these spots, and among them men of the highest scientific eminence; yet not a single voice has been raised to controvert the accounts that have already been given of the principal phenomena; though there has been some difference of opinion as to the precise character and age of the drift beds of the valley of the Somme.

Several persons who have visited the pits at St. Acheul have either themselves extracted some of the implements from their matrix, or seen them dug out in their presence. Among the English who have been thus fortunate I may mention Mr. J. W. Flower, the late lamented Professor Henslow, Mr. Christy, Mr. James Wyatt, Mr. Rupert Jones, and Mr. Ferguson of Amiens. Among the French,^a M. Albert Gaudry, who has communicated an account of his investigations to the Institute, found no less than nine in excavations made under his own directions, and mostly at a depth of about fifteen feet from the surface, and in the same bed as that from which a tooth of the *Elephas primigenius* had lately been exhumed. Some of these implements were still imbedded in the undisturbed gravel when found.

M. Georges Pouchet,^b who was deputed by the municipality of Rouen to examine into the evidence afforded by these pits, also saw one of the implements *in situ*, and in his report confirms the discoveries of M. Boucher de Perthes.

That distinguished antiquary the Abbé Cochet, honorary Fellow of this Society, is also to be mentioned among those who have visited the valley of the Somme, having been commissioned by the Préfet de la Seine Inférieure to report upon the flint implements there discovered in the drift. From this report^c

^a Comptes Rendus, 3rd October, 1859.

^b Actes du Museum d'Histoire Naturelle de Rouen, 1860, p. 33.

^c Archéogéologie: Hachettes Diluviennes du Bassin de la Somme. Rapport par M. l'Abbé Cochet, 1860. Gentleman's Mag. March, 1861.

it appears that he not only saw one of the implements dug out of the gravel by a quarryman, but removed, with his own hands, from the gravel in which it was imbedded, another that had been pointed out to him while *in situ*. He does not mention the exact depth from the surface at which it was lying; but from the context it would appear to have been from seventeen to twenty feet. As to the human workmanship of the implements and the undisturbed nature of the gravel his report is very decided. On the former point I quote his own words:—"Chose étrange, toutes ne sont qu' ébauchées; aucune n'est polie. Mais il est évident que sur tous ces instruments, si informes qu'ils soient, une main humaine a passé: nul homme de bonne foi ne saurait le méconnaître."

The places close to Abbeville best worthy of notice are the excavations for the fortifications at the Porte Marcadé, the pits at St. Gilles, at the Moulin Quignon, and Menchecourt, as well as those at Mautort and Drucat in the immediate neighbourhood. Near Amiens, the pits at St. Acheul, St. Roch, and Montiers ought to be visited. It is, however, necessary to be on the guard against counterfeit implements. Besides these places, there are several in other parts of France where similar discoveries have been made in beds of a similar character.

In my last paper upon this subject, I alluded to the discovery, by M. Gosse of Geneva, of flint implements in the sand and gravel pits of La Motte Piquet, a little beyond the Champ de Mars at Paris, of which I will now give some further particulars. The pits in which his discoveries took place are two—that of M. Bernard, Avenue de la Motte Piquet, No. 61-63, and that of M. Étienne Bielle, Rue de Grenelle, No. 15. The beds of sand and gravel, which are very analogous in character with those at Menchecourt, near Abbeville, show no traces of having been disturbed. Their average thickness is about twenty feet; and in a bed at the base, from three to five feet in thickness, M. Gosse discovered the remains of extinct animals and a number of worked flints. The latter consisted of numerous flint flakes, of the same character as Plate IV. No. 1, 2, 3, and others considerably wider; and also one of the larger implements of the pointed spear-head form, like Plate IV. fig. 6, only less skilfully chipped. Among the bones were those of *Bos primigenius*, *Elephas primigenius*, a deer allied to the reindeer, and a large carnivorous animal, probably the cave-tiger. I may add that the observations of M. Gosse have since been confirmed by M. E. Lartet, as well as by Mr. Mylne, F.S.A., F.G.S., and other English and French geologists; and that this very place had been pointed out some time

^a Comptes Rendus de l'Académie, 30th April, 1860.

ago by M. de Perthes as one in which it was probable such a discovery might be made.^a

Near Creil, between Amiens and Paris, a flint implement has also been found under very similar circumstances. M. Peigné Delacourt exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of France (16th May, 1860), a *hachette* which had been found in the gravel-pit at Précy, near Creil, in the valley of the Oise, together with the tooth of an elephant.

I have myself visited the pits both in the Avenue de la Motte Piquet and at Précy, in company with Mr. Prestwich and Mr. Lubbock, but we did not succeed in finding any worked flints at either place. M. Lartet has found one of the same form as that engraved in Plate IV. No. 4 in the gravel-pits at Clichy, close to Paris, and there is every probability that they may be found in other places where pits are worked in the gravel of the valley of the Seine. Those at Charonne, the Rue Petite de Reuilly, Bicêtre, the Barrière d'Ivry, and near Joinville, may specially be mentioned.

Implements of the same class are said to have been found in the valley of the Seine, near Rouen;^b for the Abbé Cochet reports that in the museum of that town are preserved two flint implements similar to those found at St. Acheul, which the curator M. Pottier assured him came from the sand-pits of Sotteville, in the environs of Rouen. There would, however, appear to be some mistake in this instance, as on visiting the museum at Rouen I could not find these implements, and M. Pouchet was not aware of their existence. At the same time the pits at Sotteville are of precisely the character that renders it probable that flint implements may be discovered in them, and it would be time well bestowed if any antiquary or geologist were to undertake further researches in the drift deposits of that part of the valley of the Seine.

Another very remarkable discovery of this nature is that made near Clermont^c by Dr. Noulet, of Toulouse, in a valley leading into that of the Ariège. In a part of this valley is a deposit of sandy gravel underlying brick-earth, at a height of about 540 feet above the sea, and about 33 feet above the stream which now waters the valley. In this gravel have been found bones of the *Elephas primigenius*, *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, *Felis spelæa*, *Cervus megaceros*, horse, and ox. In the same bed, mixed with these remains, have also been found

^a Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc. vol. xvi. p. 479.

^b Cochet, Rapport, p. 8.

^c Sur un dépôt alluvien renfermant des restes d'animaux éteints mêlés à des cailloux façonnés de main d'homme par le Dr. J. B. Noulet. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Sciences de Toulouse, v. ser. tom. iv. p. 265.

various pieces of quartzite, bearing, according to Dr. Noulet, unquestionable signs of human workmanship upon them. Unfortunately he does not, in the memoir he has written on this subject, give representations of the shapes into which they have been fashioned; but he describes them as follows:—"One has the form of a disc or quoit, with an irregular surface and outline; its two greatest diameters are $3\frac{5}{8}$ and 4 inches; the edge has been rendered unequally sharp by means of successive fractures." "Two others are flattened, and irregularly triangular. One of them is four inches in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and its greatest thickness one inch. It has been thus formed into shape by chipping it on only one of its faces. The second is much more important; both its faces have been modified to bring it to the shape it now presents. The sides and point (which is truncated) present a bevelled edge; but the base, which is cut obliquely, has been evidently polished even with care. This also is about four inches long, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick."^a

If it be really the case that this is in part polished, and that this polish is not due to the natural fracture, it is certainly a singular fact in connection with the implements of the Drift period, which have hitherto always been found unpolished.

Dr. Noulet, however, has paid some attention to this class of antiquities, as he draws a distinction, on account of their rude workmanship, between these implements and the *haches gauloises ou celtiques*. He observes that they also are in this district frequently formed of quartzite, as flint does not occur.

Besides the chipped implements round pebbles also occurred which are considered by Dr. Noulet to have been used as hammers; and, though the account he gives of the whole discovery is not, to my mind, quite conclusive, it appears to be a proper case for further inquiry, which I hope it may receive from some English antiquary or geologist.

I now come to the discoveries which have taken place in England, in addition to those at Hoxne, Gray's Inn Lane, and Icklingham, which have already been recorded; but I must first say a few words with regard to these places. At Hoxne the implements are still, from time to time, discovered, principally in the brick earth overlying the gravel; but the most important addition made to our knowledge of that place we owe to the publication by Mr. Prestwich in the

^a The reader may also refer, for an account of a very curious discovery somewhat of the same nature, to M. Lartet's "Researches Respecting the Co-existence of Man with the Great Fossil Mammals," in the *Ann. des Sciences Naturelles*, 4me série, tom. xv., of which a translation is given in the *Natural History Review* for January, 1862.

Philosophical Transactions (for 1860) of admirable sections of the brickfield and the district around it, with full details of the levels and the geological character of the deposit. I may also mention that at Athelington, between Hoxne and Framlingham, is a brickfield where there is much probability of implements being present, as, in geological character, it so closely resembles that at Hoxne.^a

In the gravel-beds under some parts of London, in which the implement that has so long been preserved in the British Museum was found, I am not aware of any further discoveries having been made. The excavations now in progress for the subterranean railway and for the main drainage works will, however, probably expose sections of the mammaliferous drift, in which it will be well for those who have the opportunity to search for flint implements.

Neither has anything further been hitherto discovered at Icklingham, but the valley-drift of the whole district around that place is well worthy of close examination. I have visited the spot, in company with Mr. Prestwich, but, though we were satisfied of the *à priori* probability of the implements existing in the gravels of the valley of the Lark, our search was unsuccessful. One of the implements of the oval spearhead type (Plate IV. fig. 11) which was found there closely resembles some of the specimens from St. Acheul and elsewhere. It is in the possession of Mr. Joseph Warren, of Ixworth.

Though no one of these places, with the exception of Hoxne, has contributed any additions to our store of facts, more than one very remarkable discovery of flint implements in the drift of other parts of the kingdom has taken place, the details of which I will now proceed to give.

In the autumn of last year Mr. Thomas Leech, who had been a student in the School of Mines at the Museum of Economic Geology in Jermyn Street, while examining the shingle at the base of the cliff between Herne Bay and the Reclusers for fossil remains, discovered a flint implement, which he at once recognised as analogous in form to those that had been found in the drift of the valley of the Somme. Subsequent visits to the spot enabled him to find several

^a While upon this subject I may note, as another instance of these worked flints from the Drift having in former times been received as of undoubted human manufacture, that one of those discovered at Hoxne is engraved as a British weapon in Meyrick's *Ancient Arms and Armour*, vol. i. pl. xlvi. No. 1. It is thus described :—

“No. 1 is of brown and black silex, and seems to have been fastened at the broad end to a handle, in the manner of some of the tomahawks of the Pacific Ocean, so that the blow might be given by a sharp point, which in this specimen was broken off. It was found with several others at Hoxne in Suffolk, twelve feet below the surface of the ground, and was once in the Leverian Museum.”

more of the worked flints—six in all—which he has most liberally placed in the Museum in Jermyn Street.

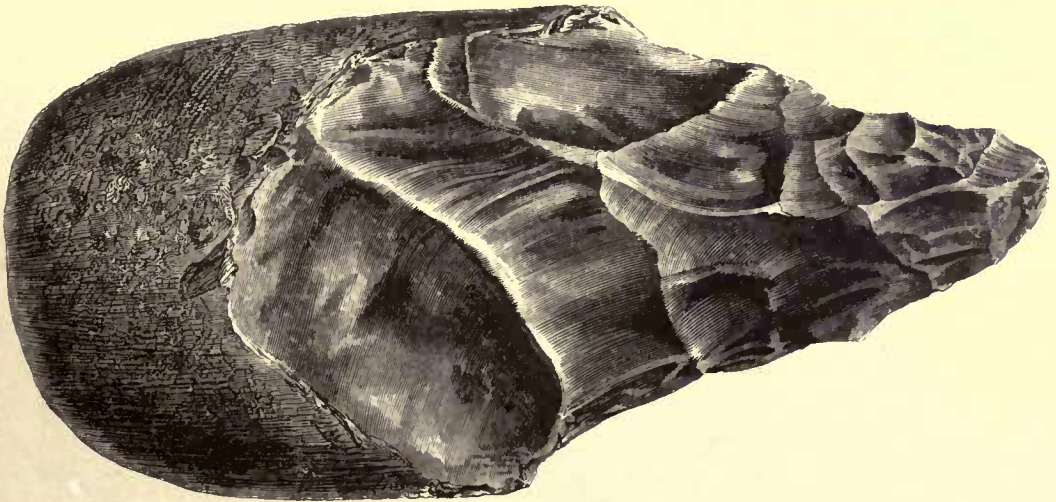
Having been informed of this most curious discovery, Mr. Prestwich and I, accompanied by Mr. Leech, proceeded to the spot in February, 1861, and our lengthened search was rewarded by finding two more of the implements. I have since revisited the place in company with Mr. Wyatt, F.G.S., of Bedford, and my brother, and we again succeeded in the course of a visit of two days in finding three of the implements. The whole of them closely assimilate in form to other specimens obtained from the drift in various other localities, both in England and in France. There are implements of the spear-head type, with straight sides and a slightly rounded point, as well as some with the sharp point and the sides slightly curved inwards; there are others, both large and small, of the oval form, with a cutting edge nearly all round; and others again intermediate between this and the spearhead type, oval, yet cutting at one end only. One implement of the spearhead form, which I was so fortunate as to find on my last visit, is a magnificent specimen, seven inches in length, chipped out with great skill, showing perfect symmetry of shape, and such as to commend itself at once even to the most inexperienced eye as the work of human hands. A representation of it is given in Plate I. No. 1, from which it will be seen that it bears a strong resemblance in form to that found near Gray's Inn Lane, engraved in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXVIII. Plate XVI., but is even more symmetrically finished. Another precisely similar, but broken at the point, was found by Mr. Leech. Implements of exactly the same type have also been found at St. Acheul, Hoxne, and elsewhere. This specimen of mine is, however, second in interest to one of those found by Mr. Leech, which presents some features of a novel character. It has already been observed in my former paper that the material from which all the implements hitherto discovered in the drift of this country and of the North of France have been formed, is the flint derived from the chalk, and that some of them seem to have been intended for use without the aid of a handle, the rounded ends of the flints out of which they have been chipped having been left untouched, so as to present a sort of natural handle. This is the case with the implement from Reculver to which I allude, but the rounded flint from which it was formed, though without doubt originally a chalk flint, was not derived immediately from the chalk, but had passed through an intermediate phase of existence before being selected by man as adapted for his use.

I need hardly say that the chalk is the latest deposit of the Secondary period, and that some of the earlier beds of the Tertiary period consist of sands and

1.



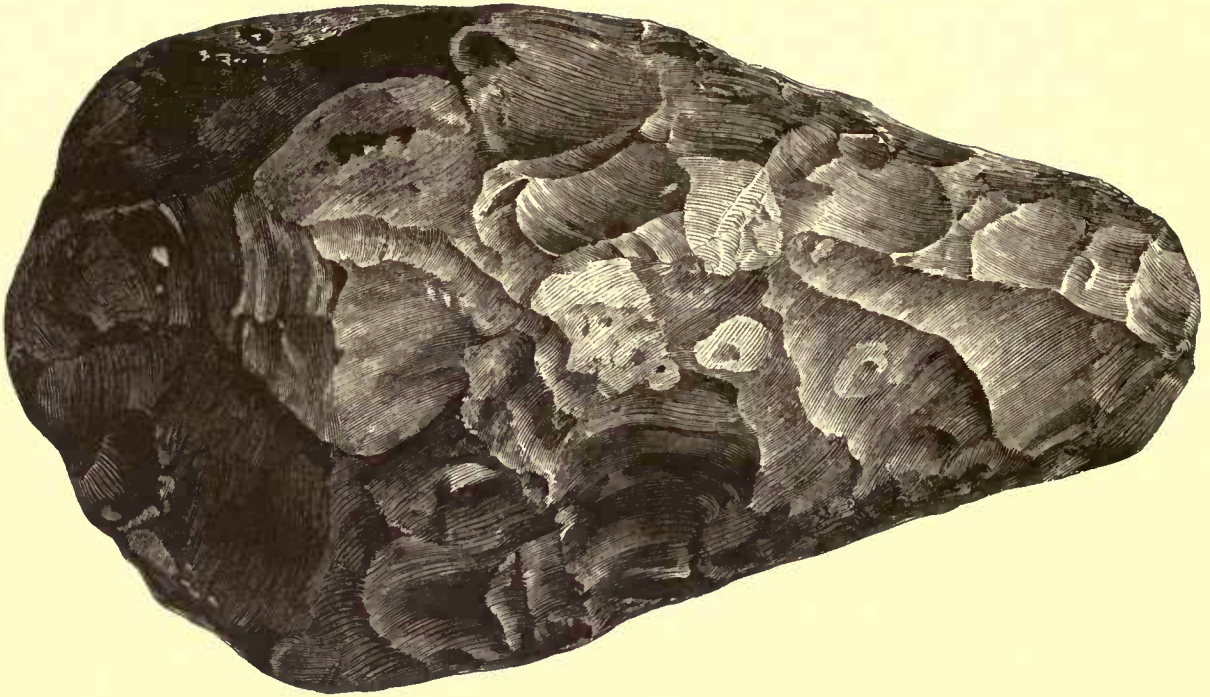
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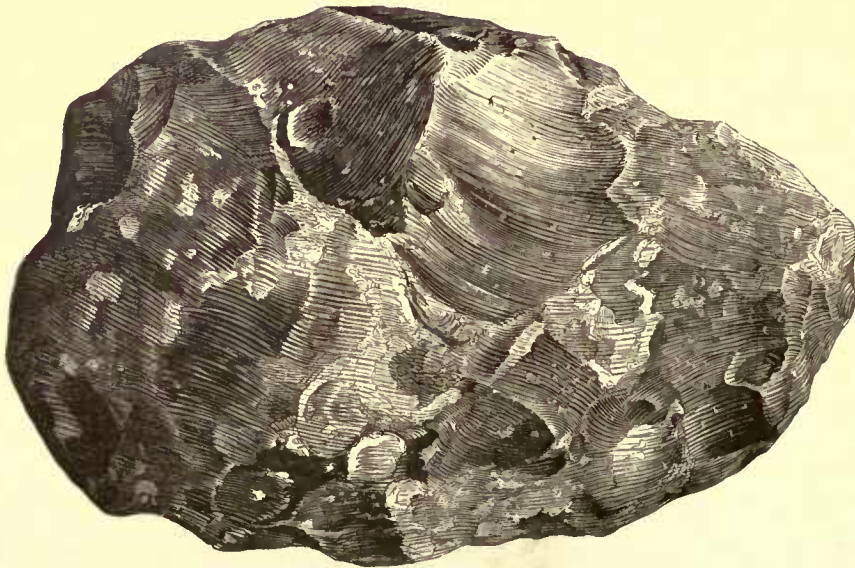
FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM RECVLVER.

(Full size.)

1.



2.



FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM RECVLVER AND SWALECLIFFE.

(Full size.)

shingle formed by the denudation of a portion of the upper part of the chalk by the action of the Tertiary Ocean. These Lower Tertiary beds, which belong to what is known as the Woolwich and Reading series, crop out or come to the surface in the neighbourhood of Reculver, and the rounded pebbles derived from this ancient shingle are in consequence abundant in that part of Kent. By their smooth appearance and by the peculiar character of their surface, they can be readily distinguished from the rounded pebbles which form the beach shingle of a chalk district at the present day, so there is little danger of mistaking their identity.

It is from one of these rounded Tertiary pebbles that this implement found near Reculver has been formed, which thus has a special and local interest as showing that probably it was chipped out not far from the spot, and proving that for a certain class of implements a rounded butt or handle was preferred, for which either a chalk flint with a rounded end was selected, or, where a Tertiary pebble of large size could be found with equal readiness, it was taken as equally suitable for the purpose. An engraving of this implement is given in Plate I. No. 2, and of one of the round pointed form found at the same place by Mr. Prestwich in Plate II. No. 1. In all, there have been discovered on the shore between Herne Bay and Reculver eleven or twelve implements, the larger number of them at about three-quarters of a mile west of the old church at the Reculvers, and not far from the spot where a spout conducts the drainage of the field just to the east of the Bishopstone Coast-Guard station down the face of the cliff.

It will be observed that all these implements have been found on the sea-shore, and not, as in other instances, in undisturbed beds of gravel, sand, or clay. It is, however, indisputable that they belong to the same class of tools or weapons as those which have been found in the drift of the valley of the Somme, as well as at Hoxne and elsewhere; so that it becomes an important question to determine in what manner to account for their presence on the shore at this point. Fortunately, this question admits of a comparatively easy solution. There can be no doubt whatever that they have been derived from the cliff, which is here constantly falling before the encroachments of the sea. For it is evident that they cannot have been long exposed to the action of the waves, or otherwise they would have lost their form entirely, and have become merely rounded pebbles—the same as those which constitute the shingle on the beach. In fact, some of the specimens already show a considerable amount of wear from this cause, though at the same time others are almost entirely uninjured. This proves that different specimens must have been exposed for different periods to the rolling action of the waves, and, as the only way in which the stones forming the shingle on this shore receive

any accession to their number is from the falling of the cliff, it follows that the implements now found must have been deposited on the shore by successive falls of the cliff; those which are fresh and unworn having been derived from quite recent slips of the land, while the different degrees of wear on other specimens testify to the shorter or longer periods they have been upon the beach. The implements are moreover found on the strip of shingly beach skirting the cliff, and not on the wide tract of sandy shore exposed at low water, so that they cannot be regarded as having been washed up from the bottom of the sea.

Let us now, therefore, turn our attention to the cliff from whence they must have been derived. In proceeding eastwards from Herne Bay towards the Reculvers we find, for the first part of our journey, the cliffs or rather the series of landslips skirting the shore formed of London clay, beneath which the Woolwich and Reading beds and the Thanet sands successively crop out. From the peculiar nature of these sandy beds, the cliffs of which they form the base are more abrupt and bold than those formed of clay, and by the time the ravine at Oldhaven Gap is passed, they become nearly vertical, and it is at once apparent that above these beds of the Lower Tertiary period there is a capping of drift, or possibly of two distinct drifts, but, in either case, of a much more recent geological age than the beds below. But, omitting the question whether the drift at the higher level is distinct from that at the lower level, I will confine my remarks to the latter, as being that with which we are principally concerned. In thickness these beds of drift vary from five or six feet to as much as eleven or twelve feet, and in some places they may be seen filling up depressions which have been worn in the surface of the Thanet sands—apparently channels hollowed out by the action of water.

The following is a section I took near the spout before mentioned (where the height of the cliff is fully fifty feet), and close to the spot where two or three of the implements were found :—

	ft.	in.
Surface soil and clay	2	0
Blue and grey clay, with angular and sub-angular flints, and many Tertiary pebbles	3	0
Reddish-yellow loam, with a few angular flints and Tertiary pebbles—traces of carbonaceous matter	7	0
Gravel at base, in places coarse	0	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	12	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>

In the immediate neighbourhood this gravel at the base of the drift attains a thickness of three feet, and in other places there is a peaty seam at the base of the loam. The flints in the beds of clay retain their fractured surfaces nearly unaltered in colour; but in the gravelly beds they are usually stained of an ochreous tint. The Thanet sands, at the base of the cliff, contain no flints whatever, and those in the Lower Tertiary beds are all in the form of rounded pebbles.

If, therefore, as is to my mind undoubtedly the case, these implements have been derived from the cliff, it is evident that they must have come either from the beds of drift or from the surface soil; but the black lustre of the flint of some of the implements shows that they cannot have been exposed to air and light (as would have been the case had they been near the surface of the ground), while it is of exactly that description which is characteristic of the flints preserved in the clay; at the same time the ochreous staining of other specimens is such as is observed on flints in the gravel. We have, therefore, a concurrence of testimony to show that the resting place of these implements was here, as elsewhere, a bed of drift—a drift showing no traces of disturbance below the surface soil. With regard to the character of these beds, there is little doubt of their being of fresh-water origin, but at present no organic remains have been found deposited with them, and the nature of their position is such as to render a close inspection difficult in most places and impossible in many.

But, though at this particular spot the drift of this district has hitherto proved to be barren, yet in other parts, where beds of a similar character are spread over the Tertiary strata below, organic remains have been found. At Swalecliffe, about six miles west of the Reculvers, the cliff exposes a section of drift about thirteen feet in thickness, consisting of reddish clay with gravelly seams in its upper part, and grey and chocolate-coloured clay, occasionally with sandy and gravelly seams, in its lower part. In places these clays contain an abundance of land and marsh shells (*Succinea oblonga* and *Pupa marginata*). These shells are also found in the continuation of the same bed of drift which caps the cliff along Stud Hill Bay between Swalecliffe Coast-Guard station and Hampton Point. At Swalecliffe, Mr. Prestwich, some years ago, also found some mammalian bones, but too fragmentary for them to be identified. He had, from the character of the deposit, thought the place so likely to be one in which flint implements might possibly be discovered, that he had last summer (before the discoveries of Mr. Leech at Reculvers) visited Swalecliffe in search of them, but without success.

Having, however, last February succeeded in discovering some of the flint implements near the Reculvers, he determined to pay another visit to Swalecliffe, in which I accompanied him; this time we were more fortunate, for at the end of the Stud Hill Cliff, not far from the Swalecliffe Coast-Guard station, I picked up a flint implement of the oval pointed form (engraved in Plate II. No. 2), which is stained of an ochreous colour from having lain in the gravel. On a subsequent visit, at the beginning of April, I discovered in the drift capping the highest point of the cliff, and close to the farmhouse at Stud Hill, a portion of a tooth of the *Elephas primigenius*. Now I do not say that we have here another conclusive instance of relics of human workmanship being found in undisturbed soil in association with remains of the extinct mammalia: I would only call attention to the fact that we have here a cliff of London clay free from flints, but with a capping of gravelly drift at the summit; that the shingle at the base of this cliff is derived almost exclusively from the flints in this gravel; that in the drift at the summit of the cliff have been found the remains of the mammoth, and in the shingle at its base has been found a flint instrument stained in the same manner as almost all the other stones on the beach or in the drift.

If we attempt to form any estimate of the antiquity of the drift in this part of Kent, regarding it as an isolated instance, and not as merely one of a series of connected and analogous deposits, we meet with considerable difficulties. The encroachments of the sea, which even since Leland's time has gained nearly half a mile upon the land at the Reculvers, and now threatens to destroy the ancient church there in spite of all the efforts made to preserve it,^a have been such that it is impossible to determine what were the early relations of land and water in this district. It is, however, significant of an entirely different extent of land surface from that at present existing, to find that a deposit extending over a considerable tract of country, in some places capping cliffs fifty or sixty feet in height, and in others descending to nearly the sea-level, not only abuts on the sea without containing any marine remains, but, on the contrary, has all the characteristics of a fresh-water deposit, with its land and marsh shells and mammalian remains. I may add that in a drift deposit in the valley of the Stour, the ancient Wantsume, near Wear Farm, about two miles and a half from the Reculvers, marine shells have been found by Mr. Prestwich^b mixed with those of fresh-water species and mammalian bones. This drift is probably of a more recent period than that capping the cliffs, and is certainly not more ancient. It may

^a See also Lyell's Principles of Geology, 9th edit. p. 312.

^b Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc. vol. xi. p. 110.

afford some clue to an approximate date, as among the shells it contains is the *Cyrena consobrina*, or *Corbicula fluminalis*, now extinct in England, though still living in the waters of the Nile, a shell which was also found by Mr. Prestwich in the sand pits of Menchecourt, near Abbeville (where the flint implements were first discovered by M. de Perthes), and which is abundant in the gravel of the Thames valley at Grays, Erith, and other places.

I have already mentioned that on my second visit to Reculver, I was accompanied by Mr. James Wyatt, F.G.S., of Bedford. On his return to that town this gentleman was so fortunate as to ascertain the presence of flint implements in the drift of the valley of the Ouse. The discovery took place in a gravel pit at Biddenham, about two miles west of Bedford, and half a mile east of the bridge over the Ouse at Bromham. It was this very pit that some twelve months previously I had visited, in company with Mr. Wyatt, in search of flint implements in the gravel of the valley of the Ouse, though at that time unsuccessfully. Still the character of the deposit, and the nature of the organic remains found in it, were such as to justify a presumption that flint implements might also be present in it, as is now most satisfactorily proved to be the case. Those found by Mr. Wyatt, to whom I am indebted for many of the following particulars, were not seen by him *in situ*, but were lying among the stones thrown out from a deep trench the workmen had been sinking, so as to expose the entire depth of the gravel, and make it present a perpendicular face, from which the gravel is dislodged by undermining it. But though Mr. Wyatt did not see these implements in their original position, one of them was at once recognised by one of the workmen as having been dug out by him from the base of the gravel at a depth of thirteen feet from the surface; the peculiarity of its shape and appearance having induced him to pick it up and examine it, though he had afterwards thrown it back among the rest of the gravel. This is an oval pointed implement, about 6 inches in length, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, truncated at the base, where a portion of the original surface of the flint is left unchipped, and, though but rudely fashioned, it presents unmistakable signs of human workmanship. In form it approaches to Plate II., fig. 2, and may be matched by many specimens from the valley of the Somme, as well as by that found at Swalecliffe. It is stained of an ochreous colour, and on one side is partly incrustated with carbonate of lime, in the same manner as many other stones found in the lower part of the gravel at Biddenham. It is the same incrustation which occurs on many of the flints and some of the implements found at St. Acheul, near Amiens.^a In my former paper on this subject

^a Archæologia, Vol. XXXVIII. p 297.

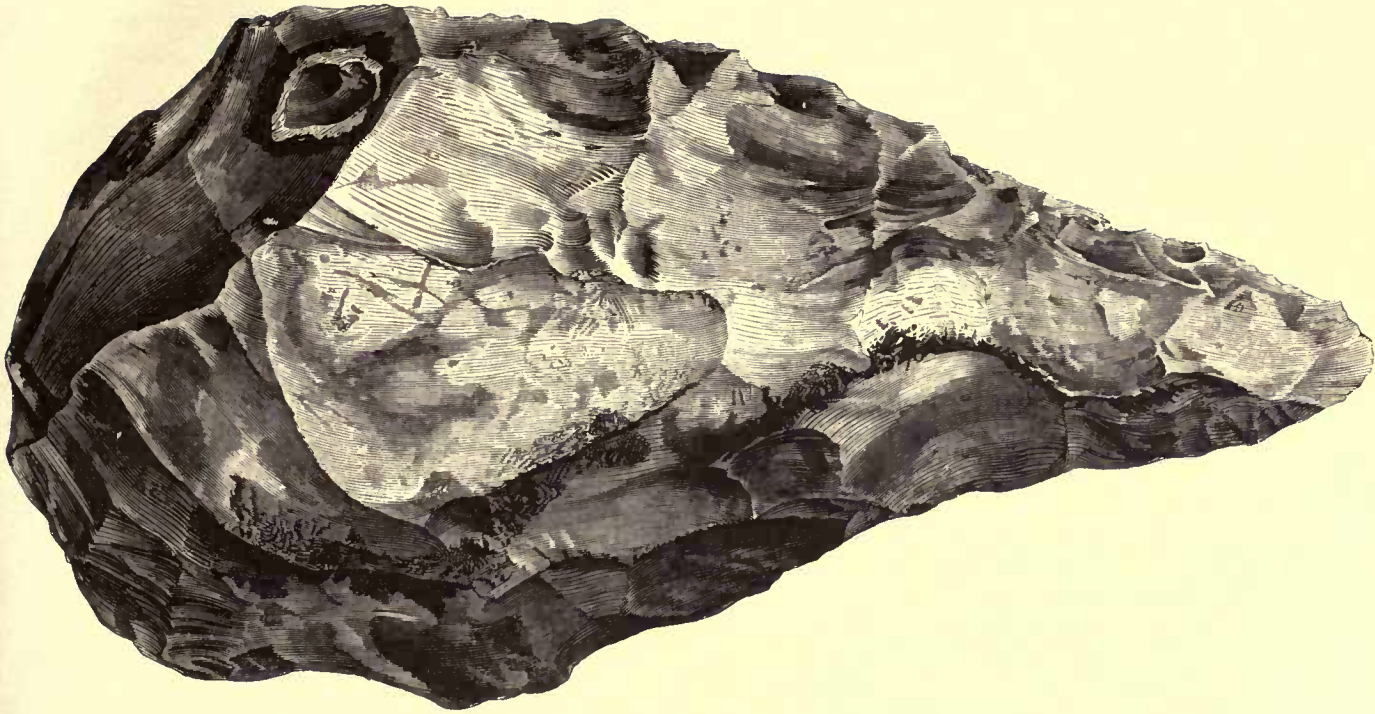
I called attention to the value of the evidence afforded by this coating or *patina*. It is indeed unimpeachable, but becomes needless when, as in many instances, we have such good and direct testimony as to the position of the implements in the pit.

The other implement discovered by Mr. Wyatt at the same time is a beautiful specimen of the sharp-pointed spearhead type (see Plate III., No. 1), and bears a remarkable likeness to one of those found at Hoxne, in Suffolk, and engraved in the thirteenth volume of the *Archæologia*, Plate XV., though rather larger in size, and not quite so sharply pointed. This specimen also is partly stained by the ferruginous matter in the gravel. It is seven inches in length, and, though worked off to a wedge-like point, is very massive, weighing something over a pound and a half. The butt-end has been roughly chipped into form, but has some sharp projections left upon it, which would prove that it was not intended to be simply held in the hand when used, but that it was attached to a shaft or handle, or else that the hand was in some manner protected from its asperities.

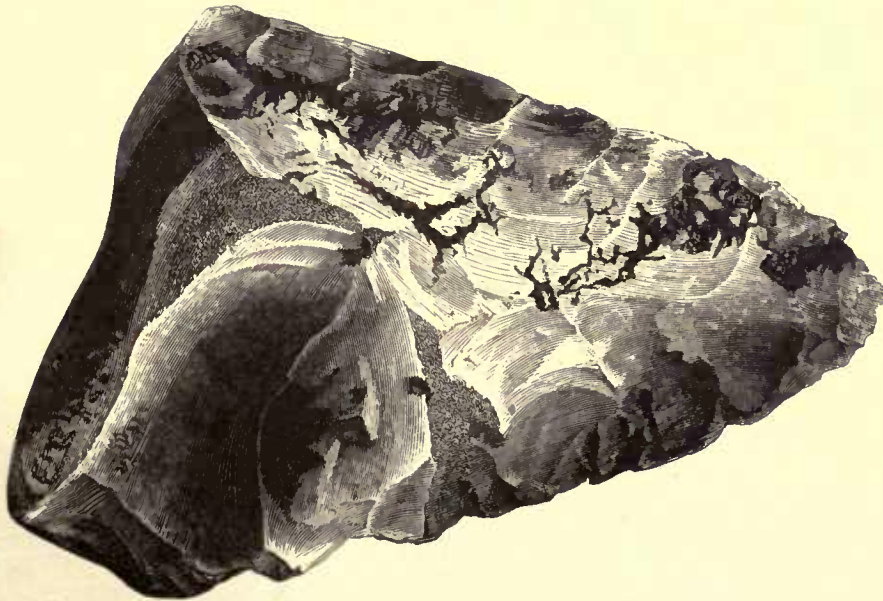
On hearing of this discovery I again proceeded to Bedford, in company with Sir Charles Lyell and Mr. Prestwich; and, with Mr. Wyatt, we made a survey of the gravel-pits at Biddenham, and of the geological features of the neighbourhood. The development of drift gravel at this part of the valley of the Ouse is very extensive. The beds in which the pit near Biddenham is sunk form a capping to a low hill about two miles in length, and about three-quarters of a mile in width, which is nearly encircled by one of the windings of the river Ouse. The summit of this hill is probably about forty feet above the river, but at the point where the pit in question is worked about thirty feet. The thickness of the beds of drift at the spot where the implements were found is about fourteen feet. They consist of gravel, containing sub-angular flints and rolled pebbles, many of them derived from the oolitic limestone of the neighbourhood, and mixed with numerous pebbles of the older rocks, which have been derived from the Boulder Clay. The gravel in places alternates with seams of sand and sandy marl, containing land and freshwater shells, *Helix*, *Succinea*, *Bithinia*, *Lymnæus*, *Planorbis*, *Cyclas*, &c., characteristic of a fluviatile deposit.^a At the base, where it rests on a platform of the oolitic rock, the gravel is interspersed with larger stones, among which the two flint implements were found. In the same position—at the base of the gravel—are frequently discovered the remains of the extinct mammalia, and this pit

^a The *Hydrobia marginata*, a species which has not been found alive in this country, has since been added to this list by Mr. Wyatt. See Proc. Geol. Soc. Jan. 22, 1862.

1.



2.



FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM THE VALLEY OF THE OUSE.

(Full size.)

has furnished teeth and bones belonging to the *Elephas primigenius*, *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, horse, ox, and deer. Other cuttings in the gravel nearer Bedford have furnished also tusks of the hippopotamus. In fact, the gravel is replete with such remains; and, so great was the abundance of fossil bones taken out of a section of it at the time of the formation of the Leicester and Hitchin Railway, that they were actually carted away to manure the land. Some of the bones and teeth are rolled and fragmentary, but others are in perfect preservation, and the gravel presents no sign of having been reconstructed; so that there is no doubt that the relics of human skill were imbedded in it at the same time as these bones of animals with whom man must have co-existed.

Though we have in this instance considerably better data than there were in the Kentish case, we cannot attempt to fix the precise antiquity of this deposit. It must, however, have been formed subsequently to what is known as the Glacial period, as is testified by a portion of the constituent pebbles of the gravel having been derived from the Boulder Clay, which is found capping much of the high ground near Bedford. The beds at Hoxne are in like manner subsequent to the formation of the Boulder Clay; and, though we have here a sort of starting-point, yet the vicissitudes that the surface of this part of the earth has undergone, since the time when the deep soil of the fields of our Midland Counties was being deposited from stranded icebergs, have been such, that he would be a bold man indeed who would venture to assign a date in years, or even centuries, to the Boulder Clay deposit, or to any of the subsequent geological epochs characterised by the various drifts. But, though refraining from any attempt to assign a definite degree of antiquity to this fluviatile deposit at Bedford, I may call attention to the fact that at the period when these implements were entombed in the gravel, the limestone platform on which they rested must have formed the bed of a river, and must for the time have been the lowest part of the valley; that subsequently at least thirteen or fourteen feet of gravel and sand accumulated upon this platform and above the implements, and that since this took place the wide valley in which the river Ouse now flows has been excavated to a depth of about thirty feet, in all probability by wearing away the hard limestone rock over which it flows.

How slight has been the alteration of the land and water level at this spot during the Historic period we are in some measure enabled to judge; for in this very gravel-pit, in the upper part of which many Roman remains have been found, had been sunk a Roman well, lately cleared out by the Bedfordshire Archæological Society, in which there was at the time of our visit several feet of water. Now, as in

such permeable beds as those which here form the substratum, the water in the wells in the neighbourhood of a stream stands at a level but little higher than the stream, it is evident that, had there in the time of the Romans been any marked difference between the height of the river and that at which it at present flows, it would have been found not only needless but nearly impossible to sink this well to such a depth. In visiting the spot we were forcibly reminded of the pits at St. Acheul, where the graves of a Gallo-Roman cemetery have been sunk in the beds overlying the gravel which contains the relics of a far, far earlier people.

In the face of such a scene we cannot but contrast the antiquity of the two races of occupants, and even in spite of ourselves find that, when compared with the period when these primæval workers in flint dwelt in our land, the Roman occupation seems but of yesterday.^a

Since this first discovery at Biddenham four or five more of the implements have been found there.^b Among these was the symmetrically-chipped specimen, engraved in Plate III. No. 2, the truncated end of which is formed by the natural surface of the flint from which it was chipped. It would thus appear to have been intended for use without any shaft or handle, but simply as a hand-tool. Another specimen is engraved in Plate IV. No. 5. Implements have also been discovered in the gravel pits at Harrowden, Cardington, and Kempston, all within a few miles of Bedford, and under much the same circumstances as those at Biddenham.

There are still two other instances of the finding of flint implements to adduce, of one of which an account has been communicated to me by Mr. Richard Whitbourn, F.S.A., of Godalming, which shall be related in his own words:—"The flint implement which I have left with you was found by myself about twenty-five years ago, when searching in the gravel-pits in the Pease Marsh (between Godalming and Guildford), for fossil organic remains. It was imbedded in gravel, in a layer of sand about four or five feet from the surface, in apparently undisturbed ground. I have heard of remains of large animals having been discovered

^a Letter of Mr. Flower to *The Times*, Nov. 18th, 1859.

^b I have thought it better to notice these discoveries in the text, though they have been made since this paper was read. Further accounts of them will be found in *Proceedings of the Geological Society*, January 22nd, 1862, in the *Notes of the Beds Arch. Soc.* 1861, p. 145, and in the *Reports of the United Arch. Soes. of York, &c.*, vol. xii. 1861. See also the paper by Mr. Prestwich, in the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. xvii. p. 362, where sections are given of the valleys of the Ouse and the Lark, and further geological details of the other places where implements have been found in the valley gravels.

in the same beds, but not in very close proximity to the spot where it was found." The implement, which is of rather peculiar form, is about four inches long and three and a half inches broad at the widest part. It is of somewhat the same character as that from Biddenham (Plate II. No. 2), but much rounder at the point and still more truncated. The natural coat of the flint originally covered the whole of the base of the implement, though a portion has been broken off, probably at the time when the seam of gravel in which it lay was first exposed in the pit. This discovery receives additional value from the gravel beds of the valley of the Wey, in which the implement was found, having been carefully examined and described by Mr. Godwin-Austen,^a in a paper in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society. Without entering into the question of the origin of these beds, I may quote him as saying that remains of the *Elephas primigenius* and other animals are frequently found in this gravel, and that at Pease Marsh there are traces of an old land-surface, with branches of trees and the bones of these animals uninjured and lying together. I have myself examined the spot where this implement was found, in company with Mr. Whitbourn; but, though the drift presents many of the characteristics which indicate the probability of the presence of flint implements, we did not succeed in finding any other specimens.

An attentive and continued examination of the gravels of the valley of the Wey and its tributaries in the neighbourhood of Godalming and Guildford, as well as those of the valley of the Mole, near Dorking, would probably result in more of these implements being found.

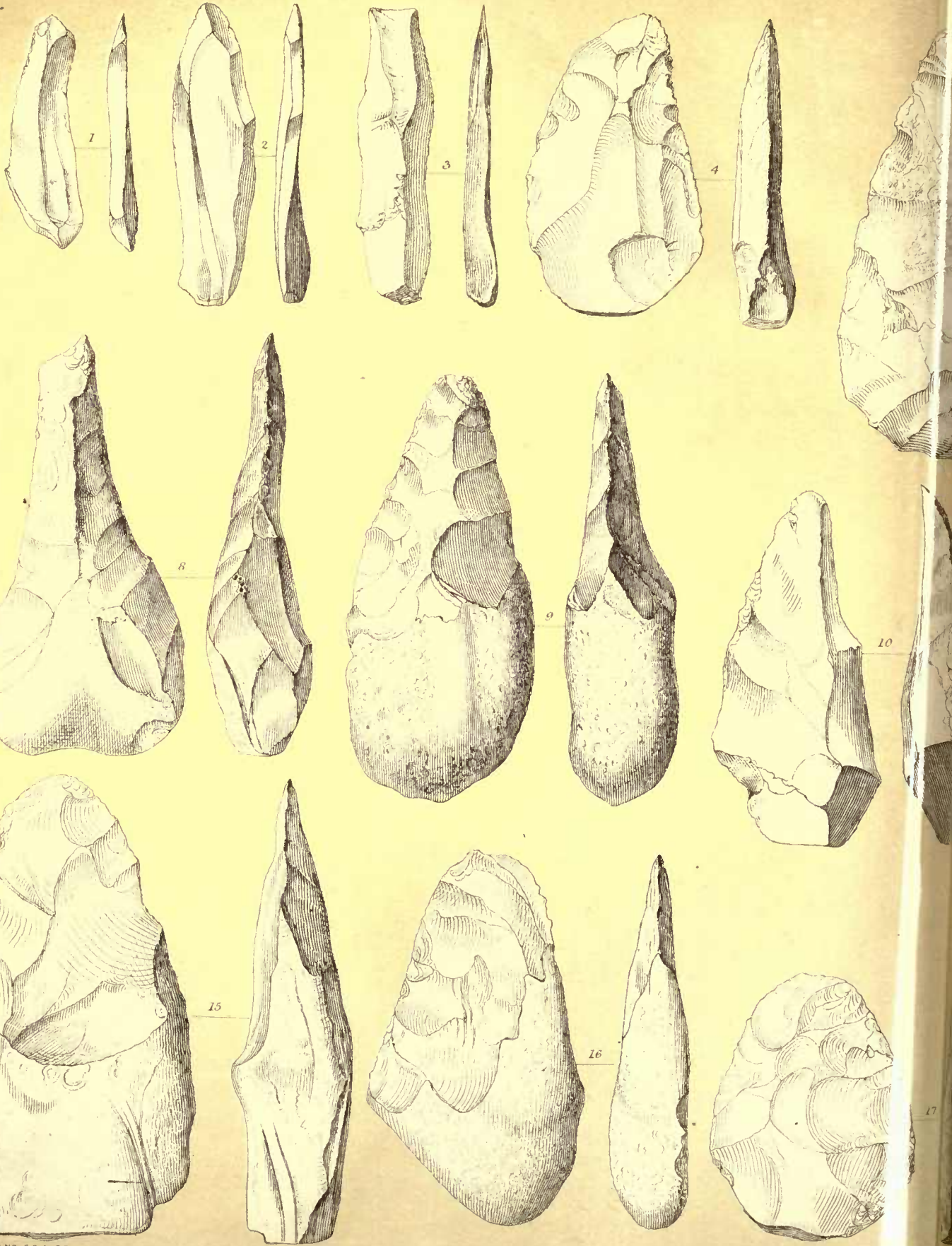
The last instance of their discovery that I have to mention occurred in my own immediate neighbourhood, in Hertfordshire. Whilst walking a few weeks since, in company with our Secretary, Mr. Watson, from Nash Mills to Abbot's Langley, my attention was called, while passing through a field near Bedmont, to the number of pebbles of quartz, red sandstone, and others of the older rocks I saw upon its surface, as these pebbles characterise a gravel which, though occurring in many places in the neighbourhood, I had not before noticed at that spot. After parting with Mr. Watson, and on my way home, I examined the ground more attentively, but not, I must confess, in the expectation of finding any flint instruments there. On coming, however, to a part of the field where the subsoil of brick-earth seemed to have been but recently broken up, I saw to my great surprise a well-defined implement, of the pointed spearhead form, lying upon the surface. It has,

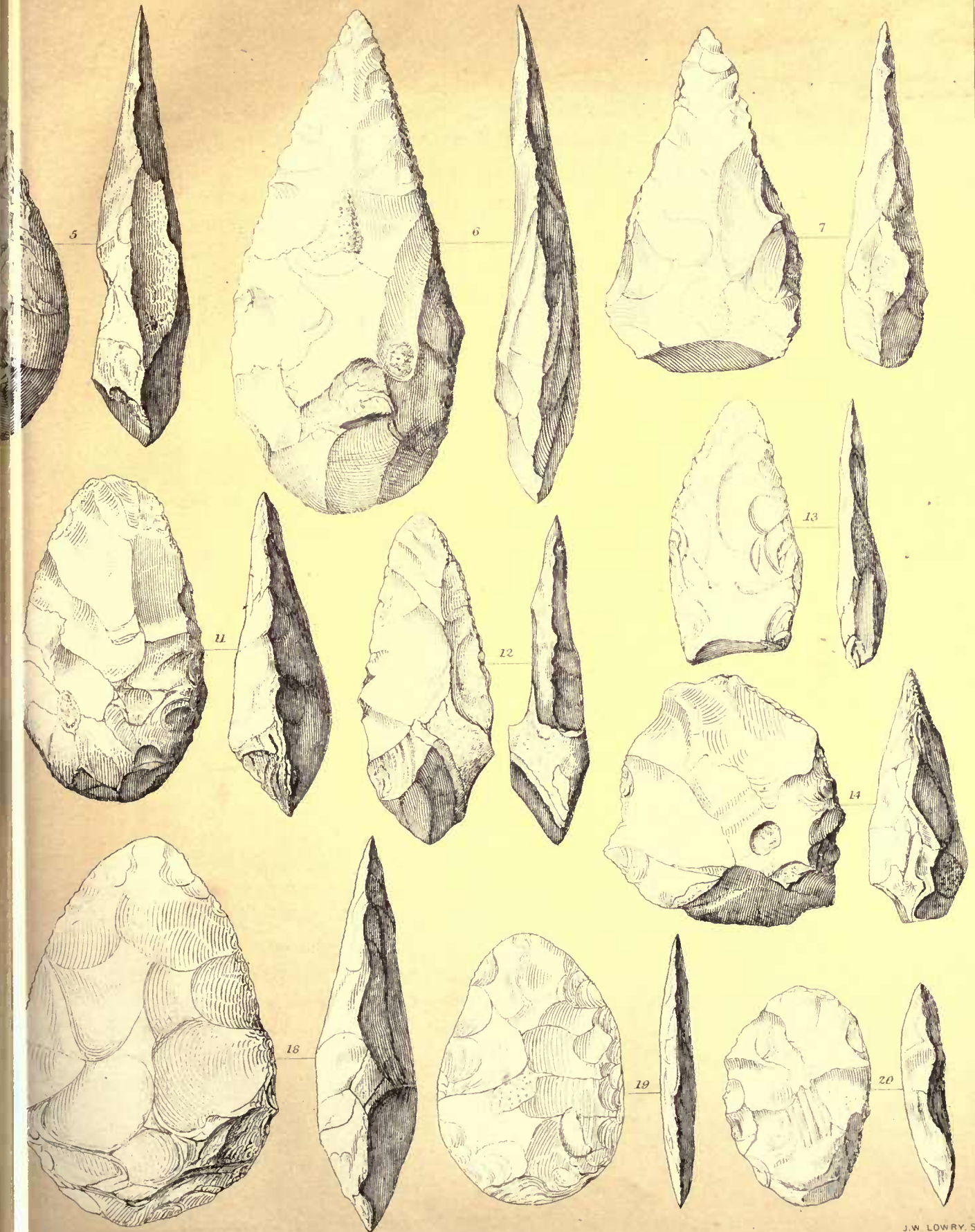
^a Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc. vol. vii. p. 278.

unfortunately, lost its point, but has originally been remarkably similar in form to the spearhead discovered in Gray's Inn Lane, and others from Hoxne and the valley of the Somme. There can be no doubt whatever of this implement belonging to the same class as those usually found in beds of undisturbed drift at a considerable depth, yet in this case it was found upon the surface. The spot where it was lying is about 160 feet above the level of the river Gade at its nearest point, and is situate near the head of one of the transverse valleys which lead into the main valley of the Gade, between Boxmoor and Watford. The beds above the chalk at this place consist of brick earth and the gravelly drift I have already mentioned, containing a large number of flints and Tertiary pebbles, besides those of the older rocks before referred to.

There is not, however, any evidence at present to connect the implement with this drift. It appears to have been lying upon or near the surface of the ground for some time, and the flint of which it is composed is much whitened and altered in character superficially. Whether this has arisen from atmospheric influences, or whether it is due to the implement having been imbedded in the brick-earth, it is impossible to say; but a further examination of the spot, and other places in the neighbourhood where deposits of a similar character exist, may perhaps produce some further evidence, without which the present discovery is of little scientific value.^a One of my objects in now mentioning it is to show the necessity of the search for this class of antiquities being carried on, if not by educated men, at least by men with educated eyes, for this implement was lying by the side of a public footpath, without having attracted the attention of any of the passers by, and would probably have remained there till now had it not accidentally caught my eye. Another cause why it should be referred to is, that it offers some inducement for the examination of all drift deposits, whether containing mammalian remains or not, though, as I have already said, there is no direct proof of any connexion between this implement and the drift deposits of the spot where it was found. There is, indeed, no reason why these implements should not occasionally be found on the old land surface wherever it exists in a state but little altered since the period of the deposit of the freshwater drift of the valleys, as well as among the drift; for it can only have been by accident that the implements became mixed with the *débris* carried down by the primæval rivers which deposited these beds of gravel, sand, and clay.

^a Another implement of the round pointed form has been discovered (Nov. 1861) on the surface of the ground at the top of the hill on the east side of the Darent, about a mile E.S.E. of Horton Kirby, Kent, by Mr. Whitaker, F.G.S., of the Geological Survey.





I have now, I think, adduced all the known instances of the discovery in this country of the flint implements of the drift period, and will next say a few words with regard to the character of the implements themselves.

In my former paper on this subject, I divided them, for convenience' sake, into three classes: 1. Flakes; 2. Weapons with an acute or else rounded point; 3. Oval or almond-shaped implements, with a cutting edge all round. I observed, however, at the same time that there was so much variety in their forms that the classes, especially the second and third, might be said to blend or run the one into the other.

I see but little to alter in this proposed classification; but with a view of showing a greater number of the various forms, as well as of presenting, at a single glance, a comprehensive view of the general character of these implements, I have placed in Plate IV. most of what may be regarded as the typical forms. They were drawn from actual specimens in the collections of Sir Charles Lyell, Mr. Prestwich, Mr. Wyatt, and myself, on a scale of six inches to the foot or half linear measure. Front and side views are given of each, and a description of their peculiarities and places of finding is appended.

Of the twenty specimens engraved, Nos. 1 to 4 belong to the first class—flakes; Nos. 5 to 17 to the second class—pointed implements; and Nos. 18 to 20, to the third class—oval implements.

The flakes appear to be most abundant among the lower deposits of the valley of the Somme, such as those at Mencheecourt, near Abbeville, where several were dug out in the presence of Mr. Prestwich, and those of the Avenue de la Motte Piquet, at Paris. They vary considerably in size, in the relative proportions of length and breadth, and in the character of their point, which is sometimes sharp, as in figs. 1 and 2, and sometimes chisel-shaped, as in fig. 3. The principal characteristic is, that in all cases they have one side flat, or nearly so; and this follows of necessity from the manner in which they were formed; viz., by being struck off at a single blow from a block of flint, the surface of which had already been chipped into the proper shape to form the convex or faceted side of the flake. On some of the large and carefully formed flakes, such as No. 4, great pains have been taken to shape the surface of the flint; as their convex sides show seven or eight, or even more facets from whence smaller flakes had been struck off, in order to form a polygonal surface for the large flake. These large specimens appear to be almost peculiar to the lower drift deposits. Some of them present the appearance of having been chipped along the edges after they had been struck off from the parent flint; but whether by accident or design is not

certain. As far as my observation has extended, the flakes from the drift never present that subsequent rounding of the end at which the blow to separate them was struck, which is frequently found on the flakes of the so-called stone period.

As a guide to distinguish flakes artificially formed from those which are the result of natural causes of fracture, I may observe that in all flakes which have been detached by a single blow from a mass of flint, there is, on what may be called their flat side, a more or less bulbous or conical projection immediately below the spot where the blow was administered to strike it off from the mass. It is probable that this blow may in some rare cases have been the result of an accidental collision; but when we find, upon the other faces of the flake portions of cup-shaped depressions corresponding in form to the projections I have before mentioned, it becomes evident that these faces have been produced by previous flakes having been struck off, and that the flake is not merely the result of a single blow, but has received its form from at least three distinct blows, each administered in its proper place. The chances against this occurring accidentally are very great; but when in any spot we find several of these flakes, each bearing these marks of being the result of several successive blows, all conducing to form a symmetrical knife-like flake, it becomes a certainty that they have been the work of intelligent beings.

The second group (Plate IV. figs. 5 to 17) consists of implements more or less of a lancehead form, with acute or rounded points. It is difficult to draw any decided line of demarcation between the two characters of points, for, though the extremes are well marked—as, for instance, in figs. 6 and 11—yet there are others, such as figs. 5 and 12, which occupy an intermediate position. It must have been, indeed, to a considerable extent a matter of accident what character of point an implement would have, for, even supposing the workman who made them to have intended to produce one with a sharp point like fig. 6, yet the nature of the material is such that it would be extremely difficult to do so, and a more rounded point might be all that could be attained. It is, for instance, possible that fig. 5 was originally intended to have had a sharper point than it now presents.

Of what may be regarded as sharp-pointed implements, Nos. 6 to 9 may be taken as examples. They present considerable varieties, both in the manner in which their points are chipped and also in the formation of their butt-ends. The points are sometimes flatter on one face than the other, as in fig. 7, or alike on both sides, as in fig. 9; their surfaces convex like fig. 6, or chipped with a central

ridge like fig. 8. The edges are straight or only slightly curved, as in figs. 6 and 7, or else decidedly curved inwards, as in fig. 8, when the extremity is either made more rounded or brought to a bevelled point. The butt-ends are either chipped into a rounded form, occasionally sharp, as in fig. 6, but more often such as could have been held in the hand; or roughly truncated, as in fig. 7, in which case they would appear to have required a shaft or handle; or else they have been left with a sort of natural handle formed wholly or in part of the original surface of the flint, as in figs. 8 and 9. In some instances it is very remarkable how little the original shape of the flint has been altered in order to convert it into one of these pointed weapons. There is not only skill and design shown in the chipping, but judgment in the choice of the flint.

Fig. 10 is one of those roughly-chipped, pointed implements, of which many have been found of various forms. They seem to be either the result of fruitless attempts to imitate the more finished implements, or else to have been so hastily made, that more attention was paid to producing a point or a cutting edge than to symmetry of form. There is, however, no difficulty even with these, rude and barbarous as they are, in recognising the handiwork of man upon them.

The round-pointed implements (figs. 11 to 17) show many of the same peculiarities as those with the acute points. As a rule, their points are semi-elliptical in outline, though the sides are occasionally straight. They are usually almost equally convex on both faces. Their butt-ends are generally chipped more or less carefully into a rounded outline, not presenting so sharp an edge as at the point, (figs. 11 and 12), but are sometimes left truncated, like fig. 13. Other varieties have massive butts, roughly chipped out, or are formed with the rounded end of the nodule of flint left as a natural handle, as in fig. 16. Another form (fig. 17) has the outline nearly oval, and is chipped to an edge nearly all round, though slightly truncated at the base. These are commonly thin in proportion to their size, and approach nearly to those of the next class. Another form of the round-ended class is shown in fig. 14. These are usually thick and clumsy in shape, occasionally nearly oval, but generally truncated at one end, so as to give them a wedge-like character. On the edges of some of the pointed implements there is a flat place left, where the forefinger would come, supposing them to be held in the hand.

The third group (Plate IV. figs. 18 to 20) consists of oval or almond-shaped discs, with a cutting edge all round, or nearly so. Implements of this class vary considerably in size as well as in thickness; some of them show a portion of the crust of the flint on both sides, and appear to have been chipped from pieces of tabular flint selected for the purpose. I have a sharp-pointed

weapon of the spearhead form (Plate IV. figs. 6 and 7) from Hoxne, which has in the same manner been chipped out from a thin layer of flint. Occasionally these oval implements have a small flat place left on one of the edges, as on fig. 18, apparently by design. The outline is usually sharper at one end than the other, but occasionally they are equally rounded or equally sharp at both ends. Most commonly the two surfaces are almost equally convex, as in fig. 18, but sometimes one side is much flatter than the other, as in fig. 20. In some instances the outline is irregular in form, owing probably to there having been defects in the flint. Some of the thin discs are more carefully chipped out than is usually the case with these implements, and are, I think, peculiar to the beds at the lower level, such as those at Menchecourt. One of these is shown in fig. 19.

Such is a general outline of the principal forms that have been discovered; but the whole, with the exception of the flakes, are so connected together by intermediate links that it is only certain marked specimens, such, for instance, as figs. 6, 8, 15, and 19, which show very distinct characteristics. These variations in form are, no doubt, mainly due to the nature of the material.

I have already, in my former paper on this subject, made some remarks on the possible uses of the implements of the various groups, and will now only add that by far the greater number of the flakes seem better adapted to be used as knives than as arrowheads, and that it has been suggested by Mr. Prestwich that some of the round-pointed implements may have served as ice-chisels, such as are in use among the North American tribes, for there is reason to believe that at the time of the deposit of this fluviatile drift our climate was colder than it is at the present day.

Before leaving the subject it will be well to call attention to the manner in which the discoveries made in the drift spread over the open country, and those which have been made in caverns containing deposits of the same geological period and inclosing similar organic remains, mutually illustrate each other. The doubts which have been thrown upon the cavern evidence, bearing on the contemporaneity of man with the extinct mammals, are now in a great degree dispelled by similar discoveries having been made under circumstances which preclude the interference of those causes of error which come within the bounds of possibility in the case of caverns. The series of facts brought forward by careful investigators of the ossiferous caves in all countries have, therefore, a right to a new trial at the hands of scientific inquirers, in which probably the verdict that has already been pronounced against them will, on the admission of this fresh corroborative testimony, be set aside. It is beyond a question that

in Kent's Cavern, near Torquay, which has, however, been occupied at various times by man, even down to the Roman period, worked flints occurred "under the stratified unbroken floor of stalagmite,"^a and that some of those engraved in McEnergy's Cavern Researches closely resemble the implements from the drift.^b

In the Brixham Cave, lately explored under the auspices of the Royal and Geological Societies, worked flints have also been found under the stalagmite, in one instance^c associated with the bones of the entire hind leg of a cave bear, with every bone still in its proper position (even to the *patella* and *astragalus*), thus showing that the ligaments had been yet in existence when it entered the cavern in company with the worked flints, and that man was here in England contemporary with the cave bear, as the bones of the rhinoceros^d at Menchecourt showed him, in like manner, to have co-existed with the extinct species of that animal.

But I find that it is still asked why are there no human *bones* found with these implements, as if man's works were not as certain evidence of his existence as any portion of his frame. Let us, however, see whether it is the case that no human bones have been found in true association with those of the extinct animals.

I think that those who will calmly and dispassionately read the account that Dr. Schmerling gives of his discoveries in the caverns of Engis,^e will come to another conclusion. In these caves the greater portions of two human skulls, an incisor of another man, as well as two human vertebræ, and some of the bones of the extremities were found, together with worked flints, and associated with remains of the Elephant, the Rhinoceros, the Cave Bear, the Hyæna, the Horse, and ruminants. Indeed, one of the skulls was found at the bottom of the ossiferous deposit in the cavern in juxtaposition with the upper molar of the *Elephas primigenius*.

^a McEnergy's Cavern Researches, edited by E. Vivian, Esq., London, 1859, p. 20.

^b The following extract from a note by Mr. Vivian at page 19 of his edition of McEnergy's Cavern Researches is instructive:—

"In the exploration of Kent's Cavern by the Torquay Natural History Society, flints were found beneath the floor, in a portion of the cavern where the stalagmite could never have been broken up without quarrymen's tools. A paper which I wrote on this subject was read before the Geological Society, but was considered so heterodox that its insertion in the Transactions was delayed until the late lamented Dr. Buckland could again visit the cavern, which he was never able to accomplish."

In the abstract of this paper, in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, all the information given is, that "the bones of various extinct species of animals were found in several situations."

^c Geologist, vol. iv. p. 154.

^d Archaeologia, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 303.

^e Schmerling, Recherches sur les Ossemens fossiles découverts dans les Cavernes de la Province de Liège. 1833, vol. i. pp. 30, 62; ii., 139, 177.

^f Schmerling, op. cit. vol. ii. p. 124.

The cavern of Engihoul^a on the opposite side of the Meuse, furnished similar but not quite so decisive evidence, and there also portions of the bones of three individuals were found. In both cases the colour, the degree of decomposition, the rolled condition of their bones, their position in the caves, and even, to some extent, the relative proportion of the bones of different parts of the body to each other, were in no respect to be distinguished from those of the other fossil remains of extinct animals in the caverns of the district. In no case was any thing approaching to a perfect skeleton discovered, as would have been the case had the caves been used as places of interment. In nearly all the other caverns explored by Dr. Schmerling,^b flint flakes were found mixed up with the bones of extinct animals, and evidently washed in at the same time.

But I must not enter further into the question of these cave deposits, as it would of necessity lead to a long digression from the immediate subject of this paper. I will only cite one other instance, similar to those already mentioned, which was quoted by Mr. Horner, the President of the Geological Society, in his anniversary address, delivered in February last. In a cavern, near Arcy, in the Département de l'Aube, are three distinct beds of drift, the two uppermost of which have, at some time, been disturbed or *remanié*, but the lowest of which is considered by M. de Vibraye, who has been exploring the cavern, to be "an undisturbed mass of materials washed into the cavern by the same force which spread the Pleistocene drift characterized by the remains of *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, *Ursus spelæus*, and *Hyæna spelæa*." In this lowest bed, among a profusion of the remains of these extinct animals, one of the labourers, while M. de Vibraye was in the cavern, found a human jaw still containing two of its teeth. "I found this jaw," says M. de Vibraye, "while devoid of all preconceived ideas, and was even obliged to do violence to my individual convictions to admit the evidence. I can affirm that the homogeneous bed (in which it was found), the lowest bed in the cavern, was perfectly intact, and had in no respect changed its nature." Another tooth belonging to a different individual has also been discovered in the same cavern. Other recent discoveries, such as that in the cave of Aurignac described by M. Ed. Lartet,^c and that made

^a Schmerling, vol. i. pp. 33, 64.

^b Schmerling, vol. ii. p. 178. Dans toutes les cavernes de notre province où j'ai trouvé des ossemens fossiles j'ai aussi rencontré une quantité plus ou moins considérable de fragmens de silex, dont la forme régulière a frappé, au premier abord, mon attention. La forme de ces silex est tellement régulière, qu'il est impossible de les confondre avec ceux que l'on rencontre dans la craie et dans le terrain tertiaire.

^c Ann. des Sciences Nat. 4me serie, vol. xvi. Nat. Hist. Review, 1862, p. 53.

by Mr. W. Boyd Dawkins,^a in a cavern near the well-known cave of Wookey Hole, afford corroborative testimony of the presence of man upon the earth at the period when these cave deposits accumulated, and when he was associated with a different mammalian fauna from that of the present day. I have but little doubt that ere long the remains of the men who formed these implements will be found in company with them in the drift of the valleys.

Another point of interest in relation to this inquiry is the discovery by M. Lartet of several bones of various animals of extinct species, bearing marks upon them where they have been chopped with axes of stone, and notches where they have been cut with flint knives, apparently in removing the flesh from the bones. This would prove not only the contemporaneity of these animals with man, but that they had also formed his food.

I am afraid that it will be thought that I have strayed too far from the province of the antiquary into that of the geologist, and no doubt the question of the degree of antiquity to be assigned to the implements found under the circumstances I have been describing, as well as all questions of the nature of the containing beds, are more of a geological than an archæological nature.

Still I am convinced that all antiquaries must of necessity take a deep interest in these the earliest relics of the human race with which we are acquainted, and I trust that by thus again calling the attention of this Society to these discoveries I may induce its members to co-operate with geologists in attempting to extend our sphere of knowledge, by the acquisition of a still more numerous array of facts, from which, at some future time, an approximately correct conclusion may be derived as to the early history of our race.

There is one point well worthy of observation, and which belongs rather to the antiquary than the geologist; and that is to determine whether the character of the implements discovered in one locality is in all respects the same as it is in those of some other place, or whether well-defined distinctions may be drawn between them. I cannot help thinking that there will eventually be some difference of character established between the implements found in the sandy deposits at the lower level and those in the more gravelly deposits at the higher level in the valley of the Somme, and if so, that these may form a basis of comparison for the implements discovered in other places. It appears to me *possible* that an abundance of flakes and knives, especially the more finished kind, like Plate IV. fig. 4, and of the oval-shaped implements, with a cutting edge all

^a Proc. Geol. Soc. Jan. 22, 1862.

round, chipped out with a considerable amount of skill and care, may prove to be the characteristics of the lower and more arenaceous beds of drift, such as are found at Menchecourt and Montiers; and if so, that we should find that there are two drift periods distinguishable by the position of their beds, and by the character of the implements they contain. I merely mention this as a suggestion, it may be of the vaguest kind, but still as showing the necessity of the co-operation of archæologists and geologists on this the neutral ground between the two sciences.

But, be that as it may, let not antiquaries neglect the new field that is opened for their researches.

The deposit in which the implements are likely to be found—the post-glacial drift—and more particularly the fresh-water pleistocene drift, containing elephant remains, occurs in nearly all parts of England. Any attempt to enumerate the localities where it is to be met with would involve a catalogue of places in almost every county in England, and more especially of places along the course of all of our largest rivers. It only needs diligent and careful observation to trace out fuller evidence of the existence and the method of living of man when he was the joint tenant of this country with the Mammoth, the Rhinoceros, the Hippopotamus, and the great carnivorous occupants of the caves at that remote period when the drift which lines the slopes of our great river valleys was formed; and ere long I am confident that this will have been done in many other places in England besides those which I have already enumerated.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE IV.

GROUP I.—FLAKES.

1. Simple flake, with triangular section.—Porte Marcadé, Abbeville.
2. Sharp-pointed flake, with several facets on its convex side.—Lower drift, Montiers, near Amiens.
3. Chisel-pointed flake of the same character.—*Ibid.*
4. Large carefully-fashioned flake, of the same character as that from Mautort, near Abbeville, engraved in the Phil. Trans., 1860, plate xii. fig. 2.—*Ibid.*

GROUP II.—ACUTE AND ROUND-POINTED IMPLEMENTS.

5. Point rather rounded, sides straight, with a semi-elliptical butt; nearly equally convex on both sides, and with a flat place on one edge.—Biddenham, near Bedford.
6. Point sharp, sides straight, with semicircular butt; one surface rather more convex than the other, and slightly curved when viewed edgewise. Compare Archæologia, Vol. XIII., Plate XV.—Hoxne.—St. Acheul, near Amiens.
7. Point sharp, sides straight; one face more convex than the other; roughly truncated at base, whence it shows a portion of the original crust of the flint.—*Ibid.*
8. Point bevelled, sides curved inwards; chipped to a ridge on one face; butt formed of the natural surface of the flint.—*Ibid.*
9. Point slightly rounded, sides straight; equally convex on both faces; butt formed of the naturally rounded end of the flint. Compare Plate I, fig. 2, which has been chipped from a Tertiary pebble.—Reculver.—*Ibid.*
10. Point sharp, and slightly turned upwards, sides irregular; roughly chipped to a ridge, which is not central, on one face, giving a wedge-shaped section; slightly truncated at base.—*Ibid.*
11. Point and sides forming a semi-ellipse; butt chipped into a semicircle, its edge rather more obtuse than at the sides or point; almost equally convex on both faces.—*Ibid.*
12. Point similar to the last, but more acute; butt roughly chipped, and showing a portion of the original crust of the flint.—*Ibid.*
13. Point similar to the last, but sides irregular; butt-end roughly truncated.—Brick-earth, Warin's Pit, St. Acheul.

14. Wedge-shaped, with nearly semicircular end, rudely truncate, and roughly chipped out; equally convex on both faces, and showing part of the surface of the flint.—St. Acheul, near Amiens.

15. Sides straight, point rounded; rather more convex on one side than on the other; butt retaining the original form of the flint, but truncated.—*Ibid.*

16. Point similar to the last; butt formed of the rounded end of the flint; the chipping carried further along one side than the other, giving a wedge-shaped section near the butt end.—*Ibid.*

17. Point semi-elliptical; butt nearly semicircular, but slightly truncated; one face rather more convex than the other; thin in proportion to its size.—Champ de Mars, Abbeville.

GROUP III.—OVAL AND ALMOND-SHAPED IMPLEMENTS, WITH A CUTTING EDGE
ALL ROUND OR NEARLY SO.

18. Equally convex on both faces, on each of which are portions of the white crust of the flint as well as on a flat part of one edge; symmetrical, but coarsely chipped out. This specimen approaches No. 11 in character, but differs in its proportions. Some other specimens are much thinner.—St. Acheul, near Amiens.

19. Equally convex on both faces, and very carefully chipped out; portions of the crust of the flint on one face.—Menhecourt, near Abbeville.

20. Irregularly oval, flatter on one face than the other; not so delicately chipped as the last.—Moulin Quignon, near Abbeville.

V.—*On the Discovery of Roman Remains on Kingston Down, near Bere Regis, in the county of Dorset, and the identification of the site as the Station of Ibernium, on the Via Iceniana; by which a removal is effected of some discrepancies in the Fifteenth Iter of Antonine.* By CHARLES WARNE, Esq. F.S.A.

Read June 20th, 1861.

THE most careless student of the Antonine Itinerary cannot fail to remark its frequent discrepancies; not only will he find stations mentioned which it is very difficult to identify, but distances given as terminating at points where not only are no evidences of former occupation to be found, but where (in some instances) none can be supposed to have existed. Should, however, the impress of Roman occupation be yet discernible, the Roman name of the site has frequently, been either lost or misappropriated.

Such were the considerations which presented themselves to my notice on carefully reviewing the fifteenth Iter of Antonine,^a when engaged a few years since in tracing the course of the Via Iceniana or Icknield Street through the county of Dorset, especially seeking if possible to detect or reconcile the difficulty that appeared with reference to Vindogladia and Durnovaria, the true mileage being such as to warrant the conclusion that a "mutatio" must have been required at some intermediate spot. It is well known that the occupation of this country by the Romans was so universal, and the adoption of their civilisation by the Britons so general, that evidences of their presence are everywhere to be met with; still, it becomes us to exercise a sound perception, so as not to be misled by imagining that each casual discovery of Roman remains must of itself necessitate a villa beneath or a station at hand; whilst experience teaches us

^a The same sequence of names forms the first part of the twelfth Iter; but commentators, both ancient and modern, agree in considering this early portion of the twelfth Iter an accidental interpolation. See *Itinerarium Antonini*, ed. Parthey et Pinder. Berlin, 1848.

that the relative distances as given in the Itinerary are not to be entirely relied on. Still the distances as recorded in the Itinerary will, when the sequence has not been disturbed, be found to have been so far useful as to enable us to identify with considerable success the principal Roman stations as they stood on the great military roads of Britain; whilst, with respect to doubtful appearances of Roman habitation, a careful consideration of them oftentimes leads the way to important results. Thus the practical antiquary well knows that sites which have been held by any moderate degree of occupation, however remote the period, invariably retain the foot-prints of their ancient possessors.

It was when engaged a few years since in the prosecution of my investigations near the village of Winterborne Kingston, through which the Via Iceniana passes, that my attention was first arrested by the unusual appearance of an adjoining arable field, where the soil was of a loamy nature with various shades of a dark colour totally different from the land around. A careful personal examination soon satisfied me that this was not the result of natural causes. The surface was in fact sprinkled and the soil intermixed with fragments of Roman pottery, large stones, many parts and pieces of querns, some of which were thrown into the surrounding hedges, whilst others had been used for repairing a neighbouring road.

The sole object of my labour being the endeavour to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment of these supposed defects in the Itinerary, I was, as may be readily conceived, much pleased with this discovery; and, the wish prompting the thought, I felt convinced that the spot before me was the site of that long lost station which must have held its place somewhere between Vindogladia and Durnovaria; the intermediate space, as given in the Itinera, being eight *millia passuum*, thus placing Dorchester at less than eight miles from Vindogladia, whereas, taking the route of the Via Iceniana, it cannot in reality be less than twenty-eight of our miles. We well know how long the true situation of Vindogladia remained unrecognised, and consequently misplaced. Baxter fixed it at Wimborne, Stukeley at Boroston, one mile below Lower Gussage, Reynolds at Blandford, Lapie at Cranborne, and Mannert at Pentridge; some of these places far distant from its actual position, as well as away from the Via itself, whereas it is now admitted by all antiquaries that its real site has been discovered by Sir Richard Colt Hoare on Gussage Down.

The causes which led him to establish it at this place originated from a pretty close agreement in the distance from Sorbiodunum, a locality profusely covered with broken Roman pottery and lying close by the side of the Via Iceniana and the

adjacent earthworks, some of which it is, however, proper to observe are of a much earlier time.

These coincidences naturally pointed out the spot as that on which the Roman station of Vindogladia had stood, which, from having been so strangely misplaced, was for long as good as lost.

The discoveries to which I lay claim were made known to me by evidences precisely parallel; for instance, I found adjoining this same military road a site certainly not more than two miles removed from the mid point between Vindogladia (sixteen miles) and Durnovaria (twelve miles), where permanency of occupation was so strongly marked as to afford us substantial reasons for believing that a station must have existed.

Many circumstances (amongst others ill health and my leaving the neighbourhood) interfered with my wishes and intentions, and I was in consequence compelled to suspend all further personal research; yet, being satisfied in my own mind of the importance of this discovery, I steadily kept it in view as an investigation to be resumed at the first opportunity. No immediate prospect, however, presenting itself, I thought it better when making a communication on some local antiquities to Mr. Shipp, who jointly with Mr. J. W. Hodson is editing a new edition of Hutchins's History of Dorset, to direct his attention to this field at Kingston, mentioning its situation and character, as well as the pottery and querns, in fact every particular connected with my previous observations, merely reserving my own conviction respecting the important character of the position, in order that I might obtain an unbiassed opinion from the result of his inquiries. No long time passed before Mr. Shipp favoured me with a reply to my suggestions, which was in substance as follows:—

“At a short distance from the village of Kingston the Ieknield Street may be distinctly traced ascending the slope, where about mid ascent nearly one hundred yards are in perfect preservation, passing through a small plantation. It is chiefly composed of flints collected from the neighbouring chalk, and its *dorsum* is still elevated above the surface, and affords a fine dry road. On the north side of the plantation, and about forty yards from the Via, in the *arable field mentioned by you*, some remarkable evidences of Romano-British residence have come to light during the agricultural operations of the past year, when the discovery was made of a deep circular shaft or well, filled with rubbish, into the loose soil of which the horses sinking when at plough induced a close examination of the spot. It was about eight feet in diameter, and cleared out to a depth of between sixty and seventy feet, yet

not to the bottom. The rubbish exhumed consisted of ashes (much of which were unmixed with any other substance), and fragments of hard black, gray, and brown ware; a few pieces of Samian ware were amongst it, but the only perfect vessel was a small upright vase, without handles, holding about half of a pint; other fragments of coarse domestic pottery, usually assigned to the British, several blocks of Kimmeridge shale, and many iron nails were also obtained. The debris of pottery, if collected, would have filled several bushels, but was too fragmentary for restoration to be attempted with the slightest chance of success. To a depth of some ten or twelve feet from the surface the well was completely and regularly built up with blocks of chalk and green sandstone, each about one foot square."

Such are the facts I have the honour of submitting to this Society, sufficient I believe in themselves not only to supersede all hesitation in making my discovery known, but also, I hope, to identify this part of Kingston Down as the site of the military post which all competent authorities are satisfied must have existed, and which until now was missing from the fifteenth Iter of Antonine.

Assuming that Kingston Down is therefore clearly entitled to be considered as the site of a Roman post, the duty that next devolves upon us is to endeavour by a like sober and patient investigation to bring forth from the hidden obscurity where it has for ages reposed the name of our recovered station.

The omission of a station (as before observed) at this point has been admitted by all practical antiquaries from the day when Stukeley traversed this part of the Ickniel Street to our own time; but we may be reasonably assured it was not passed over when the Directory was originally compiled; rather may we regard the error as proceeding from the negligence of scribes, from accidental causes, or from the effects of time on the MS. from whence our transcripts were made. The result, be the cause what it may, is a great loss, since the sources from whence the scanty information we possess of the early geography, or rather topography, of our country, its military and other ancient sites, is so limited, as well as brief and obscure, that the range of our inquiry is thereby necessarily confined within an exceedingly restricted area.

A hasty review of these early authorities will not only convince us of this fact, but at the same time demonstrate how little is to be found in them connected with the Durotriges—the ancient people who occupied the territory through which the military way passed.

In one instance, that of the Peutingerian Table, decay has, by a sad fatality,

obliterated the very part that might have aided us ; one or two stations being all which remain that were likely to correspond with our fifteenth Iter. In Richard of Cirençester (receiving him for all he may be supposed to be worth), we find nothing to advance our inquiry, for his sixteenth Iter is for the most part a mere transcript of Antonine's fifteenth, and that so faithful to the copy from whence it was made that its very inaccuracies are perpetuated. We have only the "Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna" to consult, and the circle within which our particular information can be sought is completed.

With reference to the character of these sources of observation, we may observe that if they have not come down to our days in that "guinea stamp" by which their authorship can be definitely recognised, yet we may repose such an amount of confidence in them as will, if considerably appropriated, be invaluable ; for, notwithstanding their great age, and the many vicissitudes they have passed through, we shall yet notice a certain degree of harmony and arrangement pervading the whole, with reference to the different places they have recorded, that, despite the obscurity their conciseness involves, and the many positions not easily or as yet identified, there is still such a leaven of genuineness existing as will warrant us to receive them with thankfulness whilst we use them with due caution.

The work of the "Geographer of Ravenna," to which we shall have need to apply, is the compilation of an anonymous author, considered to have lived in the seventh century. Be the writer who he may, it comes down to us in the garb of such antiquity as may well dispose us to imagine that he lived in an age not far removed from the time when the towns, stations, and military posts recorded by him were in existence as places of well known importance. The internal evidences of the work incline us to place a fair reliance on its authority. It consists of a bare series of places, generally in sequence, yet without distances, note, or comment, and evidently, from the form of the names, compiled from early Itineraries.

Fortunately the towns mentioned in the neighbourhood of Isca Dumuniorum (Exeter) seem to have been taken from an itinerary which passed through the territory of the Durotriges, thus preserving to us a record of the ancient stations and towns which were there placed. As it is to this especial route that our attention is directed, I will take the liberty of giving it so far as it is connected with the Dorsetshire district. Commencing at the very border of the county, it records a number of places against which I have inserted the names of the corresponding modern localities as given by Baxter.

LINDINIS	.	.	.	<i>Lyme.</i>
CANCA	.	.	.	<i>Charmouth.</i>
DOLOCINDO	.	.	.	<i>Dorchester or Maiden Castle.</i>
CLAVINIO	.	.	.	<i>Weymouth.</i>
MORINIO	.	.	.	<i>Wareham.^a</i>
BOLVELAUNIO	.	.	.	<i>Pool.</i>
ALAUNA	.	.	.	<i>River Stour or Avon.</i>
COLONEAS				
ARAMIS	.	.	.	<i>Sherborne.</i>
ANICETIS	.	.	.	<i>Sturminster.</i>
MELEZO OR MOIEZO	.	.	.	<i>Hameldon.</i>
IBERNIO	.	.	.	<i>Kingston Down.</i>
BINDOGLADIA	.	.	.	<i>Gussage Down.</i>

This series allows of three divisions (we believe intended), each so far as it extends being distinct in itself and independent of the others. From Lindinæ (Lyme) to Alauna (the River Stour) inclusive, we have what would be called in the language of the present day "a coast line," correct in itself with respect to the relative position of the several places.

We find next from Aramæ (Sherborne) to Melezum (Hameldon) a way passing through the great vale of Blakemore, as it were "midland."

And, lastly, Ibernium (our Kingston Down), coupled with Bindogladia (Gussage), both on the Via Iceniana, or the great "trunk line," as it pursues its course to Durnovaria. Taking this last division, the arrangement of the stations on the Icknield Street will stand with their respective distances in the following order:—

From DURNOVARIA to IBERNIUM XII.
 „ „ „ VINDOGLADIA XVI.

^a Baxter (whose opinion was afterwards followed by Stukeley), in placing Morinium at Wareham was no doubt influenced in his appropriation by the position of this place at the confluence of the rivers Frome and Pydel, and likewise by taking into consideration the marked analogy it bears in form to a Roman town. That Wareham, however, was not the site of Morinium appears obvious from the fact that no Roman remains have ever been found there within the memory of its oldest inhabitant; whilst we feel its true position may, with every reasonable probability, be sought for in the Poole waters, it may be adjoining the spot where a branch road from the Via Iceniana near Badbury finds its terminus.

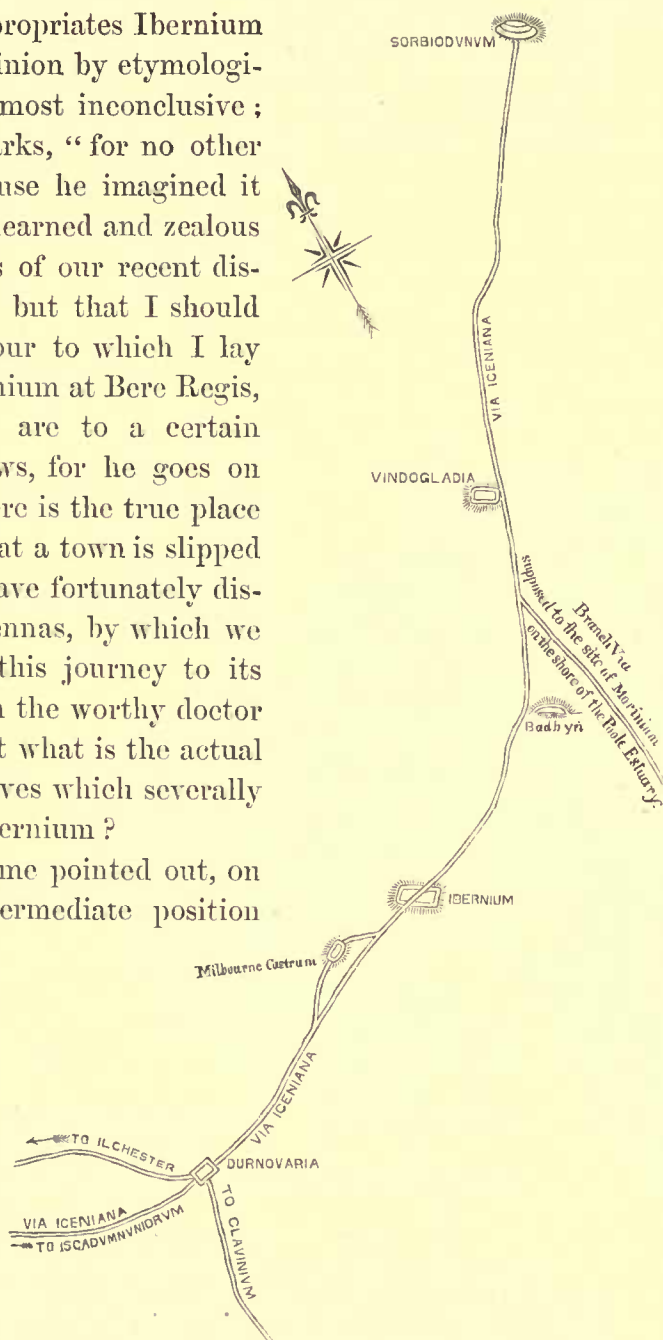
Baxter, I am fully aware, appropriates Ibernium to Blandford, supporting his opinion by etymological conclusions—in themselves most inconclusive; or, as Stukeley pertinently remarks, “for no other reason, as I conceive, but because he imagined it must be hereabout.” Had the learned and zealous doctor possessed the advantages of our recent discoveries, there can be no doubt but that I should have been deprived of the honour to which I lay claim; as it was, he placed Ibernium at Bere Regis, within two miles. His words are to a certain extent a counterpart of my views, for he goes on to say, “I doubt not but this Bere is the true place designed in the Itinerary, but that a town is slipped out of the copies. I think I have fortunately discovered it in the famous Ravennas, by which we may have hopes of restoring this journey to its original purity.” It will be seen the worthy doctor was pretty near the mark. But what is the actual testimony of the places themselves which severally lay claim to be considered as Ibernium?

We have now for the first time pointed out, on Kingston Down, a nearly intermediate position between Vindogladia and Durnovaria, a site strongly impressed with Roman foot-prints and lying upon the great Icknield Street.

Secondly comes Bere Regis, with its British *castrum*, but destitute of Roman remains, and distant two miles or more from the Via.

And, lastly, Blandford, at a far greater distance, with no evidences indicative of a period contemporaneous with Ibernium.

A very brief consideration of the facts thus narrated will, I flatter myself, be deemed so far confirmatory of the views I have so long entertained (the fruits of a personal examination of the localities themselves,) that I need have no further



scruples in making my discovery known; believing as I do—shall I be pardoned for saying convinced as I am?—that on Kingston Down is to be found the true site of the long-lost station of Ibernium, the recovery of which will restore this journey to its original purity, and thus remove the discrepancies that have so long existed in the fifteenth Iter of Antonine.

Since this paper was written I have received the following communication from Mr. Shipp, dated 13th March, 1861:—

“I quite agree with you that, if a station has been lost from the Iter, its site was the spot on which you fix it. As a further corroboration of your views, I may state that Mr. Thomas Beasant of Kingston discovered a short time since a leaden coffin in one of his adjoining fields; it was buried about ten feet deep, and formerly had an inner coffin of wood, which was quite perished and only recognised by the large nails with which it had been fastened together. The coffin contained a skeleton, which on removing the lid appeared nearly entire, but after a few minutes' contact with the atmosphere the greater part fell to dust. At the feet of the skeleton were what appeared to be two shoes, the soles only remaining; they were thickly studded with large nails, and I have no doubt may be recognised as the *caliga* or strong heavy sandal worn by the Roman military. There are other facts connected with this coffin which induce me to consider it Roman, besides those of its proximity to your Ibernium.”

Having thus made an exposition of my views, and of the facts and conclusions on which they are based, nothing more remains for me than to submit them to the consideration of the Society. I trust I may be pardoned for regarding it as a privilege in being the first to direct attention to this recognition, and to substantiate, as well as to advance, the claim for the admission of Ibernium to its original position as a military post on the Via Iceniana, on, I venture to hope, as good a basis as that allowed to Sir Richard Colt Hoare for Vindogladia. I subjoin for convenience of reference a copy of the Fifteenth Iter:—

ITER XV.

Item, a CALLEVA ISCA DUMNUNIORUM MP. CXXXVI. SIC

VINDOMI	.	.	MP. XV.
VENTA BELGARUM	.	„	XXI.
BRIGE	.	.	„ XI.
SORBIODUNI	.	.	„ VIII.
VINDOGLADIA	.	.	„ XII.
DURNOVARIA	.	.	„ VIII.
MURIDUNO	.	.	„ XXXVI.
ISCA DUMNUNIORUM	„	„	XV.

VI.—*On the Brick Architecture of the North of Germany*; by ALEXANDER NESBITT, Esq. F.S.A.

Read 15th December, 1859.

THE surface of that part of Europe which lies between the Baltic and the German Ocean on the north, and the Carpathians, the Sudeten Gebirge, the Riesengebirge, Thüringerwald, and Hartz on the south, is composed of sand or clay, and affords no other building stone than granitic boulders, supposed to have been transported thither from the Scandinavian mountains. These boulders furnished the stone from which many churches were built in the twelfth and earlier part of the thirteenth centuries;^a but the deposit being superficial was soon exhausted, and the hardness of the material precluded the use of ornamental detail.

When, therefore, the progress of civilisation and luxury created a desire for large buildings of an ornamental character, it was necessary to seek for other materials;^b these were found in the clay of the country, and brick came into use, either exclusively, in districts (such as Prussia and Pomerania) to which the transport of even small quantities of freestone was too costly, or partially, for walls and piers, as in parts of Poland and Silesia, where sufficient freestone for dressings and ornamental parts could be obtained without immoderate expense.

Where stone was used for the decorative portions the employment of brick as the main material did not exert any great influence upon the style of the structure; but, where brick was exclusively used, a modification of each successive style of Gothic architecture was produced, exhibiting peculiarities due to

^a Kugler cites as the earliest monument of Christian architecture east of the Elbe the ruined church, called the Todtenkirche, at Loburg, some miles east of Magdeburg. This is wholly of granite, and he mentions several village churches in the same district as of the same material (*Geschichte der Baukunst*, vol. ii. p. 552). Examples of the same kind exist in the Altmark and in Pomerania, for instance in the cathedral of Cammin. All these buildings are extremely plain in style.

^b Wood was occasionally used, though not much in towns, unless perhaps in Poland; some wooden churches still exist, particularly in Prussian Upper Silesia, of as early a date as the beginning of the fourteenth century. Kugler, *Ges. der Baukunst*, vol. ii. p. 532.

the nature of the material employed. Of this pure brick architecture I propose to give some account. As far as I am aware, few notices of buildings of this character have hitherto been published in this country, excepting the paper by Mr. Repton in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 158, and the chapter headed Pomerania in Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*. Several recent publications in Germany contain notices and engravings of examples of the style, as Kallenbach's *Atlas Deutscher Baukunst*, Püttrich's *Denkmale der Baukunst des Mittelalters in Sachsen*, Kugler's *Kleine Schriften* (vol. i.), Otte's *Handbuch der Kirchlichen Kunst-Archäologie*, and Essenwein's *Norddeutschlands Backstein Architektur*; a work now in course of publication, Adler's *Mittelalterliche Backstein Bauwerke des Preussischen Staates*, will give a very complete account of it so far as the kingdom of Prussia is concerned.

Although no very high degree of merit can be claimed for this Brick Architecture on the score of beauty, except, perhaps, as regards general outline, it deserves notice as well from the student of architecture in general as from him who confines his attention exclusively to that of the middle ages: from the first, as affording remarkable and perhaps suggestive examples of decoration in a material usually treated as little susceptible of ornament; and from the latter, as exhibiting a peculiar phase of pointed architecture. It is both interesting and instructive to observe in the best examples how the architect, instead of forcing his material into forms and combinations for which its nature was ill-suited, took advantage of its peculiarities, and produced buildings, sometimes elegant, often dignified and impressive, and almost always picturesque.

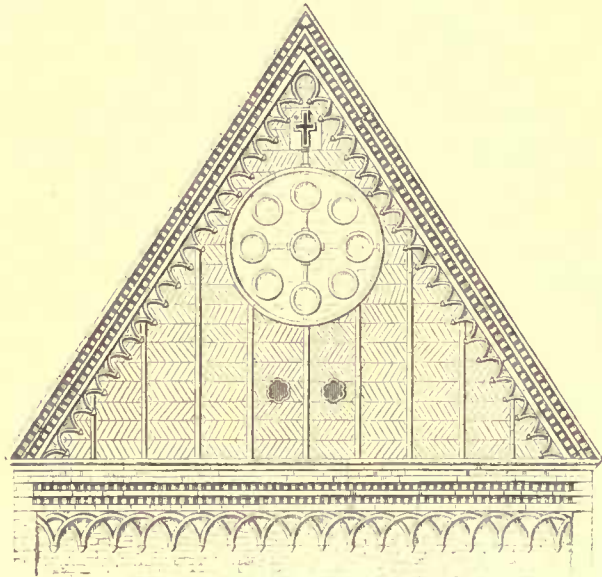
Whether the art of brick-making was introduced into the north-east of Europe from Italy through the intercourse which arose in consequence of the spread of Christianity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, or whether it had been practised by the heathen inhabitants, is a question which no existing remains enable us to decide. The probability, however, would seem to be that the buildings anterior to the introduction of Christianity were of wood; whereas brick is well known to have been in frequent use in Italy in all periods from Roman times. At any rate the German antiquaries do not seem to have noticed any brick building in the tract of country above mentioned which can be ascribed to an earlier date than the latter half of the twelfth century, the period when Christianity and civilisation first took firm root in those districts, north and east of the Elbe, where this style of building has been the most fully developed.

In Poland Christianity was established at an earlier period; at Cracow, how-

ever, the buildings which date from the twelfth century, such as the crypt of the cathedral and the chapel of a convent in the Stradom, are wholly built of stone.

A very good example of brickwork of the twelfth century is afforded by the cathedral of Ratzeburg, in the duchy of Lauenburg, which appears to have been commenced in 1154; it consists of a nave with aisles, a large south porch, transepts,

and a short chancel ending in a semi-circular apse. The piers are square masses, with half-engaged shafts at the angles; the vaulting slightly pointed. The ornamentation is of a very simple character: the corbel tables have in parts small human heads as corbels, which seem to have been formed in moulds. The capitals of the shafts of the doorways have some rather peculiar forms, and the gable of the porch (*vide* woodcut) is ornamented by the bricks being placed in the fashion known as herring-bone, and by projecting lines of semi-circular section, and



Gable of Porch, Ratzeburg.

an arrangement of small shafts and circles, imitating a circular window. These ornamental parts are glazed of a pale greenish colour, and are the earliest instances of the use of glazed work in architectural decoration which I have met with in the North of Europe.

The cathedral of Lubeck, commenced about 1166, is chiefly of the same period; the west end has two vast towers, and between them a very deeply recessed doorway of seven or eight orders, without shafts, and with square-edged perfectly plain arches. The other parts of the building which belong to this period are extremely plain, in fact almost devoid of ornament.

The convent church of Jerichow, near the Elbe, below Magdeburg, begun about 1152, is a cross church with two western towers,^a and seems to afford a complete and well-preserved example of a church of the same character as Ratzeburg.

^a An engraving will be found in Otte, Handbuch der Kirchlichen Kunst-Archäologie.

The Marienkirche^a at Bergen, in the island of Rügen, has portions belonging to this century. A document of Jaromir the First, Prince of Rügen, dated 1193, mentions the building of this church "opere latericio," and its dedication. The original plan consisted of a western porch, a nave with lower side aisles, a transept with semicircular chapels projecting from its eastern side, and a choir ending in a semi-circular apse. Altenkirchen,^b also in Rügen, is of the same period.

Gadebusch, in Mecklenburg, has nave and aisles of equal height; the piers are square, with a large semi-circular shaft projecting from the centre of each face; the south doorway has shafts and circular arches richly decorated.

The cathedral of Brandenburg is in great part of the same period, but much altered; the cloister, however, presents some good examples of detail in capitals ornamented with foliage. These would seem to have been carved from masses of brick rather than moulded. Some of the capitals in the church appear to be also of brick, others, however, of stone.

The Transition period in Germany includes a large part of our Early-English period. Although details closely corresponding with the Early-English style may be met with here and there, it appears to be the opinion of the German writers that no pure example of the pointed style is to be found of an earlier date than about 1230. Some curious examples of the Brick Architecture of this period exist in Pomerania, at Colbatz^c and Cammin. The date of the first of these cannot be certainly given from any historical evidence, and some may be inclined to doubt whether Kugler is right in assigning it to the beginning of the thirteenth rather than to the close of the twelfth century. The clerestory-windows and the cross-springers of the intersection of the transepts and choir are characteristic. The rose in the west gable evidently belongs to the early period of the fully developed pointed style. It is not a window, but merely an ornament.^d

The Dom of Cammin^e exhibits in its lancet and trefoiled arches forms more characteristic. The door-way of the sacristy,^f which is ornamented with figures of lions and foliage, is stated by Kugler to be of glazed brick. In the heads of the panels above the windows of the north transept^g are reliefs; in the centre two angels carrying a lamb, in the sides single figures of saints. The wall below the windows has alternate courses of glazed and unglazed brick, a mode of decoration in later times almost always found in these brick buildings. The

^a Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i. p. 663.

^c *Ibid.* p. 669.

^e *Ibid.* p. 678.

^g *Ibid.* p. 683.

^b *Ibid.* p. 666.

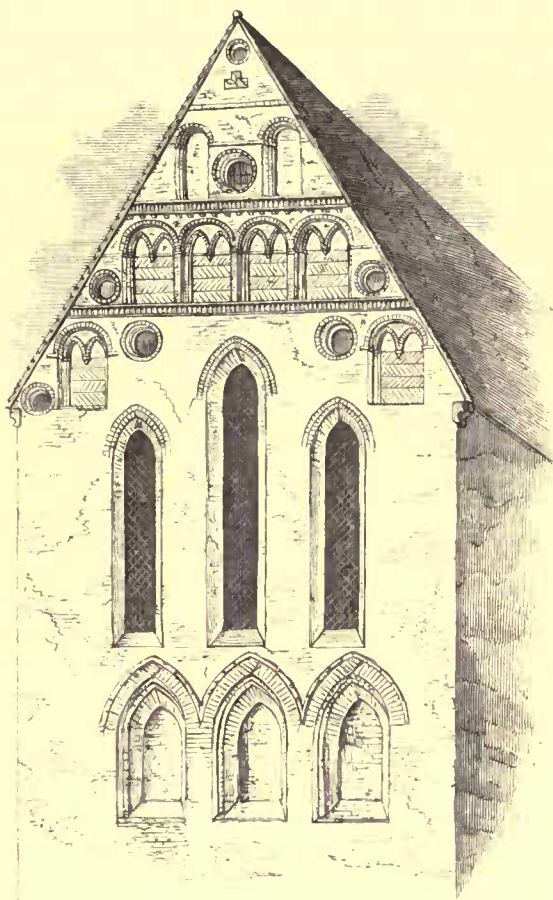
^d *Ibid.* p. 674.

^f *Ibid.* p. 684.

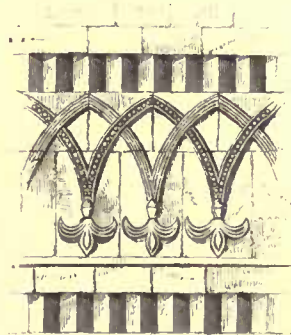
pointed windows in the apse have shafts in the angles, which are of dark glazed brick for about a third of the height of the window, where they are broken by a fillet; the parts above the fillet are of red unglazed brick. The glazed parts of the shafts of the central window are of a twisted pattern. In the south transept is a rich doorway with three slender shafts on each side. These shafts and their bases are glazed, the fillets which surround them of unglazed brick, but the foliated capitals and arches, ornamented with mouldings and branch work, are (according to Kugler) of stucco.^a

The choir of the church of St. Ansgar at Bremen (represented in the woodcut) has a triplet of lancet windows in the east end, which is rectangular, as in England; a form much more common in the north and east of Germany than in the south and west. The nave and aisles of this church are of equal height, with sex-partite domed vaultings. Parts of this church are of stone, but the east end is wholly of brick, and each bay of the aisles has a brick gable. These gables, however, may be, and probably are, additions of a subsequent period.

Although, as has been said before, the churches of Cracow are not pure brick buildings, the tracery of the windows and the ornamental parts in general being of stone, the church of the Dominican Convent in that city affords a curious example of ornament in moulded brick (see woodcut); this forms a band between the windows of the apse, and also occurs in a like position in the church of the Dominican Convent at Breslau. Both buildings are of the same date, the latter part of the thirteenth century.



East end of the Church of St. Ansgar, Bremen.



Brick Moulding, Cracow.

^a Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i. p. 682.

A part of the Rath-haus at Lübeck seems also to belong the 13th century; in this the shafts and capitals are of stone; the latter, with foliage characteristic of that century. The arches and pier buttresses are of brick, and, as well as the bricks filling the spandrels, are covered with a glaze of a very deep blue colour.

The Klosterkirche at Berlin was founded in 1271 by Otho and Albert of Brandenburg; Kugler has given engravings^a of some very characteristic capitals and corbels very boldly executed, and probably carved out of the brick after it had been burnt.

Towards the end of this century several very important churches were erected; foremost among them may be placed the Marienkirche at Lübeck, built between 1276 and 1310. It is about 350 feet in length; the central aisle is 130 feet in height, the side-aisles about 65. The clerestory is very tall and the general effect of the interior very fine, though there is a certain thinness and poverty about the mouldings. As, however, stone is used in the ornamental details, such as the capitals and in some other parts, it cannot be considered as a pure example of design in brick. The exterior has flying buttresses very clumsily designed but no pinnacles, and is in general very plain. The west end is flanked by two extremely massive towers covered by wooden spires which rise to the height of 400 feet. They are without buttresses and extremely simple. Inscriptions upon them contain the dates 1304 and 1310.

The church of St. Nicholas at Stralsund is also large and fine; it was commenced in 1311. The capitals, and perhaps some other small parts, are here, as in the Marienkirche at Lübeck, of stone.

It would appear that it was about this period that those characteristic peculiarities which distinguish the Brick Architecture of the North-east of Germany from other styles, attained their full development; and, though slightly modified from time to time, many of the forms were retained so little altered, until the introduction of the Italian style, that it is often difficult to decide whether a building belongs to the fourteenth or to the fifteenth century.^b The best and most characteristic buildings, however, belong to the period between 1330 and 1450. The distinctive peculiarities may be considered under two heads:—

1st. Of Construction and Design;

2nd. Of Ornamentation.

^a Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i. pp. 106, 107.

^b The mouldings are in most cases peculiar to the style, and do not furnish the sure criteria of date which those of stone architecture do. *Vide* Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i. p. 697, *et seq.* where many sections of mouldings are given.

The construction and general design of these brick buildings resemble, as might be expected, those of the contemporaneous stone buildings of the North of Germany. The great use of gables (as where each bay of the aisles of a church is gabled), their exaggerated size, the great amount of decoration bestowed upon them while much of the rest of the building is left plain, the strange and often uncouth forms of the towers, the immense roofs of one pitch covering both nave and aisles when they are, as is often the case, of equal height, the slenderness of the piers and general poverty of effect of the interiors, are all features common to stone and to brick architecture. The peculiarities of the latter are chiefly the great mass and thickness of the walls, the sparing use of buttresses, the great rarity of flying buttresses, the general squareness of forms, and the extreme poverty of the window tracery.

The churches scarcely differ in plan from those of the rest of Germany, except that a rectangular termination at the east end is not uncommon: in Prussia, according to Kugler, this is the ruling form. A few churches are met with which have a polygonal apse, surrounded by an aisle with radiating chapels, according to the French system; but the usual plan is for the choir and its aisles to end in three semi-hexagonal apses.

The piers in plan sometimes approach an octagon, sometimes a square, with more or fewer mouldings; in all instances however these mouldings are feeble and deficient in effect.

The capitals of the piers are usually merely strings; in the Marienkirche at Stargard the piers have niches just below the capitals.^a The capitals of the vaulting shafts are usually semi-octagonal in plan, with a few mouldings. Sometimes, as in the Marienkirche at Lübeck, they are of stone, and ornamented with foliage.

In a few chapels slender octagonal monolithic shafts of granite support the vaulting. In a chapel near the west end of the Marienkirche at Lübeck these are about thirty feet high. The Artushof at Dantzic and the Conventsremter at Marienburg have similar shafts.

Triforia are not common, and, where they exist, are extremely plain.

The vaultings of large spaces are usually of a very simple character; but in chapels or halls of moderate dimensions a sort of fan vault, with from sixteen to twenty-four cells radiating from a central shaft, is often found; and there is an ugly variety of this in which no ribs are used, and the face of each cell is hollowed, so as to have a triangular section.^b The windows, although often very

^a Kugler, *Ges. der Baukunst*, vol. iii. p. 477.

^b *Ibid.* pp. 437, 465.

large, have almost without exception no attempt at tracery except two or more mullions connected by unfoliated arches in the head of the windows; the effect resembling that of an Early-English triplet of unequal height, when included under a simple arched drip moulding. In late examples the mullions are carried up straight into the arch, with a most deplorable effect.

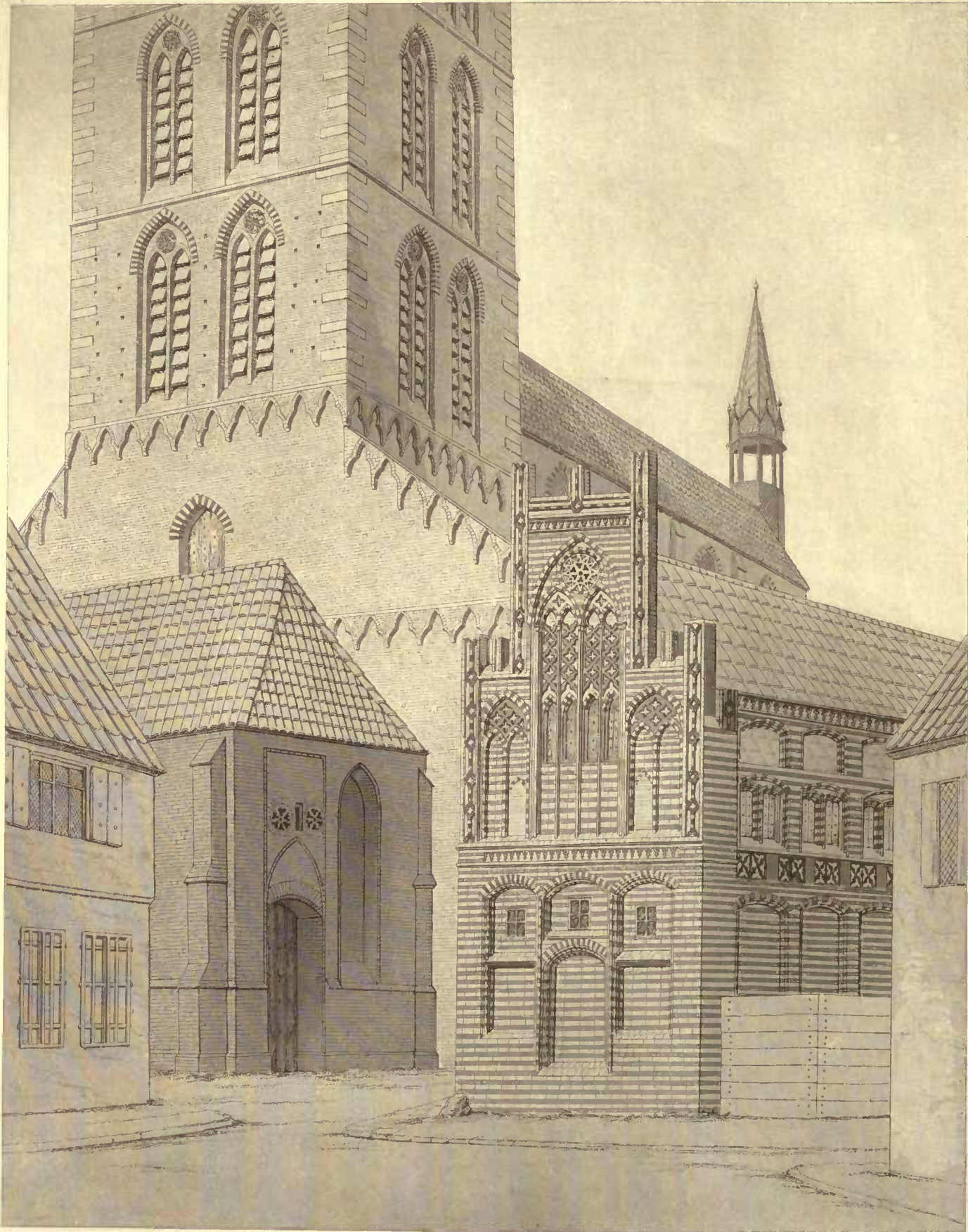
A few exceptions may be noticed: in the Marienkirche at Prenzlau, built about 1380, are some two-light windows with a large quatrefoil in the head;^a in a convent chapel at Brandenburg are some three-light windows with three foliated circles in the heads; and in the nave of the cathedral of Verden are windows of three and of four lights, with tracery of geometrical character entirely formed of moulded brick. These are somewhat remarkable as pieces of construction, the mullions being not less than from 30 to 35 feet long, though only about 7 inches wide; they are built up of a great many small pieces, and it is difficult to comprehend how they stand, unless an iron rod is passed through them. The lights of these windows are not foliated, but the upper openings are; the cusps in one window are of stone, but in the others of brick; and I feel some doubt whether these openings were not originally unfoliated, and whether the cusps may not have been inserted during a recent repair. These windows appear to date from about 1450.^b

The chief peculiarities to be noticed in the ornamentation are the general absence of shafts and pinnacles standing freely, of mouldings of large size or of bands of foliage, and of statues of considerable dimension or in full relief, the use of the same small moulding very frequently repeated, sometimes as often as six or seven times in the same archway, of strings of glazed panelling of geometrical forms usually inserted in a line sunk into the face of the wall, and of strong oppositions and contrasts of colour, the ornamental work being glazed (usually of a very dark colour), and so placed as to contrast forcibly with the red, unglazed brick, while the walling is in very many cases of alternate horizontal lines of glazed and unglazed bricks.

The colour of the glaze appears to have varied from time to time; at Ratzeburg, in the twelfth century, it is of a pale yellowish green; in the northern end of the Rath-haus at Lübeck, and in a house in the street at Wismar, called Die Hegede, both of which buildings seem to belong to the thirteenth century, we find

^a Kallenbach, Atlas zur Ges. der D. M. Baukunst.

^b Kugler (Ges. der Baukunst, vol. iii. p. 432) says that the nave of Verden was built 1473-1490. I should not have thought the windows of so late a date.



A Nesbitt del.

J.H. LeKeux. sc.

THE MARIENKURCHE, WISMAR, AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS.

a very deep blue; the buildings of the middle and latter part of the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth century have a very dark green glaze producing nearly the effect of black; while in the buildings of about 1450 it is usually of a yellowish green.

The unglazed bricks are usually red, but sometimes, as at Rostock, yellow.

The size and form of the bricks do not seem to have varied much from the twelfth to the sixteenth century; in the cathedral of Ratzeburg I found them to measure $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by 3 in width and 3 in thickness, or $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ and $3\frac{3}{4}$; in St. George in Wismar (1350 to 1404) $11\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ and 3; in St. Mary in Stralsund (1423 to 1479) $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 3. The glazed ornamental pieces of course vary much in size, but I think rarely exceed 18 inches in their largest dimension.

The style the characteristics of which I have endeavoured to describe prevailed, as I have already said, throughout the flat country which in Germany and Poland lies between the mountains and the North Sea and Baltic: examples are to be found as far west as Hanover and (I believe) Oldenburg, as far east as Riga and Revel. The southern limit of the style is in Germany determined by the neighbourhood of the mountains, while in Poland it extends as far to the south as Cracow, and was probably prevalent throughout the greater part of the kingdom. It is found in Holstein and Schleswig, and to some extent in Denmark.

The purest and finest examples of churches and civic buildings are to be found in the Altmark and Neumark, Lübeck, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, and, as regards castellated buildings, in Prussia. In these provinces few even of the smaller towns are without some remarkable example of a church, a town-hall, a gateway, or a house, and many can show several examples of each class. Among so many it is difficult to select, and I shall therefore confine myself to some description of a few of the more remarkable specimens of each class which I have examined and sketched, and which date from about 1330 to 1450, the best period, as I have before said, of this Brick Architecture.

The building represented in the foreground of Plate V. is a long range on the south side of the church of St. Mary at Wismar, intended probably as a residence for priests; one end and a part of the back are shown, affording one of the most curious and elegant examples of the style which I have seen. This building may, I think, be attributed to the second half of the fourteenth century. The tall parapet, with open arches, is a fine decorative feature, now very seldom to be found in an entire state, though fragments show it to have been frequently

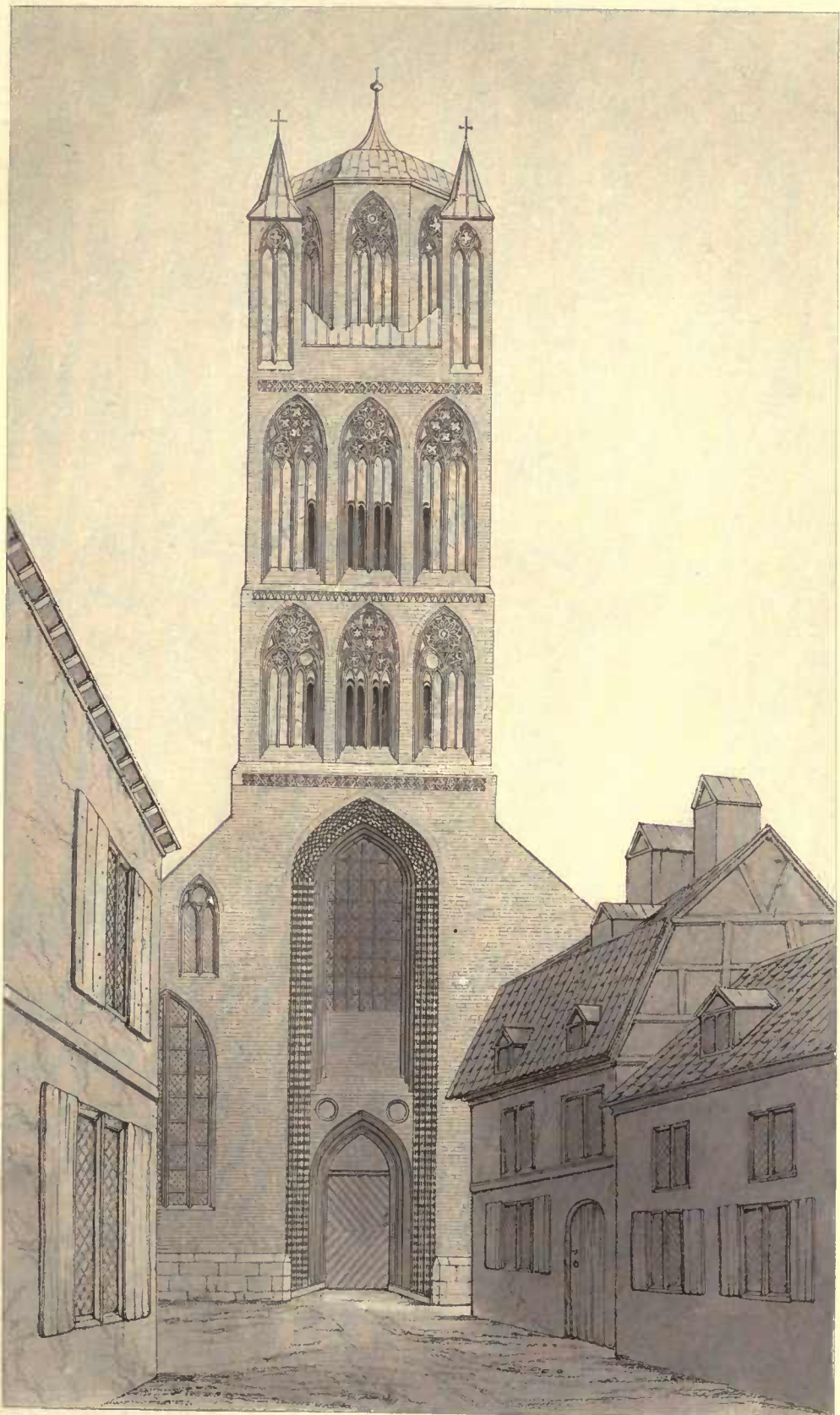
used. The walling is in alternate courses of red and dark-green brick, while the ornamental parts are dark-green, the green being, as it always is, glazed.

The chapel of the Holy Ghost, singularly placed in front of the Marienkirche, is entirely of dark green-glazed brick: the gable has no doubt been destroyed, and it is in other respects much mutilated. I believe it to belong to the second half of the fourteenth century. The Marienkirche, which is seen in the background, was commenced in 1339, and the choir was built between that date and 1354. It is a very plain building of large size, about 300 feet in length and 109 feet high in the interior. The tower, which rises from the middle of a western transept-like mass, is said by Herr Lubke (*Deutsches Kunst-blatt*, 4 Sept. 1852) to be of the fifteenth century; its character would, however, rather lead us to attribute it to an earlier date. Three stories of the tower rise above the roof of the nave, each having on each face two precisely similar windows, and each face finishes with a gable. Though almost devoid of ornament, this tower, from its great height and massiveness, and the good proportion of its parts, has a very fine and striking effect.

The Jacobi-kirche, at Stralsund, is attributed by Kugler to the close of the fourteenth century. The body of the church is very lofty, and very plain, almost rude, in style; the tower, on the other hand (Plate VI.), is one of the most highly-ornamented and best preserved examples which I have met with. It rises as will be seen from the centre of the west front; the immense arch, which includes both door and window, is a striking feature, and affords a good instance of the system of repeating mouldings which is so characteristic of the style. The mouldings of the doorway, including the arch, are in thirteen groups, six of which have a convex, and seven a concave, outline, each group being, I believe, a separate piece. The mouldings of convex outline are combinations of three or five rounds; the concave, in five instances, a hollow with a round in its centre. The windows in the tower are merely ornamental, the real windows being the narrow slits which are seen between the mullions; the tracery is all glazed. The octagonal story was no doubt once covered by a tall spire.

One church of the fourteenth century I cannot omit to mention, although I have not myself seen it, the Marienkirche at Prenzlau, not very far from Stettin; it would seem to have been begun about 1325, but much of its rich decoration probably dates from the end of the century. Kugler notices it as the most important work of the fourteenth century in that district, and as equally remarkable for boldness of construction and richness of decoration.* Engravings of

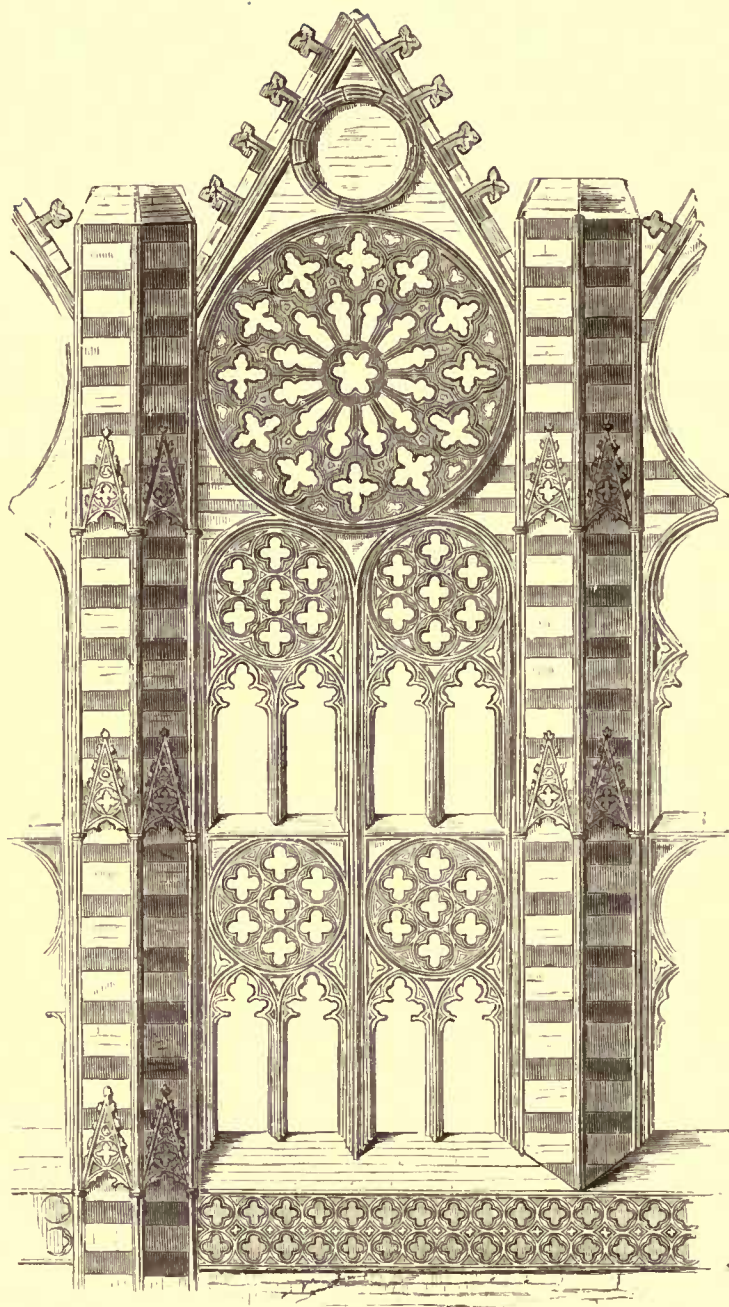
* Kugler, *Ges. der Baukunst*, vol. iii. p. 460.



A. Nesbitt, del.

J.H. Le Meux, sc.

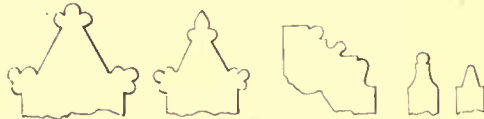
THE JAKOBIKIRCHE STRALSUND.



ST. KATHERINE'S CHURCH, BRANDENBURG.

the richest part, the east end, and of the details, will be found in Kallenbach (Atlas, Pl. 58, 59). The gable of the east end is peculiarly remarkable for the decoration of buttresses and tracery which cover its surface, in imitation of the rich ornament of the like kind which in districts where stone is abundant is frequently found in a corresponding position. The openwork parapets of the east end and of the towers are also very remarkable.

A somewhat later building, the church of St. Katharine at Brandenburg, exhibits a system of decoration not less deserving of notice. A portion of this is represented



Mouldings, St. Katharine's, Brandenburg.

in Plate VII. which shows one of four compartments^a of a screen of open tracery-work hiding the roofs of a sort of transept on the north side; some of the mouldings are shown in the accompanying diagrams;^b the moulded work is entirely glazed, and by its richness and dark colour contrasts strangely with the smooth red walls which it surmounts. The doorways have much elaborate ornament of a like kind, and in niches in the lower parts of the buttresses are figures of saints in full relief made of earthenware glazed of a dark-green colour. None of the figures that I saw exceeded eighteen inches in height. An inscription on a large brick in the south transept gives 1401 as the date when the church was begun.^c

The church of St. Nicholas at Wismar is of a still later date, having been dedicated in 1460.^d It is a very large church, and the vault of the choir is not less than 128 feet in height. The most peculiar feature of this church is the decoration of the gable of the south transept, built in 1437. In the upper part is a circular false window of fourteen lights, in the centre of which is a human face surrounded by rays (a representation of the sun) in low relief. This face has somewhat the appearance of being of metal, but probably is of glazed brick. The rest of the gable is covered with rows of sunk panels of small figures of

^a Kallenbach has given an engraving of two of these compartments, in which the pinnacles of the buttresses and the finials of the gables are shown as entire; these, however, did not exist when I made my sketch.

^b Of these sections No. 1 is of the larger buttresses, 2 of a lesser buttress, 3 of the circles, 4 of the mullions, and 5 of the cusps.

^c Inscriptions recording the dates of the building of churches are more common in Germany than in England; in the parts in which brick is used they are generally on large bricks, either glazed or unglazed. The great durability of the material has allowed them, usually, to remain in a perfect state.

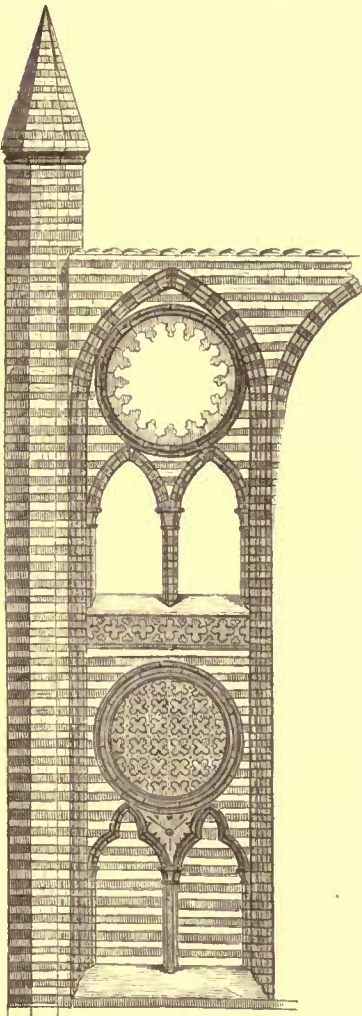
^d Kugler, *Ges. der Baukunst*, vol. iii. p. 449.

the Virgin and Child^a in relief, standing under a canopy, and of lions and grotesque human faces placed alternately. Four rows of the figures of the Virgin occur, the longest containing the same figure repeated about thirty times. The same number of rows of lions and faces, and of panels, with a few intervening lines of plain brick, cover the whole gable.

The civic buildings of the period between 1330 and 1450 are also numerous and remarkable: the town-halls (Rath-häuser) of Lübeck, Stralsund, and Rostock

are very similar, though that of Lübeck has been by far the most splendid. The usual plan was a parallelogram; below the ground were vaulted cellars, which in the rath-haus at Lübeck are peculiarly fine; the groundfloor was often (as at Stralsund) an open space serving as a market-place, entered by a range of arches, and with a vaulted roof supported on columns; the halls for the use of the municipality were above, and the gables of the roofs were concealed by a tall screen of moulded and glazed brick-work, ornamented with false windows, and divided into compartments by a sort of pilaster buttresses finishing in octangular turrets crowned by short spires. As these compartments are not unfrequently six, eight, or more in number, the numerous little spires, each crowned by a vane and rising high above the houses of the town, give these façades a singularly quaint and fantastic effect.

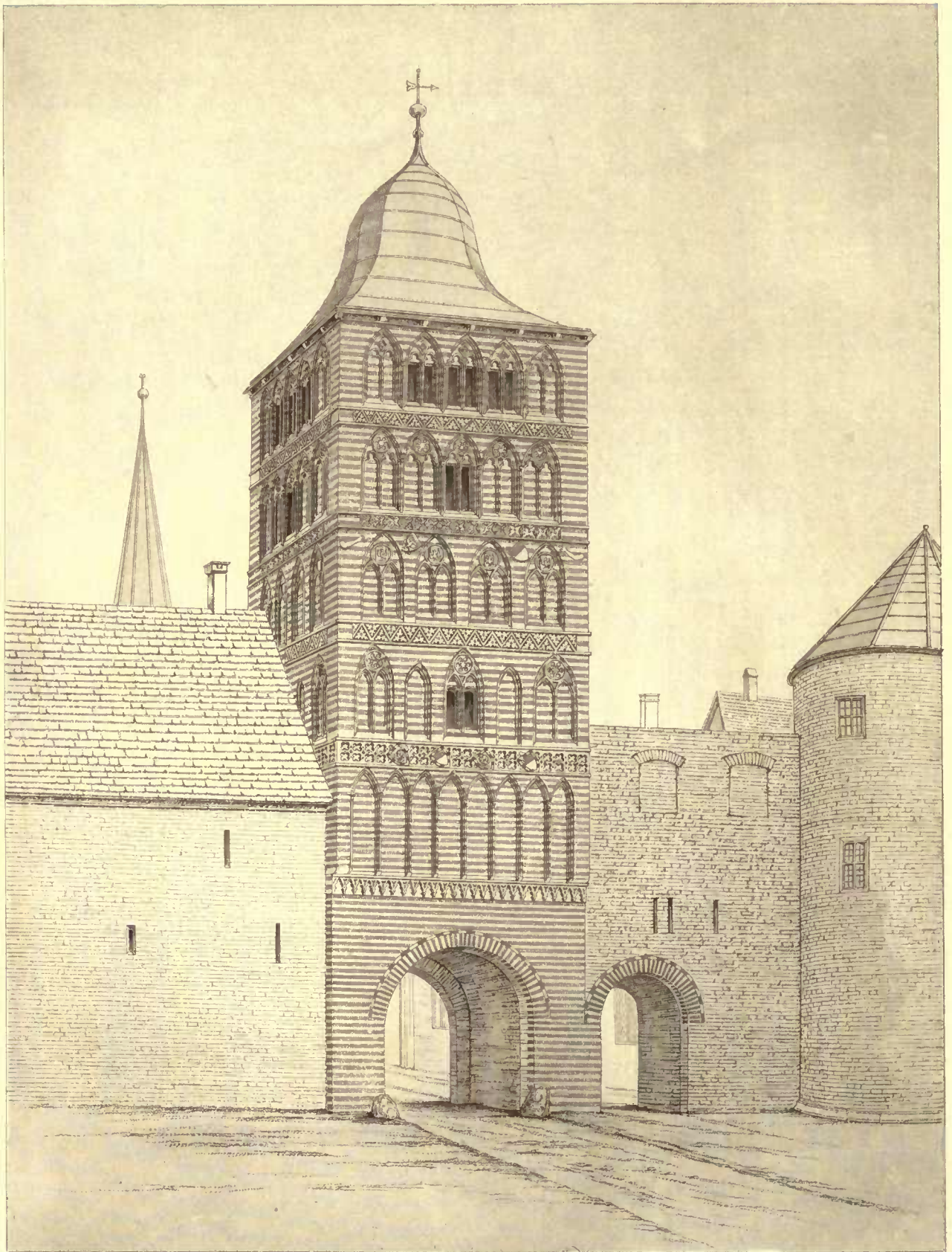
The town-halls of Stralsund and Rostock have been made neat at the expense of the decoration which they no doubt once possessed, but they retain their general form and outline. At Stralsund the vaulted market-place on the ground floor is well preserved; at Lübeck the lower part has been much altered and in parts rebuilt; but the decoration of the screen of the upper part is pecu-



Rathhaus, Lübeck.

liarily well preserved and is very curious, as will be seen by the woodcut. The

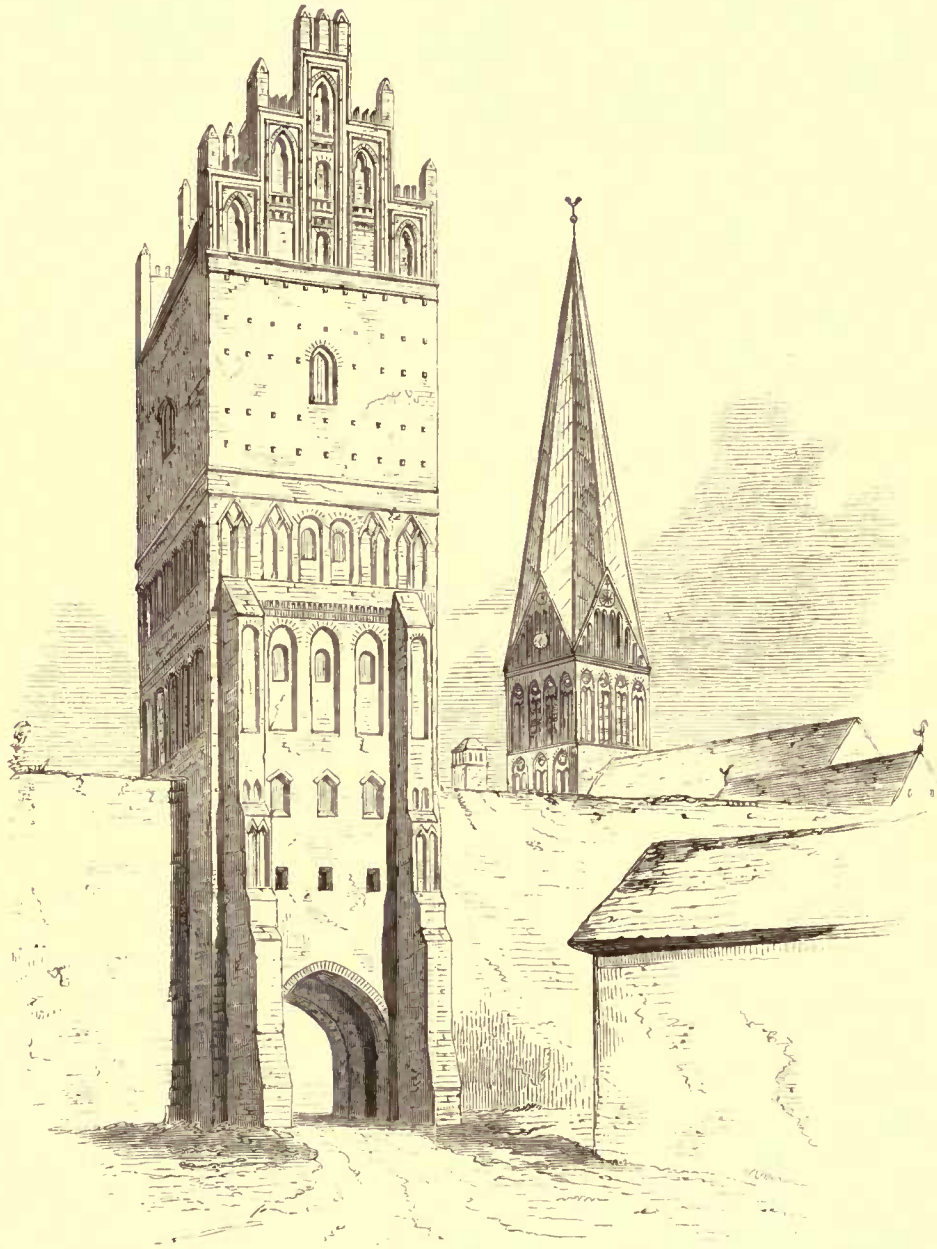
^a The same figures of the Virgin are to be found on other parts of the church, and the faces occur in the remains of the Burg at Lübeck, and in a house in the Hopfenmarkt at Rostock.



A Nesbitt del.

J.H. LeKau. sc.

THE BURG-THOR, LÜBECK.



STEIN THOR, ANCLAM.

screen of the northern end appears to date from the thirteenth century; that of the eastern side, here represented, was probably built a little before 1350.

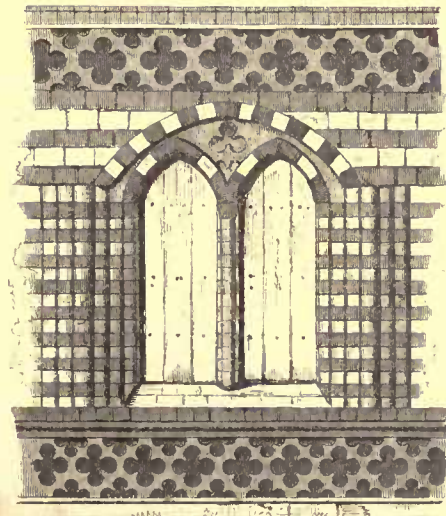
The walls, and particularly the gate-towers, of these cities were also evidently objects upon which expense was willingly incurred: their strength and their stateliness were no doubt matters of much concern and pride to the dwellers in these Hanseatic cities, who, in the fourteenth century, were fast approaching the highest point of their wealth and power.

The walls and towers of Stargard (in Pomerania) are peculiarly fine and picturesque; but no examples exist more ornamental than the Holstein Thor and Burg Thor at Lübeck: the former, with an archway between two massive round towers, ornamented with a succession of elegant arcades, and crowned with high conical roofs, has been repeatedly engraved; but I do not know of any engraving in which the details are given with any approach to correctness. The Burg Thor (Plate VIII.), though much simpler in plan, presents almost exactly the same ornamentation, which is perhaps of as elegant a character as that to be found in any of these brick buildings. These gates would appear to be of about the same date as the eastern façade of the Rath-haus. Some of the same ornaments (particularly a trefoil ornament composed of foliage) are used in both.

The single tower which remains of the Mühlen Thor at Brandenburg bears, in an inscription on brick, the date of 1411 as that of its erection—it is a simple but very effective structure. Its form is octagonal—in each face is a long narrow panel with a pointed head; this is divided by a mullion carrying two segmental unfoliated arches, on which rests a circle, also unfoliated. There is a very bold cornice moulding carrying a battlement, and the whole is covered by a short brick spire.

The tower at Anclam, called the Stein Thor (Plate IX.), although wholly of brick, is a very singular structure; besides the gateway, it contains five stories of various heights, and above these is a gable screen of five divisions, ornamented with trefoil arches and panelling. The whole is of unglazed brick and of rather rough work. It probably dates from the earlier part of the fifteenth century.

The private dwelling-houses of this period are hardly less remarkable and characteristic than the public edifices. Very little remains



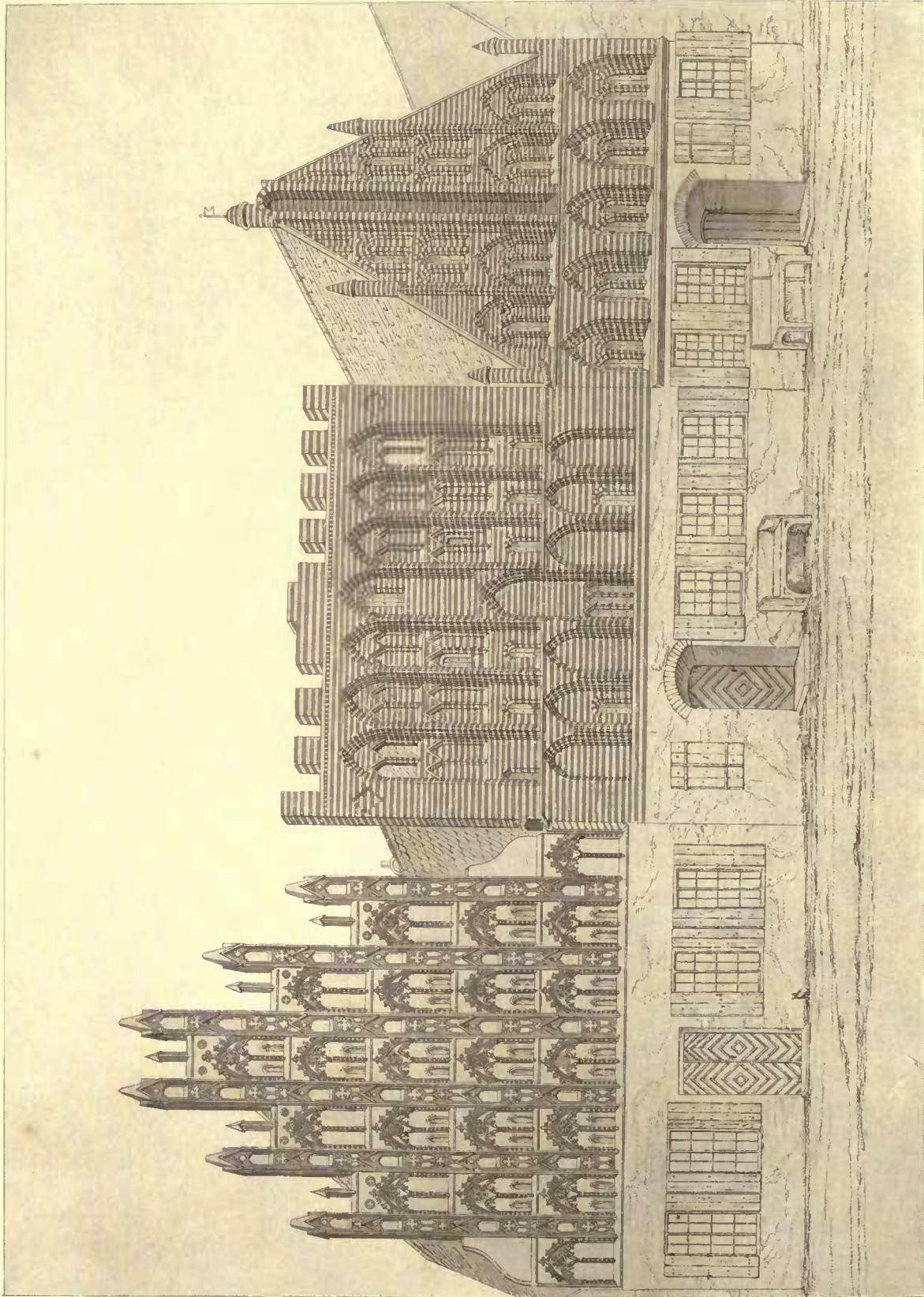
Window of House, Wismar.

which can be attributed to the thirteenth century ; but a house in the street called Die Hegede, at Wismar, may perhaps date from the close of the century. A part of this is represented in the woodcut, which shows one of a range of windows at the base of the gable ; excepting this range of windows, but little remains in an unaltered state. The sections of the mouldings, and the blue tint of the glaze of the bricks, are all in accordance with an early date ; and it corresponds very closely in style with the northern end of the Rath-haus at Lübeck, which I have no doubt is of the latter part of the thirteenth century. Houses of the fourteenth century are also rare : I shall presently notice two at Greifswalde, which I believe to date from that century, and a few examples may be met with elsewhere. Of houses of the fifteenth century examples abound, particularly at Anclam, Wismar, Stralsund, and Greifswalde ; it, however, but rarely happens that they remain in an unaltered state : for, as they have continued to be used as dwelling-houses, the lower stories have almost always been modernized ; and in cases where parts of the fictile ornaments of the upper stories have been lost through time or neglect, the whole of the remainder has been removed, and the despoiled building made neat by whitewash or plaster.^a

The plan of the larger houses is usually an oblong, traversed through the length of the house by a passage of sufficient width to allow a loaded waggon to pass through. This was entered by doorways of proportionate size. On each side of this passage were the living-rooms ; in some but not in all cases the first and even the second floor contained sleeping-rooms ; but frequently the whole of the house above the ground floor served as a storehouse and granary, the immense roof containing three, four, or even five floors. This roof is hidden by a screen, usually taking a pyramidal form, spreading beyond and rising above it, and ornamented with false windows, panelled strip buttresses, and pinnacles. As the walling is usually in alternate lines of red and black bricks, and the ornaments of black glazed pottery, the effect of these fantastic fronts, particularly when lighted up by sunshine, is quaint, uncommon, and picturesque in the highest degree. In Wismar, Anclam, Greifswald, and Stralsund, these strange buildings often occur in groups of threes, fours, and fives together in a tolerably unaltered state, at least so far as regards their upper parts, making a most singular outline against the sky.

One very strange group of three occurs in the market-place at Anclam. One of these has the gable divided into eight, the next into two, and the third into five compartments.

^a The same method of "restoration" is, I regret to say, the one generally employed in the case of churches, and very many are to be met with in this "restored" condition.



A. Nesbit del.

J. H. Le Keux sc.

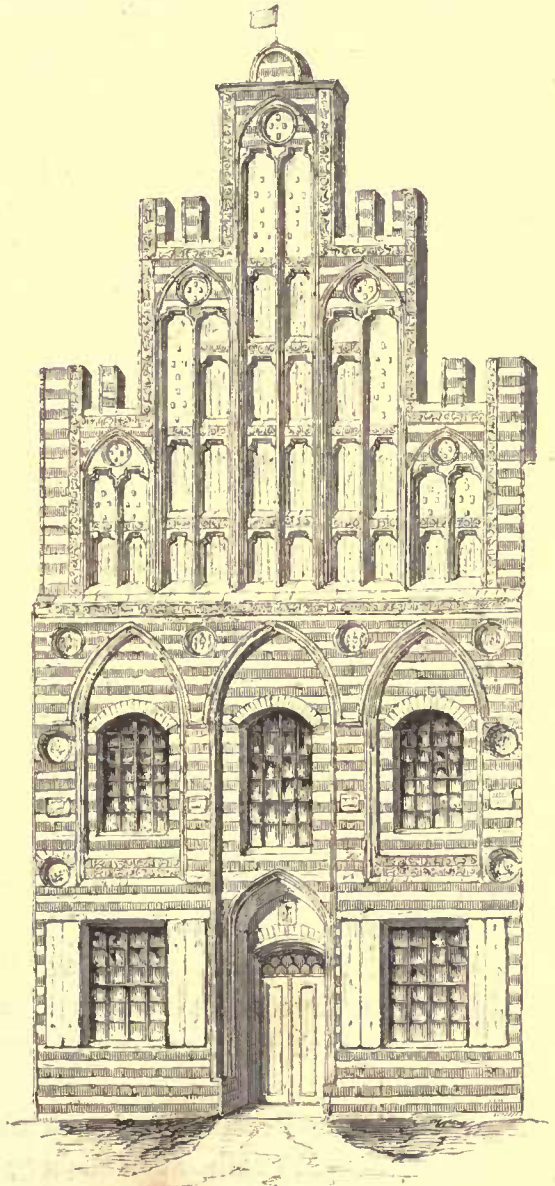
HOUSES IN THE MARKET PLACE, GROEFSWALDIE.

The most remarkable group, however, which I have met with is of three houses on the east side of the Market-place at Greifswald (represented in Plate X). Of these the one on the left is evidently later in date than the other two, having probably been built about 1410 to 1420, while the other two are probably not less than sixty or seventy years older. They may, perhaps, even be of a somewhat earlier date, the glaze of the bricks with which they are constructed having the blue tint which seems to indicate an early date.

It is to be regretted that the house on the right hand has been mutilated in the upper part; the central house also has evidently lost some part of its finishing. The doorways in these two houses may perhaps be original; that of the house on the left is certainly not so. An engraving is given by Kallenbach (plate lx.) of this house, in which he has restored the lower story, placing a wide pointed arch in the centre and windows headed by a segmental arch on each side of it. This conjectural restoration is not without probability, as many remains of ground floors so arranged are to be found in these cities. He says that the blank spaces between the mullions and in the spandrels were plastered white, so that the façade might have a surface variegated with red, white, and black. I did not myself observe this plastering, but I do not deny that it existed.

The mouldings of this house differ considerably from those of the other two, which last have mouldings of nearly the same sections, resembling those of the Rath-haus at Lübeck, which they also somewhat resemble in design.

Another very interesting house is in the Hopfenmarkt at Rostock, and is represented in the woodcut. This house may probably date from the first half of the fifteenth century; it retains the



House at Rostock.

doorway in an unaltered state; the windows of the first-floor were remarkably large. It is also remarkable on account of its decorations: over the door is the Crucifixion; the four lower medallions contain the symbols of the Evangelists; the four upper ones groups of figures representing subjects either scriptural or legendary; between these are inscriptions which I was unable to decipher in the failing light of an autumn evening. The subjects are all in relief and glazed. Lines of bricks, with figures of lions and roses alternating, are placed across the front and round the windows of the gable. It is to be regretted that the design has been mutilated by the loss of the finishing parts of the pinnacles.

I ought not altogether to omit to allude to the castellated architecture of this period, though, as I have not been able to examine any examples of it myself, I do not propose to go into any detail. An interesting chapter on the subject will be found in Kugler's *Ges. der Baukunst*, vol. iii., p. 142, and engravings of the most remarkable specimen, the Marienburg, the residence of the Grand Master of the Teutonic order, have appeared in the works of Frick and von Quast upon that building.^a The original castle at Marienburg, the Hoehschloss, was a quadrangular edifice measuring from 160 to 190 feet, and enclosing a court surrounded by a cloister. The construction of this began in 1280. The style is severe and simple, the most decorated part being the covered gallery which crowns the walls. In 1309 a large new portion was commenced, and throughout nearly the whole of the century vast works were carried on. The most striking part of the exterior is the side towards the Nogat, a fine battlemented mass with deep recesses, covered by segmental arches, and fine octagonal bartizans springing from square masses at the angles. The interior is in general plain, but a richly decorated doorway leading to the chapel is mentioned by Kugler as probably the most complete and satisfactory composition which is to be found in the whole range of this style of Brick Architecture. In the great gateway Kugler thinks that reminiscences of Oriental architecture are plainly perceptible. The larger apartments have vaulted roofs springing from slender octagonal columns of granite, the capitals and bases of which are of Swedish limestone. The windows are more peculiar than elegant, and in most instances consist of three unfoliated square-headed lights, over which are two lights of the same size also square-headed and unfoliated. In some instances there is a double-feathered quatrefoil in the head of each light, and sometimes a double-feathered pointed arch below the quatrefoil.

Other castles in Prussia much resemble the Hoehschloss at Marienburg. Of these the Episcopal Castle at Heilsberg appears to afford an excellent example;

^a See also Büsching, *Das Schloss der deutschen Ritter zu Marienburg*, Berlin, 1823.

it is a nearly square mass, about 153 and 157 feet in length and breadth, with a tower at one angle; in the centre is a small court surrounded by a cloister of two stories. The apartments in the interior are vaulted in much the same manner as those of the Marienburg. This castle was built between 1350 and 1400.^a

In the later period of pointed architecture, *i.e.* from 1450 to 1550, the construction of new buildings was less extensively carried on in the countries in which Brick Architecture was most practised; it was a period marked rather by decline than by advance in the fortunes of most of the Hanscatic cities, and the wealth and zeal of preceding generations had already provided an ample supply of fine churches. Those that were erected do not present very many marked features. The progress of the style, as in other parts of Germany, was to a less individuality and a greater fusion of parts; the mouldings are thinner, poorer, and less marked; the piers have no capitals, and are often octagonal and without mouldings; the ribs of the vaulting are of the poorest character, and the windows contain nothing that can be called tracery, the mullions being often merely upright bars running from the sill to the arch. The window arches are not unfrequently segmental or pointed segmental. The redeeming features which are met with in the stone buildings of this period, *viz.* elaborate ornamentation on the exterior, particularly about the doorways and the towers, and fanciful if not beautiful tracery in the windows, are wanting in the edifices of brick. The extremely bald effect of the interiors was, however, in their original state, much relieved by paintings on the walls, and very probably on the vaultings also, and by carvings in wood and other decorations about the altars. Vast triptychs, filled with figures carved in high relief in wood, were extremely common; and where, as at Breslau and Cracow, the churches still retain their ancient decorations, a surprising number of them are to be found. In the district with which we are now concerned some good specimens are preserved, as in churches at Wismar, Anclam, and Frankfort on the Oder. In Pomerania, however, according to Kugler, late restorations have caused the destruction of many very interesting examples.

One of the best examples of a church of this period is the Marienkirche at Stralsund, a fine building as regards size and proportions, but very bald and poor in detail; the windows are large and numerous, but of the poorest kind, the mullions being merely upright bars. This church was finished in 1470, having been in building during the greater part of the century.^b

^a Kugler, *Ges. der Baukunst*, vol. iii. p. 484.

^b Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i. p. 744.

In some of the towns, where stone was more commonly used than brick during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is not uncommon to find that the transepts or walls of the aisles are carried up to the level of the roof in stone, and that the gables are constructed in black and red brick, ornamented in the usual manner. Unser liebe Frau and St. Ansgar at Bremen, and the cathedral of Verden, afford good examples; the effect, as may be supposed, is much more singular than pleasing. Kugler thinks that these are to be considered as completions of unfinished buildings, in what in the latter part of the fifteenth century had become the prevalent and fashionable style.^a

Some civic buildings of this period deserve notice, particularly on account of their curious ornamentation; one of these is the Town-hall at Hanover, which bears the date of 1455 in an inscription. Here the compartments of the gables contain armed figures about three feet high in low relief, and there is a broad band or frieze of foliage enclosing the escutcheons of the seven Electors, &c.; in another part are groups of figures said to represent the punishments inflicted upon criminals, and the like subjects. All this decoration is glazed, and executed in many small pieces laid in courses like bricks.

The Rath-haus at Zerbst,^b in Anhalt, is similarly decorated with statues about three feet high, said to have been originally coloured and gilt, and to have been sent from Magdeburg. The building bears the dates of 1479, 1480, and 1481.

Many dwelling-houses which belong to this period may be found; in general, however, the designs are nearly the same as those of the houses dating from the early part of the fifteenth century, and the ornament less well carried out. In Lübeck are many houses, apparently of the sixteenth century, the fronts of which are formed by panels rising either from the ground or from the level of the ground floor, and finishing with an arch in the gable. The most common ornaments in these panels are zigzag or cable mouldings, which are produced by using bricks with a curved face, the surface of which is moulded into three or four semi-cylinders placed obliquely. If these bricks are laid one over the other with the slopes all in the same direction, a cable moulding is produced, while if the alternate bricks are reversed and laid with the slope in the opposite direction a zigzag moulding^c is the result. These houses have at first sight the appearance of being of a very early date, but on examining the doorways and other parts it will be seen that they are not really earlier than the sixteenth century.

^a Ges. der Baukunst, vol. iii p. 451.

^b Puttrich, Denkmale, &c.

^c At Spalding, in Lincolnshire, is a small brick house with a porch; the latter is entered by a circular-headed doorway with a zigzag moulding.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, the influence of the revival of classical architecture had extended to the North-east of Germany; but the buildings of this period, although highly deserving of attention, do not come within the scope of this paper. I will therefore merely mention as examples the Fürstenhof at Wismar which bears the date of 1554, the Schloss at Schwerin, and that at Gadebusch. All these are richly decorated with ornament of a Renaissance character of considerable elegance. This ornament, however, is no longer glazed of a dark colour, and in small pieces, but is white or stone colour, unglazed, and executed in large slabs, closely resembling in fact Italian terra-cotta,^a and showing, no doubt, the effect of communication with the artists of Italy.

Before concluding, it may be well to mention some instances in which glazed bricks or tiles were used for purposes not strictly architectural. A few examples of sepulchral memorials, a good deal injured by the tread of feet, remain in the pavement of the cathedral of Brandenburg; they date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and most of them commemorate canons of that church. Some have effigies in low relief, and one fragment shows remains of shrine-work in incised lines, the surface having been subsequently glazed; several fragments of inscriptions executed in the same way also remain. Inscriptions executed either in relief or incised, but in either case glazed, not unfrequently record the dates of the erection of buildings. I have already noticed the occurrence of such at St. Katharine's, Brandenburg, with the date 1401, at the Mühlen Thor in the same city with 1411, and at the Rath-haus in Hanover with 1455. In Prussia, according to Kugler, it is not unusual to find inscriptions in large characters used as friezes or as ornamental bands round the arches of doors and windows, which he considers to be reminiscences of Sicilian and Eastern architecture.^b He notices an example in the Jakobskirche at Thorn which bears the date 1309.

^a Ges. der Baukunst, vol. iii. p. 481.

^b So at Layer Marney Tower, Essex, built about 1530, are ornamental details, some of Gothic, others of Renaissance character—the first of small pieces of red brick, the last of yellowish terra-cotta in large pieces. The curious battlement and cornice shown in the plate opposite page 23 in "Parker's Domestic Architecture," vol. iii., exhibit the two in juxtaposition, the corbel-table being of the first class, the cornice and battlement of the second.

VII.—*Observations on a Manuscript Account of the Treaty of Newport, A.D. 1648, in the possession of the Right Hon. the Earl of Verulam. By JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read 29th November, 1860.

By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Verulam I am enabled to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries a folio MS. volume which contains an account of the Treaty held at Newport in the Isle of Wight in the months of September, October, and November, 1648, between King Charles I. and certain Commissioners appointed by the Parliament.

The principal accounts of this treaty with which I am acquainted are three: 1. That of Clarendon, printed in his State Papers; 2. That of Nicholas Oudart, printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii. 387; and 3. An account printed, London, fol. 1705, and entitled, "Perfect Copies of all the Votes, Letters, Proposals, and Answers . . . that passed in the Treaty held at Newport . . . by Sir Edward Walker, knight, Garter."

All these accounts proceeded from the King's friends. Nicholas Oudart had been secretary to Sir Edward Nicholas, and was present at Newport in attendance upon the King. The papers published by Sir Edward Walker were derived from the King himself, who handed them to him for preservation.

The account now placed before the Society is that of the Parliamentary Commissioners, and was made up in the same way as Sir Edward Walker's Collection, from the original papers which passed between the King and the Commissioners. Under the date of 25th Sept. 1648, the writer states, "This day *the Commissioners gave me* a Letter they received from the Speaker of the House of Commons." This passage seems to point to some secretary or clerk to the Commissioners as the compiler of the MS.

Lord Verulam's MS. contains, I believe, all that is in Sir Edward Walker's publication, and it also contains the Instructions given by the Parliament to their Commissioners—instructions which the Commissioners declined to produce to the King—and the correspondence which passed between the Commissioners and the Parliament during the Treaty. It is possible that these additional

papers may be in print, but I have not yet found them elsewhere than in the Verulam Manuscript.*

Sir Edward Walker's publication is a bare collection of documents. Although present at Newport, he made no notes, or none that were published. Oudart and the compiler of the Verulam MS. were both likewise present from day to day, and each has given occasional remarks upon the conduct or sayings of the King, or little descriptive touches in relation to other people. An instance derived from Lord Verulam's MS. occurs under the date of the 2nd October, 1648. The question at that time in discussion was the apostolical institution of episcopacy. Marshall and several other presbyterian divines debated the question throughout a morning-sitting, and at its close another meeting was appointed for the afternoon to receive from Marshall and his companions a written statement of their reasons. As they were on the point of separating, the King tendered a paper to Marshall containing an extrajudicial statement of his Majesty's views. Marshall and his companions declined to receive it, saying that they could not accept any paper without the previous consent of the Commissioners. The King, we are told, urged the paper upon them a second time, and was again refused. He then laid the paper aside with the remark that he thought it was not so hot as to burn their fingers.

Another example of the same kind of quick and, in a certain sense, witty rejoinder on the part of the King is stated to have occurred on the 5th October, 1648. A morning was spent, on the King's invitation, in an endeavour to satisfy his objections to the Presbyterian Directory for Public Worship. In the course, or perhaps at the close of the debate, the King is reported to have said, "As to the Covenant," that "it was throughout interwoven with the Scotch interest, and, if that were taken out, it would be as thin as my Lord Say's country cheeses!" Lord Say, it will be remembered, was one of the Parliamentary Commissioners. The cheeses alluded to were those of Banbury, near which town Lord Say had a residence. Bardolph terms Slender, "You Banbury cheese!" (Merry Wives of Windsor, Act i. Sc. 1), in allusion to the same characteristic attributed by the King, in a certain possible case, to the Covenant.

Again, on the 17th October, 1648, we learn that the King remarked to the Parliamentary Commissioners that the Parliament had voted his answer respecting the Church to be unsatisfactory, but that they had not shown wherein

* Another copy of the same account in the hand of W. Fulman may be seen in a MS. belonging to Corpus Christi College, Oxford (No. cccxvii.) which has kindly been communicated to the Society by the Librarian of the College.

it was so, nor why, and therefore his Majesty desired the Commissioners that he might know wherein he gave not satisfaction. After some further observations he added that “they were very honest and ingenious gentlemen, yet he knew no reason why he should bear more reverence to their consciences than his own.” The writer of the Manuscript adds, “Whereupon they consented the divines should bring in their replication in the afternoon, which they did, being of five sheets of paper, and, after the divines were gone, the King said there was a great many of words but little of moment.”

On the 8th November, 1648, when the Commissioners presented to the King the Shorter Catechism agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, it is registered that his Majesty inquired, no doubt with a gesture which suited the words, “Must he go to catechising again?”

Ten days afterwards, when he delivered a paper declining any further concession in reference to the Church, the King told the Commissioners that “he could go no further, and would suffer any misery rather than hazard the tranquillity of a quiet mind.”

There is not much that is memorable in these and such like remarks, but they evidence that the compiler of the Verulam MS. was unquestionably present at the treaty, and they show the free, easy way in which the King carried himself during the transaction of the business, his acquaintance with the subjects in debate, and the clever, off-hand style of his more familiar conversation.

All the Commissioners named in the Instructions attended at Newport. They set out from London, as we are informed in the Verulam MS., on Wednesday the 13th September, 1648. They lay at Farnham that night. On Thursday night they lay at Southampton, and the next day took shipping for Newport. Their further adventures on their journey are detailed in the following, which is their first letter addressed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the only one that is worth quoting.

“Sir,—After wee had received yo^r commands and our dispatch for this journey upon Wednesday the 13th instant, in which you are pleased to imploy our service, wee were careful to make the best haste wee could, and came to Southampton upon the Thursday night, where S^r Peter Killegrewe mett us, with a message from the King that his Majestie was glad wee were soe neere arriving, and was soe desirous noe tyme should be lost upon the Treaty that he would be ready to begin it either Satturday or Munday, but thought Munday would be the fitter day, in regard we might come late the Friday, and not be soe settled as

to beginn the Treaty next day. To w^{ch} wee returned this Answer, which hee carried backe y^e next morning, that the next day wee would speede our passage into the Island, and hoped it might be in good tyme, and then should be readye to attend his Ma^{tie} and goe on with the Treatye either Satturday or Munday as he would please to command us. Accordingly we passed the next day, but the tyde soe fell out as it was very late before wee got to Newport, when imediately wee gave his Maj^{tie} notice of o^r arrivall, and that wee waited his pleasure for o^r admission to him. He sent us word it should bee the next morning, Satturday, betwixt nine and ten of the morning; att which tyme wee repaired unto him, and my Lord Northumberland acquainted him, That by order of both Houses of Parliament wee were come thither to attend him upon the Treaty, and were ready to begin it either that day or Munday. To which his Maj^{tie} replied, Hee was very unwilling to loose any time in itt, but yett he did not thinke fitt to begin such a businesse upon a peice of a day, therefore desired it might begin upon Munday att nine of the clocke; w^{ch} being the tyme appointed wee shall not faile to observe, as anything else hereafter which may give a dispatch and furtherance to the service, and to testifye o^r obedience to all your comãds. This is all hath yett passed; w^{ch} wee thought it o^r duty to give you an account of, and, that done, have nothing else to say but that wee are

“Yo^r humble servants,

“Newport, 16^o Sept. 1648.”

“THOMAS WENMAN, &c.

From this time the Verulam MS. details the progress of the negociation day by day, until the 28th Nov. 1648, when the Commissioners “early in the morning sett onward of their Journey to London, where they arrived on y^e 30th of y^e same moneth, and y^e next morning they made report of y^e Treaty to both Houses.”

The MS. now exhibited has been traditionally regarded in the Verulam family as an account of the Treaty written by their ancestor Sir Harbottle Grimstone, who was one of the Parliamentary Commissioners. The only sense in which this volume can be regarded as Sir Harbottle Grimstone's is that it is probably a copy of the Book of Minutes of the transactions of the Commissioners furnished to Sir Harbottle by their Secretary. Sir Harbottle as a Commissioner was no doubt active and conspicuous, and sincerely desirous for the accomplishment of a peace; but I cannot see any reason for concluding that this MS. volume was either written or compiled by him.

The Earl of Verulam is desirous that the Society should make any use of

this MS. that may be for the benefit of historical literature. I therefore append a copy of the Instructions given to the Commissioners by the two Houses of Parliament ; which is as follows :—

Die Sabbti 2° Sept. 1648.—Instructions for Algernoone Earle of Northumberland, Phillip Earle of Pembroke and Mount Gomery, William Earle of Salisbury, James Earle of Middx, William Lord Viscount Say and Seale, Members of the House of Peeres, Thomas Lord Viscount Wenman, Denzill Holles, William Peirpointe, Esqrs. Sr Harbottle Grimston, Sr John Potts, Barr^{rs}, Sr Henry Vane, Junio^r, Kn^t, Jo: Crewe, Samuell Browne, John Glyn, John Bulkley, Esq^{rs}, Members of the House of Co^mons, Comittees nominated and appointed by both Houses of Parliament to Repaire to Newporte in the Isle of Wight, and there to Treaté personally wth his Majestye upon Propositions for a safe and well Grounded Peace.

First. You shall repaire to Newporte in the Isle of Wight, where you or any eight of you, whereof twoe Lords shall be p^rsent, to treaté with his Majestye for the space of forty dayes from the beginning of the said Treatye, upon the Propositions which were p^rsenté to his Majesty att Hampton Cort, concerning the Kingdomes of England [and] Ireland, and for taking away of Wards and Lyveryes, now delivered unto you, and such other Propositions as by both Houses of Parliament shall bee agreed vpon.

Secondly. You shall receive such Propositions as his Maj^{tie} shall offer, and forthwith transmitt them to both Houses of Parliament, that you may have further directions from them how to proceede thereupon.

Thirdly. You shall proceede to treaté upon the propositions for recalling Declaraçons, &c. the Propositions concerninge the Church, the Propositions concerning the Militia, the Propositions concerninge Ireland, in the first place in order, and receive the King's Answere to each of them ; And upon the rest in the same order they are now placed.

Fourthly. You shall use yo^r best Endeavo^{rs} that the aforementioned Propositions may be agreed unto without receding from the matter of them.

Fifthly. You shall deliver yo^r demands and receive his Majesties Answere to them in wrytinge.

Sixthly. You shall give frequent Advertisements to both houses of Parliament of yo^r Proceedings in this Treatye.

JO: BROWNE, Cleric.
Parliamentorç.

H: ELSYNGE, Cler. Part
dom^o Co^m:.

VIII.—*Explorations des anciens Cimetières de Roux-Mesnil et d'Etran en Normandie, suivies de détails sur la Sépulture chrétienne du Moyen-âge ; par M. L'ABBÉ COCHET, Hon. F.S.A.*

Partly read in abstract, November 29, 1860.

ROUX-MESNIL.

ROUX-MESNIL est un modeste village dont le nom rappelle le conquérant de la Normandie.^a Il est situé au milieu de la plaine qui sépare la vallée de la Seie de celle de la Varenne, à une distance à peu près égale du château d'Arques et de la ville de Dieppe. L'église de ce hameau, abandonnée en 1812 et complètement détruite en 1839,^b était située au milieu des champs labourés, dans un bosquet planté d'arbres et de pommiers, qui forment au sein de la campagne un verdoyant oasis.

Un vieil autel de pierre dont la maçonnerie a longtemps bravé la destruction, et le vocable de St. Denis, l'un des plus anciens patrons de la Gaule, m'ont fait soupçonner qu'il pouvait y avoir là des découvertes à faire intéressantes pour l'archéologie et la sépulture chrétienne du moyen-âge. Le voisinage de Bouteilles, et le succès de mes diverses fouilles sur ce dernier point, m'encourageaient à tenter cette recherche.

Je commençai mes fouilles le 29 Novembre, 1858, et je les continuai jusqu'au 15 Décembre sans discontinuer : voici quels en ont été les résultats.

Nous avons consacré la première campagne à visiter tout le chœur, à partir du maître-autel, et la partie haute de la nef, la seconde à explorer le parvis jusqu'au portail. Dans la première portion, la plus importante de l'édifice, nous avons sondé jusqu'au sol naturel. Nous n'y avons rencontré que des inhumations faites avec des cercueils de bois, à une époque relativement récente. Le plus grand intérêt qu'ait présenté cette fouille fut l'ancien baptistère en pierre qui

^a Roux-Mesnil, Roumesnil, *Rollonis mansionile*, est appelé Roumesnilium, en 1258, par Eudes Rigaud dans le *Regestrum*, ou journal de ses visites pastorales, p. 329. Voir aussi Duplessis, *Descript. géog. et hist. de la Haute Normandie*, t. 1^{er}, p. 679.

^b Les Eglises de l'Arrondissement de Dieppe—Eglises rurales, p. 108.

m'a paru du XVI^e siècle, un fragment de colonne que j'ai considéré comme du XIII^e, et quelques tufs d'appareil qui peuvent remonter jusqu'au XI^e, époque probable de la première église.

Les autres restes d'antiquité consistèrent surtout en des carreaux émaillés et en de nombreux fragments de vases funéraires.

Les carreaux émaillés au nombre de 21, tant entiers qu'en morceaux, représentent pour la plupart des losanges entiers ou à l'état de formation. Ils semblent avoir fait partie d'un système de décoration consistant en une suite de losanges s'enchaînant l'un à l'autre. Plusieurs paraissent se rattacher à des combinaisons dont quatre carreaux devaient faire partie. Quelques uns forment à eux seuls un motif séparé qui pouvait se combiner dans l'ensemble d'un sujet. Les carreaux que nous avons le mieux reconnus nous ont présenté des fleurs-de-lis, des feuilles de chêne, des reines-Marguerites, un fragment d'écusson, et des espèces de croix de Malte. Ces carrelages, assez semblables à ceux de Bouteilles, doivent remonter comme eux aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles.

Quant aux vases funéraires nous n'en avons pas trouvé moins de 150 fragments, provenant de plus de 40 individus. Ces 40 vases pouvaient se partager en 5 ou 6 espèces différentes ; dont nous n'avons reconnu bien nettement que 4 types qui nous soient familiers dans les sépultures chrétiennes de ce pays.

En effet la première espèce de vases, dont il y avait 5 ou 6 individus, est de ceux que l'on nomme en Normandie *pichets*, et en Angleterre *pitchers*. Leur forme, arrondie dans sa partie inférieure, s'allonge ensuite vers le haut et produit un collet qui occupe bien le tiers du vase. Le col est ordinairement recouvert de raies circulaires. Tous sont habituellement munis d'une anse unique et aucun d'eux n'a présenté ni bec ni goulot. La terre en est blanche, tirant un peu sur le jaune ; un vernis vert est semé au dehors sur le col et sur la panse. Généralement ces vases sont légers et tournés avec élégance. Leur capacité habituelle est de 8 décilitres. La hauteur moyenne est de 15^e ; la largeur de l'ouverture est de 6 à 8^e ; celle de la panse de 10 à 12^e.

Des vases de ce genre ont été trouvés dans le cimetière de Braquemont en 1857,^a dans celui de Martin-Eglise en 1858, et à Bouteilles en 1857 et en 1858. Il n'y en avait qu'un ou deux à Martin-Eglise et à Braquemont, mais à Bouteilles nous en avons compté plus de 100. Deux de ces derniers sont été publiés dans notre Mémoire sur les Sépultures chrétiennes de Bouteilles, inséré dans le XXXVII^e volume de l'*Archæologia*.^b

^a Trouvés dans un cercueil en moëllon et actuellement déposés à la bibliothèque publique de Dieppe.

^b Sépult. chrét. de la période Anglo-Normande trouvé à Bouteilles près Dieppe en 1857. *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXVII. p. 415—20, pl. xi. fig. 1 et 4. Bulletin monumental, t. xxv.

Nous en avons également vu de semblables au Musée de Sèvres venant de Paris, où ils ont été recueillis par M. Arthur Forgeais dans les anciens cimetières, notamment Rue de la Harpe en 1857.^a

Nous attribuons ces vases au XIV^e siècle.

En Angleterre Roach Smith en a signalé de pareils recueillis sous le sol de Londres : il les croit du même temps que les nôtres.^b

La seconde catégorie des vases funéraires de Roux-Mesnil a été trouvée devant le portail de l'église. Elle appartient à un type plus répandu, au moins dans le département de la Seine Inférieure. C'est un genre de vase de forme circulaire, assez semblable à nos vases de nuit, ayant un large pied, une anse, et un collet. La terre en est fine et bien choisie, le façonnage léger et assez gracieux. Un vernis verdâtre et clair est sobrement semé à l'intérieur, sur le fond, et à l'embouchure. La capacité moyenne de ces vases est de 5 décilitres.

Nous croyons qu'ils appartiennent au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle. Nous n'en connaissons que 4 à Roux-Mesnil ; mais des vases semblables ont été rencontrés en 1852 à Neufchâtel en Bray, dans la chapelle de St. Thomas-le-Martyr dédiée vers 1190. Mes différentes fouilles de Bouteilles,^c de 1855 à 1858, ne m'en ont pas donné moins de 25 à 30. Deux d'entre eux ont été reproduits en couleur dans l'*Archæologia*,^d d'autres ont été édités en noir par M. de Caumont dans le *Bulletin Monumental*,^e et par moi-même dans mes *Sépultures gauloises, romaines, franques, et normandes*.^f

Il n'est pas impossible qu'il en ait été trouvé de pareils en 1822 dans la chapelle royale de Dreux,^g et en 1856 à St. Serges d'Angers dans le tombeau de François d'Orignai, abbé en 1480.^h

Parmi les vases nettement dessinés et parfaitement reconnaissables, nous avons encore à signaler deux catégories céramiques, mais celles-ci sont en grès. La première est un vase de forme ronde, et en terre grèsée, ayant le type d'un

^a Musée de Sèvres, No. 10,236.

^b Roach Smith, *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities*, p. 114—17.

^c *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXVII. p. 415—20. *Sép. gaul. rom. franq. et norm.* p. 354—388. *Bulletin monumental*, t. xxv. p. 438.

^d *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXVI. p. 266, pl. xxi. fig. 6 ; Vol. XXXVII. p. 417—18, pl. xi. fig. 5.

^e *Bulletin monumental*, t. xxii. p. 358.

^f *Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm.* p. 320, 354, 372.

^g Marquis, *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm.* t. 1^{er}, p. 62 ; *Atlas de 1824*, pl. ii. bis. fig. 203. *Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm.* p. 363—64. *Bulletin monumental*, t. xxii. p. 351.

^h Godard Faultrier, *Note sur un tombeau découvert à St. Serges* ; dans la *Revue de L'Anjou et du Maine de 1857*. *Revue de l'Art Chrétien de 1857*, p. 130. *Bulletin monumental*, t. xvii. p. 76, et t. xxv.

poivrier ou d'une tire-lire. Ce vase put contenir des parfums ou de la poussière odorante. En 1856 nous en avons trouvé un dans le cimetière de Bouteilles, encore rempli d'une poudre grise semblable à de l'encens pulvérisé.^a En 1846 dans l'église de Fallencourt (arrondissement de Neufchâtel) on a rencontré deux vases pareils dans la sépulture d'Ezéchiass de Mondion, chevalier, qui dût mourir au commencement du XVII^e siècle.^b Enfin, en 1858 dans les fouilles à la Madeleine de Bernay, M. Métayer a recueilli un de ces petits vases en forme de poivrier, logé dans le crâne même d'un défunt.^c

Nous attribuons le vase de Roux-Mesnil et ceux qui lui ressemblent au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle.

La seconde classe des vases de grès consiste dans de petites terrines que l'on trouve à peu près dans tous les cimetières, et qui selon toutes les vraisemblances durent servir à placer de l'eau bénite. Il s'en est rencontré 4 à Roux-Mesnil semblables à celles que nous connaissons ailleurs ; mais peut-être un peu moins grandes. Ce sont de petites soucoupes en grès-cérame que l'on fabriquait en grande abondance à Paris, dans le Beauvoisis, et probablement aussi dans le pays de Bray. Ces petites jattes, hautes de 5 à 6^e, n'ont guères que 3^e de diamètre à la base, et 8 ou 9^e dans leur plus grande ouverture. Elles posent sur un pied et sont munies d'un rebord formé par un ourlet aplati. On a trouvé de ces terrines à Bouteilles, à St. Aubin-sur-mer, à Martin-Eglise, à Lillebonne, à Londinières, à Pissy-Poville, à St. Nicaise de Rouen,^d à la Madeleine de Bernay,^e et sur divers points de Paris, notamment dans la rue de l'Arbre Sec, à l'hospice de la Ste. Trinité,^f dans le cloître St. Magloire, et dans la chapelle des Grassins.^g Du reste nous ne citons ici que celles qui proviennent d'églises ou de cimetières.

Ces terrines étaient encore en usage à la fin du XVI^e siècle comme le prouve

^a Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm. p. 386. Bulletin monumental, t. xxii. p. 437.

^b L'Abbé Decorde, Essai hist. et archéol. sur le Canton de Blangy, p. 101. Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm. p. 385—86. Bulletin monumental, t. xxii. p. 436.

^c Archæologia, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 69. Revue de l'Art chrétien de 1858, p. 420—21. L'Art en Province, année 1858, p. 200. La Vigie de Dieppe du 3 Juillet, 1858.

^d Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm. p. 354—56, 376—77, 391—92. Bull. mon. t. xxii. p. 340—42, 426—28, 442. Pierres tombales trouvées à Leure en 1856, p. 6 et 7. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxiii.

^e Archæologia, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 72. L'Art en Province, année 1858, p. 201. La Vigie de Dieppe, du 3 Juillet, 1858.

^f Musée de Sèvres.

^g Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm. p. 355, 356, 377. Bullet. mon. t. xxii. p. 340—42, 426—428.

la chapelle des Grassins de Paris.^a Elles durent commencer au plus tôt au xiv^e siècle, comme semblerait l'insinuer la tombe d'un curé de St. Aubin-sur-Mer, mort en 1305.^b Mais nous croyons que leur plus grand développement eut lieu au xv^e et au xvi^e siècle.

Quant aux autres vases, il y en avait bien de 5 à 6 formes diverses, mais je n'ai pu les restituer complètement. Cependant j'ai reconnu à n'en pas douter les fragments d'un de ces plateaux de terre, grands, épais, et recouverts d'une forte couche de vernis vert, tels qu'il s'en rencontra plusieurs en 1856 autour de l'église de St. Nicaise de Rouen lors de la construction du presbytère. Ils étaient avec des monnaies d'argent du xiv^e siècle.

J'ai reconnu aussi de ces pots communs encore usités dans nos campagnes, pour le potage des bergers ou des domestiques. Il y en avait bien 5 ou 6 de ce genre qui tous paraissent avoir été au feu. J'ai remarqué aussi quelques fonds bombés, comme ceux que j'ai constatés à Leure et à Lillebonne sur des vases funéraires que j'attribue au xiii^e siècle.^c Ils pourraient bien être du même temps.

Il nous reste à dire un mot de l'usage présumé des vases que nous venons de décrire. Trouvés dans une église et dans un cimetière chrétien, leur usage ne saurait être douteux pour nous. Ils durent autrefois contenir du charbon allumé et de l'encens fumant autour du cercueil le jour des funérailles. Puis après l'inhumation ils auront, selon la coutume générale, suivi le mort dans sa fosse, et c'est là que nous les retrouvons.^d

Si le moindre doute pouvait s'élever dans l'esprit du lecteur contre une destination si claire et si universelle, nous lui fournirions une démonstration de notre assertion dans les trous dont plusieurs de ces fragments sont encore percés,

^a Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm. p. 377.

^b Ibid. p. 366, 376. Bullet. mon. t. xxii. p. 345, 426. Les églises de l'arrondissement d'Yvetot, 2^e édit. t. 1, p. 379. Epigraphie de la Seine Inf. p. 14, 15.

^c Pierre tombale, sépult. et vases fun. du XIII^e Siècle trouvés au Havre en 1856, p. 9—11. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. p. 395—97. pl. xxv. Recueil des publ. de la Soc. Hâvr. d'études diverses, années 1855—56, p. 356—58. Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm. p. 390. Bulletin monumental, t. xxii. p. 441—42.

^d Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm. p. 351—96. Bullet. mon. t. xxii. p. 338—63, 423—46. A. Murcier, La Sépult. chrétienne en France, p. 139—64, fig. xiii. et xiv. De Caumont, Cours d'Antiq. Norm. t. vi. p. 316—23. Revue de l'Art chrét. année 1858, p. 420—21. L'Art en Province, année 1858, p. 200—202. Publ. de la Soc. Hâvr. d'études div. années 1855—56, p. 356—64. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. p. 394—98, et t. xxiii. Archæologia, Vol. XXXVI. p. 258—66; Vol. XXXVII. p. 414—20.

dans la teinte enfumée dont ils sont recouverts, et jusque dans la surface charbonnée qu'ils présentent à l'intérieur. Ces trous sont ici de trois sortes, les uns pratiqués avant la cuisson, les autres après : parmi ces derniers les uns sont faits avec un foret, les autres avec un outil aigu, comme un marteau de couvreur. Les trous pratiqués avec un instrument perçant sont ronds, droits, nets, et rangés avec symétrie. Ceux au contraire qui sont le résultat d'un marteau ou d'un outil aigu sont incorrects, placés d'une façon irrégulière et incertaine. Enfin, j'en ai remarqué un qui avait été foré avec un bâton circulaire avant toute cuisson et dans la terre encore molle. Ce qui prouve une fois de plus que quelques uns de ces vases étaient prédestinés à l'usage de cassoltes funéraires.

Dans toute cette fouille, nous l'avons déjà dit, nous avons trouvé dans le chœur et à l'intérieur de l'église un certain nombre de squelettes qui avaient été déposés dans des cercueils de bois, mais nous n'avons rencontré qu'un seul cercueil en pierre, et il était placé devant le portail de l'ouest, dans l'ancien parvis de l'église (*in atrio ecclesie*). Ce sarcophage était à 1^m 50^e du sol actuel, assis sur un fond d'argile, orienté est et ouest, comme tous les tombeaux chrétiens. Après l'avoir dégagé avec beaucoup de soin, nous avons reconnu qu'il avait été brisé dans sa partie supérieure, notamment vers la tête. Mais le bas était resté parfaitement intact.

Ce cercueil était entièrement composé comme ceux de Bouteilles ; malheureusement il ne nous a pas donné de croix d'absolution. Long d'environ 2^m il consistait en des moëllons posés à champ, formant ainsi les parois de la sépulture. Des dalles grossières de pierre semblable composaient le couvercle. La terre avait pénétré dans cette auge rudement conditionnée et dont le fond avait été recouvert d'une couche de chaux. Les pieds étaient beaucoup plus étroits que les épaules, et la tête avait été formée à l'aide d'une entaille circulaire dont il restait encore un fragment.

Le squelette qui remplissait ce cercueil était assez ancien. Ce devait être celui d'un vieillard qui jadis avait été d'une grande taille et d'une forte stature. Les deux avant-bras étaient pieusement croisés sur la poitrine, l'extrémité des mains touchant presque aux épaules. Ce corps dût être déposé ici dans un simple suaire et sans aucun coffre de bois.

Je considère cette sépulture comme du XII^e ou du XIII^e siècle.

Plus de 40 tombes de ce genre ont été visitées par moi dans le cimetière de Bouteilles devant, dedans, et autour de l'église.^a Quelques unes de ces dernières

^a *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXVI. et XXXVII.. *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm.* t. xxii. p. 12—16, 130—35. *Séput. gaul. rom. franq. et norm.* p. 321—26, 332—34. *Bullet. mon.* t. xxv.

contenaient des croix de plomb sur lesquelles étaient tracées des inscriptions en vers léonins, des oraisons, des confessions, et des absolutions remontant au XII^e siècle. Ce sont ces formules et cette paléographie qui ont donné la date des cercueils. Des sarcophages du même genre, avec entailles pour la tête, ont été vus à Hautot-sur-Dieppe, à Martin-Eglise, à la léproserie du Catillon, à Bénouville-sur-Orne (Calvados),^a à l'Abbaye de Bonne-Nouvelle à Rouen,^b à l'Abbaye de St. Denis en France,^c à la Réole près Bordeaux,^d à Saint Serge d'Angers,^e à la cathédrale de Worcester,^f et à la chapelle du Collège d'Arundel en Angleterre.^g

Quant au placement de ce cercueil dans l'aître de l'église (*in atrio ecclesiæ*) cela est conforme à une coutume générale aux siècles de foi, surtout à ceux qui vont du IX^e au XII^e siècle.

Les derniers objets trouvés dans les fouilles de Roux-Mesnil sont une petite boucle en cuivre et quelques pièces de monnaie.

Cette petite boucle ou attache en cuivre, munie d'une appendice en laiton, était destinée à fixer une étoffe quelconque. Cette boucle pourrait provenir d'une sépulture ecclésiastique.

Les boucles ne sont pas sans exemple dans les sépultures du moyen âge, notamment au XI^e, au XII^e, et au XIII^e siècle. Une boucle de cuivre, encore munie de son appendice, ayant évidemment servi à soutenir une ceinture d'étoffe, a été recueillie par nous en 1856 dans les sépultures du Château-Trompette, au dessus du Mont-de-Caux, à Dieppe. Les inhumations chrétiennes de la Madeleine de Bernay, étudiées avec tant de soin par M. Métayer-Masselin, ont donné à ce jeune archéologue 4 ou 5 boucles en fer ou en cuivre placées à la ceinture des défunts, que nous supposons des Frères hospitaliers employés au service des lépreux. Deux des boucles de Bernay sont rondes comme des fibules, et deux autres sont carrées.^h Six boucles de bronze ont été trouvées en 1855 dans le cimetière de l'ancienne église St. Michel à Bordeaux (Gironde); deux de ces boucles sont rondes comme celles de Bernay; une petite est entièrement sem-

^a Charma, Rapport sur les fouilles exéc. au Catillon près Bénouville-sur-Orne en 1851, p. 20. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xix. p. 494.

^b A. Pottier, Revue de Rouen, année 1850, p. 325—26.

^c Legrand d'Aussy, Des Sépult. nationales, p. 366.

^d Compte rendu des Travaux de la Commis. des Mon. hist. de la Gironde, année 1846—47, p. 36, 37.

^e Godard-Faultrier, Bullet. monum. t. xxiii. p. 76. Revue de l'Art Chrétien, année 1857, p. 130—31.

^f The Illustrated London News du 21 Juin, 1856, p. 691.

^g Sussex Archaeological Collections, vol. iii. p. 80.

^h Revue de l'Art Chrétien de 1858, p. 419.

blable à notre attache de Roux-Mesnil, et paraît avoir eu la même destination. Enfin les trois autres semblent avoir appartenu à des chaussures. En 1844 on trouva dans la cathédrale de Troyes le cercueil de l'évêque Hervé, mort en 1223. Il portait à la ceinture une boucle en fer en forme de D Gothique, jadis destinée à serrer un cilice de crin dont la majeure partie subsistait encore.^a

Quant aux monnaies, il nous en a été remis 4, dont deux sont du XVII^e siècle, une du XV^e, et l'autre du XIV^e. La plus moderne est un DOUBLE TOURNOIS DE LOUIS XIII. R(oi) DE FRANCE, frappé en 1643. L'autre est un DOUBLE D. . . . (de) CHARLES I. DUC DE MAN . . . frappé en 1621.

Les deux autres sont plus intéressantes quoique d'une importance relativement médiocre.

La plus ancienne est une maille tournois de Philippe le Bel, frappée de 1313 à 1315. D'un côté est une croix avec la légende : + PHILIPPUS REX. De l'autre sont les tourelles de la cité de Tours entourées de ces deux mots TVRONVS CIVIS. La plus récente est une maille tournois de Louis XI., frappée vers 1470. On lit autour d'une petite couronne LVDOVICVS REX, et au revers, entre les croisillons d'une croix, OBOLVS CIVIS.

“A force d'écrire *Turonus civis*,” dit M. de Longpérier, “les graveurs avaient fini par ne plus savoir que *civis* était un abrégé de *civitas*. Ils ont cru que cela était un complément de *Turonus* qu'ils traduisaient par tournois; il s'ensuivit qu'ils n'ont vu aucun inconvénient à ajouter ce mot au nom de l'obole.”

Des monnaies françaises épiscopales, baronales, ou royales allant du XII^e au XVII^e siècle ont été souvent rencontrées dans des cimetières chrétiens abandonnés. Nous citerons autour de nous le cimetière de Bouteilles, où nous avons recueilli des pièces d'argent et de cuivre depuis les premiers Capétiens jusqu'à Louis XIV.; la léproserie de St. Cathald à Derchigny-Graincourt, où M. l'Abbé Lecomte a trouvé des monnaies de St. Louis et de Philippe-le-Hardi.^b Au loin les analogues ne font pas défaut non plus. Nous avons à Bernay la chapelle de la Madeleine qui a donné à M. Métayer 86 monnaies royales ou baronales, françaises ou étrangères, s'échelonnant de Louis VIII. à Louis XIV.^c Nous

^a Arnaud, Notice sur les objets trouvés dans plusieurs cercueils de pierre à la Cathéd. de Troyes, p. 8, 13, pl. ii. fig. 3.

^b L'Abbé Lecomte, Not. hist. sur Berneval-le-grand et St. Martin-en-Campagne, p. 36. L'Art en Province, année 1858, p. 203.

^c Archæologia, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 73. La Revue de l'Art Chrétien, année 1858, p. 422—23. L'Art en Province, année 1858, p. 201—203. Journal de Rouen du 3 Avril, 1858. La Vigie de Dieppe du 3 Juillet, 1858.

pouvons citer les anciens cimetières de Bayeux,^a de Conlie^b (Sarthe), de Melun (Seine et Marne),^c de Civeaux près Poitiers,^d et enfin le cercueil de St. François d'Assise, en Italie, qui renfermait 8 monnaies d'argent du XII^e siècle.^e

Nous résumons ainsi notre exploration de Roux-Mesnil : Carrelages émaillés du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle ; vases funéraires en terre et en grès pour l'encens et l'eau bénite XIII^e à XVI^e siècle, les uns forés, les autres non forés ; un cercueil de pierre composé de moëllons assemblés, avec entaille circulaire pour la tête (XI^e ou XII^e siècle) ; une boucle en bronze pour vêtement ecclésiastique ; et enfin 4 monnaies d'argent et de cuivre allant de Philippe le Bel à Louis XIII.

ETRAN PRES DIEPPE.

En 1859 et en 1860, j'ai fouillé l'ancienne église d'Etran, près Dieppe, édifice abandonné depuis la Révolution et complètement démoli en 1831. Mon but en explorant cette vieille enceinte, entièrement sécularisée aujourd'hui, était d'étudier la sépulture chrétienne du moyen-âge, encore peu connue dans ses détails intimes. Cette fouille m'a en effet révélé d'importantes particularités qui se retrouveront sans doute ailleurs, mais sur lesquelles je crois utile d'appeler l'attention de ceux de nos confrères qui s'intéressent à la liturgie et à l'archéologie funéraires. J'exposerai en quelques mots le résumé général de mon exploration ; je ferai ensuite ressortir quelquesunes des conséquences qui en découlent.

Je fouillai d'abord le porche, aître, ou parvis, de cette église romane, et je le trouvai pavé de sarcophages de pierre. Ces cercueils, faits en moëllon, et de plusieurs morceaux, présentent, pour la tête, une entaille qui se rencontre fréquemment du XI^e au XIII^e siècle, non seulement en Normandie, mais en France et en Angleterre.^f Ces dix-huit tombeaux, fermés avec du mortier, con-

^a Ed. Lambert, Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xvii. p. 450.

^b Bulletin monumental, t. v. p. 524.

^c Grésy, Notice sur les Antiq. découv. à Melun en 1847, p. 10.

^d Legrand D'Aussy, Des Sépultures nationales, p. 37—39. De Caumont, Cours d'Antiq. mon. t. vi. p. 293.

^e Godescard, Vies des Pères, des Martyrs, etc. Supplément, p. 496, édit. in 8°. 1824.

^f Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm. p. 322—23, 332—36. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxi. p. 11—21 ; t. xxv. p. 129—37. Archæologia, Vol. XXXVI et XXXVII. Bull. mon. t. xxv. p. 103—32. The Illustrated London News du 21 Juin, 1856, p. 691.

tenaient chacun un cadavre déposé dans son suaire de toile, la face au ciel, et les bras croisés sur la poitrine. Tous étaient orientés, la tête à l'ouest et les pieds à l'orient. Un seul nous a montré sur sa poitrine un bâton de coudrier sur lequel nous aurons à revenir.

Dans l'intérieur de la nef romane, j'ai rencontré plus de vingt sépultures déposées presque toutes dans des cercueils de bois. Autour des corps, et surtout vers le bassin, se trouvaient des vases de terre remplis de charbon de bois, anciennes cassolettes d'encens qui avaient fumé le jour de l'inhumation. Sur presque tous ces défunts, et souvent près des épaules, nous avons recueilli de petites pièces en argent ou en billon. Ces inhumations devaient dater du XIII^e au XV^e siècle; d'après la forme des vases et le type des monnaies, le plus grand nombre devait appartenir au XIV^e.

Sous le clocher, qui était aussi roman, et dans le chœur qui avait été ajouté au XVI^e siècle, nous avons reconnu une douzaine de sépultures appartenant pour la plupart à des prêtres, curés ou vicaires de la paroisse. Des pierres tombales datant de 1540 et de 1580, et des ornements sacerdotaux indiquaient avec assez de précision le XVI^e et le XVII^e siècle.

Deux particularités se sont révélées sur ces inhumations ecclésiastiques. La première, c'est que la plupart des corps étaient déposés dans les cercueils de bois remplis de paille, dont nous reconnaissons aisément la trace. La seconde, c'est que sur huit ou dix ecclésiastiques, deux étaient inhumés la tête vers l'autel, et les pieds vers le peuple, tandis que tous les autres avaient, comme tout le monde, les pieds à l'orient et la tête à l'occident.

Ces modestes découvertes nous fournissent l'occasion de traiter quatre points liturgiques ou disciplinaires de la sépulture du moyen-âge. Le premier est relatif aux inhumations à la porte ou au parvis des églises; le seconde concerne l'usage de placer des bâtons sur les morts; le troisième a rapport à une orientation particulière aux ecclésiastiques; le quatrième enfin se rattache à la coutume de les déposer sur la paille. Nous ne dirons que quelques mots de ces matières intéressantes qu'il suffit d'indiquer pour appeler sur elles l'attention des liturgistes, des antiquaires, et des ecclésiologues.

I. Inhumation dans l'aître de l'église fut une coutume spéciale et universelle aux siècles de foi, surtout à ceux qui vont du IX^e au XII^e siècle. Parmi les monuments qui démontrent cet usage, nous citerons en dehors de nos cercueils d'Etran le sarcophage de pierre trouvé en Décembre 1858 devant l'église de Roux-Mesnil, et que nous avons décrit dans le mémoire précédent; et surtout

les sépultures trouvées en 1856 au parvis de l'église de Bouteilles,^a les trois rangs de cercueils observés en 1847 devant le portail de Ste. Croix de Bordeaux,^b les tombeaux aperçus en 1812 devant la porte de l'abbaye de St. Denis,^c les sépultures remarquées en 1828 devant la porte de la cathédrale de Rouen,^d les dix cercueils de pierre recueillis en 1854 dans l'aître de St. Denis de Lillebonne, et surtout le curieux cimetière du parvis de l'abbaye d'Epternach, dans le Luxembourg, connu sous le nom de Paradis, et trouvé rempli de sépultures en 1849.^e

Parmi les saints personnages qui voulurent par piété occuper cette place de pénitence et d'humiliation chrétiennes, nous citerons St. Augustin de Cantorbéry et ses successeurs jusqu'au VIII^e siècle,^f St. Loup de Sens (625),^g St. Swithin de Winchester, (862) St. Angilbert abbé de St. Riquier, IX^e siècle,^h Pepin le Bref (768),ⁱ Hugues Capet, (996), les deux Richard de Normandie (1006-26),^k Constance de Bretagne (1091),^l Geoffroy de Montbray évêque de Coutances (1095),^m et le seigneur Normannus de Eslettes, (XI^e siècle).ⁿ

Du reste, un des plus savants liturgistes que la France ait produits, le célèbre Jean Baptiste Thiers, curé de Champ-Rond et de Vibraye, démontre, dans sa *Dissertation sur le porche des églises*, que d'après les Pères et les coutumes liturgiques, "c'étoit sous les porches et à l'entrée des églises que l'on enterroit les empereurs chrestiens, les évêques et les autres fidèles; que ce fut là que

^a Archæologia, Vol. XXXVII. Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm. p. 323—35. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. p. 131—34.

^b Rabanis, Compte rendu des travaux de la Commis. des Mon. histor. de la Gironde, année 1847, p. 23.

^c Legrand d'Aussy, Des Sépultures nationales, p. 366.

^d Delaquerrière, Description hist. des maisons de Rouen, t. 11, p. 130. Journal de Rouen du 6 Octobre, 1828. Archæologia, Vol. XXXVII. p. 419. Bulletin monumental, t. xxv.

^e Publications de la Soc. Arch. du Luxembourg, année 1849, t. v. p. 85.

^f Deville, Tombeaux de la Cathéd. de Rouen, p. xvi.

^g L'Abbé Brullée, Hist. de l'abbaye de S^{te} Colombe-lez-Sens, p. 42.

^h Mém. de la Soc. d'Emul. d'Abbeville, Années 1852—57, p. 144.

ⁱ Legrand D'Aussy, Des Sépultures nationales, p. 366.

^k Dudon de St. Quentin, p. 56, 57. Neustria Pia, p. 210. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xviii. p. 3, ad calcem. Les églises de l'Arrond. du Havre, t. ii. p. 40. Licquet, Hist. de Norm. t. 1^{er} p. 149 et 219. Fallue, Hist. de l'abbaye de Fécamp, p. 86.

^l Archæologia, Vol. XXXVII. p. 406—8. Bulletin monumental, t. xxv. p. 129—30.

^m Gallia Christiana, t. xi. p. 872. L'Abbé Lecanu, Histoire des Evêques de Coutances, p. 129.

ⁿ Cartulaire de l'abb. de S^{te} Trinité du mont de Rouen, p. 456, No. 416, édité par M. Deville, dans la Collection des Monumens inédits sur l'Hist. de France, 1841.

l'empereur Constance fit enterrer le Grand Constantin, son père ; que c'est pour cette raison que l'on encensoit autrefois ces lieux, et qu'en quelques endroits l'on y fait encore aujourd'hui des prières et l'on y chante des litanies."^a

Fleury, dans son *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Lebeau, dans celle du Bas-Empire, racontent également que Constantin le Grand fut inhumé à Constantinople dans un cercueil de porphyre qui n'était pas dans l'église même, mais dans le vestibule de la basilique des saints apôtres.^b Un siècle après, Théodose fut déposé à son tour dans le mausolée de Constantin.^c Ces empereurs tenaient à grande faveur d'être ensevelis à l'entrée de l'église des saints apôtres, et de servir de "portiers aux pescheurs," dit excellemment Saint Jean Chrysostôme.^d

Un autre liturgiste, non moins renommé que Thiers, Lebrun-Desmarettes, nous apprend que "dans le porche de l'illustre église de St. Pierre de Vienne (en Dauphiné), furent enterrés Giselle ou Gislette, femme de Hugues, comte de Vienne et d'Arles, roi de Bourgogne, et empereur d'Italie, un certain Gérard, fort illustre, nommé *le père de la ville de Vienne*, mort en 1050, et l'abbé Guillaume, mort en 1224."^e

Enfin, notre grande archéologue moderne, M. de Caumont, de Caen, nous apprend qu'à Saint-Restitut, près Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Drôme), il a lu "sous le porche de l'église d'anciennes inscriptions tumulaires qui mériteraient de figurer dans la collection épigraphique du Midi de la France."^f

II.—J'ai dit que dans un des cercueils de pierre du parvis d'Etran, j'avais, le 11 mars 1859, recueilli, couchée sur un corps, une baguette de coudrier de 40 à 50 centimètres de longueur. Ce cercueil en moëllon, qui possédait une entaille pour la tête du défunt, me paraît dater du XII^e siècle.

Quel pouvait être le sens de cette verge ou le motif de ce dépôt ? Je l'ignore ; mais ce que je puis assurer, c'est que le fait n'est pas sans exemple dans les sépultures chrétiennes de cette époque, et même dans les sépultures de la période franque. Le premier exemple que je puisse citer et le plus rapproché de nos contrées, s'est rencontré dans la célèbre abbaye de Saint Wandrille. En 1671, lorsque le prieur Dom Laurent Hunault fit opérer dans l'église les demolitions qui précédèrent les reconstructions nouvelles, il trouva quatre cercueils contenant

^a J. B. Thiers, Dissertation sur le porche des églises, p. 21.

^b Fleury, Hist. de l'Eglise, t. xii. liv. xi. p. 260.

^c Lebeau, Hist. du Bas-Empire, t. 1, liv. v. p. 609, et t. 5, liv. xxv., p. 461.

^d Vie de Saint Clair en 1656, p. 201.

^e Lebrun-Desmarettes, Voyages liturgiques en France, par le sieur de Moléon, p. 38.

^f De Caumont, Bulletin monumental, t. xxv., p. 218.

avec le corps des religieux des bottines de cuir et une baguette de coudrier de la longueur du tombeau.^a

M. Thaurin raconte qu'en 1838 le sieur Poisson, propriétaire au Tremblay, près le Neubourg (Eure), creusant dans sa cour le long d'un mur voisin du cimetière et de l'église, trouva toute une rangée de cercueils de plâtre. Ces sarcophages encore entiers renfermaient chacun un squelette d'adulte parfaitement intact. D'après M. Poisson, qui a ouvert ces sépultures, un grand bâton, aux extrémités duquel il n'y avait aucun appendice métallique, se trouvait couché au côté droit de quelques uns des squelettes.^b

Les 10 et 11 mars 1845, M. Godard-Faultrier découvrit dans l'église de Tous-saint, à Angers, deux cercueils en tuf qui contenaient des sépultures d'abbés encore reconnaissables à leurs vêtements, à leurs chaussures, et à leur crosse de cuivre doré. L'un des deux contenait les débris d'un bâton de bois, long de 1^m 70^c.^c

Dans sa Statistique monumentale de Paris, M. Albert Lenoir fait figurer parmi les tombes monastiques de Ste. Genevieve, visitées en 1807, des bâtons, verges, ou roseaux, que les religieux semblent tenir dans leurs mains. Ces sépultures nous paraissent remonter au XIII^e siècle.^d

Montfaucon raconte que le tombeau de la reine Bilichilde, épouse de Childeric II., fut découvert en 1645, dans le chœur de St. Germain-des-Prés. Visité de nouveau en 1656, on n'y trouva plus que des ossements déplacés, un bâton de coudrier rompu en deux, et quelques herbes odoriférantes.^e

Le fait de la découverte d'un bâton dans le tombeau de l'épouse de Childeric II. est également confirmé par l'autorité de Mabillon, dans son *Discours sur les anciennes Sépultures de nos Rois*.^f

Enfin à Oberflacht, en Würtemberg, dans cette série de quarante tombeaux souabien de l'époque Carlovingienne qu'a visités en 1846 le capitaine Von Durrich, il s'est rencontré dans les N^{os} 7 et 24 des baguettes de noisetier longues de sept pieds, et couchées sur des morts qui avaient les mains croisées.^g

III.—La troisième observation que nous aient suggérée les sépultures d'Etran

^a Guilmeth, Descript. géogr., hist., statist. et mon. des arrond. d'Yvetot, etc., t. ii. p. 173.

^b Thaurin, Journal de Rouen du 31 Juin, 1856.

^c Godard-Faultrier, Répert. Archéol. de l'Anjou, Août, 1860, p. 250.

^d A. Lenoir, Statistique monum. de Paris, 13^e livraison, pl. xi. fig. 1 et 10.

^e Montfaucon, Les Mon. de la Monarchie française, t. 1, p. 173—75.

^f Mabillon, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. et Belles Lett. t. ii. p. 641, 42.

^g Von Dürrieh et W. Menzel, Die Heidengräber am Lupfen, bei Oberflacht, p. 9, 12 et 13; et pl. ix. fig. 6 et 30. Archæologia, Vol. XXXVI. p. 159.

est relative à l'orientation et spécialement à l'orientation des ecclésiastiques. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, deux corps inhumés dans le chœur d'Etran affectaient une direction particulière, et ces corps avaient appartenu à des prêtres, comme le prouvaient les pierres tombales et les ornements dont ils étaient enveloppés.

Cependant d'autres prêtres, soit dans le chœur, soit dans la nef, soit au parvis, avaient été inhumés suivant la coutume générale. Pourquoi donc deux d'entre eux faisaient-ils exception ? Pourquoi ceux-là avaient-ils les pieds vers le peuple et la tête vers l'autel ? Nous croyons qu'en déposant ainsi ces corps, nos pères ont obéi à une croyance qui régnait encore dans notre enfance. Nous avons entendu dire qu'au jour du jugement les fidèles ressuscitant devront regarder les pasteurs tandis que les pasteurs devront regarder le troupeau, et tourner vers lui leur face renouvelée. Puis, après s'être reconnus, tous ensemble devront s'acheminer vers la vallée de Josaphat.

Maintenant cette croyance et cette direction sont-elles anciennes et à quelle époque peut-on les faire remonter ? C'est ce qu'il nous a paru intéressant de rechercher.

Nous pensons que cette coutume est assez récente ; qu'elle n' a pris naissance parmi nous qu'au XVI^e siècle, et qu'elle ne s'y est bien établie qu' au XVII^e. Nous croyons qu'au XIII^e, au XIV^e, et au XV^e siècle tous les chrétiens indifféremment, prêtres ou laïques, étaient déposés, soit dans les cimetières, soit dans les églises, les pieds à l'orient et la tête à l'occident, afin de se reveiller la face vers le Souverain Juge. Ce fut, du reste, le rite de tous les peuples et de tous les âges.

Nous allons essayer d'établir par les monuments, les rituels et les règlements ecclésiastiques, la date de l'usage qui nous occupe.

Le 3 Janvier, 1851, M. Godard-Faultrier visita dans le chœur de la Cathédrale d'Angers les corps de plusieurs évêques. Il n'en trouva que deux qui eussent les pieds vers l'occident. Le premier était Jean Olivier, mort en 1540 ; le second était Henri Arnauld, décédé en 1692.^a

M. Godard ajoute à ce propos que "cette orientation est nouvelle," et qu'elle est contraire à la pratique ancienne. "Toutefois," continue-t-il "M. l'Abbé Delaunay, qui paraît avoir fait des recherches à ce sujet, a démontré que la coutume de déposer la tête des ecclésiastiques vers l'orient remontait au moins au XVI^e siècle."^b

Cependant de nos jours ce dernier usage a complètement prévalu dans le

^a Godard-Faultrier, Mém. de la Soc. d'Agriculture, Sciences, et Arts d'Angers, 2^e série, 2^e vol. ; tiré à part, p. 28—30.

^b Ibid.

diocèse d'Angers, car le plus récent rituel cité par M. Godard-Faultrier dit expressément : "Les corps des laïques est déposé la tête à l'occident et semble regarder l'autel d'où vient le salut. Au contraire, le corps des prêtres descend pour ainsi dire de l'autel, et est censé regarder le peuple afin de le bénir." Autre-fois c'était le contraire, ajoute avec raison l'Archéologue d'Angers.^a

La tendance nouvelle dut être forte dans le cours du XVII^e siècle, puisque nous la voyons combattue à Reims et à Sens par les rituels de ces deux églises. Voici en effet ce que nous lisons dans les *Voyages liturgiques* du Sieur de Moléon (Lebrun-Desmarettes) : "Le Rituel de Sens," dit-il, "publié en 1694, ordonne (à la page 158) que, selon l'ancien usage de l'église, les corps tant des ecclésiastiques que des séculiers, seront enterrés de sorte qu'ils regardent l'orient, ayant les pieds du côté de l'autel."^b "Le nouveau Rituel de Reims," dit-il ailleurs, "édité en 1677, ordonne que, suivant l'ancien usage, on enterre également les prêtres comme les laïques en sorte qu'ils aient la tête du côté de la porte ou du bas de l'église et les pieds vers l'autel. On voit," ajoute le fervent défenseur de l'antique liturgie, "les évêques, les abbés, et les prêtres, sur les anciens mausolées et sur les tombes, dans cette situation."^c

Chose surprenante ! la pratique nouvelle trouva faveur dans les ordres monastiques, d'ordinaire si fortement attachés aux anciennes observances. Voici en effet ce que nous lisons dans le *Ceremoniale Monasticum*, publié en 1680. "Effertur corpus . . . præviis semper pedibus, sive sacerdos sive clericus . . . Ingressi ecclesiam deponunt eo modo quo deferebant, nisi sit sacerdos qui debet habere caput versus altare."^d

D'après Dom Martène, il est évident qu'il n'en fut pas toujours ainsi, car les coutumes de Cluny et celles de Saint-Benigne de Dijon disent expressément : "Ponitur corpus in terram ita ut pedes sint versus orientem et caput versus occidentem."^e Sur ce point les Bénédictins agissaient comme les Clunistes, car on lit dans le Bréviaire de l'abbaye de Chézal Benoit (Cher) : "Deponatur defunctus in sepulcrum supinus, capite ad occidentem, et operiatur humo."^f

Le Rituel de Rouen promulgué en 1739 par Nicolas de Saulx-Tavannes, et réédité en 1771 par le Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, ne tranche pas la question

^a Godard-Faultrier.

^b Lebrun-Desmarettes, *Voyages liturgiques en France*, p. 176.

^c Ibid. p. 178.

^d *Ceremoniale Monasticum*, p. 340, in 4°. 1680.

^e Dom Martène, *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, p. 807.

^f Ibid. p. 789.

pour les prêtres, mais il ne laisse soupçonner pour eux aucune exception : “*Corpora defunctorum,*” dit-il, “*quando in ecclesiâ deponuntur, sepelienda sunt pedibus versus altare . . . vel si conduntur in oratoriis aut in capellis ponantur pedibus versis ad illorum altaria.*”^a Telle était la loi écrite ; mais évidemment dans la pratique elle subissait bien des exceptions, témoin nos sépultures d’Etran ; toute-fois cette exception ne devait pas remonter bien haut.

IV. La quatrième observation est relative à un usage qui, à diverses reprises, nous est apparu ici d’une manière claire et précise. Presque tous les corps chrétiens d’Etran, laïques ou ecclésiastiques, ont été placés dans le cercueil couchés ou enveloppés dans de la paille. Cette coutume, qui paraît avoir persévéré dans ce pays jusqu’au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle, est fort ancienne dans l’église, où elle dut être universelle. Une locution passée dans le langage populaire en trahit tout à la fois l’ancienneté et l’universalité. On dit communément en parlant d’un défunt qui n’est pas encore inhumé, “Il est sur la paille.” Il y a cent ans cette pratique était générale dans beaucoup de diocèses et chez tous les ordres religieux. Au commencement du dernier siècle, lorsque notre zélé liturgiste Lebrun-Desmarettes parcourait la France pour enregistrer dans un livre aujourd’hui fort recherché toutes les coutumes religieuses de notre pays, il constata “qu’à Limoges le dernier Rituel, édité en 1698, avait encore conservé pour ce diocèse l’ancien usage de l’église de mettre mourir le malade sur le cilice (ou sur la paille) et la cendre.

Il retrouva le même usage journellement pratiqué dans la célèbre abbaye de la Trappe, cette sévère réforme de Citeaux. “Quand les religieux sont en danger de mort,” dit le voyageur rouennais, “on leur donne l’extrême-onction, puis le saint-viatique, et à l’extrémité on les met mourir sur la paille et sur la cendre, suivant l’ancien usage de l’église et la pratique des Chartreux d’aujourd’hui.”^c

L’Archéologie vient encore dans cette circonstance nous offrir les concours de ses monuments. En 1855, lorsqu’on ouvrit à Cléry-sur-Loire le tombeau de François 1^{er}, Duc de Longueville, inhumé en 1491, on le trouva gisant “sur un amas de paille et de tiges de plantes. Cet amas était plus considérable à l’endroit de la tête.”^d

^a Rituale Rotomagense, p. 151, édit. 1771.

^b Lebrun-Desmarettes, Voyages liturgiques en France, p. 146.

^c Ibid.

^d Bulletin de la Soc. Archéol. de l’Orléanais, No. 21, p. 152, 1856.

Cette coutume doit remonter bien haut parmi nous, car nous pouvons en citer des preuves même à l'époque franque. A différentes reprises dans nos fouilles du cimetière Mérovingien d'Envermeu, nous avons remarqué des traces de paille et de foin sur l'oxide des objets de fer. En 1854, nous avons, par deux différentes fois, recueilli de la mousse bien conservée que nous possédons encore.^a

Le capitaine Von Durrich, qui en 1846 a exploré le cimetière Carlovingien d'Oberflacht, dans l'ancienne Souabe, aujourd'hui Wurtemberg, assure que tous les coffres de bois des morts étaient encore remplis de mousse ou de paille, et qu'il en a trouvé dans un tel état de conservation, qu'il a pu en rapporter au Musée de Stuttgart, où on les conserve.^b

Montfaucon raconte, dans ses *Monumens de la Monarchie*, qu'au XVII^e siècle (vers 1656), lorsqu'on ouvrit à Saint Germain-des-Prés le tombeau de Childeric II. et de Bilichilde, son épouse, la tête de cette reine Mérovingienne reposait sur un coussin d'herbes odoriférantes.^c

Enfin, dans les fouilles faites à Kertch (Crimée), en 1838, par les Russes, on trouva le squelette d'une femme Grecque étendu dans un tombeau et "reposant sur une couche d'herbes marines."^d

L'ABBÉ COCHET.

Note on the Discovery of Hazel Wands in Tombs; in illustration of the Abbé Cochet's communication: by W. M. WYLIE, Esq. F.S.A.

On the examination of the tomb of St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester, A.D. 1245—1253, it was observed that "on the surface lay fragments of hazel wands, or branches, such, probably, as pilgrims were accustomed to cut by the way, and suspend around the shrine, in token of zealous devotion." Also there were "fragments of vessels of glass, earthenware, and other objects in the loose earth, probably thrown into the grave when previously opened." It is possible enough that these were fragments of vessels interred with the deceased, according to the custom of the period, as the Abbé Cochet has abundantly shown.

"The remains of hazel wands, described by Mr. Richardson, if they may be

^a Sépult. gaul. rom. franq. et norm. p. 166 et 175.

^b Von Dürrich et W. Menzel, Die Heidengräber am Lupfen bei Oberflacht, p. 11 et 12.

^c Montfaucon, Les Mon. de la Monarch. franç. t. 1, p. 173—75.

^d L'Athenæum français du 20 Octobre 1855, p. 912.

regarded as tokens of pilgrimage, are deserving of notice. Similar staves, preserved and deposited in the graves of ecclesiastics in Hereford Cathedral, have been found in several instances, as related by the Dean of Hereford; *Archæologia*, Vol. XXX. Such a hazel wand, roughly trimmed, as if cut by the way-side, lay in the tomb of Richard Mayo, Bishop of Hereford, with sea-shells, tokens, as supposed, of a pilgrimage to St. James, made when that prelate was sent to escort Katharine of Aragon, the affianced bride of Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII., on her arrival in England. No other instance of a similar usage appears to have been noticed."—*Archæological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 262.

This may explain the presence of wands in tombs; but why always of *hazel*-wood?

It is not impossible that the custom of depositing hazel wands in certain tombs was as much derived from heathenism as the vessels with holy water and charcoal for burning incense. The Oberflacht graves, whether of the early period ascribed to them by Dr. Grimm, or of the Carlovingian period, as others think, are, beyond doubt, heathen interments. It is common enough in Teutonic graves to find the iron points or ferrules of staves, though the wood has perished. Some old superstitions were connected with the hazel tree: thus, in the *Egil Saga* mention is made of a circle of hazel rods on a judicial occasion.^a

^a *Archæologia*, XXXVI., p. 144. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 613.

IX.—*Report on further Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Burial Ground at Long Wittenham, Berkshire, in the Summer of 1860.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Read January 10, and April 11, 1861.

I BEG leave to lay before the Society of Antiquaries a further report of my researches in the Anglo-Saxon Burial Ground at Long Wittenham, which were renewed in the summer and autumn of last year,^a with the kind co-operation of the Vicar, the Rev. J. C. Clutterbuck. These researches terminated earlier than I anticipated, and the result appears to show that the cemetery did not extend beyond the limits of the plot of ground called "the Free Acre," described in my former report. I may mention that I have since ascertained that this plot was formerly known as the "Town Furlong," and that its enclosures were levelled and obliterated about sixty years since.

My excavations on this occasion were chiefly in the northern portion of the field, and, if the results are not so important as those of the preceding year, they at least present a few additional details which the antiquary may deem of interest.

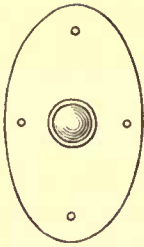
In the grave of a female child (No. 134) was found a buckle or girdle-clasp of bronze (Plate XI. fig. 2), the pattern of which does not appear to be either Anglo-Saxon or Roman, but bears some analogy to late Celtic ornaments.

Several examples were observed of the practice of depositing keys in the graves of women. These implements are remarkable for the rudeness of their construction, which contrasts singularly with the skill and care bestowed by the Saxon smith on the umbos of the shields.

The urns containing calcined human bones were even more numerous than in my previous excavations here. One of them was remarkable for its size, being nearly 14 inches in diameter. Among the burnt bones which it contained, were, besides other objects, a minute pair of bronze tweezers (Plate XI. fig. 7), similar to those found at Stade on the Elbe, and described by the late Mr. Kemble in the *Archæologia*.^b

^a For reports on previous excavations, see *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 327.

^b Vol. XXXVI. p. 277.



The disposition of the studs found with some of the umbos plainly showed that the shape of the shields was oval, somewhat in the form of the annexed diagram.

In the grave of an aged woman (No. 150) were found, besides a number of amber beads, a ring formed of what appears to be the cross section of a large stag's horn (Plate XI. fig. 6); the use of this object requires explanation, though perhaps connected with a distaff; there were also three spindle-whirls, one of them a large bead of striated glass (Plate XI. fig. 10); another formed of ivory, which had been turned in a lathe; the third made of earthenware.^a

The grave of a middle-aged man (No. 177) contained an umbo but no spear. In another grave (No. 179) the umbo was found completely reversed.

Grave 180 afforded an instance of two simultaneous interments, probably that of a father and son. An umbo covered the right knee of the elder skeleton, and a spear-head lay near the head; a spear-head only lay above the right shoulder of the youth.^b

For other details I must refer the inquirer to the list of the contents of each grave which is appended to this report.

I may here remark, that in these further explorations I observed nothing tending to alter the opinion I ventured to express in my previous report, viz. that a considerable number of these interments were those of persons brought within the pale of the Christian church. Referring to the often-quoted passage in the Ritual of Durandus,^c we find in these graves what I conceive to be evidence that the practice therein alluded to, of placing in the grave holy water and incense, was observed by the Saxons who had been converted to Christianity. The buckets may have held the holy water, which, it may be observed, is not merely to be sprinkled but placed (*ponitur*, not *spargitur*) in the grave; and throughout these interments charcoal was frequently observed near the bodies. We require but the finding of odoriferous gums to obtain evidence of both the observances described in the Ritual, if this indeed has not already been unconsciously noticed by Faussett, who, in describing the contents of a grave opened by him on Kings-

^a This person must have emulated St. Gertrude, and have been an inveterate spinner. The three whirls, of different sizes and weights, were perhaps designed for the spinning of different materials.

^b I wish particularly to direct attention to the fibulæ found in Grave 186, the devices on which indicate, as I conceive, a late period of Anglo-Saxon art.

^c *Deinde (corpus) ponitur in speluncâ in quâ in quibusdam locis ponitur aqua benedicta, et pruinæ cum thure.* Durand. Div. Off. vii. c. 35.

ton Down, says, "Among other objects, was a piece of resinous substance; it is of a very dark green colour, not much unlike black resin; it has of itself no smell; but on breaking off a little bit of it, not bigger than the head of a middling pin, and laying it on a hot poker, it immediately melted, smoked very much, and sent forth a very strong and rather suffocating, but by no means an unpleasant, smell."^a

It will be, I fear, a hopeless task to attempt to ascertain the exact period when the ground thus explored was first appropriated as a cemetery by our heathen forefathers, but I think we shall not err in deciding that not long after the baptism of Cynegils at Dorchester, A.D. 635, the more ancient rite, cremation, fell into disuse. The period over which the interments by inhumation extends demands our next consideration, and suggests a few remarks, which I submit to the judgment of those who have made Anglo-Saxon antiquities their study

In reviewing my labours, and comparing their results with those of others who have been similarly engaged, I have been struck by the singular fact, that the number of graves explored in the cemetery at Long Wittenham approximates very closely to those of two other burial-places in different parts of England, viz. that at Sibertswold, Kent, explored by Faussett^b in 1772-3, and that at Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire,^c examined by Lord Braybrooke in 1851, each containing between 180 and 190 graves. This may be the result of mere accident; but it appears to me that it may to a certain extent explain and illustrate the researches at Long Wittenham, and furnish us with a key to the period over which the burials by inhumation extend; and I therefore venture to offer the following explanation, namely, that the cemetery at Long Wittenham contains the population of a tything for a space of three generations, viz., from the conversion of Cynegils to the period when cemeteries were attached to churches: thus, assuming that each household comprised six persons, it would give a total of sixty souls, which, allowing ninety years, or thereabouts, for three generations, makes a total equal to that of the number of graves at Long Wittenham.

I may add, in confirmation of the view I have here taken, that the charter of Ethelred, conveying Wittenham to the Abbey of Abingdon,^d describes it as containing ten cassates; and, although this document is pronounced a forgery by competent judges, it is nevertheless sufficient for our purpose, as showing that

^a *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, by Rev. Bryan Faussett, edited by C. Roach Smith. 4to. London, 1856. p. 68.

^b *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.

^c Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, illustrated by ornaments and weapons. Folio. London, 1852.

^d *Cod. Diplom.* vol. ii. p. 71; *Chron. Monast. de Abingdon*, vol. i. p. 41, and vol. ii. p. 502.

the village anciently contained ten households, constituting a tything, and was registered as such in the Abbey cartulary.

There is one other feature to which I should be glad to call the attention of Archæologists. On looking over the list of the contents of each grave opened, both on this occasion and previously, it will be remarked that the cemetery of Long Wittenham has yielded but two swords. The graves in which they were discovered contained nothing which favours the inference that their occupants were persons of condition, like the owners of the swords found at Brighthampton and in the Isle of Wight. To what degree of men must they therefore be ascribed? To persons of noble rank? certainly not. The relics accompanying the remains in these, as well as in the adjacent graves, warrant no such conclusion. I am therefore inclined to regard this weapon, when occurring without ornament or costly fittings, as indicating that the individual with whose remains it is found discharged the functions of chief of the ten pledges ("tyenðe-heved^a or borhes caldor"), and that the sword in that case was the symbol of such authority.

I need not remark on the significance of the word "caldor," or refer to the fact that this office at a later period merged in the petty constable, known in various counties as the tything-man, headborough, thirdborough, borsholder, &c.

Should this conjecture be well founded, it furnishes another argument in favour of the opinion I have ventured to express, namely, that the population of Long Wittenham, in Saxon times, was comprised in and constituted a "borh" or tything. Kemble^b thinks it not improbable that the Saxon villages originally consisted of ten families, and thus formed the tythings or guildships.

The fact that the places named Charlton are always given in Anglo-Saxon documents in the nominative plural (Ceorlatun) seems to support this view.

Detailed Account of the contents of each Grave.^c

128. Boy. South-west. Spear-head and bucket above the right shoulder; under the left arm a knife-blade.

129. Young woman. On the body a broad knife-blade; on the right shoulder a plain circular bronze fibula $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter; at the throat an oval bronze

^a Leges Ed. Conf. xxviii. ed. Thorpe.

^b The Saxons in England, book i. chap. ix.

^c The collection has since been purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum.

fibula (Pl. XI. fig. 1), which appears to have been set with stones or pastes, now lost. This object is probably of late Roman workmanship.

130. Woman. The hands crossed in the lap, and the legs crossed at the ankles. At the neck amber and glass beads; the latter long bugles of pale blue colour. On the shoulders a pair of bronze fibulæ, which fell to pieces on removal; a knife-blade.

131. Boy. West. Spear-head under the right arm; on the left side a knife-blade. The legs crossed at the ankles.

132. An old man. No relic. Traces of charcoal at the foot of the grave.

k. k. Two urns containing calcined bones, one of them ornamented with the usual pattern, the other plain.*

133. Young woman. South-west. The legs crossed, and the knees bent; on the breast a single bronze circular fibula.

134. Female child. West. By the left side a knife; at the waist a bronze clasp of unusual form. (Pl. XI. fig. 2).

135. Old man. South-west. On the right side a knife. An urn containing bones had been displaced and shattered when this grave was dug.

136. Woman. West. No relic.

137. Man. West. No relic.

138. Young man. West. On the left side a knife; on the right side the remains of a purse; on the breast the umbo of a shield; above the left shoulder the head of a spear.

139. Child. West. No relic.

140. Young woman. South-west. A knife in the lap, and three large iron keys placed one on the other; on the left shoulder a flat circular fibula.

141. The remains of a skeleton, the head of which had been disturbed in digging a contiguous grave. No relic.

142. Woman. West. By the left arm 37 glass beads; on the shoulders two small cruciform fibulæ $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.

l. l. A large ornamented urn of black pottery $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, containing calcined human bones, fragments of bronze, an iron tag of a girdle, and a minute pair of bronze tweezers. (Pl. XI. fig. 7).

143. Woman. West. No relic.

m. m. Fragments of a small urn, with scraps of iron and bronze mingled with the burnt bones.

144. Young person. West. The legs bent and crossed; the grave upwards of 4 feet deep. No relic.

* Nearly all the urns found in these and in the previous diggings were damaged beyond recovery.

145. Woman. West. No relic.
146. Young man. West. On the knees an umbo; on the left breast a knife; above the right shoulder a small black ornamented urn broken into pieces; also the head of a spear. The iron studs of the shield were also recovered.
147. Woman. West. No relic.
148. Young person. West. No relic.
149. Young man. Femur 20 inches long. West. No relic.
150. Old woman. West. A single molar tooth remaining in the lower jaw. Near the right hand an amber bead; on the left side a bone ring (Pl. XI. fig. 6), three spindle-whirls, one of glass (Pl. XI. fig. 10), another of ivory, and the third of terra cotta; a knife, and an iron pouch or purse-guard; at the neck a number of amber beads.
151. Old woman. West. Near the left wrist a circular fibula, with stamped circles; on the left shoulder another fibula; at the neck several beads, and a defaced Roman coin.
152. Middle-aged woman. West. At the left hip the iron ring of a key and a knife; at the waist a clasp; at the shoulders a pair of cruciform fibulæ (Pl. XI. fig. 9).
- n. n.* The base of an urn, holding a few fragments of burnt bone.
153. Old woman. West. No relic.
154. Young man. West. A spear-head, and a knife at the right shoulder.
155. Old man. West. Knife and spear-head.
156. Young woman. West. No relic.
157. Old woman. West. Grave 5 feet deep. The hands in the lap. No relic.
158. A woman. West. On the right shoulder a cruciform fibula; at the right side a knife; at the neck a single bead; in the lap the remains of a comb.
159. Child. West-south-west. No relic.
160. Old woman. West. An iron buckle at the waist, and a knife and an iron pin on the breast.
- o. o.* A plain urn with bones.
161. Old man. The legs crossed. An umbo on the knee. Purse-guard, and knife on the breast.
162. Young woman. West. Two dish-shaped fibulæ of gilt metal on the shoulders. (Pl. XI. fig. 3). Knife and beads.
- p. p.* A plain urn, with bones.
163. Old woman. West. Two circular fibulæ with pierced centres on the shoulders. A knife, iron pin, and buckle.

q. q. A small urn.

164. Old woman. South-west. Two cruciform fibulæ, $2\frac{1}{10}$ inches long (Plate XI. fig. 9). Knife, and bronze pin.

165. Old woman. West south-west. Two circular fibulæ $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter on the shoulders. A knife, buckle, and bronze tweezers in lap.

166. Middle-aged woman. South-west. Two circular fibulæ on the shoulders, like the last, but smaller, being $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch diameter. A knife.

167. Young woman. South-west. No relic.

168. Young man. West. An umbo on the ankles; a spear above the left shoulder; and a knife in the lap.

169. A girl. West. No relic.

170. A girl. West. No relic.

171. Old woman. West. Two circular fibulæ on the shoulders. Several amber beads at the right arm. In the lap, a bunch of large iron keys.

172. Old woman. West. A knife. An iron buckle at the waist.

173. Old man. South-west. The legs crossed. In the lap a knife, and close to the ankle of the right leg a large ornamented urn, crushed to pieces by the superincumbent earth.

174. Youth. West. Femur 16 inches long. Above the right shoulder, the heads of two spears.

175. Young man. South-west. Above the right shoulder a spear.

176. A middle-aged man. South-west. On the right side an iron pouch-guard; at the right shoulder a spear.

177. A middle-aged man. North-west. Femur $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. Grave 4 feet 8 inches deep. An umbo on the right thigh; knife on the breast. *No spear.*

178. A child. South. No relic.

179. Middle-aged man. An umbo by the side of the right thigh, *reversed*; at the right shoulder a knife and the head of a spear.

180. A grave containing two skeletons; the heads south-west. That on the north side with an umbo covering the right knee. In the lap a knife; and at the right shoulder a spear. That on the south side, with a small spear at the right shoulder. This skeleton had its left arm within the right arm of the other.

r. r. Plain urn, with bones.

181. Child. West. No relic.

182. Middle-aged man. Femur $18\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. The left-hand in the lap; the right-hand by the side. The knife on the breast.

183. Child. South-west. No relic.

184. Old woman. West. No relic.
185. Old woman. West. No relic.
186. Old woman. West. Two circular fibulæ of different kinds (Plate XI. figs. 4 and 5).

s. s. A small urn, with bones.

187. Middle-aged woman. West. Two circular fibulæ. At the right-hand, two beads, one of glass, the other of amber. In the lap, a long bronze pin, a crystal bead, and a blue glass bead.

188. Woman. North-west. No relic.

t. t. Large urn, with fragments of burnt bone, and the remains, apparently, of an ivory comb which had been subjected to the action of a strong fire.

Description of Plate XI.

Fig. 1. Oval bronze fibula with settings for pastes; it appears to be of late Roman workmanship, and resembles somewhat in type fibulæ found at Wickham Brooke, Suffolk (*Gent. Mag.* vol. 58, p. 702), Swaffham, Norfolk (*Norfolk Archæology*, vol. v. p. 354), and Kirkby Thore, Westmoreland (*York volume of Archæological Institute*, Pl. v. fig. 3). Grave 129.

Fig. 2. Pierced bronze ornament somewhat Celtic in design, possibly Romano-British. Grave 134.

Fig. 3. Dish-shaped fibula of copper gilt; the ornaments are somewhat like legs of birds or other animals. Grave 162.

Fig. 4. Bronze fibula composed of a thin plate of metal stamped, and representing a five pointed star which had originally been cemented to a slightly concave plate of the same metal. Grave 186.

Fig. 5. Bronze dish-shaped fibula with a cruciform design; in each quarter there appears to be a rude face. Grave 186.

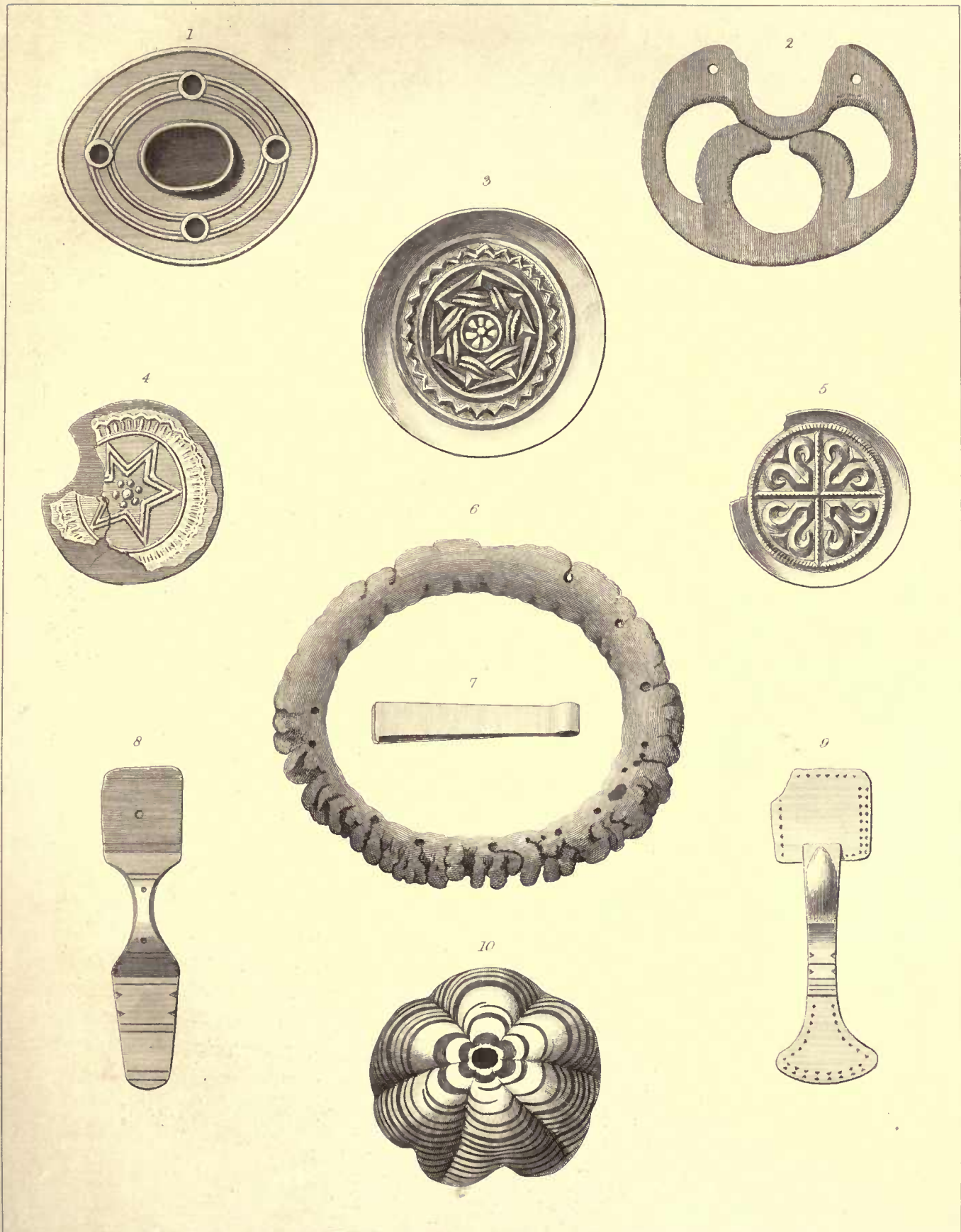
Fig. 6. Oval ring, pronounced by Professor Owen to be formed from the burr of a very large antler of a red-deer. The central portion has been cut away. A similar ring was found in 1829 at Newnham, Northamptonshire, and is now in the possession of Sir Henry Dryden; another was found by Lord Braybrooke at Little Wilbraham (*Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. xxiii. fig. 102); a third was found with other remains in an ancient well at Leicester. See *Proceedings*, 2d Series, vol. i. p. 246. A fragment of a similar object was found at Stade on the Elbe. It is possible that such a ring may have been used to keep the flax on the distaff. Grave 150.

Fig. 7. Bronze tweezers found in the urn *ll*.

Fig. 8. Bronze fibula of plain form. Grave 164.

Fig. 9. Bronze fibula of cruciform type with stamped triangular ornaments. Grave 152.

Fig. 10. Bead formed of opaque white glass with transparent purple bands, which, owing to the shape of the bead, assume somewhat of a zigzag appearance; it is conjectured to have been used as a spindle-whirl. Grave 150.



J. Bastre del. et. sc.

X. *Original Letters to the Tremoille family, chiefly from Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia: communicated by Monsieur PAUL MARCHEGAY; together with remarks on the same by AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, Esq., Director.*

[Read January 27, and May 26, 1859.]

M. PAUL MARCHEGAY of Angers, *ancien Archiviste du departement de Maine et Loire*, has forwarded to the Society transcripts of some letters which he has found among the records of the Tremoille family, preserved at Serrant in Anjou.

They consist chiefly of twenty-one unpublished letters written by Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, and three by the King of Bohemia, all addressed to various members of the Tremoille family. One letter, however, which is of an earlier date, relates only indirectly to Elizabeth, and should properly be considered before those written by the unfortunate daughter of James I. or her husband.

The letter is addressed to the Duchesse de la Tremoille by Monsieur Duplessis du Bellay, governor or tutor to her son Henri de la Tremoille, who was then in London in the suite of the Duc de Bouillon. Before entering into the particulars of this letter it may be well to state the object of the Duc de Bouillon's embassy.

Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne and Duc de Bouillon, who is well known as one of the principal and most trusted servants of Henry IV., had, through that monarch's interest, been married to the heiress of the independent sovereignty of Sedan. This position, coupled with his marriage on her death with Elizabeth, one of the numerous daughters of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, placed him at the head of the Protestant party in France. By this marriage he became brother-in-law to the Duchesse de la Tremoille, and uncle to the Elector Palatine, or Palgrave, Frederick. He was therefore anxious, both for political and family reasons, to obtain a good alliance for the young Elector, who had been brought up under his care. The marriage of the latter with Elizabeth, daughter of James I., had been for some time talked of, although the claimants for her hand were numerous, and included personages of no less consideration than the King of Spain and the Prince of Savoy; the claims, moreover, of the former of these potentates were supported by Queen Anne of Denmark.

This marriage was no doubt the principal motive that the Duke had in under-

taking the embassy to England; he came over however ostensibly on a mission from the Queen Regent of France. It had been decided early in the year 1612 that he should go to England, to explain as best he might the Spanish marriages;^a and he had been expected over in March, as we learn from a letter from Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton,^b who writes: "The Duke of Bouillon is expected here shortly, who is thought to have a double errand, as well from the Palatine of the Rhine as from the Queen Regent. His coming hastens Sir Henry Wotton away." Sir Henry Wotton, it must be remembered, was starting on an embassy to Savoy, laden with rich presents, and prepared, probably, to treat on the double marriage with the royal family of England that had been proposed by the Duke of Savoy. The Duc de Bouillon did not however come over till April, the Queen Regent being anxious that he should remain in Paris till the Spanish marriages had been publicly announced, on account of his great influence over his co-religionists the Protestants, who were likely to be discontented with the marriages, and in hopes of his intervention with the princes of the Blood, "he being almost the only man who is used, and is held fittest and most capable by the Queen for such mediation."^c He arrived at Dover on the 23rd of April,^d and in London shortly after, where he was lodged in the Charterhouse^e with a train of 200. His avowed business was to explain away the Spanish marriages, of which he personally disapproved, and to negociate a marriage between Prince Henry and the Princess Christina of France. In addition to this he was charged to convey back to England the insignia of the late King Henry IV., as knight of the garter. In his suite were his nephew the young Duc de la Tremoille, Monsieur de Chastillon, and others.^f

The Duc de Bouillon pressed very warmly for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine; on the 16th of May the articles for the marriage were drawn up in his presence,^g and on the 19th of the same month he took his departure.^h His reception seems to have pleased both himself and the Queen Regent, as we learn from Beaulieu who wrote from Paris to Trumbull, 18th May, 1612: "The Queen and Court here is very much satisfied with the

^a Letter from Beaulieu to Trumbull, dated Paris, Feb. 13, 1611-12. Winwood's Memorials, iii. 335.

^b Nichols's Progresses of James I. vol. ii. p. 438.

^c Beaulieu to Trumbull, 5 March, 1611-12. Winwood's Memorials, iii. 345.

^d Nichols's Progresses of James I. vol. ii. p. 442.

^e Chamberlain to Carleton. S. P. Dom. Jas. I. lxxviii. 104.

^f Beaulieu to Trumbull, Paris, 18 April, 1612. Winwood's Memorials, iii. p. 358.

^g Green's Princesses of England, vol. v. p. 184.

^h S. P. Dom. Jas. I. vol. lxxix. 10. Birch's Court of James I. vol. i. p. 166.

honnourable and kind entertainment given to the Duke of Bouillon in England, whereof he hath made already such relations by his letters that all this town doth ring of it.”^a

The letter of M. Duplessis du Bellay is dated from London, four days before the articles for the marriage were signed, and is as follows:—

[*Letter of M. Duplessis du Bellay.*]

A Madame LA DUCHESSE DE LA TREMOILLE, a Paris.

MADAME, vous aurés receu lettre de monseigneur vostre fils, par la despesche que monseigneur de Bouillon fit le vij^e de ce mois.

Le lendemain, de la part du roy de la Grande Bretagne, le vint trouver le duc de Lemnos,^b acompaigné de plusieurs seigneurs et gentilhommes, avec trante carosses, le conduisit a Ouitalle,^c dans une grande salle autour de la quelle y a des galleries presque semblables a celles de Charanton,^d où il trouva (sur un lieu elevé de deux degrés, soubz un dais de drap d’or frisé) sa majesté, qui avoit a sa droite le prince de Galles, l’archevesque de Cantorbery, le comte de Sufole, grand chambellan, et le comte de Cherosbery,^e ecluy qui vint au devant de monseigneur de Bouillon jusqu’à Rochestre, dont la femme est dans la tour de Londres pour avoir eu intelligence avec Arbelle.^f On le tient pour le plus riche comte d’Angleterre. A sa gauche estoit la reyne, le duc d’Yore, la princesse, l’amiral,^g et le duc de Lemnos, qui s’y mist ayant conduit monseigneur de Bouillon jusqu’au degrés; où estant arivé, leurs majestés se leverent. Monseigneur de Bouillon parlla assés longtems au roy, que personne n’avoit encore salué.

Cependant la reyne appella monseigneur vostre fils, luy demenda s’il avoit chaut, pour ce qu’il y avoit grande presse; luy demenda s’il trouvoit se país beau. Elle le caressa et le baisa quand on se retira. Elle ne baise personne a

^a Winwood’s Memorials, iii. p. 365.

^b Lodovick Stewart, 2nd Duke of Lenox.

^c Whitehall.

^d Charenton, the Protestant church near Paris, destroyed by a mob of Catholics, 21 September, 1621. It was not rebuilt till 1624. The new edifice was erected by the celebrated architect, Jacques de Brosse, it was calculated to contain 14,000 persons, and was demolished on the 21st of October, 1685, at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

^e Shrewsbury.

^f Arabella Stuart:—Mary, wife of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, was suspected of being an accomplice in the flight of Arabella Stuart, and was imprisoned in the Tower; see a letter from Mr. John More to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated June 18th, 1611 (Winwood’s Memorials, iii. p. 281). She was released about two years afterwards.

^g Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.

la mode de France. Le x^e elle donna audience a mondit seigneur de Bouillon, dans une salle moindre que la precedente. C'est une princesse qui a fort bonne mine, et beaucoup de majesté. Elle fit encore fort bonne chere a monseigneur vostre fils, et luy demenda s'il avoit une maistresse en France; sur ce qu'il luy dist que non, elle luy dist qu'elle luy en vouloit donner une.

Le jour precedent, qui estoit le ix^e, mondit seigneur, jouant a la paume, s'estoit fait mal a un pied et avoit gardé le lit jusqu'à l'heure qu'il fallut aller chez la reyne, et eust eu besoin de le garder encore d'avantage; mais la bonne chere qu'il avoit receue de leurs majestés, a la premiere audience, luy fit surmonter son mal pour se trouver a la seconde, et a la troisieme, le xi^e, vers les princes et la princesse qui sont très beaux et bien nais. La princesse^a surtout est digne de grandes louanges pour sa piété, courtoisie, et beauté, et chacun public bienheureux celuy qui l'épousera. Monseigneur l'Electeur Palatin y a beaucoup de part; mais pour avoir le tout, il estoit du tout necessaire que monseigneur de Bouillon se trouvast issy. Le prince de Galles a fort bonne mine, et tient une grande gravité en public. Nous ne l'avons encore point veu en privé. Le duc d'Yorc est fort gentil, et en l'opinion d'un chacun pour devoir estre quelque chose de grand. Il est beaucoup moins haut que monseigneur vostre fils; aussy a il moins d'aage.

Monseigneur de Bouillon a eu aujourd'hui du roy une seconde audience en privé, n'ayant avec luy que l'ambassadeur ordinaire. Demain y aura festin royal^b et bal, où a peine monseigneur vostre fils pourra danser, pour ce que son pied luy fait encore un peu de mal. L'ambassadeur,^c Mons. de Bisseaus, m'a dit qu'on avoit avisé qu'a ce festin le prince de Galles auroit une table a part, a laquelle seroit mondit seigneur, et qu'il y auroit eu quelque difficulté sur cela. Je luy ay repliqué que ceux qui mengent a la table du roy peuvent bien menger a celle du roy d'Angleterre, et que monseigneur de la Trimouille est de ceux là; ce qu'il m'a dit estre vray.^d Je ne menqueray, Madame, de vous mender ce qui se passera a ce festin.

^a Elizabeth, who afterwards married the Palgrave.

^b This feast is noticed in a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, S. P. Dom. Jas. I. lxix. 4.

^c Of France.

^d With regard to the rank which the young de la Trémoille was expected to hold at the English court, M. Marchegay has forwarded the following illustrative passage from a letter written by the Duchesse de Bouillon to her sister, March 5th, 1612:—"Je pensois apprendre l'arivée de mes^m. vos enfans a Paris; je croy qu'elle ne peut plus guere tarder, sy mons^f. vostre fils fait le voiage d'Angleterre. Je n'en doute point, et c'est pourquoy je ramentoy a mon Monsieur [le duc de Bouillon] le ranc qu'il y doit tenir, et comme mons^f de Rohan y a fait la planche, qu'il n'en doit rien relacher, més plus tost en demander plus que moins, en cela et tout autre chose. Je m'assure qu'y vous y servira avec soing et affection."

Monsieur Querre,^a jadis ambassadeur residant a Paris, l'est venu voir; il n'a encore peu aller voir sa femme. Allant demander audience chez la reyne, je la trouvay en la Chambre de Presence, qui tesmoigna un très grand contentement de savoir de voz nouvelles. Le milord Sidné, autrement viscomte de Lisle, grand chambellan de la reyne, auquel je demenday l'audiance, s'estant nommé, je pris occasion de luy dire que j'estois a vostre service, et que souvant je vous avois ouy parler de luy avec beaucoup d'estime, dont il tesmoigna se sentir très obligé.

Jusqu'icy voyla ce qui s'est passé que j'ay pensé aucunement digne de vous estre escrit. Monseigneur vostre fils vous escrit. Je prie Dieu, madame, vous donner entier accomplissement de voz saints dézirs.

Vostre très humble, très obeissant, et très fidele serviteur,

PLESSIS DU BELLAY.

De Londres, le xij^e May, 1612.

M. Marchegay has likewise forwarded a copy of a letter written by Henri de la Tremoille to his mother, which is probably that referred to in the early part of the preceding letter. It is as follows :

[*Letter of Henri de la Tremoille.*]

A Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TREMOILLE.

MADAME,—Nous sommes arrivés a Londres. Je croy que monsieur de Bouillon aura demain audience, ce qui me donnera le moyen de faire la reverence au roy et a la royne, a monsieur le prince de Galles, et duc d'Iorc. Je ne vous puis encores mender nouvelles de cette cour, ne nous ayant peu encore recognoistre. Ce que je vous puis mender seulement est que nous sommes en icy logés bien et fort commodement, mais loin de la cour. Forces seigneurs sont venus visiter monsieur de Bouillon. Voila, Madame, tout ce que je vous puis escrire. Par la prochene occasion, je vous feray savoir entierement ce que j'auray veu en cette solanité. Je vous supplie très humblement croire que je demeureray a jamais, Madame, vostre très humble et très obeissant fils et serviteur,

HENRY DE LA TREMOILLE.

^a Probably Sir George Carew.

The betrothal^a of the Princess, which had been delayed by the melancholy death of prince Henry, took place on the 27th of December, 1612, and the marriage on the 14th of February following. Great were the rejoicings and festivities both at the court and throughout England at an alliance which satisfied the Protestant tastes of the people; and a very large sum was expended on the nuptials.^b The young couple left England on the 26th of April, and, after a stormy passage,^c and a long series of splendid receptions in the various towns through which they passed, reached Heidelberg on the 7th of June.^d

The correspondence with the Duchesse de la Tremoille commences in the following February; the Duchesse had become acquainted with the Electress the previous autumn, when she accompanied her sister, the Duchesse de Bouillon, on a visit to Heidelberg.^e The letters are not in themselves of any great historic interest; they are valuable, however, as specimens of Elizabeth's style of writing in French, and testify to the amiable spirit for which she was distinguished.

Before, however, noticing their contents, it may be desirable to place before the reader some account of the history of the letters, which I do in the words of M. Marchegay:

“Les lettres proviennent des débris du chartrier de Thouars, sauvés d'une ruine complète grâce à leur translation dans le chateau de Serrant, en Anjou.

“Thouars, vicomté, puis duché et pairie, était la seigneurie la plus importante du Poitou, et même l'un des principaux fiefs de la France entière. Il a appartenu, depuis la fin du quinzième siècle jusqu'à celle du dix-huitième, à la très illustre maison de la Tremoille.

“Claude, second duc et premier pair de Thouars, avait combattu sous les drapeaux de Henri III. et de Henri IV., tant contre les Espagnols que contre la Ligue, comme bon Protestant et en digne héritier des héros des guerres de Bretagne et d'Italie.^f Lorsque la paix l'eut ramené d'une manière stable

^a For the king's warrant for part of Elizabeth's trousseau, see *Archæologia*, Vol. XXVI. p. 380.

^b A full account of the pageants, &c. on this occasion may be found in Mrs. Green's careful *Life of Elizabeth*, in *Princesses of England*, vol. v. and in *Nichols' Progresses of James I.* vol. ii.

^c See Phineas Pett's account, *Archæologia*, Vol. XII. p. 267.

^d The expenses of the Princess's journey were communicated to the Society by Sir Charles Young, Garter, and are printed in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXV. p. 1.

^e Elizabeth was a great writer; Mrs. Green had some years since collected upwards of 400 letters by her, with the intention of publishing them; for some of her letters see Bromley's *Royal Letters*, and *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXVII. p. 224; also *Collections of Sussex Archæological Society*, vol. iv. p. 222. A series of letters to her from the king of Bohemia may be found in Aretin, *Beyträge zur Geschichte und Literatur*.

^f En 1598.

da ns le chateau de ses ancêtres, il épousa Charlotte Brabantine de Nassau, dont les vertus, l'esprit, et le caractère lui furent justement chers, et tournèrent bientôt au profit de la jeune famille dont la mort prématurée de son mari lui laissa la direction.^a Elle lui avait apporté de hautes et glorieuses alliances: fille de Charlotte de Bourbon-Montpensier et de Guillaume le Taciturne, prince d'Orange, elle avait pour frères les illustres Maurice et Henri de Nassau; et pour sœurs germaines de très honorables princesses, entre autres Elisabeth duchesse de Bouillon, mère du grand Turenne, et Louise-Julienne électrice palatine. Ce fut par son mariage avec l'électeur Frederic V., fils de cette dernière, qu'Elisabeth Stuart, fille unique de Jacques I. roi d'Angleterre, devint, le 14 Février 1613, nièce de Madame de la Tremoille.

“ Au début de la correspondance qui s'établit entre elles, on remarque de la part d'Elisabeth un peu de contrainte, peut-être même de hauteur. Elle ne donne d'abord à la duchesse de Thouars que le titre cérémonieux de *cousine*; mais bientôt, après l'avoir connue et appréciée, elle devient plus affectueuse, et dès lors jusqu'en 1628, elle la nomme toujours sa *tante*. Un attachement vif et cordial existait entre elles, et il est constaté par les lettres écrites par Elisabeth à Madame de la Tremoille, comme au duc son fils aîné, et à la jeune fille qui devint, au mois de Juillet 1626, l'épouse du loyal James Stanley.

“ La correspondance d'Elisabeth Stuart avec les parens de son mari en Poitou est toute d'intimité. Soit durant la période où elle vivait heureuse, avec le simple titre d'Electrice Palatine, dans le splendide palais d'Heidelberg; soit lorsqu'une éphémère royauté la fit trôner une année à peine dans la capitale de la Bohême; soit enfin lorsque, cruellement punie de son ambition par la défaite des armées de son mari et de ses alliés, la ruine du Palatinat et la perte des états que Frederic IV. avait laissés à son fils, elle et lui cherchaient à la Haye un asyle auprès de leurs oncles les princes d'Orange, les lettres de la princesse d'Angleterre ont toujours pour objet des événements de famille,—naissances, mariages, maladies, visites, décès—ou des assurances d'amitié. Au point de vue historique et politique, ces beaux autographes n'offrent peut-être qu'un intérêt secondaire; mais outre qu'ils augmentent, par une découverte inespérée et dans une proportion assez importante, le nombre de ceux que l'on avait signalés avec beaucoup de soin, ils offrent de jolis et curieux détails de caractère et de mœurs. Ils montrent surtout sous un nouvel aspect cet esprit gracieux et aimable qui n'a pas été altéré par les plus grandes infortunes, et qui a valu à la reine de Bohême le surnom de Reine des Cœurs.

^a En 1604.

“Toutes ces lettres sont écrites en français. Près d’un siècle avant que la langue des Du Bellay et de Montaigne eut brillé dans les Provinces-Unies et dans le Palatinat, du haut de la chaire évangélique ou dans les écrits des libres penseurs, le français y était parlé et écrit. Du reste, la princesse Elisabeth, qui ne paraît pas avoir jamais habité la France, était déjà versée dans la langue de ce pays avant de quitter l’Angleterre. On le voit par la lettre qu’elle adressa à son futur époux, l’électeur palatin, cinq mois avant leur mariage.

MONSIEUR,—La multiplication de vos faveurs augmente infiniment les obligations que j’ay a vostre courtoysie. Je me sens extremement honorée, et vous rans grace bien humble, des assurances que vous me donnés de vostre amityé, la quelle je cheriray d’autant plus afecionement que c’est le commandement du roy, les volontés paternelles du quel me servent de loy inviolable, et que vos merites m’y obligent. L’esperance que nous avons de vous voir bientost en ces cartiers m’enpaichera de faire celley plus longue, més non de vous assurer que je suis, Monsieur, vostre cousine très afecionée

ELISABETH.

De Richemont, le 12 de Septembre, 1612.

(Copie envoyée par M^{me} de Bouillon à sa sœur M^{me} de la Tremoille).

“La correspondance de la princesse avec Madame de la Tremoille, son fils aîné, et sa fille, prouve qu’elle écrivait facilement et non sans élégance. Son orthographe est souvent défectueuse, et son style par fois incorrect; mais ces défauts ne sont pas plus communs chez elle que chez un grand nombre de célèbres français et françaises ses contemporains. Nous avons ajouté, entre crochets, plusieurs mots indispensables pour le sens, et qui semblent avoir été oubliés plutôt qu’omis a dessein.

“Sur les vingt-et-une missives de la reine de Bohême, il n’y a que la première dont la date soit complète. Les autres indiquent généralement pour le jour et le mois la concordance entre l’ancien et le nouveau style, c’est à dire, les calendriers Julien et Grégorien, mais elles ne donnent pas l’année. La mention de divers faits et le rapprochement de plusieurs lettres du roi de Bohême, complètement datées, ont servi de base à notre classement.”

The following analysis of the letters will give some general idea of their contents, and may serve to illustrate some of the allusions in them. Unless otherwise specified, they are written by Elizabeth to the Duchesse de la Tremoille.

I. Heidelberg, 10th Feb., 1614.—Announces the birth of her son, and apologises for not having given notice of the likelihood of the event; expresses her wish to give contentment to the house of Tremoille.

This is the birth of her eldest son, Frederick Henry, which took place January 2nd, 1614; the event was somewhat unexpected, and the attendants who were to come out from England had not arrived.^a There could not however have been any difficulty as to baby linen, as a cradle and a complete trousseau of baby linen to the value of 50,000 crowns was presented to Elizabeth by the town of Haarlem on her bridal progress.

II. Heidelberg, 26th March [1615].—Embassy of Baron de Dhona to France; marriage of Mrs. Dudley and Colonel Schomberg; approaching tour in the High Palatinate.

To bring about the marriage of her favourite attendant Mrs. Dudley with Colonel Schomberg had given the Electress, who was somewhat of a matchmaker, a great deal of trouble. Colonel Meinhard von Schomberg had been with the Elector from his childhood, and was his *maître d'hôtel*. He had accompanied his master to England on the occasion of the marriage, and had there fallen in love with Elizabeth's maid of honour. This was Anne daughter of Edward Sutton, ninth Lord Dudley, and niece of Lord Harrington. Schomberg had made himself most useful to the Elector and his bride on their first settling in the Palatinate, and Elizabeth was anxious to retain near her her favourite companion, which caused her to employ all her efforts to counteract the opposition of King James and Mrs. Dudley's English relations.^b The marriage at length took place in March 1615. The union however was very short, as Madame Schomberg died^c on the 8th December, 1615, soon after giving birth to the great Duke of Schomberg. In August 1616 Colonel Schomberg died, much to the regret of the Elector and Electress.^d

III. Heidelberg, 11th Oct. [1618].—Chiefly complimentary; the Duchesse is too good company to be troubled with letters.

This alludes probably to her being on a visit to one of her brothers of the house of Orange at the Hague, where the letter is addressed.

IV. Heidelberg, 2nd May [1619].—Thanks for condolence on her mother's death; good news of her father's recovery. Thanks for advice about mourning; regrets not knowing that the Duchesse had been at Paris, as she would have troubled her to order her mourning for her there.

The latter paragraph of this letter is curious, as showing how, even at that time, Paris was recognised as the capital of fashion. With respect to the mourning, it may be worthy of notice that the letter, though tied with black silk,

^a Green's Princesses, vol. v. p. 259.

^b Green's Princesses, vol. v. p. 263.

^c Letter from Elizabeth to James I. Green's Princesses, vol. v. p. 278.

^d S. P. Dom. Jas. I. vol. xc. 24.

is sealed with red wax, while both the wax and silk of No. XX., written after the death of James I., are black.

V. Heidelberg, 2nd May [1619].—Letter to the Duc de la Tremoille thanking him for his condolence.

VI. Letter from Frederic, King of Bohemia, to the Duchesse de la Tremoille. Brunn, $\frac{2}{12}$ February, 1620.—Acknowledges the congratulations he had received from her, through M. de Chasteauneuf, on his having become king of Bohemia, and gives reasons for his having accepted the crown.

VII. Prague, 20th February [1620].—Thanks for the joy expressed by the Duchesse at the writer's arrival at Prague.

VIII. Prague, 24th March [1620].—Acknowledges congratulations at the birth of a son; Bethlem Gabor, the States of Bohemia, and the Duke of Würtemberg to be sponsors. Successful journey of the King of Bohemia into Moravia; Approaching battle between the Prince of Anhalt and Bucquoy.

This letter relates to the christening of Prince Rupert, born the 26th of the preceding November. The battle between the Prince of Anhalt and Bucquoy was not as near as Elizabeth supposed, as there was none till the famous battle of Prague, which was fought on the 1st of November following, and overturned Frederic's throne.

IX. Prague, $\frac{7}{17}$ May [1620].—Chiefly complimentary.

X. Prague, $\frac{7}{17}$ July [1620].—Visit to Prague of the son of the Duchesse, and his satisfactory conduct.

XI Küstrin, 29th November, 1620.—Misfortunes of the writer; departure of young De la Tremoille; her intention to stay through the winter at Küstrin.

Küstrin, where Elizabeth had taken refuge from her enemies, was a fortress about 48 miles from Berlin, belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg, brother-in-law to the King of Bohemia. The Elector had with some unwillingness received the fugitive Queen into his states. She had arrived at Küstrin but a few days previously, and was delivered there of Prince Maurice on the $\frac{6}{16}$ January, 1621. The fortress afterwards acquired additional celebrity as the prison in which Frederick the Great was confined when prince.

XII. To the Duc de la Tremoille. Küstrin, 29th November [1620].—Similar in its contents to the last.

XIII. Küstrin, $\frac{15}{25}$ January [1621].—A letter of affection.

XIV. The Hague, $\frac{14}{24}$ January [1622 ?].—Affairs much in the same state; Count Mansfeld and General Vere do what they can, but, not being masters of the open country, Vere is obliged to remain in garrisons, while Mansfeld is gone to Alsace. No news from England, owing to contrary winds; regrets the troubles in France,

especially as they prevent the Duchesse from coming to the Hague; will, at any rate, do what she can for the son of her correspondent, who is there.

There is some doubt as to the date of this letter, which M. Marchegay is disposed to place under 1624. The omission of the name of the Duke of Brunswick, and the statement that Vere held garrisons, seem to point to an earlier date. Frankenthal, the only town that Vere held after the surrender of Manheim on November 2nd, 1622, was given up by treaty at the commencement of the following year. Moreover, Vere was in England in February, 1624.

XV. The Hague, 6 July, 1622.—Insecurity of communications; the King in the Palatinate, where the Duke of Brunswick has brought him 5,000 men, notwithstanding his misfortune in crossing the bridge. Kind remembrances to the daughter of the Duchesse (Charlotte de la Tremoille).

The Duke of Brunswick, in attempting to cross the Maine at Aschaffenburg, near Höchst, was attacked by Tilly on the 29th of June, 1622, and suffered severe losses.

XVI. The Hague, $\frac{7}{17}$ January [1623 ?].—Illness of the Duchesse; departure of the Count de Laval. She has been prevented from sending her portrait owing to the painter having lost his son.

XVII. The Hague, $\frac{14}{24}$ July [1623].—Glad that the Duchesse is with her sister the Duchesse de Bouillon in her affliction; successes of the Duke of Brunswick over Tilly. The former has an army of 30,000 men, well armed. She trusts that he may succeed.

The date of this letter is fixed by the death of the Duc de Bouillon in 1623. The successes of the Duke of Brunswick were but temporary, and the Queen was doomed to be once more disappointed.

XVIII. The Hague, 29 July, [1624].—Regrets to hear that the Duchesse is still feeble; rejoices at the birth of a young De la Tremoille, and begs that the daughter of the Duchesse will represent her as sponsor at his christening.

Louis Maurice de la Tremoille, the child in question, though with so Protestant a sponsor, was brought up as a Roman Catholic, and became Abbé of Charroux and Ste Croix de Tallemont.

XIX. The King of Bohemia to the Duchesse. The Hague, $\frac{6}{16}$ May, 1625.—Thanks for condolences on the death of James I., whose loss is the more serious, as he had lately seemed to take more to heart the re-establishment of his son-in-law's affairs; consolation to be derived from the good qualities and friendly disposition of his successor.

XX. The Hague, 17 May [1625].—Death of her father James I.; kindness

^a State Papers, Dom. Jas. I. clix, 63.

of her brother Charles I. Marriage of Henry of Nassau, and death of the Prince of Orange. Marriage of Charles I. and Henrietta of France; rejoices to hear that the Queen-Mother of France is friendly, has sought in vain for a lion [-dog] to send her.

XXI. To Mademoiselle de la Tremoille. 17 May [1625].—Thanks for her condolences. Death of the Prince of Orange.

This is the only letter that we have to Mademoiselle de la Tremoille, the only daughter of the Duchesse, and well known in England as Charlotte de la Tremoille, Countess of Derby. The Queen of Bohemia, who, as we have already said, was somewhat of a match-maker, was very anxious to marry her cousin well; and, as the Countess of Derby had given her son Lord Strange over to her to dispose of as she pleased,^a she thought she could not do better than unite him with her cousin Charlotte de la Tremoille: the marriage took place July 5, 1626.

XXII. The Hague, 22d September, 1627.—State of her health; capture of Groll; the Duke of Buckingham still before Fort St. Martin, Isle of Rhé; no news from England; state of the affairs of the King of Denmark. Lady Strange *enceinte*; the little dog Apollon; Sir Dudley Carleton still at the Hague, who appears to be quite consoled of his wife's death; little dogs sent to the Queen-Mother of France. Folly of Hauterive in not lowering the standard before the Prince of Orange, because the English ambassador was with the latter.

XXIII. The King of Bohemia to the Duchesse de la Tremoille. ^{6 October,} ^{5 November,} 1627.—Birth of a son on that morning. Splendid wedding of the eldest daughter of M. Dierenfort with the son of Madame Vandrague. The Queen of Bohemia has sent a pair of greyhounds to the Queen-Mother of France; regrets to see the misunderstanding between the Kings [of France and England], a bad thing for the King of Denmark, who has Tilly and Wallenstein in his country. Would be glad to satisfy the claims of Gueretin, but cannot do so under present circumstances unless he received what was due to him in France.

XXIV. The Hague, ¹⁹/₂₉ May, 1628.—Prevented from writing by being at Rhenen; arrival of the Earl of Carlisle and departure of Lord Carleton. The former is on a mission, and goes by Brabant to Lorraine, Savoy, and Venice; the little dog Apollon; the fleet to La Rochelle has started. M. d'Espesses has gone away; Lady Strange and her little son quite well; the princess Amelie of Orange with child; death of Madame de Vandrague.

Many of the more minute occurrences are explained in the notes appended to the letters, some of them having been prepared from materials forwarded by M. Marchegay, are distinguished by his initials.

^a Green's Princesses, vol. v. p. 456.

I.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Electress Palatine.*]

A Madame ma Cousine Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOILLE.

MADAME MA COUSINE,—Il n'y a personne qui m'ait congratulé encores, l'heur qui m'est arrivé par la benediction du ciel, de qui l'affection me soit plus chere et agreable que la vostre. Comme il ne passera jour de ma vie que je ne recognoisse la faveur divine pour un si grand bien, aussi l'ingratitude ne gaignera jamais tellement le dessus de mes meilleures intentions que je ne me demonstre tresensible de toutes vos faveurs. Il faut imputer la petite dissimulation a mon inexperience, et conjecturer que mon naturel est porté a ne repaistre le monde de vaines esperances. L'evenement très heureux confirme ceste verité: il n'y a rien qui repugne davantage a ma naïve disposition que de payer d'apparence où je doibs des effects; vous le scaurés en particulier quand les occasions naissantes m'en offriront le subject. Dieu vueille que le fils que sa bonté m'a donné,^a puisse un jour, par sa grace, donner le contentement que je desire a tous ses parents, et notamment a vostre maison qui y a un interest spécial, et me rende si heureuse que d'estre conservée en vostre opinion en qualité, ma Cousine, de vostre cousine très affectionnée a vous faire service,

ELIZABETH.

Heidelberg, le 10 de Febvrier, 1614.

[Seal of red wax, with silk of same colour.]

II.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Electress Palatine.*]

A Madame ma Cousine Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TREMOULLE.

MADAME MA COUSINE,—Le baron de Dona s'en allant ambassadeur en France,^b n'ay je voullu faillir que de l'accompagner de cestey, pour vous asseurer de mon affection continuelle; vous priant de me faire part quelque fois de vos nouvelles. Icy il n'y a rien de nouveau, sinon que j'ay marié Dudley^c avec le

^a Frederick Henry, born Jan. 2, 1614; he was accidentally drowned while going out with his father to meet the Dutch fleet from the West Indies, Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, 1629.

^b Achatius de Dhona, born 22 Oct. 1581, died 12 Sept. 1647; much employed in negotiations by the Elector Palatine.

^c Anne, daughter of Edward Sutton, 9th Baron Dudley, married John Meinhard von Schomberg, March 1615.—Green, Princesses, vol. v. p. 264; S. P. Dom. Jas. I. lxxx. 85. She died 8 Dec. 1615.

colonel Schomberg, comme vous dira le baron de Dona. Vers le commencement du mois de Juin, je pense aller avec monsieur l'Electeur au Haut Palatinat, et y séjourner six semaines.^a Je n'ay rien autre chose a vous dire, sinon que je seray toujours, Madame ma Cousine, vostre très affectionnée cousine et niece a vous faire service.

ELIZABETH.

Hedleberg, ce 26 de Mars [1615].

[Seal of red wax, with green silk.]

III.

*[Letter of Elizabeth Electress Palatine.]*A ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE, a la Hay.^b

MADAME MA TANTE,—Vous estes a cest'heur en si bonne compagnie que je ne vous veux pas trop arrester a lire mes foles lettres. Je vous direz donc seulement que j'ay receu la vostre derniere par un gentilhomme Escossois; dont je vous remercie bien fort, vous assurant que ne pourrez faire paroistre de l'amitié a une personne qui le cherit avec plus d'affection que moy, qui est a jamais, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece a vous faire service.

ELIZABETH.

d'Heidelberg, ce 11 d'Octobre [1618].

[Seal lost.]

IV.

*[Letter of Elizabeth Electress Palatine.]*A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TREMOUILLE la douairière.^c

MADAME MA TANTE,—C'est me tesmoigner vrayment de l'affection par le resentiment qu'avez de ma perte,^d la quelle m'a fort affligée; et j'eusse esté

^a They set out on the tour in the High Palatinate, in the middle of June, 1615, and returned home on the 15th of August.

^b Madame de la Tremouille was probably on a visit to her brother Maurice Prince of Orange. She was in Holland in 1618, as appears from a letter from Aerssen to the Prince, dated 9th Oct. 1618, warning him of a design to seize his person at Haarlem, and speaking of the want of respect shown to the Duchesse de la Tremouille in that town. See Groen von Prinsterer, *Archives de la Maison d'Orange—Nassau*, 2nd S. tom. ii. p. 556. This seems to fix the date of the letter No. III.

^c The Duchesse had become a dowager by the marriage of her son Henri de la Tremouille, Duc de Thouars, on Jan. 19, 1619, to his cousin Marie de la Tour, daughter of the Duc de Bouillon. Anselme, *Histoire Généalogique*, &c. iv. 171.

^d The death of Anne of Denmark, which occurred March 2nd, 1619.

encore bien triste, mais les bonnes nouvelles que j'ay eu de la convalescence du roy mon pere, qui avoit aussy esté malade a la mort, m'ont fort resjouy. Dieu à eu pitié de moy, ne me voullant accabler de deux si grandes pertes a la foix. Je voudrois estre si heureuse que de vous pouvoir tesmoygner par quelque chose signalé comme avec passion je cherys vostre amitié, n'ayant assez de parolles suffisantes pour vous faire paroistre combien je vous ayme; vous assurant que je seray toute ma vie, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece a vous faire service,

ELIZABETH.

De Heidelberg, ce 2 de May [1619].

Je vous remercie bien fort de la peine qu'avez prise en donnant vostre avis pour mon dueil. Si j'eusse seu que vous eussies esté à Paris, je vous en eusse moy mesme importuné pour la faire faire; qui fut cause que j'en priay madame de Beringan.^a Je l'ay receu et le trouve fort bien. Vous me mandez que vous vous souhaité auprès de moy: certes ce m'eute esté une grande soulagement en mon mal vostre chere compagnie.

[Seal of red wax, with black silk.]

V.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Electress Palatine.*]

A Monsieur mon Cousin Monsieur le DUC DE LA TREMOULLE.

MONSIEUR MON COUSIN,—Vous m'obligez extremement pour le resentiment que me tesmoignez avoir de ma perte, par l'envoy de ce gentilhomme. Cela m'asseure bien fort de vostre amitié. Je tascheray de m'en revenger en toutes occasions, n'estant jamais autre que, Monsieur mon Cousin, vostre très affectionnée cousine a vous faire service,

ELIZABETH.

A Heidelberg, ce 2 de May [1619].

[Seal of red wax, with black silk.]

VI.

[*Letter of Frederick King of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TREMOUILLE, douairière.

MADAME MA TANTE,—C'est de vostre très entiere affection envers moy que partent les vœux qu'il vous plaist faire pour l'affermissement de la couronne

^a Madeleine, daughter of Sebastien de Bruneau, and wife of Pierre de Beringhen, a Frisian, premier valet de chambre to Henry IV. and Louis XIII. She was sister to the famous Madame des Loges. See *Historiettes de Tallemant des Reaux*, vol. iii. p. 30.

a la quelle Dieu m'a appellé. L'envoy que vous avez voulu faire du sieur de Chateau-Neuf, afin de m'en rendre par voz lettres un tesmoignage tant plus evident, redouble la creance que j'ay tousjours eue de vostre bonne volonté; et les offres qui y sont jointes accroissent infiniment mon obligation en vostre endroit. Je vous remercie de l'une et de l'autre très affectueusement avec un singulier desir de m'en revenger et le faire recognoistre par les effects de l'amitié inviolable que je vous ay vouée de tout temps, dont je ne perdray la moindre occasion qui m'en offrira les moyens. Et comme, en l'acceptation de ceste dignité, je ne me suis proposé pour but principal que la gloire de Dieu et le soulagement de ces peuples si injustement persecutez, aussy ay je ferme esperance que sa toute puissance parachevera son œuvre et exaucera les vœux communs de tant de bienveillants; vous priant de m'excuser de ce que je ne vous escriis pas de ma main, l'attribuer aux frequentes occupations que me donnent les occurrences du temps present, et croire que rien ne m'empreschera de demeurer tel que je suis, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionné nepveu

FRIDERIC.

De Brin,* le $\frac{12}{2}$ Febvrier, 1620.

[Only the signature and the four words preceding it are in the King's hand.
Large seal of red wax, broken.]

VII.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOILLE.

MADAME MA TANTE,—Les tesmoignages que me donnez de vostre affection par vostre lettre, en me demonstant vostre contentement de mon arrivée icy,^b m'oblige tant a vous que, si je n'estois desjà autant vostre acquise que creature au monde, se seroit assez pour me le faire; mais ce n'est pas d'acest'heur que vous me donnez l'assurance de vostre affection, car vous m'avez tousjours obligé en tant de sortes que toute ma vie j'en demeure vostre obligé. Je me souviene fort bien de ce profitie^c que vous m'avez fait, qui m'est a cest'heure arrivée. Ce que vous disiez alors procedoit de vostre amitié, mais nullement de mon merite; mais telle que je suis, je vous prie de me croire jusques au tombeau, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée nièce,

ELIZABETH.

De Prague, ce 20 de fevrier [1620].

[Seal of red wax with red silk.]

* Brunn, the capital of Moravia.

^b Elizabeth arrived at Prague Oct. $\frac{21}{31}$, 1619, and was crowned $\frac{\text{October } 28}{\text{November } 7}$.^c prophétie.

VIII.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE.

MADAME MA TANTE,—C'est tousjours me combler des assurances de vostre affection, comme vous faites par la lettre que Villernoux^a m'a apporté de vostre part, où vous me mandez vostre contentement pour la naissance de vostre petit nepheu.^b Je n'ay pas assez de parolles pour vous remercier de tant [de] tesmoignages que j'ay tous les jours de vostre affection ; tousjours je vous prie de croire que je cheryray parfaitement vostre amitié, avec la reciproque. Le roy est arrivé fort heureusement du voyage qu'il a fait en Moravie et aux autres provinces, où il a esté receu avec beaucoup d'affection du peuple. Le batesme du petit sera dimanche qui vient. Bethlem Gabor envoy un grand ambassade pour y assister de sa part, pour parain, avec les Estats d'icy et le duc de Wirtemberg. J'espere que nous aurons bientost des bons nouvelles de nostre armé. Le prince d'Anhalt c'est resolu de ce battre avec Buquoy a la premiere comodité. Il n'y a rien autre de nouveau icy.

Je vous prie, ma chere Tante, d'estre tousjours assuré que toute ma vie je ne seray jamais autre que, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece,

ELIZABETH.

Prague, ce 24 de mars [1620].

[Seal of red wax, with yellow silk.]

IX.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE douairière.

MADAME MA TANTE,—Mons^r Burstel m'ayant si bien rendue la vostre, je n'ay aussi voulu qu'il retournast sans mes lettres, qui ne sont que pour vous reiterer les vœus de mon affection ; ce qu'il me semble je ne puis faire trop souvent, y estant obligée par vos merites et par les tesmoignages que me donnez si souvent

^a Called further on Villernon; no relation apparently to Jancourt de Villernoul, son-in-law of Duplessis-Mornay. [P. M.]

^b The celebrated Prince Rupert, born Nov. 26, 1619, and baptized March 31, 1620 (Green's Princesses, vol. v. p. 322). His sponsors were Bethlehem Gabor elect-king of Hungary, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the States of Bohemia, &c. H died Nov. 29, 1682.

de vostre amitié. Ce porteur vous dira tout ce qu'il y a de nouveau icy; et moy, je vous dit avec verité que je suis a tout jamais, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece,

ELIZABETH.

De Prague ce $\frac{7}{17}$ de may [1620].

[Seal of red wax, with white silk.]

X.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE.

MADAME MA TANTE,—J'ay receu vostre lettre par monsieur vostre fils, le quel tesmoigne bien de quel maison il est venue, car il se gouverne icy, je vous assure, extremement bien.^a Je le dit sans flater, et vous prie de croire, qu'il aura tousjours en moy une parente qui luy fera tout le bien qu'elle pourra, tant pour ses merittes comme aussy pour l'amour de vous, ma chère Tante, a qui j'ay tant d'obligations que toute ma vie je seray tousjours parfaitement, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece,

ELIZABETH.

Prague ce $\frac{1}{17}$ de juliet [1620].

[Seal of red wax, with yellow silk.]

XI.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOILLE la douairière.

MADAME MA TANTE,—Je ne doute point que vous n'avez, il y a quelque temps, entendu le malheur que nous avons eu. Je m'assure que cela vous auroit bien affligée, mais je me console d'une chose, que la guerre n'est pas encore faite; et j'espere que Dieu aura seulement fait ceuy pour nous esprover, mais je ne doute point qu'a la fin il nous donnera le meilleur, pour l'amour de son eglise. Vostre cher fils vous dira comme tout est passé. Il faut que je luy donne se tesmoignage qu'il est party d'avec le Roy et de tout le monde en laissant une bonne renommé, et a emporté l'amitié de toute le monde. Je demeure cest hiver en ce pays icy, où il me semble que je suis en exile; mais je vous prie d'estre

^a Frederic youngest son of Madame de la Tremoille; he did not long deserve the praise bestowed on him here. [P. M.]

tousjours assuré, en toutes mes malheurs, que je ne laisseray jamais l'amitié que je vous ay voué, estant a tout jamais, Madame ma Tante, votre très affectionnée niece,

ELIZABETH.

De Kistrin,^a ce 29 de Novembre [1620].

[Seal of red wax, with yellow silk.]

XII.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Monsieur mon Cousin Monsieur le DUC DE LA TRIMOUYLLE.

MONSIEUR MON COUSIN,—Ces peu de lignes, par vostre frere, vous assurera que toutes les malheurs que j'ay eu, dont vostre frere vous en dira les particularitez, ne m'empeschent point de continuer l'amitié que je vous ay toujours vouée. Je vous prie d'en estre du tout assuré, et qu'en tout ce que je pourray je tascheray a vous le faire voire par effect; car toutesfois qu'a cest'heure Dieu nous a chastiez, encore j'espere qu'il nous rendra la victoire et premiere bonheur, qui me donnera le moyen de vous tesmoigner par effect que je suis a jamais, Monsieur mon Cousin, votre très affectionnée cousine,

ELIZABETH.

Vostre frere vous fera bien rire du beau voyage que nous avons eu. Je vous assure qu'il est party avec l'amitié et contentement de tout le monde.

De Kistrin, ce 29 novembre [1620].

[Seal of red wax, with yellow silk.]

XIII.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE.

MADAME MA TANTE,—Vous pouvez bien estre assurée que je ne quitte pas ce porteur^b vollontiers, més puisque c'est avec son mary, et que j'espere qu'elle sera heureuse, je suis contente. Je la charge de celley pour vous dire, sans compliment, que je vous ayme de tout mon cœur, et que rien ne me fera changer ma resolution d'estre a tout jamais, Madame ma Tante, votre très affectionnée niece,^c

ELISABETH.

De Custrin, ce $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁵ de janvier [1621].

[Seal of red wax, with white silk.]

^a Küstrin, a fortress, belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg, 48 miles from Berlin. She had only just arrived there, having been at Frankfort Nov. 25.

^b Probably one of her ladies married to a Frenchman. [P. M.]

^c The Queen had been delivered of her fourth son, Prince Maurice, a few days previously, Jan. $\frac{6}{16}$, 1621.

XIV.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE la douairière.

MADAME MA TANTE,—Je n'ay voulu respondre plus tost a vos lettres, esperant de vous pouvoir mander des bonnes nouvelles; mais je ne le puis faire, nostre estat estant tousjours le mesme, encore que le Conte de Mansfeld et le General Vere font tout ce qu'ils peuvent; mais n'estant maistres de la campagne, Vere est contraint de ce tenir aux garnisons, et Mansfeld est au pays d'Alsace, qui fait fort bien. Je n'ay eu rien de long temps d'Engleterre, le vent estant contraire. Je suis bien fort marry des troubles de France, et ce qui me le fait tant plus regretter, c'est que je voye que cela m'empesche d'avoir vostre chere compagnie icy; car je vous jure que la Haye me seroit bien plus agreable quelle n'est si j'estois si heureuse que de vous y voir. Cependant je voudrois estre si heureuse si je vous pouvois tesmoigner mon amitié en faisant tout le bien que je puis en quelque bon occasion a mons^r vostre fils qui est icy; pour lequel vous me donnez trop de remerciement, estant bien marry que je n'ay le pouvoir de lui tesmoigner comme il merite l'amitié que je vous dois a tous deux. Toujours je ne laisseray jamais de vous aymer en toutes les fortunes qui me puissent arriver. J'espere que Dieu exausera un jour les bonnes prieres que vous faittes pour nous. Tousjours les obligations que je vous ay pour cela et tant d'autres tesmoignages de vostre amitié me feront, quoy qu'il m'arrive, que je seray a tousjours parfaitement, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece, ELIZABETH.

De la Haye, ce $\frac{1}{4}$ de janvier [1622].

[Seal of red wax, with violet silk.]

XV.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE la douairière.

MADAME MA TANTE,—Je vous supplie de m'excuser que j'ay tardé a vous escrire: c'est que je n'ay point eue de commodité, et aussy on me dit que les lettres ne vont pas trop sures. Mais j'espere que ceste cy viendra bien entre vos mains, qui vous assurera que je vous ayme tousjours parfaitement, et que je cheris avec passion les tesmoignages que vous me donnez, par vos lettres, de vostre amitié. Je m'asseure que vous savez tousjours les bons succez que le

Roy a eu depuis sa venue au Palatinat. Le duc de Brunswic luy a mené 5,000 hommes a pied et a cheval, non obstant le malheur qu'il a eu en passant le pont,^a que nos ennemies [etaient] plus qu'il n'est. Depuis cela je n'ay rien eu de nouveau. Ce porteur est en haste, qui fait faire cellecy plus courte que je ne voudroys; et toutesfois que je met fin a ceste lettre, je vous supplie de croire que je ne finiray jamais d'estre parfaitement, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece,

ELIZABETH.

De la Haye, ce 6 de juliet [1622].

Je vous supplie, Madame, de prendre la paine de faire voire a madamoiselle vostre fille^b mes très affectionnez baisse mains.

[Seal of red wax, with yellow silk.]

XVI.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE la douairière.

MADAME MA TANTE,—J'ay recèu depuis quelque temps deux de vos lettres; la premiere m'a assuré de vostre santé, de quoy j'ay esté en peine, et remercie Dieu de tout mon cœur de vous savoir si bien remise. Je suis bien marry de savoir par vostre dernière, que nous perdons ici la compaignie de monsieur vostre fils. Le peu de plaisir que je luy ay peu faire icy ne merite pas tant de remerciements; je suis marry que je n'ay peu faire tant que j'ay désiré, car je vous prie de croire que j'aime et cherit d'affection tout ce qui vous appartient, et principalement luy, qui le merite. Mons^r Bertold^c m'a dit que vous desiriez mon pourtrait. Je vous l'eust envoyé a cest'heure, mais le paintre est [si] affligé de la perte de son fils qu'il n'a peu me paindre; mais j'espere de le vous envoyer par la premiere commodité. Et s'il y a autre chose en quoy je vous puisse tesmoigner mon amitié, je vous prie que je le sache, car je vous ayme et honnore parfaicttement comme, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece,

ELIZABETH.

De la Haye, ce $\frac{7}{17}$ de janvier [1623?]

[Seal of red wax, with yellow silk.]

^a The Duke of Brunswick on attempting to cross the Maine at Höchst was attacked by the Imperialists under Tilly, 29th June, 1622, and his forces were nearly annihilated.

^b Charlotte de la Tremoille, who married Lord Strange, and became, on his father's death, Countess of Derby.

^c Tutor to the Comte de Laval. [P.M.]

XVII.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE.

MADAME MA TANTE,—J'ay esté si heureuse d'avoir de vos lettres, par Du Pont et Bonjour, qui m'asseurent tousjours de la continuation de vostre amitié, ee que je reçoive avec beaucoup de contentement; car je vous assure que vous ne sauriez aymer une personne qui vous a plus voué d'amitié que moy, qui vous eherit en toute perfection. Je suis fort aise que vous estes aupres de madame de Bouillon, vostre seur, car j'espere que vous ayderez a la divertir en son affliction.^a Dieu veulle que la bonne dame puisse bien achever ces affaires a son contentement. Je ne vous puis mander de grandes nouvelles d'icy, hormis que mon eousin le duc Cristian de Brunswic, pour sa premiere rencontre, a defait un regiment de mille chevaux de Tillie.^b J'espère, s'il plaist a Dieu, que le rest sera eomme le commencement. Il a une belle armé, pres de trente mille hommes, bien armez et bien resolu de bien faire. J'espere que Dieu le benira et escxaucera les bonnes prieres que vous luy faites pour nous, de quoy je vous ay une bien grande obligation. Aussi je vous assure que vous ne pouvez souhaitter de bien a une personne qui vous aime plus que fait, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece,

ELIZABETH.

De la Haye, ce $\frac{1}{4}$ de julliet [1623].

[Seal of red wax, with white silk.]

XVIII.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE la douairière.

MADAME MA TANTE,—Je suis très mary de voire par vostre lettre que vous estes tant foible; mais j'espere que Dieu vous remettra bien tost en vostre premiere santé; de quoy je l'en supplie de tout mon cœur; et vous prie de eroire que ce m'a esté un grand contentement d'entendre que vous avez un autre petit

^a Her husband the Duc de Bouillon had died the 25 March, 1623, at Sedan (Baluze, *Maison d'Auvergne*, vol. i. 441).

^b The success of the Duke of Brunswick was, however, only temporary; and shortly afterwards he was defeated near Stadtlo with very severe loss by the combined forces of Anhalt and Tilly.

fil.^a Vous m'obligez infiniment en desirant que je le tiene en batesme; je l'estime comme une assurance de vostre amitié en mon endroit, et vous en remercie bien fort. J'ay prié mademoiselle vostre fille de tenir ma place au batesme de ce cher enfant, que j'aimeray tousjours bien fort, et tout ce qui vous touche, comme celle qui est a jamais, Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece,

ELISABETH.

De la Haye, ce 29 de juillet [1624].

[Seal of red wax, with green silk.]

XIX.

[*Letter of Frederick King of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESS DE LA TREMOILLE.

MADAME MA TANTE,—Ma femme et moy vous avons une très grande obligation de la part qu'il vous plaist prendre en l'affliction que Dieu nous a envoyé par le decès du feu roy d'Angleterre;^b la quelle nous a esté d'autant plus sensible que, quelque temps devant sa mort, il faisoit paroistre de prendre plus a cœur le rettablisement de noz affaires. Mais puisque s'a esté la volonté de Dieu de le retirer a soy, c'est a nous d'acquiescer a sa volonté et nous consoler de ce qu'il a laissé un successeur doué de beaucoup de vertus, et de l'affection du quel nous sommes bien assurés. Je ne doute point que Dieu benira ses bonnes intentions, le quel je prie de me donner le moyen de vous tesmoigner l'estime que je fais des assurances que je prens de vostre amitié et le desir que j'ay de vous rendre bien humbles services comme celuy qui sera toutte sa vie, Madame, vostre bien humble et affectionné nepveu à vous faire service,

FRIDERIC.

De la Haye, ce $\frac{6}{16}$ May, 1625.

[Seal of black wax, now lost.]

XX.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE la douairière.

MADAME MA TANTE,—Je vous remercie bien fort du resentiment que vous avez de ma perte, la quelle a esté bien grande, et mon affliction de mesme: mais Dieu

^a Louis Maurice de la Tremoille, second son of the Duc de Thouars; he served in Italy in 1642, and afterwards having entered into holy orders became Abbé of Charroux and of Sainte Croix de Tallemont, and died in 1681.

^b James I. died 27 March, 1625.

m'a laissé un si cher frere qui me donne toute ma consolation. Il m'asseure, par un gentilhomme^a qu'il m'a envoyé exprès, qu'il ne nous abandonnera jamais, mais aidera en nostre droiet pour nous y remettre. Je ne doute point que vous n'avez esté bien aise de savoir le mariage de monsieur vostre frere,^b le quel est heureux d'avoir une bonne et belle femme ; mais hélas, les nopees ont estez trop tost suivie par la perte de monsieur le princee d'Orenge,^c vostre frere, en qui j'ay perdue un second pere. Je n'ay voullue estre la premiere a vous mander ces tristes nouvelles, mais tousjours je ne suis pas des dernieres a plaindre ceste grande perte que vous avez, et tous nous autres ; mais j'espere que Dieu vous consollera et vous donnera du contentement en ce frere qui vous reste, le quel, je vous assure, a bon naturel ; et je ne doute point que Dieu ne le benie comme il a fait l'autre. J'espere que les nopees de mon frère et de Madame^d sont faits, et qu'elle est sur son voyage vers Engleterre. Ce m'est beaucoup de contentement de voire par vostre lettre comme la Royne Mere^e continue a me vouloir [du bien] ; je vous assure aussy que je l'aime avec passion. J'ay serehé partout pour avoir un petit lion pour elle, mais je n'en ay peu trouver encore. On m'en apporte des jeunes qui sont bien petits, mais après ils croissent extremement ; mais si j'en puis trouver, je luy enverray, et aussy des petits levriers. Ceux que j'ay voullue envoyer ont eue des malheurs ; l'un e'est rompu la jambe et l'autre est mort ; mais j'en auray, j'espere, de plus beaux pour la Royne que ce qu'elle a encore eue. Je ne vous diray autre chose pour ce fois ; ce gentilhomme vous peut assez informer de tout ce qui ce passe. Je vous prieray seulement de croire que je vous aime parfaitement, comme Madame ma Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece,

ELIZABETH.

De la Haye, ce 17 de May [1625].

[Seal of black wax, black silk.]

^a Sir Harry Vane, cofferer to the king.

^b Henry of Nassau, son of William the Silent and who became by his brother Maurice's death Prince of Orange, had lately married Amelie, daughter of John Albert, Count of Solms, who had been one of the ladies of the Queen of Bohemia, and to whom she was deeply attached.

^c Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, died 23rd April, 1625.

^d The marriage of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria was solemnised at Paris 11th May, 1625.

^e Marie dei Medici, widow of Henri IV. At the end of August, 1638, when she was received at the Hague in great state, she displayed but little friendship to the Queen of Bohemia, if we are to believe Tallemant des Réaux. "La feu Reyne-Merc, qui estoit la plus glorieuse personne du monde . . . ne traitta pas trop bien cette Reyne mesme, car elle ne baisa point ses filles. La reyne de Bohême en eut un despit estrange, et ne la reconduisit que jusqu'a la porte de son antichambre." (Historiette lxiv.) [P. M.]

XXI.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Mademoiselle ma Cousine MADAMOISELLE DE LA TRIMOUILLE.

MADAMOISELLE MA COUSINE,—Vous tesmoignez bien fort vostre bon naturel^a par le resentiment que vous avez de ma perte, la quelle a esté bien grande, et l'affliction non moindre. L'amitié que vous me tesmoignez par là m'oblige a vous aimer et cherir comme je fais bien fort, et pleins bien la perte que vous avez fait du feu bon prince d'Orengé, vostre oncle, le quel a bien suivie le roy mon pere. Je ne doute point que vous n'en avez bien du regret, et j'en ay de mesme l'ayant tousjours aimé comme un pere; mais je ne vous veux plus entretenir sur ce triste discours, et metteray fin a ceste cy en vous assurant que je suis a jamais, Mademoiselle ma Cousine, votre très affectionnée Cousine,

ELIZABETH.

De la Haye, ce 17 de may [1625].

[Seal of black wax, with black silk.]

XXII.

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE, a Boumiers.^b

MADAME MA TANTE,—J'ay bien raison de vous faire beaucoup d'excuses d'avoir esté si long temps sans vous escrire, et vous remercier pour vos lettres; mais la pure verité est, qu'il a fait extremement chaud, qui m'a tant incommodé avec des foiblesses que je n'a escritt a personne du monde alors. A cest heur je ne veux plus long temps diferer, car a la fin de ceste sepmaine je finy de conter, et je me porte aussy fort. Depuis la prise de Grole,^c il n'y a rien icy de nouvelles

^a The following is the letter of Charlotte de la Tremoille, to which the above [XXI.] is the answer.

"MADAME,—Je me prometiz que Vostre Majesté me fera l'honneur de croire que, de toutes les personnes du monde, il n'y en a point qui soit plus vivement touchée que moi de l'affliction dont il a pleu a Dieu de la visiter; et veux croire qu'elle n'aura desagreable les tesmognages que je luy en rends par celley: bien marrie, Madame, de ne pouvoir rien pour l'allegement de la douleur de Vostre Majesté, a laquelle je prie Dieu envoyer les consolations qu'il cognoist luy estre necessaires, et moy me rendre si heureuze qu'estant honorée de ses commandemens, je puisse, par toutes sortes d'obeissances et de très humbles services, luy tesmognier que je n'ay rien de plus cher que la qualité, &c. &c. [P. M.]

^b A *chateau* in Berry.

^c Henri de Nassau obliged the garrison of Groll to capitulate the 20th of August, 1627, before the eyes of the Spanish army come to relieve it.

qui sont bons. Le Duc de Buckingham est encore devant le fort Saint Martin.^a Je voudrois que tout fust accommodé là, mais il n'y a encore guere d'apparence, de quoy je suis bien marry. Les affaires du roy mon oncle^b ne sont en trop bon estat non plus. Il y a quelque temps que je n'ay rien eue d'Engleterre. On me dit que la petite niece^c est grosse, elle ne le veut encore confesser, et se porte fort bien, et tout le monde l'aime autant qu'ils ont fait la feu contesse. La grande ville a à cest heur la maladie ordinaire, qui luy est venue depuis peu, de quoy tout le monde est bien rejouye. Mon chien Apollon ne fait rien qui vaille, toutes fois que Mons^r Carleton,^d qui est encore icy, le trouve fort a son gré. Il me semble qu'il est fort bien consolé de la morte de sa femme. Je envoyé Villernoux a la Royne Mere avec deux fort beaux petits levriers. Je sçay bien que jamais il n'y [en] a eu de si beaux en France, et hormis mon favorit^e je n'en ay jamais veu de plus beaux. Je les ay eu de Frisse de ma cousine de Nassau. Le Roy vous baisse les mains. Il ne vous veut pas escripre jusques a la sepmaine qui vient, pour vos pouvoir mander mon accouchement. Je finiray ceste cy en vous protestant d'estre a tout jamais, ma chere Tante, vostre très affectionnée niece,

ELISABETH.

De la Haye, ce 22 de Septembre [1627].

J'ay receu le livre du Baiser Extravagant,^f et vous en remercie de tout mon cœur. Je ne me puis empescher de vous dire la sottise de Hauterive,^g qui n'a voulu baiser le drapeau devant le Prince d'Orenge parceque l'ambassadeur d'Engleterre estoit avec luy,—toutesfois que tout les autres regiments françois l'ont fait. Le prince luy en a bien dit ce qu'il en pensoit. Il en est bien honteus a cest'heur, car tout le monde se moquent de luy, et personne plus que l'Ambassadeur de France, qui n'a fait gueres mieux : il n'a pas voullue permettre qu'on fist des feux devant son logis pour la prise de Grole.

[Seal of red wax, with pink silk.]

^a In the Isle of Rhé, opposite to La Rochelle.

^b Christian IV. King of Denmark.

^c Charlotte de la Tremoille, Lady Strange; her mother-in-law, Elizabeth Countess of Derby, had died in March, 1626.

^d Sir Dudley Carleton married first Anne, daughter and coheir of George Gerard, second son of Sir William Gerard, of Dorney, co. Bucks, the lady here alluded to. He subsequently married Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Glenham and widow of Viscount Bayning, who survived him.

^e The greyhound Apollon, already mentioned.

^f A political tract on the celebrated declaration of love that Buckingham made to Anne of Austria, wife of Louis XIII. See the "Mémoires of Madame de Motteville." [P. M.]

^g François de l'Aubespine, Marquis d'Hauterive, afterwards Governor of Breda. [P. M.]

XXIII.

[*Letter of Frederick King of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TREMOILLE.

MADAME LA TANTE,—Je vous supplie me pardonner que j'ay si longtems tardé a vous escrire, et vous rendre mes bien humbles remerciemens de la vostre par Mons^r d'Aspern. Par ceste cy, je vous diray que ma femme accoucha ce matin a 8 heures et demi d'un fils.^a Je m'assure que vous vous en rejouirés avec nous, veu l'affection qu'il vous a pleu nous tesmoigner, de la quelle je vous seray tousjours très estroitement obligé, n'ayant plus grand desir que de me la pouvoir conserver par mes bien humbles services. Nous avons icy des fort magnifiques noces de la fille ainée de Mons^r Direnfort et du fils de Madame Vandrague. Je pense que vous vous représenterés aysement l'estat de ceste bonne femme et ses complimens. J'estois revenu deux heures devant que ma femme se trovast mal. Elle vous baise les mains. Elle vous a escrit par Vilarnon, qu'elle a envoyé il y après de trois semaines vers la Royne Mere, avec une petit levrier et levrette qui sont très beaux. Elle espere que Sa Majesté les aura eu agreables, mais nous n'avons encore nouvelles de l'arrivée du dit Vilarnon. Nous sommes bien maris de voir les broulleries entre les deux rois, et soubhaittons de les voir accordés. Cela va mal pour le roy de Dennemarc, qui a à cest'heure Tilly et Wallenstein en son païs. Je souhaitterois bien de donner contentement raisonable a Gueretin, mais vous pouvés aysement juger qu'en l'estat où je me trouve il ne m'est possible d'y satisfaire, si ce n'est que je recoive quelque chose de ce qui m'est deu en France. Je ne feray la presente plus longue, sinon pour vous assurer que je seray toutte ma vie, Madame ma Tante, vostre bien humble et très affectionné nepveu a vous faire service,

FRIDERIC.

De la Haye, ce ^{26 Octobre} 5 Novembre, 1627.

[Seal of red wax, with pink silk.]

XXIV.

[*Letter of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.*]

A Madame ma Tante Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TRIMOUILLE la douairière.

MADAME MA TANTE,—J'ay bien subject de vous faire milles excuses d'avoir esté si long temps sans vous escrire, mais la verité est que j'avois esté quatre

Philip, the Queen's seventh son.

semaines a Rene,^a a la chasse, et lors je n'ay point eue le temps d'écrire a personne. A Utrecht j'ay trouvé monsieur vostre fils. Par luy j'ay receu une de vos lettres et par la poste un autre icy. Le bon conte de Carleil^b est venue a mon retour, et Monsier Carleton est party, [de sorte] que j'ay esté contrainte d'écrire en Engleterre, qui m'a empesché de vous escrire plus tost. Le cont de Carleil m'a donné beaucoup d'assurance de l'amitié du Roy mon cher frere, et de la Royne, autant qu'il est possible; je ne m'en puis assez louer. Il va par Brabant en Lorraine, Savoye et Venise; je ne say pas sa commission. Mon chien Apollon fait tousjours de mesmes; le cont de Carleil ne le trove pas tout a son gré. Le parlement est fort bien avancé; mon frere en est fort content. La flotte qui va vers la Rochelle est party. Dieu luy vueille a tout sucez.^c Je m'assure que avez bien de nouvelles de Monsier d'Espece,^d qui est party d'icy. La chere petite niece et son petit Charles^e se portent fort bien. Je trouve le cont de La Val beaucoup changé en mieux. Il se comport fort bien; je m'assure que vous aurez tous les jours plus qu'autre beaucoup de contentement. On ne parle point encore d'aller en campagne. Vous me donnez beaucoup de contentement a me mander, par vostre derniere, que la Reine Mere me fait tousjours l'honneur de m'aimer, car certes je l'honore parfaitement. Je ne seray plus si long temps sans vous escrire; cependant croyez je vous prie ceste verité que je suis et seray a tout jamais, ma chere Tante, vostre très affectionée niece,

ELIZABETH.

J'avois oublié a vous dire que la petite tante^f est grosse; et le Patron de la Bienseance, Madame de Vandra, a tant glisé qu'a la fin elle est glisé au ciel.

De la Haye, ce ¹⁹/₂₉ de May [1628].

[Seal of red wax, with violet-coloured silk.]

^a Rhenen on the Rhine, a favourite resort of the King and Queen of Bohemia for hunting, and where they built a villa.

^b James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, went as Ambassador Extraordinary to Savoy in April or May, 1628.

^c The fleet left Plymouth under Lord Denbigh, April 27th, 1628, but returned *re infecta*.

^d M. d'Espesses, French Ambassador at the Hague; under his auspices a friendly correspondence of letters and presents took place between Elizabeth and the Queen-mother of France. See Carleton's Despatches Aug. and Oct. 1627. His successor was very different in his behaviour, and was subsequently displaced at the request of Elizabeth.

^e Charles Stanley, eldest son of Lord Strange, by Charlotte de la Tremoille, was godson to Charles I.

^f Amelie de Solms, Princess of Orange.

APPENDIX.

M. Marchegay has since communicated through Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., F.S.A., a transcript of an interesting letter from the same archives as those we have described. It is written by Charlotte de la Tremoille, Countess of Derby, to her sister-in-law the Duchesse de la Tremoille, and is very characteristic of the devoted loyalty of the defender of Latham House. When we consider the wrongs and sufferings inflicted on this poor lady and her family we cannot feel surprised at the bitter feelings against her oppressors expressed in her letter.

The circumstances of the revolting act to which the letter mainly refers—namely, the disinterment of the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw—are too well known to require any comment.

In this letter the Countess alludes to the impoverished state of her family. Her eldest son, the Earl of Derby, had obtained possession of what little remained of the great estates of his ancestors after their sequestration and waste; but for herself and her younger children there was nothing left. Seacome in his *Memoirs of the House of Stanley* draws a sad picture of her state. "She that brought," he says, "fifty thousand pounds portion to this nation, has not now a morsel of bread for herself and desolate children but what was the charity of her impoverished and ruined friends." At length, on the 6th of December, 1660, an order was issued for a warrant bestowing a pension on the widowed Countess of 1000*l.* a-year, which is, no doubt, that alluded to in this letter.*

The Countess of Derby died at Knowsley House about two years afterwards, viz. March 21st, 1663.

A Madame

Madame la DUCHESSE DE LA TREMOILLE.

ce 31 Jenver, Londres, 1661.

Je ne vous aures pas ecrit, chere seur, par sait ordinere si ce nestoit que le Sr de Relincourt a desiré que je vous envoyase ce paquet pour son pere et je ne luy ay ossé refeuser pour ce que sait la reponse de celuy que vous m'envoyates

* S. P. Dom. Chas. II. xxiii. 39.

avec vos dernieres lettres du 29. Celle sy vous dira comme il y eust hier un jeune, en memoire de la mort du feu roy, de glorieusse memoire, qui a esté ope-servé par tous les royaumes de Sa M^{te}, estent un acte du parlement qui portoit que Cromel, Egerton, et Bradcher serois desentérés le jour de devent, et trenés sur une claye par tous les cartiers de la ville et pendeus au gibet ordinere et puis enterés sous saite place. Il n'y a rien qui me fasse pleus reconnoitre la vanite de ce monde et comme il n'y a rien de tel que de crendre Dieu. L'on diré, avec raison, qu'il eust esté bon pour saite homme de n'estre point né, toutes ces mechentés, tous ces meurters, et toutes ces politiques de Machiavel (qui estoit son bien aymé livre) ont mis une eternelle infamie sur luy et sa famille. Il vaut mieux etre povre at avoir paix en sa consciense. Sait ce qui me fait endurer passienment ma miserable condition, et celles de mais enfans, et quoique saite pension m'edera un peu a vivre, n'ayent rien pour eux que eela, fait que je ne say ce que nous devinderons. L'on promet fort, mais les effais sont bien long a venir. Jeeroy que la Reyne et la prinsaisse seront a Paris devent que cellesy vous sera rendue, sy ce n'est que la maladie de son Alt. R^{le} ne retienne Sa M^{te}. Sait J. C. qui vous rendera toujours tous les respect, devoirs, et amityé quelle [est] obligée de rendre a vous, cher seur.

[Holograph, sealed with the arms of Stanley and De la Tremoille impaled and ensigned with a coronet.]

XI.—*On the Discovery of the Remains of the Priory of Austin Friars at Ludlow.*
By BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Member of Parliament*
for the Borough of Ludlow.

Read February 27, 1862.

THE early history of Ludlow has been so well detailed by Mr. Eyton in his *Antiquities of Shropshire*, and has been so elaborately illustrated by Mr. Wright in his volume specially devoted to the subject, that I need not enlarge on its general history in endeavouring to elucidate the recently discovered remains of the Priory of Austin Friars. I cannot, however, refrain from quoting the graphic description of Churehyarde, who, writing in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, thus describes Ludlow :—

The Town doth stand most part upon an hill,
Built well and fair, with streets both large and wide,
The houses such where strangers lodge at will,
As long as there the Council liste abide.
Both fine and clean the streets are all throughout,
With condits cleere and wholesome water springe,
And who that list to walk the Town about,
Shall find therein some rare and pleasant thinge ;
But chiefly here the ayre so sweet you have,
As in no place you can no better crave.

The allusion to the Great Council of the Marches or “ Court for the Government of Wales ” reminds us of the principal feature of Ludlow, its noble castle, which still stands stately in ruin on the precipitous banks of the Teme. Under its protection the town grew up, and was in time surrounded by walls which were a continuation of those next the castle, embracing the higher ground adjacent. At what period these walls were first erected there is no precise evidenee to show. It is recorded that on Saint Lawrence’s Day, in the year 1274, an affray

took place between Lucas the beadle of Cleobury and two of his townsmen, and Roger Tyrel the keeper of Gaolford Gate, (Porta de Caldeford,) arising out of the refusal of the former to observe the customary rules in bringing their oxen to Ludlow fair. This incident serves to indicate the existence of walls at that period. When history is silent, the stones themselves often speak. The peculiar mouldings observable in the existing gate-house at the bottom of Broad Street are characteristic of the period of Edward II. The same mouldings are seen in those parts of the castle popularly called the state apartments, and in the Edwardian portion of the church; so that I feel little doubt in ascribing the whole of that work to Roger de Mortimer, who, born in 1276, married in the thirty-first year of Edward I., 1303, Joane de Geneville, in whose right he acquired the castle of Ludlow. This Roger died in 1331, whilst his widow, who was born in 1286, survived him till 1356. This conjecture is strengthened by the circumstance that murage for Ludlow is mentioned in the Calendar of Patent Rolls of 3 Edward II., 1310. In the *Rotuli Originales* there is a notice of the men of Ludlow fining themselves ten marks for murage for five years in the sixth year of Edward II., 1313, so the work could not have been completed earlier than that date. Thus in this, as in many other instances, Architecture illustrates History.

The Austin Friars were proverbial for their love of preaching, which led them to frequent the neighbourhood of such towns as then existed of sufficient size to secure them a congregation. Unlike the monks who rose up in a far ruder state of society, the friars almost always established themselves in the most promising field for their labours, the great towns. Their houses were usually outside the walls, and this from the necessity of the case. Our old towns were very close, for building ground soon became valuable, and of course the walls would originally be carried in as short a compass as possible; consequently, as the Mendicant Orders did not arise till after the towns were fully built, they seldom found any room within them.

The Austin Friars are said to have made their first English abode at the Woodhouses, near Cleobury Mortimer, in 1252, in which year they came into England from Italy.^a Two years later we find them established in Shrewsbury. Henry III. was a great patron of the Mendicant Orders, and was "so taken with these good men that he was for placing them in all great towns of the nation,"^b and it was probably under his patronage that the Austin Friars of Ludlow established themselves outside its walls. Estates, indeed, the King could not

^a Owen and Blakeway, *History of Shrewsbury*, vol. ii. p. 451.

^b Pulson, *History of the English Franciscans*, 1726, p. 25.

give the friars, because their rule forbade them to accept them, but they might and they did receive grants of small closes of land for the augmentation of their precinct. Such was the case with the Eremites of Ludlow. Edmund de Pontibus, otherwise Bridges, was a benefactor.^a The noble family of Beauchamp were also benefactors to them, and some of the encaustic tiles which formed the pavement bear their arms; but too much stress must not be laid on this circumstance, as many such armorial devices were fictitious heraldry not intended for any particular family, a practice not uncommon in mediæval times.

The early history of this foundation is involved in so much obscurity that its actual founder is unknown. Curiously enough the sun itself sheds its light upon the subject, for it is recorded in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 506, that on the 15th of March, 1282, Brampton de Brian, presumed by Mr. Eyton, who relates the anecdote in his *History*,^b to have been the elder of that name, "being then in company with the Prior of the Augustine Friars of Ludlow, and several knights and other persons, saw, as the *Annals of Worcester* assure us, three suns at Kinlet, one in the east, one in the west, and one, I suppose a real one, in the south."

The next incident recorded of the Austin Friary has reference to its situation, and to the love of its inmates for retirement. A local inquest was held on the 24th of January, 1284, and found that it would not injure the King or any other if the King allowed the Prior and brethren of the Order of Saint Augustine in Ludlow to inclose with wall and fence, and to keep inclosed, a certain lane (*venellam*) contiguous to the space (*areæ*) already occupied by the fraternity in the suburbs of Ludlow.^c The said lane extended from John le Hor's messuage in Holdestreet, now Old Street, to the street called Galdeford, now Gaolford. The King, Edward I., after receiving the report of this inquest, granted the favour requested, and issued a patent accordingly.^d

None of the corruptions of the dark ages were more detrimental to society than the privilege of sanctuary accorded to various churches of the realm, whereby a murderer who could take refuge within the sacred precinct escaped the punishment due to his crime; and as the human intellect began to awake from its long slumber none of the exemptions claimed by the clergy excited so much the aversion of the laity to them as their pretension to be superior to the laws of their country. A circumstance occurred in the Austin Friary of Shrews-

^a Wright's *History of Ludlow*, 1826, vol. ii. p. 174.

^b Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. iv. p. 250.

^c *Inquisition*, 12 Edw. I. No. 52.

^d *Rot. Pat.* 12 Edw. I. m. 15. Eyton, vol. v. p. 299.

bury in 1472 which bears on both of these points, and is fully detailed in Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*.^a But the privilege was resolutely maintained, and endured even to the last days preceding the Reformation. A similar occurrence connected with the establishment at Ludlow is recorded in a letter of Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, dated the 16th of August, 1299, and addressed to King Edward I. The Bishop earnestly complains of a violation of sanctuary committed by the men of Ludlow, in that they had dragged from the church of the Friars of Saint Augustine, nigh Ludlow, a clerk who had fled thither for his life.^b

Leland, who visited Ludlow just before the dissolution of its religious houses, says that "there were two fayre Colledges of Friars in Ludlowe. The White-Grey Fryers was a fayre and costlie thinge, and stood without Corvegate by north, almost at the end of that suburb. One . . . Ludlowe, a knight, lord of Stoke castle or pyle towards Bishop's-Castle, was originall founder of it." This was probably Sir Lawrence de Ludlowe, who erected the present church of Saint Lawrence in 1349, 23rd Edward III., upon the site of the ancient church of Saint Mary White-Fryers. Leland also mentions the Augustine Fryers as standing without Galford Gate.

The Friars seem to have prospered in their pleasant dwelling amidst their own orchards and gardens, overlooking their fertile meadows on the banks of the Teme. Thus occupied and thus enriched they found in their chosen abode that repose and seclusion which were ever the objects of the Monastic Orders, and the characteristics of their houses. Their portals were jealously guarded, not merely to prevent access from without so much as egress from within; sometimes a postern gate admitted of easier communication with the adjacent orchard or garden, but the conventual buildings were usually surrounded by a high wall, and the windows usually commanded the quadrangle or space within.

In the Patent Rolls of the nineteenth of Edward II., Richard Dobyn had licence to give to the Austin Friars of Ludlow two acres and a half, his message, "pro manso elargiendo."^d

At the general dissolution of religious houses, which took place in the reign of Henry VIII., principally in the years 1536 and 1538, it was found that the houses of the Friars, who were prohibited by their rule from possessing lands

^a Vol. ii. p. 456—458.

^b Household Roll, Abstract, p. lxxiii. Eyton, vol. v. p. 299.

^c Itinerary, ed. Hearne, 2nd edit. vol. iv. p. 92.

^d Duke's Antiquities of Shropshire, p. 63, Pat. 19 Edw. II. p. ii. m. 14. Wright in his *History*, 1852, at p. 204, calls this person Robert Dobyn. See Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. p. 1590.

beyond their own immediate precincts, and who were consequently more dependent on voluntary offerings for their support, were in general reduced to a state of penury. The Austin Friars of Ludlow furnish us with an example, for the act of resignation only bears the signatures of the prior and three of the brethren. The document is as follows :—

MEMORANDUM. We the Prior and Convent of the Austen Fryeres of Lodlowe, with one assente and consente, withowte any coaceyon or consell, do gyve ower howse into the handdes of the lorde vysytor to the Kynges use, desyeryng hys Grace to be goode and gracyous to us. In Wyttenes we subsyrybe ower namys with ower proper hande this xxijth daye of August, the xxxth yere of the rayne of ower dred Soveren Lorde Kyng Henry the VIIIth.

Per me Egidium Pycuryng Priorem Augustinencium de Ludlow.

Per me Fratrem Johannem Pratt.

Per me Fratrem Willelmum Higges.

Per me Fratrem Christoferum Hogeson.

By hus the Bayllyffes of Ludlow,
Wylliam Yevans, and Thomas Whelar.

The inventory of the furniture of this house, which accompanies the document just given, is also a proof that it was not very rich :—

The Austen Fryeres of Ludlowe delyvered to Wylliam Yevans and Thomas Whelar, Balys ther—

THE SEXTRY.

Item, a chesabull and ij tenacles of gold, with ij albes.

Item, a syngyll vestement of blacke worstede.

Item, a syngyll vestement of blewe damaske.

Item, ij olde copys.

Item, a cope of sylke with starres.

Item, a fayer cofer.

Item, a chesabull and a tenacle of olde blacke velvet.

THE QUERE.

Item, ij olde auter clothes.

Item, a holy water stope, laten.

Item, a deske of tymbber.

Item, vj auter clothes steyneyd, olde.

Item, the quere new stalleyd.

Item, ij fayer belles and a lytyll bell in the stepull.

THE HALLE, BUTTERE, AND KECHYN.

Item, a lytyll tabull, and ij trustelles, and a forme.

Item, ij olde cupbordres.

Item, a pan and a ketell.

Item, a lytyll brasse pott.

Item, iij pewter plateres, olde.

Item, a lytyll broche.

Item, a fayre gret cupborde.

Item, a gret trowe.

Item, a tabull and ij formys.

Item, fayer laveres of tynne.

Item, a boxefull of evydens.

AND MEMORANDUM, ther rest in the vysytores handdes a chaes weyeynge xiiij unc. Also ther laye to plege a crosse beyng eoper within, all weyeynge bothe the eoper and sylver vj^{xx} ix unc. for the whyche the vysytor payde for the sayde fryeres vjⁱⁱ xiiij^s j^d.

WYLLYAM YEVANS } balys.
THOMAS WHEELER }

Ther be in renttes yerly iiiij^{li} above the owte rentes.

These rents were doubtless derived from the lands with which this house had been endowed before the Reformation.

The visitor herein named was Richard, Bishop of Dover, who took Ludlow on his way from Shrewsbury to South Wales, being there on the 28th of August, 1538. In this progress no less than twenty-eight religious houses were visited, surrendered, and dissolved. They seem to have been given up without opposition, for the suffragan bishop writes to the Minister, Thomas Cromwell,—

In many placeys ther ys moche clamor for dettes of conventtes, so that, withowte ye be goode lorde to pore men, many shall lose moche moneye by the fryeres, the whyche woll make a grett clamor amonge the pepull, for now I have moche besynes to satsyfye the pepull for dettes. They say that yt ys not the Kynges plesur that pore men shulde lose ther monye, with many worddes; but by feyer menys I satsyfye them: sum I make schyfte and pay, sum I satsyfye witt worddes, for in dyverse placeys all the stuffe in the howseys ys not abull to pay the dettes.^d

The state of the Priory immediately after the dissolution may be gathered from a return of the Crown lands, made between the last year of the reign of

^a Wright's History of Ludlow, 1852, octavo, p. 343—45.

^b Letter quoted by Mr. Wright in his History of Ludlow, p. 348.

Henry VIII. and the first of Edward VI., 1546-7. It is there stated that the Priory itself with the devastated grounds, on which what are called superfluous edifices originally stood, namely, the outward and the inner yards, with the garden, were in the occupation of Richard Palmer, the Nether Orchard was occupied by Matilda Yonge, widow, the Over Orchard was occupied by John Tanner, the Brom Meadow by Thomas Cordier, and the Friars' Meadow and the adjoining garden with the baillie by Robert Hoode, subject to a term of years granted to Margery Stone in a moiety of the Friars' Meadow. All these tenants appear to have held of the Crown for terms of years varying in duration, and at rents of different amounts, according to the nature and extent of their tenures.^a All the buildings, granaries, stables, dovecote, and other premises lately occupied by the Prior of Saint Augustine and his brethren were granted by King Edward the Sixth, in the first year of his reign, 1547, to Sir Robert Townsend, Knight, Chief Justice of Chester. This Sir Robert was the third son of Sir Roger Townesend of Brackenash in Norfolk, knighted by Henry VIII. in 1545, after his return from Boulogne, and constituted Justice of Chester, in which post he was continued both by Edward VI. and Queen Mary. He died on the 8th of February, in the third and fourth year of Philip and Mary, possessed of the Manor and Rectory of Geist, and advowson of the Vicarage of the Church, the Manors of Swantons, Foxleys, and Southall, in the county of Norfolk^b, and the Priory and House of Saint Augustine in Ludlow, which descended to Thomas, his heir, who was at that time twenty-two years of age, and had to wife Anne, daughter of Henry D'Oyley of Shottisham, in Norfolk, Esquire. He had issue also Henry Townesend, ancestor to those of the name in the county of Salop.

On the north side of the altar in Ludlow church is a monument with effigies of a knight and lady, and with the arms of Townsend impaling Povy, under which is the date ANNO DOMINI 1581. Round the margin of the tomb is the following inscription^c:—

Heare lieth the bodies of Syr Robert Townesend, Knyght, chief Justes of the Counsell in the Marches of Walles and Chester. Dame Alice his wyfe, Daughter and one of the Heyres of Robart Poyve, esquire, who had betwyne them twoo XII children, VI Sonnes and VI daughters lawfully begot.

In the grant to Sir Robert Townsend the premises are so minutely described that they can be at once identified with the existing site. The lands comprise the priory and conventual buildings, the dovecote and gardens, the Over Orchard, of one acre,

^a Ministers' Account, 38 Hen. VIII.; Edw. VI.; See Appendix A.

^b Collins's Peerage of England, by Sir Egerton Brydges, 1812, vol. ii. 457, 8vo.

^c Parkes's MS. Collections in the British Museum. Add. MSS. 21,011, p. 137.

and the Nether Orchard, containing an acre and a half, the Hill Close of an acre and a half, the Friars' Medowe of seven acres, all situate between the King's highway on the north, the Cloister itself on the west, the river Teme (*rivulum Thamisie*) on the south, and other lands belonging to the said Priory on the north. The large trees and underwood are reserved. It is also stated in the subsequent grants of these lands by Queen Mary, in the second year of her reign, 1554, to George Cotton and William Mannie, that the clear yearly value of the premises was nine pounds, which, rated at twenty-four years' purchase, amounted to seventy pounds and sixteen shillings, to be paid all in hand. The Queen's Majesty was to discharge the purchaser from all incumbrances except leases and the covenants in the same; the tenure to be in socage, the purchaser to have the issues from Easter last, and to be bound for the woods; the lead, bells, and advowson to be excepted. It is also stated, "The Queen's Majestie hath other land in Ludlow aforesaid in the right of the said late Fryer Howse, amounting with the premises to the yerely value of iiijl. xvs. iiijd., and the Queen's Majestie hath a castle in Ludlowe of the principality of Wales.^a"

The messuage, tenement, and site, with all its appurtenances, of the late Priory of Saint Augustine was sold by Robert Townsend to John Head, a physician of Ludlow; from whom it was purchased by Samuel Waring, a glover in Ludlow, and he by his will, dated 2nd June, 1744, devised it, after the death of Mercy his wife, daughter of George Karver the elder, of Upton in the parish of Little Hereford in the county of Hereford (she, by settlements on her marriage bearing date the 9th and 10th of February, 1729, acquiring a life estate), to his nephew Samuel Waring; and he by his will, dated 7th May, 1761, devised it to his wife Mary for life, and then to his son Samuel Waring. This Samuel Waring died without issue and intestate, leaving James Waring of Ludlow, gentleman, his only brother and heir-at-law. James Waring, by his will dated 12th November, 1813, gave this property to his friend Job Walker Baugh and Henry Lloyd to be sold. The estate with the timber upon it was sold accordingly, in 1816 and 1817, to Mr. Gilley Pritchett at the price of £1571 6s. It is described as the Friars' land, with the orchard, &c., and the use of the Whitehall spring or stream flowing through the same. Gilley Pritchett left this property to his trustees Thomas Pardoe Purton, of Oldbury in the county of Salop, esquire, and the Rev. John Purton, clerk, directing it by a codicil to his will, dated 12th June, 1835, to be sold. The greater part of the

^a Patent Rolls, 2 Mary, part I. m. 6. See Appendix B.

land in question was sold accordingly to Mr. James Brettell Vaughan of Burway, who by his will devised it to his nephew Brettell Vaughan, Esq., of Ludlow, who sold on Lady-day, 1861, to the Corporation of Ludlow, as constituting the Local Board of Health, the site of the Priory of Saint Austin, to be employed as a Cattle Market now in course of erection.

Tradition, the handmaid of history, has happily furnished some account of the last state of this ancient foundation. A lady now advanced in years, but still resident at Ludlow, was amused by the interest created by digging out the old foundations, while, as she said, no one took much notice of the buildings when they were above ground. When she was quite young and used to go to school from Letwyche, a large range of stone buildings, which looked like a large house, stood a little below the road in an open space full of stones and ruins. Dividing this space from the road was a massive wall with an archway in it and gates, through which, and between some of the ruins, there was a kind of road down to the "ruined building." The little stream called Whitehall Brook, rising probably from Saint Julian's Well on Gravel Hill, flowed through the fish-ponds below the Priory inclosure into the river Teme. Its course having lately been altered, it has now ceased to run as formerly. The old lady described a road leading from nearly opposite the entrance archway of the Priory to join the Cleobury Mortimer road, near where the Gravel Hill turnpike-gate now stands. The existence of a road in that direction explains the ancient road which was cut across by the Shrewsbury and Hereford Railway at that spot, and set down, in spite of all reasons to the contrary, as a Roman road, at the time it was discovered nearly seven years ago. The building itself was used as a kennel for Captain Waring's hounds; and the old lady perfectly remembers how he and a gay party of gentlemen and ladies, all dressed in scarlet, rode out of the archway on days when the meet was fixed at Ludlow. But, she added, at night was quite another scene. The old Priory seemed then to be re-occupied by its former inhabitants—singing and other noises were heard as though many people lived there; and, on fine nights, the Prior and brethren, all habited in white, might be seen walking along the road still called the Friars' Lane, in a stately manner, to the intense alarm of any young folks who might happen to be rambling that way too late in the evening. I tell this tale as it was told to me; but I am happy to add that the kennel was not on the site of the Priory, but in a barn immediately adjoining Old Gates Fee, below the present inn known as the Horse and Jockey, though it was on the Waring property, which then extended from Lower Gaolford to the Teme. The harriers, which

were the hounds Captain Waring kept, were hunted by a man of the name of Maiden, who lived in that part of the old building which was still habitable. A great part of it had the roof off, and only holes where the windows were. All the remains of the old buildings were taken down by Mr. Gilley Pritchett, who laid down the land as a meadow, the turf of which soon covered the foundation of the walls. This happy accident enabled Mr. Curley, the engineer employed in levelling the ground for the new Cattle Market, to trace with remarkable accuracy the ground-plan of the Priory and conventual buildings,^a which is represented in Plate XII. In their general arrangement, they correspond with other houses under the same rule.

The church was usually spacious, for the purpose of accommodating a large congregation. The east ends were ordinarily square; and the choir, never very large, was sometimes, as at Llanthony and Christ Church, shut off from its aisles. In the present instance may be noticed a multangular building, which is supposed to have served the purpose of a chapter house.

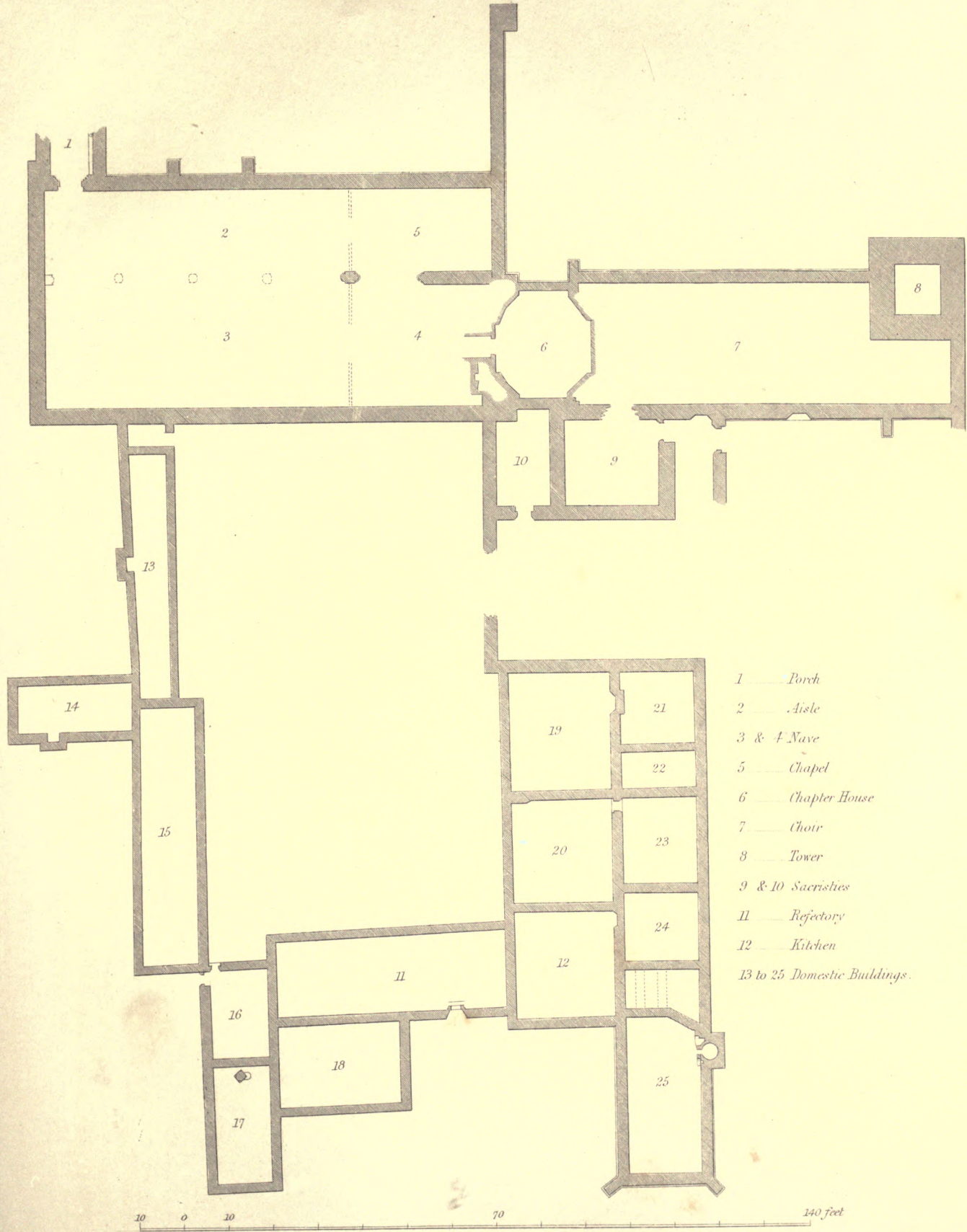
The refectory was usually on the opposite side of the garth or inner court to the church. The prior's house was almost invariably attached to the south-west angle of the nave of the church. The exact arrangements of the conventual apartments and cloisters cannot be ascertained, but they may derive some illustration by comparison with the ground plan of the Præmonstratensian Convent at Eastby, these regular canons being under the rule of St. Augustine.^b

From being generally situated in or near towns, the friars' houses have been obliterated by the erection of other buildings on their site. Happily, enough remains of the Austin Friars' house in Ludlow to show that it belonged to the best period of English architecture, and that considerable care must have been taken in its decoration.

From the fragments which remain, and which have been preserved by being built up against the outer wall of the new inclosure, we conjecture the earlier part of the building to be as early as 1260 (see, for instance, a base represented in the woodcut), while the ball-flower pattern seen on the remains of some beautiful sedilia (fig. 4), and in several portions of windows (fig. 3), carry down the building so late as 1340. It was probably erected at two different periods, between the middle of the thirteenth and the middle of the fourteenth centuries.

^a Mr. Herbert Evans, of Ludlow, architect, has constructed with great skill a conjectural restoration of the Priory, which was exhibited to the Society when this communication was read.

^b See this plan at p. 76 of the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott's *Church and Conventual Arrangement*, 1861. 8vo.



- 1 ——— Porch
- 2 ——— Aisle
- 3 & 4 Nave
- 5 ——— Chapel
- 6 ——— Chapter House
- 7 ——— Choir
- 8 ——— Tower
- 9 & 10 Sacristies
- 11 ——— Refectory
- 12 ——— Kitchen
- 13 to 25 Domestic Buildings.

PLAN OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTIN FRIARS, LUDLOW.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1863.

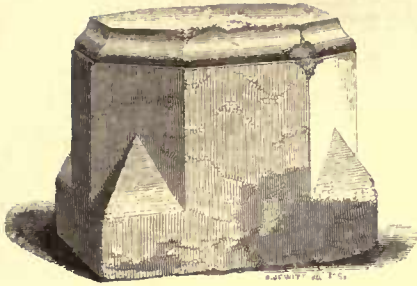


Fig. 1. Base.

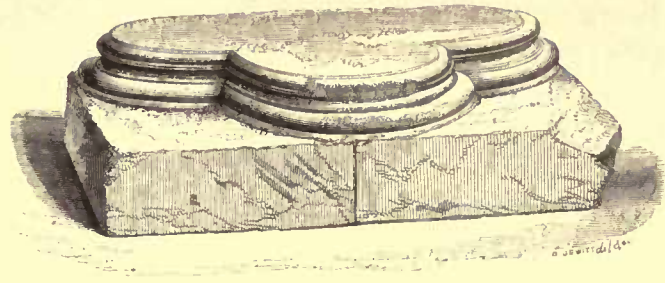


Fig. 2. Base.

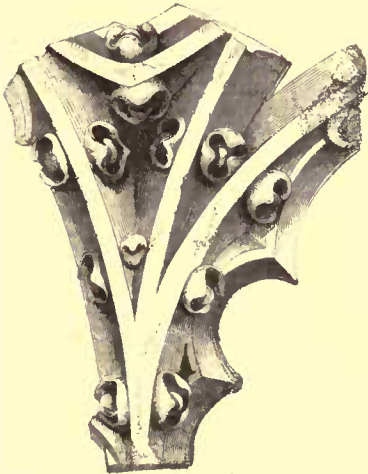


Fig. 3. Fragment of Window Tracery.



Fig. 4. Part of Canopy work. Sedilia?



Fig. 5. Part of Parapet.

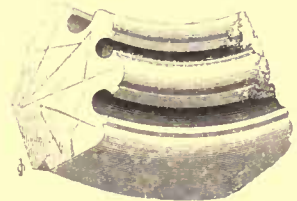


Fig. 6. Moulding, with Mason's lines.

Among the ruins were discovered various encaustic tiles, which were eagerly sought for, and are now carefully preserved by the inhabitants of the town. A selection of them is represented in Plate XIII., and it will be seen that they vary considerably in date as well as in style of decoration. The earlier ones belong apparently to the fourteenth century; one of the most curious among them (fig. 3) represents the crucifixion, a subject peculiarly inappropriate to the pavement of any building, and which does not, so far as I am aware, occur elsewhere; its workmanship is very rude. Another remarkable device may be seen in fig. 4, being the words HE THAT HATH NOT CANNOT; this may be a personal motto, or it may be a sentiment very appropriately placed in a Friary, suggesting to its inhabitants the uselessness of trying to levy contributions on

those who had not wherewithal to satisfy their importunities. Several of the tiles represent animals; one has on it a rabbit, another a coek and some initials (see figs. 5 and 6); others have a lion passant within a circle, a very common device on tiles, which occurs at Romsey and elsewhere; a fish within a pointed oval may likewise be seen; and a stag trippant; among the simpler devices may be noticed a plain fleur de lis. The armorial tiles are three in number; one has a fesse between six crosses crosslet—the arms of Beauchamp; another (fig. 2) exhibits a sword and two cross keys, not in a shield; a third (fig. 1), which is of later date, a chevron between three crosses pattée. To the same date as the last may be referred a tile with the monogram *i h t* inclosed in a circle, and with portions of quatrefoils in the angles. This tile occurs in the fine pavement laid down in the choir of Gloucester Cathedral by Thomas Sebroke,* Abbot of Gloucester from 1450 to 1457, and which there is every reason to believe was made at Malvern. The earlier tiles have some resemblance in their decoration to those found in a kiln at Droitwich in Worcestershire.

An ancient mortar, a few coins, some keys, and other metal-work were found during the process of levelling the ground for the new Cattle Market, but nothing which requires any further notice in this place.

* See Shaw's Tile Pavements.

1



2



3



4



5



6



APPENDIX (A).

[Public Record Office, London, Ministers' Accounts, 38 Hen. VIII., 1 Edw. VI., Salop.]

COMITATU SALOPIÆ.—Computatio omnium et singulorum Balivorum Firmatorum Præpositorum Collectorum reddituum et aliorum Ministrorum Honorum Castrorum Dominiorum Maneriorum, Recordatio Pentionum Portionum aliarumque terrarum et possessionum quarumcumque, tam temporalium quam spiritualium, infra gubernationes sive superiores Curie augmentationum et reventionum coronæ Domini Regis in Comitatu prædicto existentium, per Dominum Regem nuper Henricum Octavum per literas suas patentes sub magno sigillo suo Angliæ factas et sigillatas in eadem Curia de recordatione remanentes nuperrime de novo estabilatâ et erectâ computabilatione existentium de exitibus et reventionibus præmissis a Festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni ipsius Domini Regis nuper Henrici Octavi xxxviii^o usque idem Festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli ex tunc proxime sequens anno Regni metuendi Domini nostri Edvardi sexti Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis Fidei Defensoris et in Terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ sub Christo Supremi Capitis primo, scilicet per unum annum integrum ut infra.

Videlicet

NUPER DOMUS FRATRUM AUGUSTINORUM IN LUDLOW.—Et de xlviij.s iiij.đ de firma unius clausi jacentis inter Freer Lane, cum dimidio unius prati vocati *the Freers Medowe* cum placeta gardini eidem adjacente, cum uno clauso vocato *the Baillie Close* dimisso Roberto Hoode per Indenturam sub sigillo comunali dictæ nuper domûs datam secundo die Februarii anno regni Regis nuper Henrici viij^{vi} xxix^{no} incipiendam a datu Indenturæ prædictæ pro termino illorum annorum quorum quædam Margery Stone habet de dimidio unius prati vocati Freers Medowe, ac etiam usque ad finem termini duorum annorum post terminum prædictum Margery finitum, reddendo inde annualiter pro prædicto clauso vocato *le Hyll Close* x.s per annum ad Festum ibidem usuale equalibus portionibus, qui quidem terminus dictæ Margery finitus erit in Festo Purificationis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis anno xxx^{mo} nuper Regis Henrici viij^{vi} Habendum et Tenendum dictum dimidium prati cum placeta gardini adjacente cum omnibus proficuis et pertinentibus immediate post terminum prædictum Margery finitum usque ad finem termini xxj. annorum, reddendo inde annualiter xxiiij.s ad terminos ibidem usuales equalibus portionibus quod erit in anno xxxj^{mo} nuper Regis Henrici octavi usque ad finem termini xxj. annorum reddendo inde annualiter xiiij. siii.đ ad duo Festa ibidem usualia equalibus portionibus cum clausa distrinctionis pro non solutione redditûs prædictæ terræ prout in eadem Indentura plenius compertur. Et de x.s iiij.đ de Firma unius Pomarii vocati *le Nether Orchard* dimissi Matildæ Yonge viduæ per Indenturam ut dicitur solvenda ad Festum ibidem usuale. Et de xxiiij.s de Firma unius prati ibidem vocati *the Brom Medowe* dimissi Thomæ Cordier per Indenturam ut dicitur solvenda ad Festum prædictum. Et de viij.s de Firma unius Pomarii ibidem vocati *the Over Orchard* dimissi Joanni Tannor per Indenturam ut dicitur solvenda ad Festum prædictum. Et de vi.s viij.đ de Firma seitûs nuper domûs prædictæ cum domibus et edificiis Firmario magno appertinentibus ac

cum terris vastatis ubi ædificia superflua olim construebantur, necnon unum gardinum cum duabus parcellis terræ vocatis *the outward yards et le inner yards* in manibus nuper Prioris et confratrum usque tempus dissolutionis ejusdem dimissis Ricardo Palmer ad voluntatem Domini solvendo ad Festum prædictum

Summam *iiij.li xvj.s iiij.d.*

PERQUISITA CURIÆ.—De aliquo proficuo proveniente de Perquisitis alicujus Curie ibidem tentæ hoc anno non redditis, Eo quod nulla hujusmodi Curia ibidem tenta fuit infra tempus hujus computi, ex sacramento computatoris.

Summa nulla.

Summa omnis *xxvij.li v.d. ob.* De quibus

FEODA ET VADIMONIA.—Idem computum in Feoda dicta computatum Balivi et Collectoris reddituum et firmarum omnium et singulorum præmissorum ad *xxx.s* per annum sic sibi ex consideratione officiariorum Domini Regis causâ dicti officii hoc anno exercendi et occupandi allocatur. Videlicet in allocatione hujusmodi Feodi hoc anno per tempus hujus computi *xxx.s.* Et in stipendio Clerici Auditoris scribendi hunc computum hoc anno *ij.s.*

Exr.
Summa *xxxij.s.*

REPARATIONES.—Et in denariis solutis pro reparatione facta in et super unum molendinum aquaticum situatum in *le Mille Strete* in Ludlowe in tenura Thomæ Talbot et Ricardi Millward superius oneratum ad *lx.s* per annum, videlicet in emptionem materici pro factura ejusdem molendini *les Cogges et roundes*, ac pro emptione straminis pro tectura ejusdem, ac pro vadimoniis sive regardis unius carpentarii et unius tectoris pro reparatione prædicta facienda conductorum ut per proprias Billas inde remanentes *ix.s ix.d ob.*

Exr.
Summa *ix.s ix.d ob.*

DECIMAS REDDITAS.—Et in decimas redditas duorum tenementorum cemetarii, parcelli possessionum nuper domûs fratrum Carmellitorum in Ludlowe prædicta, modo in tenura Gulielmi Lungoune, eo quod dicta tenementa cum pertinentibus steterunt vacata et inoccupata nec alicui dimitti potuerunt pro aliquo redditu per totum tempus hujus computi, ex sacramento dicto computantur *xvij.s*

Exr.
Summa *xvij.s.*

LIBERATIO DENARIORUM.—Et in denarios libratos Gulielmo Sheldon armigero receptori Domini Regis Curie augmentationum et reventionum Coronæ suæ ibidem de exitibus officii sui hujus anni ex recognitione sua super hunc computum coram auditorem *xxj.li viij.s vj.d.*

Summa *xxj.li viij.s vj.d.*

Recepta in computo receptoris,

Summa allocata et librata *xxvij.li viij.s iiij.d* et Debita *lij.s ij.d.* Qui exonerantur hic eo quod onerantur in computo receptoris hujus anni prout prius ibidem.

Et sic hic equatur.

APPENDIX (B).

[Public Record Office, London, Patent Rolls, 2nd year of Mary, part 1, m. 6.]

PRO GEORGIO COTTON ET GULIELMO MANNIE DE CONCESSIS SIBI ET HÆREDIBUS.—Regina omnibus ad quos *et cætera* salutem. Cum præcarissimus Frater noster Edwardus sextus nuper Rex Angliæ per literas suas patentes sub magno sigillo nuper Curie augmentationum et reventionum Coronæ suæ confectas, gerendas datum apud Westmonasterium duodecimo die Decembris anno Regni sui primo, tradiderit concesserit et ad Firmam dimisserit dilecto sibi Roberto Townesend militi totum domum et scitum nuper Prioratus sive domus dudum Fratrum Augustinorum in Ludlowe in comitatu Salopiæ ad tunc dissolutum, una cum omnibus domibus ædificiis horiis stabulis columbariis ortis pomerariis gardinis terra et solo infra scitum et præinctum dicti nuper Prioratus dudum Fratrum Augustinorum existentibus aut eidem scitui adjacentibus ad tunc in tenurâ dicti Roberti Townesend, Ac etiam totum illud clausum terræ suum vocatum *the Nether Orchard* continentem per æstimationem unam acram et dimidium, Ac totum illud clausum terræ suum vocatum *the Over Orchard* continentem per æstimationem unam acram, Ac totum illud clausum terræ suum vocatum *the Hill Close* continentem per æstimationem unam acram et dimidium, Necnon totum illud clausum terræ suum vocatum *the Friars medowe* continentem per æstimationem septem acras inter regiam viam ex parte boreali et clausum terræ domui prædictæ nuper pertinentem ex parte occidentali et Rivulum Thamisiæ ex parte Australi et quoddam aliud clausum terræ dictæ nuper domui nuper pertinentem ex parte Boreali: Quæ quidem terræ et cætera præmissa jacent et existunt in Ludlowe in dicto comitatu Salopiæ ac dicto nuper Prioratu seu domui dudum Fratrum Augustinorum dudum spectabant et pertinebant ac parcellem possessionum inde nuper extiterunt; Exceptis tamen semper et dicto Fratri nostro, hæredibus et successoribus suis, omnino reservatis omnibus grossis arboribus et boscis de in et super præmissis crescentibus et existentibus. Habendum et tenendum prædictam domum et scitum ac cætera omnia et singula præmissa cum pertinentibus (exceptis præexceptis) præfato Roberto Townesend et assignatis suis a Festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli ad tunc ultimo præterito usque ad finem termini et per terminum viginti et unius annorum ex tunc proxime sequentium et plenarie complendum, Reddendo inde annuatim dicto Fratri nostro hæredibus et successoribus suis quinquaginta et novem solidos legalis monetæ Angliæ ad Festa Annunciationis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis et sancti Michaelis Archangeli vel infra unum mensem post utrumque Festum Festorum illorum ad manus Balivorum vel receptorum præmissorum pro tempore existentium per æquales portiones solvendos durante termino prædicto prout per easdem literas patentes inter alia plene liquet.

[Public Record Office, London, Particulars for Grants 2nd year of Mary.]

COMITATU SALOPIÆ.

PARCELLI POSSESSIONUM NUPER PRIORATUS CEU DOMUS FRATRUM AUGUSTINORUM IN LUDLOWE IN COMITATU PRÆDICTO.—Valor in firma totius domus et scitus nuper Prio-

ratus seu domus dudum Fratrum Augustinorum in Ludlowe in Comitatu Salopiæ prædicto una cum omnibus domibus ædificiis horiis stabulis columbariis ortis pomerariis gardinis terra et solo infra scitum et præinctum dicti nuper Prioratus existentibus ac eidem scitui adjacentibus, modo vel nuper in tenura Roberti Townesend militis in Soccagio, Ac etiam totum illius clausi terræ vocati *the Nether Orchard* continens per æstimationem unam acram et dimidium, Ac totum illius clausi terræ vocati *the Over Orchard* continens per æstimationem unam acram, Ac totum illius clausi terræ vocati *the Hill Close* continens per æstimationem unam acram et dimidium, Necnon totum illius clausi terræ vocati *the Friars Medowe* continens per æstimationem vij. acras, Jacens inter regiam viam ex parte boreali et clausum terræ domui prædictæ nuper pertinens ex parte occidentali et rivulum Thamesiæ ex parte australi et quoddam aliud clausum terræ dictæ nuper domui nuper pertinens ex parte boreali; Quæ quidem terræ et cætera præmissa jacent et existunt in Ludlowe in dicto comitatu Salopiæ: Exceptis et reservatis grossis arboribus et boscis de in et super præmissis crescentibus sic in simul dimissis Roberto Townesend militi per indenturam sub sigillo curiæ augmentationum et reventionum Coronæ Regis datam die duodecimo Decembris anno primo regni Regis Edwardi Sexti; Habendum a Festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli proxime ante datum prædictum pro termino xxi. annorum, Reddendo inde per annum ad Festa Beatæ Mariæ Virginis et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli per æquales portiones quinquaginta et novem solidos.

The Quenes Ma^{tie} hath other Lands in Ludlowe aforesaied in the right of the said late Fryer Howse amounting with the Premises to the yerely valewe of £4 15s. 4d.

And the Quenes Ma^{tie} hath a Castle in Ludlowe of the Principalytie of Wales.

And theis benne the fyrst particulars hereof deliv^d &c.

Ex secundo Maii anno primo Dominæ Mariæ Reginæ
per me

JOHANNEM HANBIE, Auditorem.

xvij Maii anno primo
Reginæ Mariæ pro Roberto
Townesend militi.

The clere yerely valew of the premisses 59 shillings,
which ratyd at xxiiij yeres purchase amountyth to
£70 15s.

To be payd all in hande.

The Quenes Ma^{tie} to dyscharge the purchaser of all incunbraunicy excepte Leases and the cove-
nants in the same.

The tenure in socage.

The Purchaser to have the yssues frome Easter laste.

The Purchaser to be bound for the woodes.

The lead, bells, and advowsones to be excepted.

WINCHESTER,

JOHN BAKER,
THOMAS MOYLE.

(Indorsement) Summa lxx.li. xv.s. £70 15s.

Examinatur et irrotulatur per me,

JOHANNEM THOMSON.

XII.—*On Feudal and Obligatory Knighthood*; by FRANCIS MORGAN NICHOLS,
Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

[Read 5 Dec. 1861, and 23 Jan. 1862.]

THE intimate connection which existed between chivalry and feudalism in the early age of both these institutions has not been sufficiently observed. Those who have set themselves to write the history of chivalry have been attracted by its romantic side, and have neglected the more substantial aspect which it presents when considered in relation to the political fabric. Our legal antiquaries, on the other hand, have sparingly recognised the influence of chivalry in the early history of the feudal establishment; and, while it was impossible to banish knight's service and tenure in chivalry from any account of the feudal system, they have been rather disposed to regard feudal knighthood as a legal fiction, and to disconnect the chivalry of tenure from the chivalry of arms.^a

It is well known that for several centuries, and until a comparatively recent period, an obligation was held to attach upon the owner of a certain estate in land in this country to procure himself to be made a knight. The existence of this obligation emerges from time to time in our chronicles and histories, not for the most part with reference to any military purpose, but on account of the profit which our kings occasionally derived from its non-observance. The custom, however, attracts little, if any, attention from the historical student until the circumstances which preceded its final extinction in the reign of Charles I. invest it with a passing interest, in connection with the great political struggle then going on. Our partisan historians then range themselves on the one side or the other, as defenders or impugners of the course adopted by the court in having recourse to 'knighthood money' as one of the means of supplying the Exchequer without the aid of Parliament. The arguments on either part are supported by statements and theories not always completely accurate. I propose

^a See note ^b *post*, p. 200. Mr. Hallam has briefly pointed out the original connection between knighthood and tenure. (*Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 483, 7th ed.) See also M. Guizot's remarks on the origin of knighthood. (*Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, vol. iii. p. 366.)

to attempt a sketch of the origin and history of obligatory knighthood, and of the connection of the status of chivalry with the tenure of land in England. The result may, I trust, be thought not devoid of interest, as illustrating the military organisation of the middle ages, and the social condition of the country at various periods. And, although the constitutional controversy, with which in the seventeenth century this subject was involved, has lost some of the interest which it possessed in times and circumstances which approached nearer to the great struggle between the Crown and Parliament, it may be worth while, even at this late hour, to clear up some of the facts upon which that controversy rested.

We usually understand by knighthood a distinction of rank among freemen, depending not upon birth or property, but simply upon the admission of the person so distinguished, by the girding of a sword or other similar solemnity, into an order of men having by law or usage certain social or political privileges. Understood in this sense, knighthood was, as far as I can discover, unknown in England before the Norman invasion. Mr. Sharon Turner, in an interesting chapter of his work upon the Anglo-Saxons, has collected the evidence which he thought material respecting Anglo-Saxon knighthood, and which, in his opinion, justified the conclusion that a species of chivalry, giving the knight a peculiar dignity among his countrymen, existed in England before the Conquest.^a The question here raised is worthy of a further discussion than I am able to give it. I must be contented with observing that the historical authorities which most distinctly point to knighthood (in the ordinary sense) among the Anglo-Saxons, are not contemporary; that the rank of knight is never mentioned in any of the existing laws relating to *weregeld*; and that there is no word in the Anglo-Saxon language which can be shown to have been appropriated in Anglo-Saxon times to express the quality of knighthood.

The position most analogous to that of the knights of later times was occupied by the thanes, who doubtless represented the *comites* or military attendants described by Tacitus as gathering round a German chief, 'in pace decus, in bello præsidium.'^b Mr. Turner remarks that the word *miles*, when it occurs in Bede to express the dignified occupation of a warrior, is rendered in King Alfred's translation by the word *thegn* or *cyninges thegn*. And, on the other hand, it is well known that the word *miles* as well as *minister* is frequently the addition of a thane in Anglo-Saxon charters. It was not till very late in

^a See Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. book vii. cap. 12.

^b Tacitus de Moribus Germ. s. 13.

Anglo-Saxon history that the word *cnicht*, which properly meant either a youth or a servant, was used for a military attendant of princes and nobles;^a and there seems to be no proof at all of its use before the Conquest, in its later sense, to designate a person admitted into the order of chivalry.

The duty of military service (expressed in English by the word *Fyrd*) was one of the obligations arising from the Anglo-Saxon tenure of land,—at the least, of such land as was held by charter (boeland), as distinguished from the customary tenures of the peasant class.^b And there can be little doubt that the thanes constituted the cavalry of the Anglo-Saxon armies. There has been preserved a law of uncertain date, which provides for a prosperous churl attaining the status of a thane; for which purpose he was required not only to possess five hides of land, but to be furnished with the arms used in early times by horsemen, a helm, a hauberk or coat of mail, and a gilt sword.^c The heriot of a king's thane by the laws of Cnut consisted of four horses (two saddled and two unsaddled), two swords, four spears, and as many shields, a helmet and hauberk, and fifty mancuses of gold; and that of a medial thane was a horse with his trappings, and his arms.^d

After the Conquest the name of thane speedily went out of use. The estates of the minor Saxon thanes, or of the foreigners who had supplanted them, became subject to feudal dominion in relation to the greater proprietors, the earls and barons of the new regime; and their possessors, in consequence of the vassalage thus established, were frequently styled vavassors. The relief of a vavassor 'due to his liege lord,' by the laws of William the Conqueror, is the same as that of the minor thane under the laws of Cnut.^e But the name of vavassor, as applied to this order of tenants, was not long in use in this country.^f The word that

^a See, as to the use of the word *cnicht*, a letter by H. C. C. in *Gent. Mag.* N.S. vol. xxxi. p. 263.

^b See an interesting chapter upon the *Fyrd* in the second volume of Palgrave's *English Commonwealth*. —

^c *Ancient Laws of England* (Record Commission), pp. 80, 81.

^d *Ancient Laws of England*, p. 178.

^e De relief a vavassur a sun lige seinur: deit estre quite par le cheval sun pere tel cum il out le jur de sa mort, e par sun haume e par sun escu e par sun hauberk e par sa lance et par s'espee. E sil fust desaparaille quil noust cheval ne armes, fuste quite par C. sol. (*Leges Willelmi Conquestoris*, c. 20. *Ancient Laws of England*, p. 205.)

^f The word *vavassor*, which is evidently the same in its origin as *vassus* and *vassallus*, was used by the foreign feudists, and by our own lawyers of the 11th and 12th centuries, for a military tenant holding under a baron or tenant in chief of the king (see *Lib. Feud. lib. i. tit. 1*); and such an estate, or such a tenure, was called *vavassoria*, *vavassura*, or *vavasseria*, (see *Abbrev. Plac. in dom. cap. Westm. asserv. f. 61 b, 88; Bracton, f. 93 b.*) Hence in a charter of Henry II. of England, anno 1666, cited by Ducange, the class of vavassors is mentioned between *barones* and *militēs*. And Walter Mapes describes Henry I. as giving audience

supplied its place was *miles* or knight. The Anglo-Norman *milites* of the twelfth century filled a similar position in the gradation of ranks, and probably occupied, in many cases, the very manors and houses which before the Conquest had belonged to the lesser thanes.^a The application to this class of the English term *knight*, which in its older form had not so dignified a sense, may probably be explained in the following way. The foreign mercenaries who were brought over in large numbers both at the Conquest and for some time after, and formed the retinue of the Norman prelates and nobles, were at first stipendiaries, and attached to the persons of their lords. In this condition they were called, in the native tongue, knights, the word *cnicht* being, in the late Anglo-Saxon tongue, the proper term for a military attendant. And the same word continued to be applied to them when, in the new settlement of the country, they were established in the place of the Saxon landowners. The title of thane appears never to have been adopted by the foreigners, nor attributed to them by the English.^b

That the *miles* was the successor in rank and position to the minor English thane is further shown by the quantity of land which was required to constitute the estate of each. The possession of five hydes or plowlands and upwards placed a Saxon freeman in a position to claim the privileges of a thane. The quantity of a knight's fee was not at any time accurately measured either by value, extent, or by the number of ploughs required for its cultivation; but seems to have varied from five to twelve, and even in some cases to a much larger number of plowlands.^c This is precisely what was to be expected if the manor and lands

to suitors, *secum habens comites, barones, et proceres vavassores.* (Map. de Nugis Cur. Distinc. v. cap. 6. p. 225.) But the word was not strictly confined to those standing in the *second* degree of tenure from the sovereign, and the military tenants of the greater vavassors were in Italy called minor vavassors. (Lib. Feud. ubi cit.) And in Normandy and France, where the word continued longer in use than in England, it seems to have been latterly applied to the inferior military tenants holding less than a knight's fief. (Ducange, sub voc. vavassor). Bracton, writing when the word does not seem to have been in technical use, speaks vaguely of vavassors as *magnates* and *magnæ dignitatis viri.* (Bract. lib. i. c. 8, § 4.)

^a See the Chronicle of Abingdon, vol. ii. p. 3.

^b In several counties, in Domesday, the minor tenants *in capite* of English origin are classed separately as *Taini regis.* See especially in Dorsetshire, where in the list at the beginning of the county the *Taini regis* are preceded by *Hugo de Luri et alii Franci*, and followed by *Willūs Belet et alii servientes regis.* (Domesd. 75.) See also in Wiltshire and Somersetshire, Domesd. 64 b., 86.

^c In the roll of knight's fees held of the Bishop of Hereford, 1304, printed in the Appendix to Bishop Swinfield's Household Roll (Camden Soc. 1854) the knight's fees appear to be generally five or six hydes. Examples may be found of knight's fees containing sixteen, twenty-seven, and even forty-eight ploughlands. See Abbrev. Placit. t. Ric. I. to Ed. II. pp. 73, 33, 304. See also Coke Inst. pt. 2. p. 596. Smyth, in his work on the Berkeleys, mentions that the knight's fees in that barony did not exceed four ploughlands. Some of the knight's fees of the Abbey of Peterborough appear to be small. (See Chronicon Petroburgense,

of an ordinary thane were in the generality of instances converted into the feudal estate of a knight (*feodum militis*).

The new designation of this class of landowner (*miles* or knight) was derived from the nature of his service. And the fact, that at the time when feudal usages grew up in England the same word was used to designate a military tenant and a person admitted into the order of chivalry, may be taken as some evidence that the service of military tenure was usually performed by a person who had been so admitted.

Whatever be the origin of knighthood, I have no doubt that it was from its connection with feudality, the most powerful and distinguishing institution of the middle ages, that it derived its first importance and its stability. The feudal system, in its original vigour, bound the military tenant to personal service with his horses and arms and mounted attendant, and, as an earnest of his readiness to perform what was termed his knight's service, it was considered to be the duty of each successor to the fief to present himself, when summoned before his lord, prepared with all his military equipments, for admission into the knightly order. I am not aware however of any evidence that this duty was enforced as a legal liability in any country except England, and possibly the foreign provinces governed by our English kings.^a

The origin of this obligation is involved in the same obscurity which surrounds the whole subject of the rise of the feudal system in this country. Nothing has been found in Domesday Book to show that such a liability was recognised in the time of the Conqueror. An interesting document preserved at Canterbury, and printed by Somner at the end of his Treatise on Gavelkind, furnishes us with an example of the opinions which prevailed at the end of the 12th century concerning the origin of the connection of knighthood with the tenure of land. It is a letter of Geoffrey, sub-prior, and the other monks of the Church of Canterbury, to King Henry II., and relates to a dispute between the convent and Archbishop Baldwin, who held the see between the years 1184 and 1190. The archbishop claimed feudal seignory of the lands of the convent, and asserted that the monks derived their lands from the gift of Archbishop Lanfranc. The letter of the convent, on the other hand, explains the alleged relation of the monastery to

Appendix). This no doubt arose from the importance of multiplying the defenders of the abbey by granting lands to stipendiaries. As to the estate of an Anglo-Saxon thane, see Selden, Tit. Hon. p. 621.

^a As to compulsory knighthood in Normandy, see note to *Leges Henrici I.* in *Ancient English Laws* (Record Commission), p. 217.

that prelate by stating that Lanfranc recovered the whole lands of the Church of Canterbury from Norman invaders, and apportioned to the convent the share it had previously enjoyed. "Inasmuch, however," the letter continues, "as in the time of King William there were no knights in England, but only thanes, the king ordered that, of the latter, knights should be made for the defence of the land. Lanfranc accordingly made knights of his thanes. The monks, however, did not do so, but gave the archbishop two hundred librates of land for defending their portion by his knights, and for taking charge at his expense of all their business at the Court of Rome. Hence up to this present time there are knights in the land of the archbishop, but none in that of the convent." ^a It is a probable explanation of the fact that no knights were found among the tenants of the convent, that in the original division, whether made by Lanfranc or earlier, the larger tenements and more dignified tenants were reserved to augment the honour and power of the bishop.

A similar statement as to the origin of tenure by knight's service is found in the Chronicle of Abingdon (lately published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls), which appears to have been compiled in the time of Henry II., where it is stated that Abbot Adelhelm, during the troubles which accompanied the Conquest, first employed stipendiary *milites*, but that he afterwards delegated (as it is expressed) to these knights the manors (*mansiones*) which had formerly

^a Quia vero non erant adhuc tempore regis Willielmi Milites in Anglia, sed Threnges, præcepit Rex, ut de eis Milites fierent ad terram defendendam. Fecit autem Lanfrancus Threngos suos Milites. Monachi vero non fecerunt, sed de portione sua ducentas libratas terræ dederunt Archiepiscopo ut per milites suos terras eorum defenderet, et omnia negotia eorum apud curiam Romanam suis expensis expediret. Unde adhuc in tota terra Monachorum nullus miles est, sed in terra Archiepiscopi. (Somner on Gavelkind, App. p. 209.)

The class of tenants called Threngs, who are mentioned by the monks as having had knighthood imposed upon them by order of the Conqueror, were no doubt the thanes; though the word by which they are designated might seem rather to point to a peculiar order of tenants who are mentioned in Domesday Book by the name of *Drench*, and who appear to have been superior freeholders in the Danish regions of England.—See Ducange sub voce *Drench*, *Drengagium*; Abbrev. Plac. t. Ed. I. p. 194.

Gervasius of Canterbury, a contemporary, writing of the same dispute between Archbishop Baldwin and the monks, says that the possessions of the Church of Canterbury were originally common to the archbishop and the convent; and that, after the lands of the Church had been plundered by the Norman conquerors, Lanfranc obtained their restitution, and granted to the monks the administration of *their own* portion: not that all the archbishop's lands, he adds, do not belong to the Church, sed quia ab antiquis temporibus assignaverunt nescio qui archiepiscopi villas et redditus conventui sufficientes, ceteris sibi pacificè retentis: sibi etiam reservaverunt comites, barones, milites, monachis vero assignaverunt rusticos et agricultores. Dicunt autem quidam Lanfrancum id fecisse. (Gervas. Doroborn. ed. Twysden, p. 1311.)

belonged to the thanes who had fallen at the battle of Hastings, upon an express obligation of service imposed upon each portion of the land.^a

There is no evidence in Domesday Book of any sudden change in the nature of tenures having followed upon the Conquest. The common opinion in later times seems to have been, that the Conqueror partitioned the country into a certain number of knights' fees, which he granted among his followers upon the new conditions of feudal tenure.^b The change, which was supposed to be thus suddenly made, was the gradual work of more than one generation. The estates of the freeholders of Saxon times were liable to military duty, the extent of which, as to the number of men to be supplied by each, was probably defined by reference to the custom of the particular district.^c The amount of military service due from the tenant is seldom mentioned in Domesday; the knight's fee (*feodum unius militis*), as the measure of feudal liability, is an expression of later times. And the well-known charter of William the Conqueror, which requires all earls, barons, *milites*, *servientes*, and *liberi homines* to be prepared with horses and arms to perform the service due of right from their fees (*feodis*) and tenements upon pain of forfeiture,^d may well be understood as relating to the liability to

^a Taliter itaque regni tumultuantibus causis, dominus Adellelmus abbas locum sibi commissum munita manu militum secure protegebat: et primo quidem stipendiariis in hoc utebatur. At his sopitis incursibus, cum jam regis edicto in annalibus annotaretur quot de episcopis quotve de abbatibus ad publicam rem tuendam milites exigerentur, eisdem donativis prius retentis abbas mansiones possessionum ecclesie pertinentibus (*sic*) inde delegavit, edicto cuique tenore parendi de sua portionis mansione. Quae possessiones ab eis habitae fuerant quos Tahinos dicunt et in bello Hastings occubuerant.—*Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, vol. ii. p. 3.

^b Thomas Sprottus, who lived in the time of the two first Edwards, states the number of knights' fees under the Conqueror's settlement to have been 60,215, and this number he gives as the result of the Conqueror's survey. (*Cronica Sprotti*, Hearne, p. 114.) Spelman appears to adopt this statement. (*Glossary sub voce Feodum*.) So Blackstone states that, as a consequence of the tenure by knight-service, the Conqueror had always at his command an army of 60,000 *milites*, or knights (*Blackst. Comm.* vol. iv. p. 419). M. Guizot has repeated the same assertion. (*Essais sur l'Histoire de France*, p. 261.) An examination of the Domesday Survey does not confirm this conclusion. There are no *knight's fees* (under that name) in Domesday, and the total number of free tenants, including tenants *in capite*, lords of manors, and *liberi homines*, appears not to amount to much more than twenty thousand. (See Ellis's *Observations on Domesday Book*.)

^c See as to the custom in Berkshire, Domesday, Berrochesoire, p. 56; and see Palgrave, *English Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. 368.

^d Carta Regis Willelmi Conquistatoris.—

V. Volumus etiam ac firmiter precipimus et concedimus ut omnes liberi homines totius monarchie regni nostri predicti habeant et teneant terras suas et possessiones suas bene et in pace, libere ab omni exactione injusta et ab omni tallagio, ita quod nichil ab eis exigatur vel capiatur nisi servitium suum

military expedition recognised by the Anglo-Saxon law.^a It is not without reason, however, that this charter of the Conqueror has been regarded as an important step in the revolution of tenures which followed the Norman invasion.^b It established or confirmed the custom of hereditary succession to the estates from which military service was due, which estates are here called by the new appellation of *feuds*.^c Another important concession of the Conqueror to this class of tenants was their exemption from the ordinary gelds and tallage. It should not be forgotten that in this charter, as in other instruments of the early Norman period, the term 'free service' is used as equivalent to military service, no other tenure being recognised by which a *liber homo* could hold his land. The charter of Henry I., probably some twenty years later, confirms the exemption of the military tenants from tallage in language which indicates more clearly the distinction between land held by knight's service and that held by a less noble

liberum, quod de jure nobis facere debent, et facere tenentur; et prout statutum est eis, et illis a nobis datum et concessum jure hereditario in perpetuum, per commune consilium totius regni nostri predicti.

VIII. Statuimus et firmiter precipimus, ut omnes comites et barones et milites et servientes et universi liberi homines totius regni nostri predicti habeant et teneant se semper bene in armis et in equis, ut decet et oportet, et quod sint semper prompti et parati ad servitium suum integrum nobis explendum et peragendum, cum semper opus adfuerit, secundum quod nobis debent de feodis et tenementis suis de jure facere, et sicut illis statuimus per commune consilium totius regni nostri predicti, et illis dedimus et concessimus in feodo jure hereditario. Hoc preceptum non sit violatum ullo modo super forisfacturam nostram plenam. (Leges Gulielmi Conquestoris, Wilkins, pp. 217, 229. Ancient Laws of England (Record Commission), pp. 211, 212.)

^a Even the liability of a thane to forfeit his land for absence from the royal army was not a novelty, but was recognised by the ancient English laws. See Laws of Ine (circa A.D. 700) s. 51; Thorpe's Ancient English Laws (Record Commission) p. 58; Leges Henrici I. xiii. 11; Ancient English Laws, p. 227; Domesday Book, Wirecestrescire, f. 172.

^b Blackstone, Comm. vol. ii. p. 60.

^c The word *feodum*, when used in Domesday Book, generally expresses the relation of seignory and vassalage. Dislea tenet Godwinus de rege *in feodo*. Hæ terræ sunt *de feodo reginæ*, &c. &c. It is a remarkable illustration of the importance of the Conqueror's charter as connecting the introduction of feudality with the establishment of the hereditary principle of succession, that the word *feodum* in English law became especially devoted to express the heritable quality of an estate, so that as soon as estates not properly feudal became hereditary, the word *feodum* was applied to express this quality in them. The legal formula still used, 'Seised in his demesne as of fee,' *seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo*, is as old as Henry II. (Glanvill, lib. ii. c. 3.) And the expression *in feodo et hæreditate* is found in grants at least as early as the time of Stephen. (See evidence in the Berkeley Peerage Case, 1859.) It will not be forgotten that Littleton, at the commencement of his Tenures, interprets *feodum* to mean inheritance. *Feodum idem est quod hereditas*. (Tenures, cap. 1.) As to the custom of inheritance of *thane-land* before the Conquest, see Palgrave's English Commonwealth, vol. i. pp. 579, 580; vol. ii. p. 359.

tenure. It concedes to knights or military tenants who defend their lands by their arms that their demesne lands shall be free from gelds and other burdens, so that they may be prepared with horses and arms for the service of the King and the defence of the realm.^a

The knight's fee (*feodum unius militis*), which for many centuries was the standard measure of feudal obligation, does not appear to have been so used in the time of the Conqueror. If the Domesday Survey had been taken a century later, the first thing appearing upon the return would be the number of knight's fees held by every tenant. It is probable that the ecclesiastical lords were the first to reserve in express terms upon their feoffments the service of a definite number of knights; the traces found in Domesday of tenures of this nature being principally in the case of the vassals of bishops and abbots.^b There is in the chronicle of Abingdon, compiled in the time of Henry II., a list of the knights holding of that abbey at an earlier date, which appears, from a comparison of the names with those in Domesday, to have been made not much later than that survey, and in which the service of each tenant is reckoned by so many knights, and even by fractions of knights.^c It is impossible to say whether the statement of the services due from each tenant may not have been added from the usage of

^a *Militibus qui per loricas terras suas defendunt (var. lect. deserviunt), terras dominicarum carucarum suarum quietas ab omnibus gildis et ab omni opere, proprio dono meo concedo, ut, sicut tam magno allevamine alleviati sunt, ita se equis et armis bene instruant ad servitium meum et ad defensionem regni mei.* Carta Henrici I. A.D. 1101. (Statutes of the Realm (Record Commission), vol. i. p. 2.)

^b See Ellis's Introduction to Domesday, vol. i. pp. 58, 62.

^c In a cartulary of the Abbey of Shaftesbury (Harl. MS. 61) is a list of the knight's fees of that church, which is probably the earliest document existing in which knights' fees are described in English. The word used for *feodum militis* is *knystesmetehom*, or knight's 'living.' This document is so curious, both for its language, which appears to have suffered in transcribing, and for its contents, that I give it entire. It is mentioned by Sir Francis Palgrave (*English Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. 207), and ascribed by him to the reign of Henry I. The manuscript in which it is found is not older than the fourteenth century.

Þes beþ þare knystene londes þat sillen into uerde uare myd þe kyng myd hire hors, and myd hire þgare for þare cherche of Shaftesbury:

þat arest lond hatte Chiklad and ys on yhol knystesmetehom:

On oþer yhol knystesmetehom ys at Donyntone, and at Nypred, and at Fernhulle:

On yhol knystesmetehom ys at Haseldene and Estone:

On yhol knystesmetehom ys at Yscahche: [*qu. p̄stahche, i.e. West Hache.* See Hoare's *Hist. S. Wilts*, vol. iv. p. 130.]

Two yhole knystesmetehomes bes at Gyssyh, wyþute one hyde of londe:

On helf knystesmetehom ys at Linlege:

On yhol knystesmetehom ys at Brudesperde:

þat fyftedel of one knystesmetehome ys at Dudele se yne þan home of Bradeforde:

þat tepedel of one knystesmetehome is yne þan home of Tyssebury by þare Seggþe hylle:

later times. The 'description of the knights of the Abbey of Peterborough,' preserved in the *Liber Niger* of Peterborough in the Library of this Society,^a and which was made in the 25th year of Henry I. (A.D. 1125), sets forth the amount of service by the number of knights reserved for each tenement. It has, however, in some respects, the appearance of a recent arrangement.^b It was, probably, about this time that the custom became usual of expressly reserving upon all feoffments a definite amount of military service.^c

The important historical monument, printed by Hearne, from the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, which contains a return made in the 12th year of Henry II. A.D. 1166, by all the tenants in chief of the knight's fees held under them, furnishes some evidence that this method of computation of service, familiar in the reign of Henry II., was as old but not much older than the close of the reign of Henry I. The return was required to be two-fold; the fees of the old feoffment (*de veteri feofamento*)

Two hyde of londe bes at Prestone	}	And alle þus makiat anne yholne knystesmetehom:
On hyde of londe ys at Bedeshurste		
On hyde of londe ys at Iwerne		
On hyde of londe ys at Haregraue		
On hyde of londe ys at Pimperne		
And þre 3erde of londe bes at Kyngstone		

On hyde of londe ys at Atteworþe yne þan home of Bradeforde: and ys þat furþe del of ones knystesmetehome.

At Cheselburne bep two hyde and on helf of londe:

At Sylfhamptone ys on hyde and on 3erde of londe, and hy uyndiz anne rop to þan waterputte of Syftebury:

And at Henle3e at one wonynge ys þat fitedel of ones knystesmetehome:

And at on oper wonynge ys hyde landes in þan ylke tone:

At Ocle3e ys on hyde of londe and ys þat sixtedel of one knystesmetehome:

At Apshulle ys on hide of londe and on 3erde, and answare3 for one knystesmetehome:

At Fal3ham at two wonynge ys on hide and on helf of londe:

And alle þes kny3tes þat þes londes palde3 do3 manredene an palle3 of þan munechene of Syftebury and of þan menstyre. (Harl. MS. 61, f. 22.)

^a This document is printed at the end of the *Chronicon Petroburgense*, published by the Camden Society. The list of knights of the Bishop of Rochester (Text. Roff. Hearne, p. 223) is of the same reign.

^b We find, for example, the following entry: *Rodbert de Olli (tenet) i hidam et dimidiam, unde non finivit de servitio.*

^c I do not know where to look for the earliest examples of such grants. In the reign of Stephen the manor of Berkeley was granted by Henry, Duke of Normandy, afterwards Henry II., to Robert Fitz Harding, to be held by the service of one knight, or one hundred shillings, at the election of the tenant; and the same manor was regranted a few years later to the same tenant to be held by the service of five knights. (See Evidence upon the Berkeley Peerage Case, 1859. Smyth's Account of the Berkeleys, by Fosbroke, pp. 69, 71.)

being distinguished from those of recent feoffment (*de novo feofamento*); feoffments prior to the death of Henry I., thirty years before, being generally reckoned as ancient feoffments. Most of the barons appear to have no difficulty in stating how many knight's fees, or what fractions of a knight's fee, were held by each tenant, as well of the old as of the new feoffment. But Geoffrey Ridell, son of Richard Bassett, who was justiciary in the reign of Henry I., certifies that his father Richard held, at the death of Henry I., nine score and four carucates and one virgate of land for the fees of fifteen knights. "None, however," he adds, "of the knights of that old feoffment was expressly enfeoffed by a knight's fee; but, in making up the fifteen knight's fees, every carucate of land is alike liable to the performance of every service, whether in armies, in guards, or elsewhere."^a

By the law passed in the 27th year of Henry II., called the Assise of Arms, the knight's fee (*feodum unius militis*) is employed as the measure of liability to military duty, and the holder of a knight's fee is bound to be provided with the arms of a horseman, namely, a coat of mail, a metal helmet, a shield, and a lance, and, if he has more fees than one, as many suits of arms as he has fees. But it is remarkable that the same equipments were also to be provided by every layman having in chattels or rents to the value of sixteen mares a year. It was also directed that, upon the death of a person having arms, they should remain to his heir (and not, it is presumed, be taken by the lord, as they may formerly have been taken, as a heriot or relief); and, if the heir was under age, his guardian should keep them and provide a substitute; and, when the heir was of age to bear arms, then he should have them.^b

^a Scilicet nullus militum de veteri illo feofamento feofatus fuit nominative per feodum militis. Sed una quæque carucata terræ ad faciendum milites xv par est alii ad omnia servitia facienda et in exercitibus et in custodiis et ubique. (*Liber Niger Scaccarii*, Hearne, p. 210.) Glanvill supplies the form of a writ of right, which appears applicable to the case of a military tenant, whose ancestor had been enfeoffed before the time when it was customary to define, by the fraction of a knight's fee, the amount of service due upon every feoffment. Rex Comiti W. salutem. Præcipio tibi quod teneas plenum rectum N. de decem carucatis terræ in M. quas clamat tenere de te per liberum servitium unde duodecem carucatæ terræ faciunt feodum unius militis pro omni servitio &c. (*Glanvill*, lib. xii. c. 3.) A similar writ of the date of Edward I. is cited by Coke, *Co. Lit.* 69 b.

^b Quicumque habet feodum unius militis habeat loriam et cassidem et clypeum et lanceam, et omnis miles habeat tot loriam et cassides et clypeos et lanceas quot habuerit feoda militaria in dominio suo. Quicumque liber laicus habuerit in catallo vel in reddito ad valentiam xvi. marcarum habeat loriam et cassidem et clypeum et lanceam . . .

Et si quis hæc habens arma obierit, arma sua remaneant hæredi suo; et si hæres de tali ætate non sit quod armis uti possit, si quis fuerit ille eum qui habebit in custodia habeat similiter custodiam armorum, et inveniet hominem qui armis uti possit in servitio domini Regis, si opus fuerit, donec hæres de tali ætate sit quod arma portare possit, et tunc ea habeat.—(*Hoveden*, *Annal.* p. 611; *Wilkins*, *Leges Angl.* p. 333.)

In the delivery of arms thus directed to be made by his guardian to the military tenant we can scarcely find an allusion to the solemn reception of arms which was the essential part of the admission to knighthood. It is certain, however, that at this period it was the general custom for the young nobility to be initiated into the order of chivalry. We read in Fitzstephen that Becket, when Chancellor, received into his service many noble youths, both English and foreign, and, after their education was completed, dismissed them, presented with the belt of knighthood, to their fathers or friends, unless he retained them in his own service.^a

I am inclined to think it probable, though it must be admitted that the proof is slight, that it was the general practice in the twelfth century for those who held by knight's service to be received into the military order. In later times, when penalties were enforced upon those who had not been so received, no doubt seems to have been entertained as to the existence of the liability. This belief as to the legal duty may be assumed to have arisen from the general observance of the custom by the preceding generation.^b

As a further proof that in the twelfth century the tenants of fiefs were actually knights, I might refer to the practice of the law in real actions, a practice which was settled in that century. It is well known that in the Great Assise, which was a mode of trial invented during the reign of Henry II. as a substitute for the wager of battle in proprietary actions, and also in the minor assises or recognitions, views, and other acts of court relating to the litigation of the

^a Cancellario et regni Angliæ et regnorum vicinorum magnates liberos suos servituros mittebant, quos ipse honesta nutritura et doctrina instituit, et cingulo donatos militiæ ad patres et propinquos cum honore remittebat, aliquos retinebat.—Fitzstephen, Vita S. Thomæ, ed. Giles, p. 189.

^b Our greatest authorities on legal antiquities have considered that tenants by military service were called knights, whether they were knights in the ordinary sense or not. See Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 769, where he says, that, tenants 'by knight's service were called knights, *militēs*, or *chivalers*, because their service was military,' and cites for example the practice in legal proceedings in which juries of knights were employed; and adds that the chief gentlemen or freeholders of every county (in regard they usually held by knight service) are styled *chivalers* in the Statute of Westminster the first, touching the choice of coroners. In both these instances, the 'knights' originally contemplated by the law were knights in the ordinary sense, and not merely persons holding by military tenure. See *post*, p. 201. Spelman (*Gloss. sub voce Miles*) also states that *miles* in one sense signifies a tenant holding freely or by military service. I think it will be found that the examples in which the word appears to bear this sense belong to a time when the adult tenants by knight's service may be supposed to have been in fact knights. The accurate determination of this point is rendered the more difficult by the Latin word for knight, *miles*, being unquestionably equivocal, although the inclination throughout the middle ages was to confine it to its more distinguished signification, and to add some epithet, as *plebeius*, *gregarius*, *stipendiarius*, when the sense of soldier was intended.

feudal title to land, the jurors were required to be knights; and even until the final abolition of these modes of procedure, within our own memory, the sheriff, in the Great Assise upon a Writ of Right, was ordered to summon, by good summoners, four lawful knights of his county, girt with swords (*milites gladio cinctos*), to make election of the other jurors; and the four knights were sworn to choose twelve knights, girt with swords, of themselves and others which best knew and would declare the truth between the parties.^a This practice in feudal actions may perhaps be taken not only as a proof of the actual custom of the time in which it arose but also as the earliest recognition in legal proceedings of the doctrine that, *de jure*, the feudal tenant ought to be a knight, since the law presumes^b that the feudal freeholders of the county (the peers of the litigating parties) are belted knights. It should be remembered that the Great Assise was in early times applicable only to the trial of titles by military tenure, burgage and socage titles being otherwise determined.^c

And even the criminal business of the county was principally conducted by inquests of knights. The coroner was required to be elected from the most lawful and wise knights of the county.^d And the grand juries of the several hundreds which made presentments of criminal matters before the justices itinerant were composed, even in the time of Bracton, of four knights elected in every hundred, who were sworn to choose, for their co-jurors, twelve knights, or free and lawful men if sufficient knights could not be found. This was the rule laid down in the middle of the thirteenth century, and seems to show that the number of knights was already failing. In the writers of the time of Edward I. nothing is said of the elected jurymen being knights; and in Britton even the four electors are no longer required to be of that station.^e

^a The form of the process in the Great Assise may be seen in the appendix to the third volume of Blackstone's Commentaries; or more fully in the third volume of Wilson's Reports, p. 558. The latest trial of a writ of right was in the case of *Davies v. Lowndes*, tried in 1835, and again upon a new trial in 1845. See Bingham's New Cases, vol. i. p. 597; Common Bench Reports, vol. i. p. 435.

^b *Omnia presumuntur legitime facta donec probetur in contrarium.* Broom's Legal Maxims, p. 852.

^c See Stat. de Magnis Assisis et Duellis (*incerti temporis*).

^d The Statute Westminster I. c. 10 (3 Edw. I. 1275), in which the above rule is laid down, was manifestly an affirmation of the ancient practice, as it recites that inferior persons had in recent times (*ore de novel*) been elected. The next chapter requires two of the jury upon every writ *de odio et atya* to be knights.

^e Bracton, f. 116; Fleta, lib. i. c. 19; Britton, c. 2. In the year 1251 more than 1000 English knights are said to have been at York at the marriage of Alexander III. of Scotland.—Matt. Par. p. 716 (ed. 1684).

It may be matter of some surprise that there does not appear to be any evidence of knighthood being enforced as a legal liability before the reign of Henry III. During the minority of this king, under the government of Hubert de Burgh, the practice appears to have commenced of issuing a public summons for the reception of knighthood by those who, by the nature of their tenures, were held liable to this requisition.

In the preceding reign it is well known that money was exacted from the king's subjects in the shape of fines and amercements for an infinite number of causes, some of them frivolous and vexatious to a ludicrous degree.^a But among the examples of the various classes of such exactions mentioned by Madox in his *History of the Exchequer*, and by Mr. Duffus Hardy in his preface to the *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus tempore Regis Johannis*, published by the Record Commission,^b I do not find any fines for default in assuming knighthood in this reign. This may be received as some evidence that at that time the general practice coincided with the legal theory of obligation. If persons bound by feudal custom to become knights had desired at that period to evade their duty, there can be little doubt that their defaults would have furnished a source of contribution to the Royal Exchequer.

The earliest instance which has been found of a general summons for knighthood is a writ tested at Westminster the 16th of November, in the 9th year of Henry III., A.D. 1224. It commands proclamation to be made that every layman of full age who holds one knight's fee or more, and is not a knight, shall take arms and cause himself to be made a knight before the close of Easter, in the 9th year of the king's reign, as his fee or fees which he holds do require.^c In this earliest precedent the obligation is clearly treated as one arising from

^a Uxor Hugonis de Nevill dat domino Regi cc. gallinas eo quo possit jacere una nocte cum domino suo Hugone de Nevill. 6 Johan. Rotuli de Finibus, p. 275.

Robertus de Vallibus debet quinque optimos palefridos ut Rex taceret de uxore Henrici Pinel. Mag. Rot. 12 Joh. Rot. 13a, Cumb. (Madox, Hist. Exch. p. 352.)

Episcopus Wintoniensis debet i. tonellum vini boni, quia non reduxit in memoriam Regis de zona danda Comitissæ de Albemar. Mag. Rot. 11 Joh. Rot. 14 b, Sudhant. (Madox, Hist. Exch. 352.)

^b I have myself searched in vain in this volume for any instance of a fine for non-assumption of knighthood; but I cannot say that my search was exhaustive.

^c Rex vicecomiti Norf. et Suff. salutem. Precipimus tibi quod sine dilacione clamari facias per totam Ballivam tuam, quod unusquisque laicus plene etatis qui feodum unius militis tenet vel plus in balliva tua et miles non est, quod arma capiat et se militem fieri faciat citra clausum Pasche Anno ix^o regni nostri, sicut feodum vel feoda sua quæ tenet diligit. T. R. apud Westm. xvj^{to} die Novembris. Eodem modo scribitur omnibus Vicecomitibus. (Rot. Claus. 9 H. III. printed by Record Commission, vol. ii. p. 69.)

tenure. But it is remarkable that the requisition is not restrained to the tenants of the Crown in chief. The jealousy between the king and his great vassals was at its height; there were loud complaints in the Parliament which met at Westminster in February 1225, of the non-observance of the Great Charter, and a few months before there had been open war between the young king, under the guidance of his justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, and some of the barons respecting the custody of the royal castles.^a It does not seem probable that the great feudatories of the Crown would at this period submit without question to an interference between them and their own vassals respecting the obligations arising from the tenures of the latter. The proclamations appear, however, to have been followed by process of distress against the defaulters, whether tenants in chief or tenants paravail. A writ of the same year, directed to the Sheriff of Cumberland, commands him to abstain from distraining John of Denton, who held some land of Robert de Vaux at fee-farm, but none by military service.^b This writ, while it clearly shows the obligation to be based upon military tenure, appears to imply a claim to compel the military tenants of the barons to become knights. If this prerogative was then attempted to be enforced, it probably met with successful opposition, for the summons issued two years later was expressly confined to those who held of the king *in capite* by knight's service.^c

A formula of summons still more accurate in its restrictions, both as to the nature of the tenure, the feudal relation to the crown, and the quantity of land, is given by Madox, in a writ issued to the sheriffs in the 19th year of Henry III., 1235, which required that all the king's tenants in chief holding one knight's fee or more, and not being knights, should cause themselves to be made knights

^a See Matt. Par. sub anno 1224.

^b Rex vicecomiti Cumberland. salutem. Ostendit nobis Johannes de Dentone quod cum teneat quandam terram de Roberto de Vallibus ad feodi firmam et nichil teneat per servicium militare, tu occasione precepti quod tibi fecimus de omnibus illis qui feodum unius militis vel plus tenent in Baillia tua militibus faciendis ipsum Johannem vis distringere ad se militem faciendum. Et ideo tibi precipimus quod si ita est, predicto Johanni pacem inde habere permittas. Teste Rege apud Radinge, xxx. die Martii. Rot. Claus. anno 9 H. III. m. 7, p. 25. See also Rot. Claus. 9 H. III. m. 14, p. 36.

^c Rex vicecomiti Norhampon salutem. Precipimus tibi quod per totam ballivam tuam pupplice clamari et scire [facias] omnibus qui de nobis tenent in capite per servicium militare in balliva tua, quod infra proximam Pascham anno regni nostri xi^o faciant se milites fieri sicut tenementa sua diligunt que de nobis tenent. Et interim nobis scire facias distincte et aperte nomina omnium illorum qui de nobis tenent per servicium militare in balliva tua et quantum unusquisque teneat de nobis et quantum servicii inde nobis debeat. T. Rege apud Westm. xvij. die Jan.

Eodem modo scribitur omnibus vicecomitibus Anglie. Rot. Claus. 11 Hen. III. (A.D. 1227), vol. ii. p. 206.

according to the exigencies of their tenures.^a The same author has also printed some early records of fines and distresses levied upon tenants of land for neglecting this obligation. The earliest example given by him occurs in the 17th year of Henry III., and is a writ directed to the sheriff of Worcester to take the lands of Roger de Sumery into the king's hand, because he came not to the king at the Feast of Pentecost last past 'to be girt with the belt of knighthood.'^b In the 31st of Henry III. Bartholomew FitzWilliam owes five marks for having respite of knighthood.^c

It will be seen that the earliest precedents of summonses contain no pecuniary estimate of the *census* of a knight. The relief of a knight for a single knight's fee was fixed by the Great Charter of John at an hundred shillings at most; and the same clause was repeated in the charters of the subsequent reigns. Sir Henry Spelman concludes from this that the yearly value of a knight's fee in the time of King John was 5*l.*, the relief being generally, as he asserts, fixed at one year's value.^d Lord Coke, on the other hand, presumes the relief to have been fixed at one-fourth of the yearly value. It is more probable that the amount of the relief was borrowed from the composition for the heriot of a vavassor, as fixed by the laws of the Conqueror,^e and bore no immediate relation, at least in the time of John, to the value of the land. In the latter part of the reign of Henry III. 20*l.* a year was looked upon as the lowest estate suitable to the degree of a knight; and from the 25th year of Henry III. to the abolition of the custom of compulsory knighthood, it was usual to name in the writs a pecuniary limit below which the summons was not addressed.

^a Rex vicecomiti Norf. et Suff. salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod visis literis istis per totam Ballivam tuam clamari facias, quod omnes illi qui de nobis tenent in capite feudum unius militis vel plus et milites non sunt citra festum Natalis Domini anno regni nostri decimo nono arma capiant et se milites fieri faciant, sicut tenementa sua quæ de nobis tenent diligunt. Teste Rege apud Walingford vii^o die Novembris. Rot. Claus. 19 H. III. m. 25 dorso. (Madox, Hist. Exch. 354.)

^b Quia Rogerus de Sumery ad hoc festum Pentecostes proximo præteritum non venit ad Regem ut eum eingulo militiæ cingeret: mandatum est Vicecomiti Wigornia, quod Honorem de Duddeleg. et alias terras ipsius Rogeri in Balliva sua sine dilatione capiat in manum Regis et eas salvo custodiat cum omnibus catallis in eis inventis: ita quod nichil inde amoveatur donec Rex aliud inde præceperit. Teste Rege apud Wenlak vii^o die Junii.

Eodem modo scribitur Vicecomiti Essex, de terris Gileberti filii Johannis de Sampford, et Vicecomiti Dorset, de terris Willelmi filii Drogonis de Monte acuto. Rot. Fin. 17, H. III. m. 5. (Madox, Hist. Exch. 354.)

^c Bartholomæus filius Wilhelmi debet v. marcas pro habendo respectu de Militia. Mag. Rot. 31 H. III. Rot. 3 b, m. 1, Norf. et Suff. (Madox, Hist. Exch. 353.)

^d Spelman, Glossary, s. voce *Feodum*. Cf. Littleton Ten. s. 126; Mag. Cart. c. 2; Coke Inst. pt. ii. p. 9.

^e See *ante*, p. 191. One hundred solidi was the established relief, t. H. II. See Dial. de Scacc. lib. 2, cc. 10, 24. (Madox, Hist. Exch. *ad fin.*)

According to the original theory, the obligation was held binding upon the tenants of one entire knight's fee or more. It occasionally happened, however, that a person holding a portion of a knight's fee, and therefore liable in theory to personal military service by virtue of his tenure, had also other sufficient estate held in socage of land to enable him to support the dignity and expenses of knighthood. This kind of case seems to have given occasion to the fixing a pecuniary census for the knightly order, and to have led the way to the general imposition of the burden of knighthood upon tenants in free socage, as well as upon those holding by knight's service. There is a writ of the 25th Henry III. addressed to the sheriff of Cumberland, which commands him not to distrain Robert de Landplo' to take arms, unless he holds an entire knight's fee, or has 20l. of land as well in knight's fee as in socage.^a In the later general summonses in this reign the liability is usually limited in the same way; ^b and by a writ of the

^a Cl. 25 H. III. m. 5 dors. Hale MS. xxvi. p. 75b. Mandatum est vicecomiti Cumbriae, quod occasione precepti quod Rex ei fecit de hominibus qui milites esse debent distringendis non distringat Robertum de Landplo ad arma capienda, nisi teneat feodum unius militis integrum vel habeat xx. libratas terre quam in feodo militari quam in socagio.

^b Cl. 26 H. III. m. 14 dors. Hale MS. xxvi. 102. Rex vicecomiti Bark. et Bedford salutem. Precipimus tibi, sicut alias precipimus, quod omnes illos in Balliva tua, quorum nomina alias nobis significastis, qui tenent xx. libratas terre tam in feodo militari quam in socagio, vel in feodo militari tantum, vel feodum militis integrum, et milites non sunt, distringas per terras et catalla sua quod arma capiant et se milites fieri faciant citra Purificationem beate Marie anno &c. xxvi. Et taliter te super hoc habeas quod occasionem non habeamus ad te graviter capiendi, si defectum in te invenerimus vel si convinci possis quod ab aliquo vel aliquibus pro respectu militie sue aliquam pecuniam receperis; quod quidem inquiri faciemus. T. R. apud Rading. decimo die Decembris.

Cl. 37 H. III. m. 25 dors. 1st Extract Hale MS. xix. Rex vicecomiti Northumbr. salutem. Precipimus tibi, quod omnes illos de Balliva tua qui habent viginti libratas terre vel feodum unius militis integrum valens viginti libras per annum, et milites non sunt, distringas per terras et catalla sua quod sint ad nos in festo Pasche proximo futuro, ubicunque tunc fuerimus in Anglia, parati ad capienda arma militaria vel ad finem nobiscum faciendam pro respectu habendo de militia sua. Teste Rege apud Clarendon. xvij. die Novembris.

Eodem modo mandatum est vicecomitibus Ebor. Westmerl. Cumb. Lanc. Eodem modo mandatum est vicecomitibus Gloucestrie, Wygornie, Hereford. Middelsex. Surr. et Sussex. Berk. Oxon. Suthampton. Wiltes. Somerset. Dorset. Devon. quod sint coram Rege apud Winton. in natali Domini.

Eodem modo mandatum est vicecomitibus Kent. Camb. Salop. Stafford. Notingham. Derby. Warr et Leyc. Northampton. Roteland. Norff. Suff. Essex. Hertford. Cantebr. Hunt. Buck. et Bedford. Sint coram rege in festo Purificationis beate Marie proximo futuro parati, &c.

Cl. 39 H. III. pt. 1. m. 4. Cited in MS. Lansdowne 253. fol. 469. Hale MS. xix. Mandatum est vicecomiti Ebor. quod omnes illos de Balliva sua qui habent viginti libratas terre vel feodum unius militis integrum valens viginti libras per annum, et milites esse debent et non sunt, sine dilacione distringat ad se milites faciendos. Teste Rege apud Werk. xvij. die Septembris.

26th Henry III. it was expressly provided that distresses should not be levied even on those who had an entire knight's fee, unless it were an estate in possession and of the value of 20*l.* a year.^a

At this period the summonses were very frequently repeated; and the writs are sometimes addressed to the sheriffs in a tone of menace, which seems to show that the exactions of the crown found a passive resistance in that quarter. The most remarkable example of this is in a writ addressed to every sheriff of England in the 28th Henry III. by which the sheriff is warned that, if for gift or other cause he make any release, or give any respite, the king's displeasure against him shall be so heavy that he shall feel its weight all the days of his life.^b

Bracton, whose work on the laws of England appears to have been composed not much later than the middle of the reign of Henry III., mentions it as one of the inquiries to be made before the Justices in Eyre, whether the sheriffs or other bailiffs of the King had taken ransom of any *valetti* holding an entire knight's fee or twenty librates of land, to excuse their becoming knights, upon any summons for knighthood.^c

^a Cl. 26 H. III. m. 7 dors. Hale MS. xxvi. f. 106b. Rex vicecomiti Northt. salutem. Quia preceptum nostrum quod tibi nuper fecimus de illis distringendis de comitatu tuo qui milites esse debent et non sunt informatione invecta plene non es executus, de quo sumus plurimum admirati, iterato tibi precipimus firmiter injungentes, quod omnes illos de comitatu tuo qui habent viginti libratas terre vel amplius tam in feodo militari quam in socagio, vel feodum militis integrum in dominico suo, per terras et catalla sua distringas ad arma capienda, ita quod inde nullam habeant administracionem antequam securum te fecerint quod se milites sine mora fieri faciant aut literas nostras de respectu tibi deferant; et nomina eorum nobis scire facias. Alios autem qui non habent xx. libratas terre licet teneant feodum militis integrum vel illud non habeant omnino in dominico pacem habere permittas, ita quod decetero occasione militie sue non distringas, sciturus quod si perpendere possimus quod aliquos distringas injuste contra formam hujus modi precepti nostri ad arma capienda ad te nos graviter capiemus. Teste Rege apud Norwic. xxi. die Marcii.

^b Rex vicecom. Northt. salutem. Precipimus tibi quod sicut te ipsum et omnia tua diligis, omnes illos in Balliva tua qui habeant viginti libratas terre distringas ad se milites faciendos citra festum nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste proximo futurum, sciturus pro certo quod si pro munere vel aliqua occasione aliquam relaxationem eis feceris vel aliquem respectum dederis, nos ita graviter ad te capiemus, quod omnibus diebus vite tue te senties esse gravatum. T. R. apud Wyndesor. xiv. die Aprilis. Eodem modo scribitur omnibus vicecomitibus Anglie. Rot. Claus. 28 H. III. m. 12 dors. Hale MS. xxvi. 208b. This writ is cited by Ashmole, Hist. of Garter, p. 33.

^c Et similiter de vicecomitibus et ballivis qui ceperunt redemptionem de valettis integrum feodum militis tenentibus, vel viginti libratas terræ habentibus, ne milites fierent ad mandatum domini Regis, cum vicecomites et alii ballivi domini Regis inde præceptum haberent speciale, de talibus plenæ ætatis existentibus militibus faciendis. (Bracton, f. 117.) Britton has the same direction. Et ausi (seyt enquis) de viscontes qe eyent pris fins et amerciementz de gent de lur baillie qe ils ne seyent destreintz de estre chivalers et en teu cas sunt amerciabiles. (Britton, c. 21.) The 'Mirror of Justices,' written in the time of Edward II. makes it a species of treason for one of the King's officers to counsel persons to evade knighthood when legally liable to it. (Mirror, cap. i., s. 4.)

There is a writ of summons extant of the 38th Henry III. A.D. 1254 which is of unusual historical interest. It recites that Prince Edward is to be decorated with the belt of knighthood by the illustrious King of Castile, at Bures (Burgos?) in Spain, on the forthcoming feast of St. Edward, and summons tenants *in capite* of 50*l.* of land or more, not being knights, to come to the King in Gascony, to "undertake military arms" at the place aforesaid with the prince. It also *invites* those holding of other lords, for the love of our said son, to present themselves for the same purpose.^a

In the 40th year of Henry III. A.D. 1256, an attempt was made to increase the profits arising from the fines by lowering the knightly census: proclamations being issued, summoning all those who had 15*l.* of land and more, and held by military service, to become knights.^b The terms of this writ are curious, as showing that at this period even, when it was clearly desired to include as large an area of exaction as possible, mere tenants in socage, holding no land by knight service, were not treated as liable to the requisition.

This summons, by reason either of the reduced qualification or of the unusual severity with which it was enforced, has attracted more than ordinary notice, being mentioned in the History of Matthew Paris, and, by consequence, in several of the later historians. The terms in which the event is mentioned by Matthew Paris seem to show that it was regarded as an innovation, and suspected to have a foreign origin.^c

^a Rot. Claus. 38. H. III. m. 4. Hale MS. xxviii. Rex Vic. Wiltes. Salutem. Quia dilectus primogenitus noster Edwardus in instanti festo beati Edwardi quod erit in quindena Sancti Michaelis proximo futura a rege Castelle illustri cingulo militie decorabitur apud Bures in Ispania, tibi precipimus quod omnes illos in Balliva tua qui de nobis tenent lx. libratas terre vel amplius et milites non sunt venire facias ad nos in Vasconia ad suscipienda loco predicto una cum predicto filio nostro arma militaria. Inducas etiam diligenter omnes alios qui de aliis tenent quod ob amorem ejusdem filii nostri tunc similiter sint ibi ad arma militaria una cum ipso capienda; taliter predictum mandatum complendo quod nos ad te graviter capere non debeamus. Teste Ricardo Comite Cornubie apud Westm. xxx. die Augusti, anno regni nostri xxxviiij.

Consimile breve dirigitur omnibus vicecomitibus Anglie.

^b Rot. Cl. 40 H. III. m. 11 dorso. Hale MS. xxviii. (last extract). Quia abbates Cisterciensis ordinis per regnum et potestatem regis constituti reddunt se rebelles ad prestandum subsidium Regi a sede Apostolica concessum, mandatum est vicecomiti Cantebr. et Huntendon. quod eisdem Abbatibus in agendis suis communem justiciam quam Rex vult nulli denegari exhibeat, nullam eis gratiam faciens sine mandato Regis speciali. Et omnes illos de Balliva sua qui habent quindecim libratas terre et amplius et tenent per servitium militare et milites esse debent et non sunt dstringat ad se milites faciendos, sicut Rex eidem vicecomiti alias mandavit. Et sine dilacione scire faciat Regi nomina illorum una cum valore terrarum et tenementorum suorum in Balliva. Teste Rege apud Windesor. xx^{mo} die Maii.

^c See Matth. Paris Hist. s. anno 1256 (p. 796, ed. 1684). "Anno sub eodem exiit edictum regium,

The sheriffs, who were the instruments of the government in these exactions, did not satisfy the king in their conduct of the business; and, on the 14th of March 1257, the king came himself into the Exchequer, and all the sheriffs of England were fined five marks for having failed to distrain those who were summoned to become knights.^a

There can be little doubt, from the manner in which the matter of knighthood is mentioned by Matthew Paris in another passage,^b that the principal, if not the sole, object of the repeated summonses issued by the Crown at this time was the obtaining of money from defaulters.

It is well known to all students of legal antiquities how feudal duties, originally based upon the necessities of a warlike age and the close relations of lord and vassal, were gradually converted into a means of exacting money from the feudal inferior. The personal service in war was commuted for a money payment. The right of wardship and marriage of infant tenants, which was founded upon the necessity of providing a fit person to perform the duties of the fief, became a mere matter of bargain and sale. In the facts I have mentioned we see the commencement of the practice by which the traditional obligation of tenants of land to become knights was made to subserve from time to time during many centuries the pecuniary necessities of the Crown. There is reason to believe that in the reign of Henry III. the practice of admitting the minor military tenants into the order of chivalry was dying out. The frequency of the summonses issued by the Crown, and their manifest object having relation rather to the revenue of the King than to the military organization of the country, are themselves some proof of this.

It may be conjectured that this decay of feudal chivalry was in some measure connected with the disuse of the privilege of conferring knighthood formerly enjoyed by subjects. It cannot be said to be precisely ascertained at what time the exclusive right of creating knights was appropriated to sovereign princes;

præceptumque est et acclamatum per totum Regnum Angliæ, ut quilibet qui haberet xv. libratas terræ et supra, armis redimitus tyrociniò donaretur, ut Anglia sicut Italia militia roboraretur. Et qui nollent vel qui non possent honorem status militaris sustinere, pecunia se redimerent." See the subject mentioned by the same historian further on, p. 804. The word *tyro*, it may be observed, appears to be used by the historian for what has been called in later times a knight bachelor. The latter term had not then become fixed in its present sense. A tournament is mentioned as being held at 'Brakele' in 1249, where were met many of the knights of the kingdom 'qui se volunt Bachelarios appellari.' This apparently means that the name of Bachelor was now affected by the younger knights.

^a Matthew Paris, p. 803 (Ed. 1684).

^b Sicut super de clientela, quæ vulgariter Seganteria (Serjeantry) dicitur, materia pullulaverat pecuniam

but it is clear that, for at least two centuries after the Conquest, this right was exercised in England by the great lay lords, and in early times by the prelates also. I have not the space to go into the evidence upon this point in the present paper. Several illustrations of the practice are collected by Selden in his *Titles of Honour*. Sir Henry Spelman^a was of opinion that the privilege of creating a knight in feudal times rested with the same persons as were capable of granting land to be held by feudal tenure—*eorum fuit militem facere, quorum fuit feodum dare*;—and he refers to the *Liber Feudorum* (lib. i. tit. 1) to explain who had the latter privilege, which appears in the Italian Law of Feuds to have been confined to the *Capitanei* or immediate tenants of the sovereign; but I do not think there is any reason for supposing that a similar rule as to the grant of fiefs existed in this country. Before the statute *Quia Emptores* (18 Ed. I.), which forbids the practice of subinfeudation, there seems to have been nothing in the English law to prevent a tenant paravail holding sufficient land by knight-service from enfeoffing another to hold of him in the same way; and this even though the same land might have been previously held of him by another tenure^b: provided that enough remained in his own hands to answer the services due to the lord;^c and it is remarkable that it was only in the case of tenants-in-chief that the right of subinfeudation appears to have been doubted, on account of the prejudice thereby arising to the Crown.^d

extorquendi, sic nunc de sequela curiæ, de cogendis fieri militibus, de mensurarum inquisitionibus et multis aliis lupinæ rapacitatis commentis, rapinæ succrescebant in regni vastationem et ecclesiæ servitatem. (Matth. Paris, p. 805 (Ed. 1684).)

^a Glossary, sub voce *Feodum*.

^b See Bracton, 170. *Poterit enim quis de villenagio suo facere liberum tenementum et feodum militare si voluerit.* Instances might be given in which lords of manors had tenants of portions of their fees holding by military service, though the manors themselves were not held by that tenure.

^c Magna Charta, cap. 32.

^d In early times it was probably the custom for tenants in chief of the king to make subinfeudations of portions of their baronies without licence. This practice appears to be implied in the statements of several of the returns in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*. Such a power would appear to be confirmed within the prescribed limits by Magna Charta, c. 32, which declares that no free man shall make a gift of any part of his land, *unless* the residue of the fee be sufficient to answer the service due to the lord. Coke, however, treats this chapter of Magna Charta as giving rise to the royal prerogative of taking fines for alienations by tenants *in capite*. (See Coke, *Inst.* pt. ii. pp. 65, 501.)

After the statute *Quia Emptores* (18 Edw. I.) alienations of portions of the land held of a single lord had the effect of dividing or dismembering the fee and the seignory, since the alienee held the land of the chief lord by a fraction of the service previously due for the whole; and this, it was held in the reign of Edward I., could not be done in the case of tenants in chief without licence of the crown. (See Britton, cc. 18, 34.) The practice of taking a reasonable fine for alienation was recognised by stat. 1 Edw. III.,

There is no reason to doubt that during the period when feudal knighthood was in its vigour the inferior military tenants were accustomed to receive their swords from the bishops, earls, or barons, their immediate superiors. The History of the Family of Sharnburn, printed in Spelman's Posthumous Works, though somewhat apocryphal in its earlier portion, illustrates the manner in which the vassors of the twelfth and thirteenth century were admitted to the honours of chivalry. Four knights are mentioned in the early history of this family, none of whom are represented as having had the honour of being knighted by sovereigns. The lands of Sharnburn were held under the Earls of Arundel. The first knight, Sir Alan, son of Geoffrey, is stated to have been knighted in the Holy Land, in the time of King Richard, by the hand of William third Earl of Arundel. The second knight, Sir Andrew, brother of Sir Alan, was also a crusader, and was knighted in the Holy Land in the time of King John, by the hand of William fourth Earl of Arundel; these two died without issue, and a third brother, Peter, after the death of Sir Andrew, was knighted in his old age by the hand of Hugh de Albini, the last Earl of Arundel of that family. Andrew of Sharnburn, a grandson of Peter, is stated to have served as *Armiger* with Thomas of Brotherton and many other lords of Norfolk in the wars of Scotland, Gascony, and France, and to have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1348, and to have been knighted at the Holy Sepulchre by the Lord Arnald Viscount of Caremayne, a foreign nobleman, in the presence of the Viscount of Narbonne and other good and noble knights of France, Cataloigne, and Almayne. This is the last knight of the family until we come to Sir Henry Shernbourn, who was knighted by the King in the first year of Henry VIII.

It is probable that in the turbulent times when the feudal system was in its vigour, knighthood was usually conferred upon their vassals by the earls and barons on the occasion either of a warlike expedition or of a meeting for the exercise of arms. Matthew Paris mentions a tournament proposed to be held by Richard de Clare Earl of Gloucester, in the year 1247, upon the day in which he girt his brother William with the sword of knighthood.^a There can be no doubt

stat. 2, c. 12, the previous practice having in some cases been to seize the lands as forfeited. Another statute of Edward III. (34 Edw. III. cap. 15) confirms subinfeudations made by tenants in chief in the reign of King Henry III. and the preceding kings, saving to the king his prerogative of the time of Edward I., Edward II., and of his own time. Coke refers the division of time contained in this statute to the time before and after the provision contained in Magna Charta, cap. 34. (Coke, Inst. pt. ii. 65.) But it seems more obvious to refer it to the statute *Quia Emptores* (18 Edw. I.)

^a Matthew Paris, Hist. sub anno 1247, p. 643. (Ed. Lond. 1684).

that on such an occasion the opportunity would be seized of enhancing the importance and splendour of the festival by the admittance of several candidates of inferior rank into the order of chivalry. It would seem that, in early times, disgrace and ridicule attached to an initiation into knighthood which was not shortly followed by evidence of military accomplishments.^a

When civil and private wars became less frequent, and private tournaments were forbidden, the occasions upon which the feudal lords had been accustomed to admit their vassals to knighthood no longer arose, and the privilege of conferring the honours of chivalry was after a while confined by usage to sovereign princes and their deputies or lieutenants, and the captains of armies in the field, whose authority for the purpose was supposed to be derived from the Crown, as part of their Commission.^b

A few of the early summonses for compulsory knighthood exhibit traces of the ancient feudal practice, according to which the king conferred knighthood upon his own tenants *in capite*, and the tenants paravail received their swords from their own immediate superiors or from some other substitute. Writs of the 29th Henry III. direct the sheriffs to distrain all those who hold of the king any tenement whereby they ought to be knights and are not, that they be at Westminster, on Whit-sunday, prepared to receive arms *from the king*; and to distrain all those who have 20*l.* of land or hold a knight's fee whereby they ought to be knights, being tenants of others than the king, to be there prepared to receive arms *from whomsoever they will*.^c

^a See Hoveden, Annal. 580.

^b See Sir H. Nicolas' Hist. of English Knighthood, Introduction. The idea of knighting by subjects was familiar in the reign of Henry IV., although it is probable that in this country the practice was obsolete except in the case of commanders of armies in the field. We read in the Year Book that Chief Justice Thirning, in the 7th Henry IV., enlivened the discussion of a legal question by the following anecdote. "I have heard tell that a lord had a son and took him to baptism, and as soon as he was christened the lord took his sword and made him knight, and said, Be good knight if thou mayst, for thou wilt never be good esquire." (Year Book, 7 Hen. IV. 7.)

^c Rex vicecomiti Northt. salutem. Precipimus tibi, quod omnes illos qui tenent de nobis tenementum in balliva tua per quod milites esse debent et milites non sunt distringas quod sint apud Westmonasterium in instanti festo Pentecostes parati ad recipienda tunc a nobis arma, omnes eciam alios habentes xx. libratas terre vel tenentes feodum militis per quod milites esse debent et non sunt tenentes de aliis quam de nobis similiter distringas quod tunc sint ibi parati ad recipienda arma de quibuscunque voluerint. Teste Rege apud Rading xi. die Maij. Cl. 29 Hen. III. m. 10 dors. Hale MS. xxvi. f. 252 b.

Mandatum est vicecomiti Northampton. quod proclamari faciat et sciri per totam ballivam suam, quod omnes illi qui de Rege tenent in capite feodum militis integrum vel viginti libratas terre, et milites non sunt, sicut tenementa sua diligunt, sint ad regem ad festum Pentecostes proximo sequens, ubicumque Rex fuerit, parati ad recipienda de Rege arma. Teste Rege apud Wimundeham xxi. die Marci. Cl. 29 Hen. III. m. 13 dors. Hale MS. xxvi. f. 249.

A somewhat similar form of writ was used in the 6th year of Edward I. A.D. 1278, when the tenants in chief were summoned to receive arms from the king, the others were simply to be distrained *ad hujusmodi arma suscipienda*. No such distinction is made in the writs of the 24th and 25th of Edward I. when the summons for all those liable to the duty is expressed generally, *ad arma militaria suscipienda*. And in the writ of the 13th Edward I. when only the richer tenants were summoned, the knighthood was expressly ordered to be received from the king.^a The last occasion on which we find in the writs of summons any trace of the inferior tenants being expected to receive knighthood from subjects occurs in the 6th year of Edward II. A.D. 1313, when the writs issued were formed in this respect exactly on the model of those of the 6th year of Edward I.^b I do not know of any other evidence to show whether the custom of receiving knighthood from subjects really survived in England until this period. The indication of its existence furnished by the last-cited writ is the less to be trusted, as the writ appears to be copied by the clerk word for word from that issued thirty-five years before, and the same form was never subsequently used. In Scotland, we are informed by Thomas of Walsingham, that William Wallace was knighted by one of the earls of that country, on the occasion of his being elected leader of the insurrection against Edward I. This would be about A.D. 1298.^c Camden was of opinion that from the middle of the thirteenth century none received the honour in England but from the king or his representative.^d In France it appears to be ascertained that the custom of knighting by subjects existed at a much later time. Ducange gives a form of nobilitation used in 1372, which contains the clause, *Ita quod dictus Nicholaus et ipsius liberi quandocunque et a quocunque milite voluerint valeant militari cingulo decorari*.^e And Selden affirms this to be the ordinary form of letters of nobility in the French Chancery.^f Similar terms are used in a patent of nobility granted by Edward III. to one of his subjects of Guienne, given in full in the fifth volume of the *Fœdera*.^g

^a These writs are printed in the first volume of Parliamentary and other Writs (Record Commission).

^b Parliamentary Writs, &c. vol. ii. div. ii. p. 418.

^c *Scotis vero cito sibi (Wilhelmo Waleys) consentientibus et ipsum eorum ducem constituentibus, militiæ donatus est cingulo a quodam comite regionis illius.* (Thom. Walsingham Hist. Ang. p. 90.)

^d Camden Britannia. Ed. Gough, p. 142.

^e Ducange, sub voc. *Miles*.

^f Titles of Honour, p. 548.

^g Patent of nobility, dated at Westminster, 1 June, 22 Edw. III. (1348), granted to Johan de Guillo, Burgess of Lyndia in Guienne. *Et eidem Johanni damus licentiam specialem quod ipse a quocunque nobis fideli milite militarem suscipere ordinem valeat et cingulo militiæ decorari . . . eo, quod militari sanguine aut nobilitate generis non processit, non obstante.* Rymer, vol. v. p. 623.

At a period when knighthood was conferred by the mesne lord in his own country, there would be little difficulty in all the adult military tenants being knights. The growing non-observance of this traditional obligation by the minor tenants was probably coincident in time with the gradual transfer to the crown of the exclusive right of conferring the honour of chivalry.

This change of custom, however, was not the only cause of the unwillingness which manifestly existed among a large part of the military tenants to undertake, as it was termed, the arms of a knight. The social disorder out of which the feudal institutions had arisen had in a great measure passed away. Under the first Norman sovereigns of England a state of society existed in which every man was upon his guard against violence and aggression, and no knight or freeman was secure in his freehold if he was not prepared to fight in his own defence and in that of his lord. Under more just and stable governments new generations of landowners became less exclusively devoted to the pursuits of war. And a blow was struck at the very heart of feudalism when in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the payment of escuage was substituted for the personal military service due from the tenant. So long as personal service was required, the tenant of a military fee was bound to perform knight's service either by himself or by his substitute. And in the performance of this obligation the attendance of a single knight appears to have been reckoned as equivalent to that of two men-at-arms, not being knights. The feudal value of the individual man-at-arms was therefore doubled by his knighthood, and there can be no doubt that his services, when retained for money, were proportionately recompensed.* The payment of escuage, while it was more convenient to the government, was found by the tenant a far lighter charge than the expense of personal service; and the same inducement now no longer existed for the tenant by knight service to become a knight. The assumption of knighthood was accompanied and followed by considerable expense. Arms of some kind and horses for military service

* In MS. Harl. 61, a collection of charters and other matters relating to the Abbey of Shaftesbury, at fol. 32 is a memorandum that in the year 1257 (41 H. III.), Agnes de Ferrars, Abbess of Shaftesbury, being summoned "with the other barons of England," to come to Chester with her service against the Welsh, sent for her and her house Richard de Holte and Adam de Praores, knights of Cheshire, and Richard de Grimsford and Robert Hereford, serjeants, in lieu of a third knight, to make up the service of three knights due from the convent. So the Bishop of Hereford, in the 10th Edward I. sent to Wales, to perform his service of five knights, two *militēs* and six *servientes*, and in the 31st Edward I. the same service was performed in Scotland by one *miles* and eight *armigeri*. See Bishop Swinfield's Household Book (Camd. Soc.) Append. xvi.

all landowners were obliged to keep, whether they were knights or not. But the knight was, no doubt, expected to be more perfect in his accoutrements, more sumptuous in his horses and attendants. Upon the reception of knighthood from the king a fee was due to the Earl Marshal;^a and the assumption of the dignity was usually celebrated with such expense in dresses and banquets, as well as in the more material preparation of warlike accoutrements, as made the knighting of a son a no less costly event than the marriage of a daughter. The feudal lord was entitled to two ordinary aids from his vassals, an aid *pur fille marier*, and an aid *pur faire fitz chevaler*.^b It should be added that the civil duties of the landowner were considerably increased upon his being elevated to the dignity of knighthood. The office of coroner and of juryman upon the Great Assize, and several other functions in the administration of justice, as well as the duty of representing the shire in Parliament, were in general imposed upon the knights of the county, so long as knights could be found for the purpose. Those of the poorer military tenants whose inclination did not lead them to the pursuit of arms, preferred evading an honour which was unsuited to their peaceful occupations, and which brought with it duties which they would gladly evade, and expenses which they were little able to meet.

King Edward I. appears to have struggled against the growing sluggishness of the age; and the proceedings taken in his reign for the enforcement of knighthood are remarkable for the earnestness with which they appear to be directed to the original object of the institution, the military strength of the kingdom. The first general summons which remains of this reign was issued on the 26th of June, in the sixth year of Edward I., A.D. 1277, and has been already mentioned as presenting some indication that at this period the tenants of the feudatories of the crown were expected to receive knighthood not from the king but from their own lords. But this summons is of importance in another point of view in the history of feudal knighthood. The sheriffs were ordered to distrain all those

^a The Marshal's fee upon the knighting of a baron in the time of Edward I. was his palfrey, or its value according to some customary standard (*antiquum pretium*), and those holding less than an entire barony paid in proportion. But the same fee was due upon doing homage, and if then paid, it was not to be again exacted. *Fleta*, lib. ii. c. 5. See also *Matt. Par. Hist.* p. 716 (ed. 1684).

^b The expense of the reception of knighthood (t. Henry II.) may be in some degree estimated by the following grants of money made by the king to assist persons in undergoing the charge:

Ade de la Mara xiii. *li.* vi. s. viii. *d.* ad faciendum se militem, per breve regis.

Pro armis et apparatu ad duos milites faciendos x. *li.*, per Robertum fil. Sawini. (*Pipe Roll 4 H. II.* pp. 21, 113.)

who had 20*l.* of land or an entire knight's fee of the value of 20*l.* per annum, and held of the king *in capite*, and ought to be knights and were not, to take the arms of knighthood of the king on or before the next Christmas Day; and also to distrain those who had the same amount of land held of other lords to take the same arms on or before the same feast, and to take good and sufficient security from them for their obedience.^a

On the 12th March, 7 Edw. I., 1279, commissions were issued directed to two or more knights in the several shires, to inquire by the oath as well of knights as of other good and lawful men of the county concerning the distresses levied by the sheriffs, and to levy distresses upon those omitted by the sheriffs, and to make fresh distresses upon those already distrained, so that none be spared in this behalf, provided that those who have made fine for respite should not be distrained.^b

The Rolls of Fines of the 6th, 7th, and 8th years of Edward I. show with what severity the obligation was enforced at this time. William de Bukton pays 20*l.* for having respite of knighthood for his life.^c Simon Gower pays 24*l.* for respite of seven years;^d and William Ambesas 40*s.* for respite of a single year.^e

The existing returns of some of the sheriffs show the nature of the points then in dispute upon this branch of the prerogative. The sheriff of Surrey and Sussex returns that "Richard Broad has 15*l.* of lands within the liberties of the Cinque Ports by the service of being the porter of the foreign gate of the Castle of Pevensey, and 100*s.* of land without the said liberties in socage, and he hath not chattels without the said liberties whereby he may be attached, inasmuch as all his chattels are removed within the said liberties." The question whether persons were liable in respect of lands not held by knight's service appears to be here suggested.^f

Another memorandum of the same sheriff raises the question whether a person was liable to the obligation in respect of the land of his wife before his title by the curtesy was completed by the birth of issue of the marriage.

During the reign of Edward I. the right of the crown to enforce the knighting of the military tenants holding not of the crown in chief but of its vassals, appears to have been no longer disputed. The absolute feudal obligation was unquestioned, and though not primarily due to the crown, it could not be denied

^a Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. 214.

^c Ibid. p. 218.

^e Ibid. p. 221.

^b Ibid. p. 219.

^d Ibid. p. 220.

^f Ibid. p. 217.

that the king, if any one, had a material interest in its observance. There still remained the question whether the duty was confined to tenants by knight's service, or should be extended to every description of tenure which was then accounted free. This was a point which in earlier times could have been clearly decided in favour of the exemption of all but tenants by knight's service. When the duty was claimed as a feudal service from the immediate tenants of the crown it could be demanded only by virtue of military tenure. But the admission of the right of the king to call upon tenants paravail as well as tenants in chief made way for the contention, that the duty was one arising not from tenure but from allegiance, and incumbent upon all freeholders capable of sustaining the charge. The instrument commonly known by the name of *Statutum de Militibus* marks the period when the imposition of the duty upon socage tenants was under discussion.

This instrument is of great importance in the history of compulsory knighthood, on account of its being so frequently appealed to in later times as a statutory authority for the exactions of the crown.^a In the form in which it has come down to us it is without date either of day or year, but it has constantly been attributed by lawyers and historians to the 1st year of Edward II.^b This date may be shown to be incorrect, and from the internal evidence which it contains I have little doubt that it belongs to the 6th year of Edward I.^c It

^a See *post*, p. 239. "The prerogative of compelling the king's vassals to be knighted, or to pay a fine, was expressly recognised in Parliament by the Statute *de Militibus*, 1 Edw. II.; was exerted as an expedient for raising money by many of our best princes, particularly by Edward VI. and Elizabeth; but yet was the occasion of heavy murmurs when exerted by Charles I., among whose many misfortunes it was, that neither himself nor his people seemed able to distinguish between the arbitrary stretch and the legal exertion of prerogative." (Blackstone, *Comm.* vol. ii. p. 69.) It is singular that Blackstone should speak of the prerogative as confined to the king's vassals, when neither Coke nor any of the later lawyers or historians treat it as so limited, and in fact it had not been so practised since the thirteenth century. See before, p. 203.

^b Coke, *Inst.* Part ii. p. 593; Blackstone, *Comm.* vol. ii. p. 69.

^c The so-called *Statutum de Militibus* was printed in Berthelet's Collection of Statutes in English, A.D. 1543, under the title of "A Statute for Knights made the firste yere of King Edwarde the Seconde." It appears in Latin in Marshe's *Magna Carta, et cetera antiqua Statuta*, 1556, under the title of "*Statutum de Militibus editum anno 1 Edw. II.*" From this work Lord Coke appears to have reprinted it in his second Institute, the same mis-readings appearing in both. In Cary's "*Statutes at Large*, 1758," it is printed in Latin from MS. Cotton, Claud. D. II. (f. 242), and the date 1 Edw. II. (which does not appear in that MS.) is prefixed to it. In this copy the words *quadraginta libratas terræ* are substituted for *viginti libratas terræ* in describing the knightly census. In the edition of the Statutes published by the Record Commission this instrument is printed from the *Liber Horn*, f. 76, among the *Statuta incerti temporis*, under the title of

appears upon its face to be a royal ordinance made shortly after a general summons for the assumption of knighthood upon the preceding Christmas Day, and after writs of *distringas* had been issued for its enforcement at that time, and commences by a general respite of the distresses till the Utas of Hilary following. It then proceeds to lay down what excuses are to be available for the removal of the distresses in cases where the obligation is disputed. By the second clause, where the possession of land of the value of 20*l.* a year in fee or for term of life is denied, an inquisition is promised to be entrusted to two discreet and lawful knights of the county.

The sixth and seventh clauses deal with the exemptions claimed by tenants in socage. Socage tenants in manors which were then of the ancient demesne of the crown, and whose lands were liable to tallage, were declared to be exempt; but, with reference to the socage tenants of other manors, it was declared that the rolls of the Chancery should be searched, and the usage of former times maintained; and the same was promised in the case of clerks holding lay fees. But it was distinctly provided by the ninth clause that no person should be liable to be distrained for burgage tenements of any amount.

The last clause directs those who ought to be knights and are not, and desire to be excused on account of the short time for which they have been in possession of their estates, or allege disease or old age, or other reasonable excuse, to make their fines before Robert Tibetot and Antony de Beke, who are enjoined according to their discretion to admit reasonable fines of such persons.

With respect to the real nature of this instrument, Lord Coke has the following observation: "This Writ King Edward II. granted in the time of the Parliament, and caused it to be entred of Record, and therefore is here styled by the name of a Statute or Ordinance; and the very frame of the Writ doth prove it to be no Act of Parliament."

This comment appears to be made under the impression that the instrument is to be found in the Statute Roll. This, however, is not the case; and if it be, as I have no doubt it is, of the date of the 6th Edward I., it is prior to anything found upon that Roll, which commences with the Statute of Gloucester, passed in the autumn of that very year. In any case we may so far agree with the great

Statutum de respectu militiæ habendo (vol. i. p. 229). It is remarkable that the ordinance, *De frangentibus prisonam*, which appears among the Pleas and Memoranda of the Parliament 23 Edw. I. is also printed in Berthelet's, Marshe's, and Cary's collections of Statutes as a statute of the 1st Edw. II. Lord Coke reprints it from "our printed books" as of that year, but observes that an Act *totidem verbis* was made anno 23 Edw. I. (Coke, Inst. pt. ii. p. 589.)

authority just quoted as to admit the doubtfulness of its authority as a statute; since there is nothing to show that it was passed in Parliament, or by the advice of any national council. Its exordium is simply *Dominus rex concessit*. It appears rather to be a royal direction, applicable in the first place to the particular circumstances which gave rise to it, but which was no doubt referred to as a precedent upon subsequent occasions.

With respect to its true date, the persons named as commissioners furnish sufficient evidence that it belongs to an earlier time than has been before supposed. Robert de Tibetot appears as engaged in the royal service from the end of the reign of Henry III. until the 26th year of Edward I. when his name disappears from the records, and the name of Payne de Tibetot, who was probably his heir, appears in its stead.^a Antony de Beke is a well-known figure in the history of the times of Edward I. He as well as Robert de Tibetot appear to have been with Edward in the Holy Land before Henry III.'s death, and they are both named among his executors in his will made at Acre on the 10th June 1272.^b In the 3rd year of Edward I. they are again named together as principal assessors of the fifteenths, granted in that year, for the several counties of Norfolk and Lincoln.^c Anthony de Beke was elected Bishop of Durham in the 11th year of Edward I., 9th July, 1283, and died in that bishopric on the 3rd of March 1310. After his elevation he is of course always described by his name of dignity, so that the commission granted to him and Robert de Tibetot, by the so-called *Statutum de Militibus*, cannot have been subsequent to the 11th year of Edward I. We have seen that in the sixth year of that king the circumstances appearing in the instrument in question actually occurred: the general summons then issued was for Christmas; the commissions of two knights for the several counties promised by the instrument were actually issued in the following March; and the two persons named as commissioners for fines were then actively engaged in the service of the crown. It is known that at this Christmas, which was kept by the king in London, there was a large assembly of the principal vassals of the crown, for it was on this occasion that Llewellyn prince of North Wales was brought to London with his chiefs to do homage to the king in the presence of the magnates of the realm.^d There can be little doubt that it was in this meeting of barons that the concession, known as *Statutum de Militibus*, was made.

That the question of the liability of socage tenants was actually in discussion

^a See Parliamentary Writs, t. Edw. I. *passim*.

^b 1 Rymer, Fœdera, 885.

^c Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. 3.

^d Chron. Thom. Wikes, Gale, Hist. vol. ii. p. 106.

in that year is indicated by the returns of the sheriffs already quoted. The so-called *Statutum de Militibus* does not determine this question, except with respect to the tenants in ancient demesne, to whom the term 'sokeman' was especially applied, and who being liable to arbitrary tallage by the king had several immunities from other taxation.^a With respect to socage tenants of other manors, the right was left to be determined by precedent. I do not find any further mention of this claim of exemption. Lord Coke, indeed, asserts broadly that 'those which hold in socage, of what value so ever, ought not to be knights;' and refers to the *Statutum de Militibus* as shewing this.^b In principle the great lawyer was no doubt right, but in practice I think that in later times no such exemption was ever admitted. I can find no sign of it in any of the later books except in this passage of Coke, and no such exemption appears to have been claimed when the matter was discussed in the 17th century.

Another question which the *Statutum de Militibus* was intended to determine, related to the liability of persons having a less interest than a fee in their lands. We have seen in the return of the sheriff of Sussex that it was a question whether a person entitled in right of his wife to lands of the required value was liable before the birth of issue and the consequent initiation of the estate by the curtesy. The exemption claimed by persons in this position appears to have been allowed by the king, who directs that the distress shall cease if any person can prove that he has not 20*l.* of land in fee or for term of his own life. It would seem from this that an ordinary tenant for life was at this time clearly liable, although Lord Coke maintains that by 'tenant for his own life,' in the *Statutum de Militibus*, 'tenant by the curtesy' is intended, and that none but a proprietor having lands which his heir might inherit was liable.^c A writ of the 20th year of Edward I. is limited to tenants in fee, but this was a special indulgence, and the subsequent writs are in more general terms; and it appears from the Parliamentary petitions of the time of Henry VI. that, as late as the 15th century, tenants were held liable for lands held in right of their wives.^d In the 16th and 17th centuries the summonses were addressed only to tenants in fee.

The military spirit of the government of Edward I. is shown by the way in which this branch of the prerogative was made to bend to the great object of the king, to obtain ready assistance from his subjects in his wars.

In the 13th Edward I. A.D. 1285, a general respite was granted to all who

^a See *Termes de la Ley*, sub voce *Sockmans*.

^c Coke, *Inst.* pt. ii. p. 596.

^b Coke, *Inst.* pt. ii. p. 594.

^d *Rot. Parl.* tom. 5, p. 26.

had less than 100*l.* a-year on account of the good service done to the king in the Welsh expedition. In this writ, however, precaution is taken to lay down the general obligation as applicable to all who have 20*l.* of land or a knight's fee of that value.^a In the 20th year of Edward I. a summons was issued which was limited to those who had 40*l.* land *in fee and inheritance*, and had held their land for three years past or more, and ought to be knights;^b and a further writ was issued in the next year commanding the sheriffs to take the lands of defaulters into the king's hand.^c Five years after, the census is again reduced, the summons of the 25th Edward I. being addressed to those who have 30*l.* of land, or an entire knight's fee of that value.^d

About the same time, the king having war on his hands, both in France and Scotland, several commissions of inquiry were directed to see that the richer freeholders were provided with horses and arms. A writ of the 24th year of Edward I. 13 January, 1296, appoints Richard, Earl of Arundel, to inquire whether persons having 40*l.* of land, *as well knights as others*, are provided with horses and arms for the defence of the realm.^e And a writ of the 25th year of Edward I., 24 November, 1296, requires all who have 20*l.* in land, 'as well those who do not hold *in capite* as those who do,' to be similarly provided.^f

I have already observed the signs which indicate that, so early as the reign of Henry III. the feudal chivalry was becoming less numerous. Considerable efforts appear to have been made to support the decaying institution. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the numbers of the knightly class continued to fall off during this and the subsequent reigns.

The returns made by the Sheriffs in 1296 of the persons having 20*l.* a-year and more in land in the several counties are interesting as showing the number of persons then liable to these feudal obligations, and the proportion among them of those who were actually knights. In most of the returns the knights are not distinguished from the others having 20*l.* a-year, but in the return for the county of Northampton^g the tenants are arranged in five classes. The knights are ninety-seven in number; the clerks having lay fees are eleven; the *armigeri* are forty-

^a Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. 249.

^b 6th Feb. 20 Edw. I. (1292), Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. 257.

^c 2nd Jan. 21 Edw. I. (1293), Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. 258.

^d Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. 280.

^e Ibid. vol. i. p. 278.

^f Ibid. vol. i. p. 280.

^g Ibid. vol. i. p. 288.

one; women, as well secular as religious, are thirty; abbots and priors thirty-seven.

These returns may be compared with those of twenty-six years later, when writs were issued dated the 20th June, 15 Edward II. 1322, to summon all bannerets, knights, esquires (*armigeros*), and other men-at-arms to meet the King at Newcastle, on the vigil of St. James, to march against the Scots. The return for the county of Northampton, which it would have been interesting to compare with that of 1296, is not preserved; but the returns for other counties show a much less proportion of knights as compared with other men-at-arms than existed in the preceding generation. In Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, for which counties the returns are apparently most complete, the bannerets and knights are twenty-seven in each, the *armigeri* and *homines ad arma* sixty-eight and sixty. For Cambridgeshire only six knights are returned, one with the King, four *senes et impotentes*, and the sixth *in prisona*,—and eleven *armigeri*. In the schedules of names returned on this occasion of the several counties the *banereti et milites* are generally classed together, the *armigeri* and *homines ad arma* filling another list, and the latter class is always the more numerous of the two. But Drew de Barentyn, Sheriff of Berkshire and Oxfordshire, makes a more careful return,^a showing in Oxfordshire three bannerets, ten knights, eighteen esquires, and nine men-at-arms; and in Berkshire four bannerets, eight knights, four esquires, and ten men-at-arms. It is a remarkable proof of the vicissitudes of property in that age that of the forty-one military tenants, including the sheriff, returned for Oxfordshire in 1322, eight only have surnames which are to be found in the list of fifty-eight principal tenants in the same county made six-and-twenty years before.

In the last year but one of Edward the First's reign a summons was issued for the creation of knights, which did not aim, even as a secondary object, at bringing money into the royal exchequer, but was conceived in the genuine spirit of chivalry. Scotland was in insurrection, and the King was resolved to strain every nerve to re-establish his authority in that country. The knighting of the Prince of Wales furnished the occasion of demanding an aid from his subjects, and the same opportunity was seized for propagating a martial spirit among the gentry. Proclamation was made that all those who were not knights and would become knights should come to London before the next Whitsuntide (the day fixed for the knighting of the Prince) to receive from the royal wardrobe of the king's bounty the apparel necessary for their condition, in order that they might be

^a Parl. Writs, vol. ii. div. 2, p. 592.

ready to take the arms of knighthood at the King's hands upon the day named.^a This summons was not addressed to the holders of any quantity of land, nor in any way limited in its terms, though it would of course be understood as applying only to those of the military caste. Its principal object was to gather round the King the rising generation of warriors, who during their fathers' lives would not be bound by law to become knights. We learn from Matthew of Westminster that the royal wardrobe was to supply all their military furniture except their mounts;^b and that three hundred youths, sons of earls, barons, and knights answered the summons, and that purple cloth and fine linen and gold embroidered tunics were lavishly distributed according to the royal promise. The Prince kept his vigil in Westminster Abbey, the young nobles in the Temple Church, being lodged in booths and tents in the Temple garden; and the ceremony of conferring knighthood upon the other aspirants was performed by the Prince after he had himself received his spurs.^c

It was during the reign of Edward II. that the knightly census was fixed at that amount (40*l.* a year) at which it remained with little deviation until the abolition of compulsory knighthood. In the beginning of the reign of Edward I. knighthood had been enforced upon freeholders of 20*l.* In the latter years of the same king, 40*l.* and 30*l.* were considered a more suitable revenue for the next generation of knights. The first summons which is known of the reign of Edward II. is dated in his sixth year, and fixes the limit at 40*l.*

The ninth year of Edward II. furnishes a solitary example of a general summons for knighthood, expressed to be made by the assent of Parliament. Upon that occasion the census was fixed at 50*l.* a year, and those only were to be called upon, who had held their estates for a whole year preceding. This may be probably taken as expressing the opinion of the community at that time, as to the class of persons who were capable of sustaining the charge and dignity of knighthood.^d

^a Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. 374. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. 1052.

^b *Admissuri singuli omnem ornatum militarem, præter equitaturam, de regia garderoba.* (Matth. Westmon. 454.) As to their encampment, see Arch. Journ. vol. xii. p. 137.

^c See Matth. Westmon. p. 454. The actual number knighted was 267; see Ashmole's Hist. Garter. pp. 37, 38, where the names of the knights are given. Rymer gives the form of the writ directing the proclamation (*Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1052), but has placed it in the year 1307 (35 Edw. I.), instead of 1306 (34 Edw. I.). Carte cites it from the Close Rolls 34 Edw. I. m. 16 d. (Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. ii. p. 296.)

^d *Proclamatio facta super armis militaribus suscipiendis:—*

Rex Vicecomiti Ebor. salutem. Quia in Parlamento nostro apud Linc. ultimo convocato de communi consilio nostro extitit concordatum quod omnes illi de regno nostro qui habent l. libratas terre vel redditus, aut feodum unius militis integrum valens quinquaginta libras per annum, et eas per annum integrum

The later writs, however, of Edward II., return to the former census of 40l.^a And the same limit was maintained in subsequent reigns.^b

There would be no great interest in pursuing the subject of compulsory knighthood in detail through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The feudal military organization was rapidly decaying. In the French wars of Edward III. hired captains and hired soldiers took the place of the feudal militia of a former age. The character of the institution of knighthood itself underwent a change. After the period of the Crusades, knighthood was divested of much of its legal and feudal nature, and assumed that more personal and romantic character which we associate with the name of chivalry.^c The aspect under which knighthood is

tenuerunt, sive de nobis sive de alio teneant, et milites non sunt, arma militaria suscipiant citra festum Sancte Trinitatis proximum futurum vel in eodem festo ad ultimum; tibi precipimus firmiter injungentes quod in pleno comitatu tuo ex parte nostra publice facias proclamari quod omnes illi de balliva tua qui habent l. libratas terre vel redditus aut feodum unius militis integrum valens l. libras per annum et eas per annum integrum tenuerunt de quocunque teneant et milites non sunt, arma militaria suscipiant citra festum supradictum vel in eodem festo, ut est dictum. Et de nominibus omnium illorum qui tantum terre vel redditus sive hujusmodi feodum in balliva tua habent et ea tenuerunt, sicut predictum est, nobis sub sigillo tuo constare facias in festo supradicto, remittens nobis hec brevia. Et scias quod de gestu tuo in executione hujus mandati nostri diligenter inquirere volumus, et extremum remedium super hoc fieri faciemus. T. Rege apud Linc. xxviiij. die Febr.

Consimiles litere diriguntur singulis vicecomitibus per Angliam. (Parliamentary Writs, &c. vol. ii. p. 464.)

^a Parliamentary Writs, vol. ii. p. 657, 670, 735.

^b Cl. 7 Ed. III., pt. 2, m. 14. (Selden's Collectanea in MS. Hale, xii.)

Pro Rege de finibus capiendis ab illis qui ordinem militem ante festum proclamatum non susceperunt.

Rex Thesaurario et Baronibus suis de Scaecario salutem. Tenores quorundem brevium nostrorum singulis Vicecomitibus nostris per Angliam directorum ad proclamandum quod omnes illi qui quadraginta libratas terre vel redditus per annum habent et eas

per tres annos integros tenuerunt ordinem suscipere militem ante festum Sancte Trinitatis proximo preteritum vel in eodem festo ad ultimum, ac retorna dictorum Vicecomitum facta ad eadem vobis mittimus, in quodam rotulo sub sigillo Venerabilis Patris Willelmi, Archiepiscopi Eboracensis, custodis sigilli nostri, mandantes quod visis tenoribus et retornis predictis Vicecomites predictos quos in executione mandatorum nostrorum negligentes inveneritis vel remissos juxta eorum delicta per amerciamenta et aliis modis quibus expedire videritis puniatis, et fines omnium illorum qui juxta proclamationem predictam ordinem ante festum predictum vel in eodem festo suscipere debuerant militem et nequaquam susceperant, tam pro transgressionibus hujusmodi quam pro respectu de armis militaribus suscipiendis habendo, capiatis, et nihilominus de nominibus aliorum qui per Vicecomites predictos retornati non fuerunt et qui quadraginta libratas terre vel redditus per annum habent sicut predictum est et milites non sunt per singulos Vicecomites regni nostri si opus fuerit diligenter inquire faciat, et de ipsis consimiles fines in forma predicta capiatis, prout juxta discretionem vestram fore videritis facientes. Et hoc nullatenus omittatis. T. R. apud Havring atte Bower xv. die Octobris.

^c Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 485 (7th ed.).

presented to us in the narrative of Froissart, is that of a brotherhood of arms, to which it is the highest distinction for prince or noble to belong, rather than as a service arising from feudal obligation. In the picture of England at the end of the fourteenth century, given us by Chaucer, in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, the character of the knight is somewhat that of a knight errant; but his feudal relation is not altogether forgotten:—

Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre.

On the other hand, the Frankleyn or country gentleman, although he had been sheriff and knight of the shire, and is called by the author 'a worthy vavassour,' was not a knight. Doubtless he had frequently made fine for having respite of knighthood.

Camden gives it as his opinion, that from the time of Henry III. none were created knights in England except by the King himself, or the King's eldest son by authority from his father, or by the King's representative or general in the army, and that for exploits already performed or to be performed, or for their services in the cabinet.^a This would apparently imply that feudal and enforced knighthood ceased from the time of Henry III. which we have already seen appears to be scarcely in accordance with the evidence of our records. It is difficult, however, to determine at what period the summonses for the reception of knighthood were distinctly recognised to be merely a formal preliminary to the imposition of a fine.

During the period when knighthood was losing its feudal character, the number of knights in the country became much diminished. I have already expressed the opinion that as early as the middle of the thirteenth century the feudal militia was beginning to decay, and the obligation of knighthood to be evaded by the minor military tenants; and I have shown by a comparison of the sheriffs' returns of the time of the First and Second Edwards, that the chivalry of the country, was, in the fourteenth century, rapidly diminishing. Our legal memorials furnish evidence to the same effect. Owing to the diminished number of knights, a difficulty was experienced in several counties in carrying out that part of the judicial system for which juries of knights were required.^b In the second year of Edward III., the admissibility of esquires, or 'serjeants' as they were called, to form part of the panel in the Great Assise, was established, but the four knights charged with the selection of the jury were ordered to choose

^a Camden's *Britannia* (Gough's translation), vol. i. p. cxlii.

^b See *ante*, p. 201.

no serjeant as long as they could find suitable knights.^a In the 39th Edward III. in a writ of right concerning the Castle of Bastelhall—I know not in what county—the sheriff was unable to find more than two knights exclusive of those who were of affinity to the one party or the other.^b And in the 7th Henry IV. a sheriff—in what county does not appear—made a return that there were no knights capable of serving, but only burgesses. It is somewhat characteristic of our jurisprudence, that the judges refused to recognize the change of circumstances thus brought to their notice, and amerced the sheriff for an insufficient return. Upon the issue of a new writ, four so-called knights were returned, and twelve more elected by them from the county. It would seem that upon the second return, the sheriff, instructed by experience, returned gentlemen or burgesses, under the name of knights, and no objection was allowed to be taken on account of the false description.^c And the practice, thus settled, continued to be observed up to our own time.^d

In the middle of the fifteenth century the practice of summoning the 40*l.* freeholders to become knights still continued, and that at very short intervals, but apparently with no other object than the exaction of the pecuniary penalty. The Rolls of Parliament of the reign of Henry VI. furnish evidence that these exactions were felt as a grievance at that time, but the utmost that the Commons ask by way of relief is, that the same person should not be twice fined. A petition of the Commons in the 18th year of Henry VI. set forth, “That divers of the king’s lieges made their fines in the 9th year of his reign for not receiving knighthood, and again in the 17th year of his reign, albeit that divers of them were not seised of lands or rents to the value of 40*l.* yearly, but in right of their wives; and prayed that it might be ordained in Parliament that he who had once made his fine should be thereafter discharged, and that the fines should not exceed similar fines in former times.” The King’s answer was, “Le Roy s’advisera.”^e Ten years afterwards the Commons adopted an expedient, which has been found useful in later times, of tacking a relieving clause to a grant of supply. In the Bill for a subsidy passed in the 28th year of Henry VI. they inserted the provision, that no person that should be charged with any payment to any part of the subsidy should be compelled or distrained to take the

^a Year Book, 2 Edw. III. p. 18. Dugdale, by an error singular in such a man, refers to this Year Book, in proof of the privileges of Sergeants at Law. (Dugdale’s Orig. Jurid. p. 110.)

^b Year Book, 39 Edw. III. p. 2.

^c Year Book, 7 H. IV. pp. 3, 20.

^d See note *ante*, p. 201.

^e Rot. Parl. vol. v. p. 26.

order of knighthood for two years next following.^a At this period the fact that a tenant of land was serving the King in the capacity of serjeant-at-law seems to have been allowed, or at least to have been pleaded, as a bar to the obligation of knighthood.^b

It was a doctrine established by our lawyers in the fifteenth century, that the style of a knight "is a name of dignity and of the inferior degree of nobility, and therefore is parcel of his name,"^c and it was held to be a consequence of this doctrine, that if a writ in an action at law was taken out by a person in his own name without addition, and he became a knight during the pendency of the action, the writ should abate for *misnomer*. This inconvenient rule of the law courts gave rise to a provision in the statute of the 4th Henry VI., that the writs and suits of persons who were made knights by the King during that Parliament should not abate in consequence of their acquisition of dignity. The legality of the rule was discussed in the Common Pleas in the 7th year of the same king, when the statute of three years before was referred to as a proof of the law as understood by the lords and judges at that time. The observations of the Chief Justice in this case contain an anecdote, which is curious as showing that the Government began at this time to be occasionally pressed with the inconvenience of knighthood being demanded, in accordance with the royal summons, by persons whose birth and station made them unfit to receive it. The plaintiff in the action had voluntarily accepted the dignity of knighthood, but it was very reasonably argued by his serjeant that he ought not to suffer for doing that which, if he had not voluntarily done, he was compellible by law to do. Chief Justice Babington, in answer to this argument, is reported to have said: "At the Parliament held at Leicester, it was ordained that the writs of knights made at that time should not abate, and yet none of them were made against their will; and the lords and justices understood the law such at that time. And I know that the King can compel people of 40*l.* of inheritance to be made knights, and that by writs which shall issue out of the Exchequer; and if they

^a Rot. Parl. tom. v. p. 173 See further Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 389. (35 H. VI. 1457.)

^b See Dugdale's *Origines*, p. 137, (citing Comm. term. Mich. 9 H. VI. Rot. 14 dors). where it is said that Rolfe, Serjeant, made use of this plea. But Sir Edward Littleton, Charles I.'s Solicitor-General, in arguing the Ship-money case, is represented as asserting that judges were not exempted from being made knights; (referring to Trin. 5 Ed. IV. Moyle, 13 H. IV. f. 23); and that clergymen were compelled, nay even a serjeant at common law sworn at Common Pleas was compellable: that Sir John Hulbert in Henry VII.'s time was compelled to be a knight; and that (9 or 29 H. VI.) Rolfe, a stout serjeant, pleaded that he was a serjeant at common law, and not bound to be a knight, *but he was forced to it*. (State Trials, vol. iii. p. 930, ed. 1809.)

^c See Coke, *Inst.* pt. 2, p. 594.

appear not at the first day, but come afterwards ready to take the order and honour, *de rigore juris* ought they not to be received, but shall make fine for contumacy and deceit. And once writs issued for men who could expend 40*l.*, and the second day came a great burgess of Southwark, who could expend an hundred marks, and they were in great doubt how by law they could waive him, and at last it was void, inasmuch as he came at the second day." Upon the point before it, the Court appears to have doubted whether, if the knighthood was compulsory, and 'the law threw the name upon him,' the plaintiff's writ should abate, but, since in the principal case no compulsion was alleged, 'opinio curiæ fuit clerement, que le brief abatra.'^a

An Act of Parliament was passed in the 19th year of Henry VII., which after reciting the King's determination that Prince Harry Duke of York should be created Prince (of Wales), "for the encrease, honour, lawde, and tryumphe of the whiche creacion dyvers of the King's subjectts are commaunded by the King's Highnesse accordyng to his moste honorable lawes to take upon them the honour and degree of knyghthode at the tyme of the said creacion," enacted that the knights made upon this occasion, and every other person that shall happen hereafter to be made knight in such like case or otherwise by the King or his successors, should be able to pursue their actions without abatement.^b It is remarkable, however, that this statute, which was clearly intended to apply to all future creations as well as to the occasion for which it was passed, appears to have been entirely overlooked, and the practice in the courts of law continued as before.^c The Act did not appear in any printed collection of the statutes, until the recent edition of the Statutes of the Realm.

The right of imposing fines for neglecting to take the order of knighthood was not likely to escape the notice of the ministers of Henry VII.; and this method of exacting money appears to have been employed in the year 1500,^d and very probably on other occasions during this reign. Rymer has printed a writ, dated 7th December, 1500, which seems to show that the fines were at that period rigorously exacted. It recites the issue of summonses to become knights, and the imperfect returns made by the sheriffs of persons liable to this duty, and requires the sheriffs to make complete returns of all persons within their counties having 40*l.* a year in land and not being knights.^e But among the less defensible

^a Year Book 7 Hen. VI. 15.

^b Stat. 19 Hen. VII. c. 31 (printed in the Statutes of the Realm).

^c See Dyer's Reports, 35 H. VIII. p. 55b; Coke's Reports, pt. vii. p. 27b.

^d Carte's History, vol. ii. p. 857.

^e Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 770.

extortions practised by the Crown at that period, this time-honoured abuse does not seem to have attracted much attention.

It appears from the Records of the Exchequer, that a general summons to the 40*l.* freeholders was issued in the first year of Henry VIII. and that some proceedings were taken in the Exchequer for obtaining fines from defaulters.^a It is probable that upon this occasion the penalties were not very rigorously exacted. When the tax was revived, twenty-three years after, upon the occasion of the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533, the fines were more strictly enforced, and the matter has attracted the notice of historians.

We read in Hall's Chronicle, under the 24th year of Henry VIII., that the King appointed the coronation of Anne Boleyn to be kept on Whit Sunday, "And writynges wer sent to all shrives to certifie the names of menne of fourtie ponde to receive the ordre of knighthod or els to make a fine, the assesment of whiche fines were appoynted to Thomas Cromwell, whiche so pollitikely handeled the matter that he raised of that sessyng of fines a greate somme of money to the kynges use."

A curious error is made in Carte's History of England, where the author, in defending the measures of Charles I., states that writs of summons for knighthood were issued in the 37th year of Henry VIII., in which the qualification was reduced to 20*l.*^b There is no copy of any such writ in the record to which he refers, and the statement probably arose from a misreading by the author of some note or memorandum in his possession of the writ of the 37th Henry III. already mentioned.^c Mr. Carte refers to this imaginary summons of Henry VIII. as "the last of those triennial summonses which gave occasion to the mandate being restrained to such as had been three years in possession of their estates." This description appears to contain a further error both in matter of fact and theory. It is true that the summonses in later times were confined to those who had held their estates for three years; but there is no ground for supposing that summonses for knighthood were ever issued triennially. Wherever consecutive summonses can be traced, they appear to be issued at quite irregular intervals and at various periods of the year. The origin of the limitation appears to have

^a Communia, Mich. 1 H. VIII.; do. Hil. 1 H. VIII.; abstracted by Selden, Hale MS. xii. in Lincoln's Inn Library.

^b Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. iv. p. 148.

^c Mr. Carte refers to Clans. 37 H. VIII. m. 25 dors. and says that the writ is dated at Clarendon, November 7, and required attendance at the following Easter. There appears to be no endorsement upon the Close Roll of 37 Henry VIII., and Clarendon had long ceased to be a royal residence. The reader will see the origin of the mistake in the writ given *ante*, p. 205.

been the indulgence granted by Edward I. at a time when the service of knighthood involved considerable preparation and expense. In the *Statutum de Militibus* the fact of having recently come into possession of the land was admitted as a reason for allowing a respite upon payment of a fine. And in the later summonses of Edward I. and in those of Edward II. a general respite was allowed to all who had lately acquired their estates. The period fixed was sometimes one, sometimes two, and sometimes three years. The last appears to have been finally adopted in the common forms used in the Chancery or Exchequer, and is found in the writs issued in the reign of Charles I.

Under Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, proclamations were made before the several coronations for gentlemen of 40*l.* a-year to come in and receive their knighthood. And there is evidence that in the two former reigns some proceedings were taken to make a profit by the defaulters. Among the state papers of the first year of Edward VI. is a list of the names of such persons certified by the sheriffs as have not compounded for their fines for knighthood;^a and among the papers cited by Mr. Noy in his MS. notes upon the legal proceedings in the matter of knighthood-money hereafter mentioned, is a paper in the Exchequer dated the first year of Mary, being a schedule of 'the tax of those who took not the order of knighthood according to the proclamations.'^b

It is evident that in the 16th century the practice of summoning landowners to become knights had come to be regarded as a somewhat obsolete custom which required the excuse of a coronation or similar national festival to justify its occasional revival. Sir Thomas Smith in his Commonwealth of England alludes to it as follows: "*Census Equester* was among the Romans at divers times of divers value; but in England whosoever may dispend of his free lands forty pounds sterling of yearly revenue, by an old law of England, either at the coronation of the King, marriage of his daughter, or at the dubbing of the prince a knight, or some such great occasion, may be by the King compelled to take that order and honour, or to pay a fine, which many, not so desirous of honour as of riches, had rather disburse. Some, who for causes are not thought worthy of that honour and yet have ability, neither be made knights, though they would, and yet pay the fine of forty pounds sterling at that time when this order was made, which maketh now a hundred and twenty pounds of current money of England."^c I cannot find any other authority for the amount at which the fine is here stated, or for the mode of dealing with those not thought worthy of the honour.

^a Calendar of State Papers, 1547—1580, p. 5.

^b Lansdowne MS. 253, p. 456.

^c Smith, Commonwealth of England, lib. i, cap. 18.

By the end of Elizabeth's reign compulsory knighthood was regarded, even in the law courts, as a thing of the past. Lord Coke, in his Report of Sir Hugh Portman's case (Pasch. 40 Eliz.), in discussing the abatement of the plaintiff's writ in a *quare impedit*, which was still held to be a consequence of his becoming a knight, says that it is peremptory; "for, as we see by common experience in these times, the same is the plaintiff's act, and none is forced or compelled to it."^a The writer little thought at this time that he would see before his death the exactions of the thirteenth century revived under the pretence of a neglect of this obsolete duty.

It is well known that Elizabeth was sparing of her honours, and knighthood came to be regarded during the course of her long reign as a more valuable distinction than it had previously been considered. Hence, in the commencement of the reign of her successor, there was no lack of gentlemen anxious to receive from his more lavish hands the honours of chivalry. Two thousand three hundred and twenty-three gentlemen are said to have been knighted in this reign, after the King's accession to the English crown, of whom about nine hundred were created in the first year.^b On his journey from Scotland he had already dubbed two hundred and thirty knights before he arrived in London.^c Among the other preparations for his coronation, proclamations were made in the ancient form for all who possessed 40*l.* a year to come in and receive their knighthood. And at the same time a commission was issued to the Earl Marshal and others authorising them to make preparations for the creation of the Knights of the Bath, who had been "specially called," and also to knight such persons as should be named by the King or thought meet by the commissioners, not exceeding three score in the whole.^d A similar commission had been issued on the occasion of the last coronation, when the number was limited to thirty.^e

On the 23rd of July, 1603, two days before the coronation, the King bestowed the knightly salute upon the almost incredible number of four hundred gentlemen. The names of these gentlemen are to be found in Nichols's Progresses of King James I., vol. i. p. 205; and they are supposed by that author to have

^a Coke, Reports, Part vii. p. 27b.

^b Philipot's Catalogue of Knights made by King James I. Nichols's Progresses of James I. vol. i. p. 54. Spelman states that at Elizabeth's death there were scarcely three hundred knights in all England. (Reliq. Spelm. p. 179.)

^c Nichols's Progresses of James I. p. 120.

^d Rymer, Fœdera, vol. xv. pp. 530, 533.

^e Rymer, vol. xv. p. 497.

attended in obedience to the general proclamations issued a few days before. I think it more probable that the four hundred were selected by the government from the principal gentry of the various counties. There is a curious letter from the Shrewsbury Papers printed in Lodge's *Illustrations of History*, which seems to indicate that special invitations were directed to persons not known at court, and shows that the honour of knighthood was at this period much coveted and prized. The writer, Henry Tamworthe, pleads with the Earl of Shrewsbury for a cousin and friend who was "called at the coronation," and made default from some accidental cause, but who still desires to become a knight, having paid most of his fees, and is willing to pay something beyond for securing the honour. It seems that 100*l.* had been agreed to be paid to Sir William Stewart for "perfecting the suit," but the writer is anxious that the price should be "drawn down," but if this cannot be done it must go forward, and upon perfecting the work he promises that his servant "shall make an assured payment at one hour's warning."^a

Mr. Nichols is not alone in his supposition that the profuse creation of knights before the coronation of King James I. was caused by the attendance of the freeholders in obedience to the general proclamations. The same opinion has been adopted by Mr. Hallam, who supposes that the object of the proclamation was to raise money from those who thought the honour too troublesome and expensive; "but such as chose to appear," he adds, "could not be refused, and this accounts for the king having made so many knights during the first year of his reign."^b In another of his notes the same author confesses that there is some difficulty about the matter which he cannot clear up, nor comprehend why 'the title,' if it could be had for asking, was so continually declined, unless it were that the fees of knighthood greatly exceeded the composition. "Perhaps," he suggests, "none were admitted to the honour who could not prove their gentility, though the fine was extorted from them."^c

We have seen that it had been customary at the commencement of several previous reigns to issue the same general summons to the 40*l.* freeholders, but I think there is reason to doubt whether for a century and a half at the least this formal summons was intended to be literally understood by those to whom it was addressed. I have already mentioned Chief Justice Babington's anecdote of the burgess of Southwark, and of the perplexity into which the court was thrown in consequence of the proclamation being taken by this worthy *au pied de la lettre*.

^a Lodge, *Illustrations of History*, vol. iii. p. 229.

^b Hallam, *Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 461 (note).

^c *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 13 (note).

This was as far back as 1429. The distinction between gentle and roturier had never been very clearly defined in England. The very lands (or knight's fees), the possession of which had originated the obligation, and which on the continent would have been reckoned as *terres nobles* or *Rittergüter*, and not permitted to be purchased except by gentlemen, were indifferently held by nobles and yeomen, and tenure by socage was so far more advantageous that no one was anxious to hold by military service. "Though," says Coke, "it were in ancient times a badge of gentry to hold by knight's service, yet now *tempora mutantur*, and many a yeoman, burgess, or tradesman, purchaseth lands holden by knight's service, and yet," he adds, "ought not to be made a knight."^a And if the heraldic distinction of gentry had been adopted, and knighthood refused to any who could not produce his coat of arms, still the ancient census of 40*l.* a year had become altogether unsuited to the fortunes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I believe that the summonses which usually preceded the coronation had been considered for several reigns a mere formality, except so far as they may have been used as a means of levying a small tax upon the land-owners, and that the persons actually knighted upon these occasions were always selected by the government. The form of writs ordering the usual proclamations before the intended coronation of Edward V., in 1483, and also the special summons then addressed by name to fifty gentlemen to receive the honour of knighthood, are preserved.^b Upon the several occasions during the Tudor reigns when general summonses are known to have been issued I do not find any large number of knights actually created. I have mentioned the proclamations made by Henry VII. in 1500, which, so far as the fines were concerned, seem to have been rigorously enforced. But in the list (which appears tolerably full) of knights made by this monarch, preserved in the Cotton Collection, there are no creations at all between 1497 and 1501. On occasion of the coronation of Anne Boleyn, when a general summons was again issued, in addition to eighteen knights of the Bath, only twenty-one knights appear to have been actually made "with the sworde," all of them persons of distinguished names.^c At the coronation of Edward VI. forty knights were made "by his Highness being crowned." These were "knights nominate of the Bath," but not created with the usual ceremonies, "because the time was so short;" and no other knights bachelors were

^a Coke, *Inst.* pt. ii. p. 595.

^b MS. Harl. 433, printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. pp. 181, 185, and in *Grants, &c. of King Edward V.* (Camden Soc. 1854), pp. xxxii. 23, 70.

^c MS. Cotton. Claud. C. iii.

created.^a Before the coronations of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth commissions were issued to the Earl of Arundel to make knights, but the number was limited on the first occasion to threescore, and on the latter to thirty, and the persons were to be such as the Queen should name or as the commissioner should think meet.^b In fact less than thirty knights appear to have been made at Queen Elizabeth's coronation. It seems most probable that the general proclamations, which were latterly confined to the times of coronations, were universally understood, so far as concerned the reception of the dignity, as restrained in their interpretation by the special summonses issued at the same time.

After the general summons issued by King James a commission was issued, also according to the precedents of the commencements of previous reigns, for compounding with those who had failed to obey the summons.^c It does not appear whether any proceedings were taken under this commission. I am disposed to think that none were taken.

It has indeed been assumed by several modern historians that the proclamations for the creation of knights at the commencement of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. were made by those sovereigns for the purpose of raising money by the fines of defaulters. Mr. Hallam, speaking of the exactions of the time of Charles, says that Elizabeth, once in her reign, had availed herself of this ancient right.^d And we have seen that he assumes the object of the proclamation of James the First was to raise money from those who thought the honour too troublesome and expensive.^e

Hume, in defending the measures of King Charles I., says that King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth had both made use of this expedient for raising money, and that "the law was pretended to be obsolete, though only one reign had intervened since the last execution of it."^f It is a curious illustration of the carelessness of this historian, that, although he cites Rymer's *Fœdera* as his authority for the acts of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, he had not discovered the similar proceedings of the first year of James I., which are also to be found in the same collection, and which, according to his view of their object, would have so materially strengthened his argument.

^a Coronation of King Edward, printed in *Literary Remains of King Edward VI.* (Roxburghe Club, 1858), p. cexix. See also MS. Cotton. Claud. C. iii. f. 151.

^b Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 497.

^c *Ibid.* vol. xvi. p. 530. See vol. xv. p. 504.

^d Hallam, *Constitutional History*, vol. ii. p. 13. See also Brodie, *Hist. of British Empire*, vol. ii. p. 283.

^e *Ibid.* vol. i. page 461 (note).

^f Hume, *History of England*, vol. vi. cap. 52, p. 294 (ed. 8vo. 1802).

If Mr. Hallam's supposition is correct that the obligation of assuming knighthood was made the occasion of exacting money from defaulters in the time of James I. it is remarkable that no evidence of any such proceedings has appeared. Such a precedent would have been fresh in the recollection of men in the following reign, and yet I find no reference made to it. Clarendon, in his qualified defence of the proceedings of Charles, speaks of it as the revival of an obsolete law.^a In such notices as I have been able to find of the legal proceedings in this matter in Charles's time no reference is made to any precedents of the preceding reign. And in the ship-money case, where the right of enforcing knighthood is mentioned in the argument of the Solicitor-General Sir Edward Littleton, the precedents cited by him are all of an ancient date. The practice of the Government of King Charles I. offers no support to the supposition that any profit had arisen from this usage in the preceding reign, for, as we shall see, the financial use made of the general proclamations issued at the coronation of Charles appears to have been an afterthought. On the other hand, King James, in his speech to the Parliament 21st March, 1609, alludes to his liberality in making knights at the commencement of his reign in a manner which would have been altogether inappropriate if the creation of so large a number had been part of a scheme for raising money. After apologising for the great cost of his government, and for his own profuseness, he adds: "But that vastness of my expence is past, which I used the first two or three years after my coming hither. And, as I ort used to say, Christmas and open tide is ended; for at my first coming here, partly ignorance of this state, and partly the form of my coming being so honourable and miraculous, enforced me to extend my liberality so much the more at the beginning. Ye saw me make knights then by hundreths, and barons in great numbers, but I hope you find I do not so now, nor mind not to do so hereafter."^b

And Sir Richard Baker, who was himself one of the knights created in the first year of James, after having expressly mentioned, as his predecessors Hall and Holinshed had done, the fines levied upon pretence of knighthood by King Henry VIII. on the occasion of the coronation of Anne Boleyn, makes no mention of any subsequent exactions of a similar kind, and speaks of King James's proceedings in a manner which does not lead one to suspect that the lavish distribution of honours in the first year of his reign was in any way connected either with the feudal obligation or with the profits of the Exchequer.

^a Clarendon's Rebellion, Book I. vol. i. p. 119 (ed. 1826).

^b King James's Works (fol. 1616), p. 542.

“The King,” he says, “carried himself most affable, and distributed his favours in most plenteous manner, especially in conferring the order of knighthood. . . . At Theobalds he made eight-and-twenty, of which number the compiler of this work, though the unworthiest, was one, at the Charter House above four score, and not many days after no fewer than at least a hundred, and before the year went out God knows how many hundreds, that one would wonder what the king would do with so many *milites*, having no war toward. But it was indeed fit to give a vent to the passage of honour, which during Queen Elizabeth’s reign had been so stopped that scarce any county of England had knights enow to make a jury.”^a

Lord Coke’s Commentary on the *Statutum de militibus*, in the second part of his Institutes, was not published until after the death of the author, who lived to see the revival of the exaction of ‘knighthood-money,’ but not its abolition. It is probable, however, from internal evidence, that his commentary was written before the excitement which was caused by this abuse; and it is remarkable that his precedents and authorities are all of an ancient date, and there is nothing which would lead a reader to suppose that the power of fining defaulters had been exercised within his own recollection.

It is true that some profit appears to have been derived from the creation of knights, when the honour was sold to those who were anxious to obtain it. This profit, however, found its way into the hands of courtiers rather than into those of the King, and I do not know that it is in any way proved that simple knighthood was directly sold by the crown in the reign of James I. The letter of Henry Tamworth, which shows that 100*l.* was promised to a courtier for obtaining the honour, has been already mentioned. And among the State Papers calendared by Mr. Bruce is a letter from William Bruce to the Queen in 1603, praying her interest with the King that he may have the profit of making four knights or two serjeants-at-law. We may perhaps conclude from this that if the power of recommending a knight was worth 100*l.* the patronage of a serjeant was expected to produce twice that amount.

The fees paid to the King’s servants and heralds upon receiving the honour of knighthood during the latter part of the reign of James I., and which remained without alteration during the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., usually amounted to between 60*l.* and 70*l.*^b

I now come to the history of the last and most memorable summons for the

^a Baker’s Chronicle, p. 402.

^b I am indebted to Thomas William King, Esq. F.S.A. York Herald, for this information. Several accounts of fees due from new-made knights (t. Jac. I. et Car. I.) are preserved in the collections at Heralds’

assumption of knighthood. Before the coronation of Charles I., in 1625, the customary proclamations were directed to be made for the knighting of all persons having 40*l.* a year in land.^a The writs were made returnable on the 31st January, 1626. The letter of Lord Keeper Coventry to the Secretary Conway, dated the 30th of December, 1625, in which the writer sends, for the King's signature, the warrant authorising the general summons to be issued, is abstracted in the recently published Calendar of State Papers. The writer represents that it is usual at coronations to summon gentlemen of likelihood to come and take the degree of knighthood; and states that the warrant sent for signature is similar to the one which passed in the King's father's time. It is a curious fact that in the Secretary's answer, written at Hampton Court the same day, he states that the King refuses to sign the warrant.^b The reason for this refusal is not mentioned, but it may be conjectured that the new King was not desirous of following any precedent of the previous reign with respect to the distribution of honours, and was shocked at a proposition which appeared to bind him to confer the distinction of knighthood upon persons of so humble a class. His objections were probably removed by the explanation that the summons was part of the ordinary formalities of the coronation, and that it was not intended to be acted upon in its literal sense.

The multitude of knights created by King James before his coronation has, as we have seen, given some colour to the supposition that the proclamations were at that time literally understood. It is quite clear that in the time of Charles nothing was done in obedience to them. If we may give credit to an apparently full list of knights made by King Charles between 1625 and 1633, preserved in the Harleian collection, none were made between the 29th of December, 1625, and the 12th of April, 1626.^c In the preamble to the statute, passed at the commencement of the Long Parliament by which the custom was abolished, it is one of the grievances stated, that the persons summoned were

College. (MS. Herald, vol. vi. f. 308-313.) It appears that the fees had been considerably raised in the year 1616. (See the State Paper Calendar for that year.) The particulars may also be seen in Nichols's Hist. Leicestershire, vol. iv. p. 729, where the bill is given (amounting to 73*l.*), which was paid by Sir John Onebye, knighted August 16, 1672. In some instances the fees appear to have been under 50*l.* Sir Simon Archer, knighted by King James I. in 1624, states that he paid 48*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* for all fees due to the king's servants. (Nichols's Progresses of King James I. vol. iv. p. 1001.) And in 1620 Sir James Whitelock paid 44*l.* 17*s.* (*Liber Famelicus*, Camd. Soc. p. 84.) Mr. King informs me that the present fees on receiving knighthood amount to about 25*l.*

^a Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xviii. p. 278; Whitelock, *Memorials*, p. 2.

^b Calendar of State Papers, 1625, 1626, p. 192.

^c Harl. MS. 983.

ignorant how or in what sort or where they should address themselves to receive the dignity.^a And Spelman, who gives an account of the transaction in the Dissertation on Knighthood printed in his posthumous works, says that it was indifferent whether those who were summoned in King Charles's time came or not, for they did not know where they could make an effectual legal appearance, as it was a moot point for long after whether their appearance could be recorded in the Exchequer or before the Earl Marshal or Great Chamberlain; and it was at last held that the appearance should be registered in the Chancery, although the words of the writs were, "before the King's presence."^b

It appears from some subsequent proceedings that, whether intentionally or otherwise, the proclamations were not actually made in Yorkshire and probably in others of the counties until the day previous to the period within which the persons summoned were to appear in London,^c so that obedience to them was not only not expected but was physically impossible.

Whether the lord keeper, in suggesting the adherence to this custom, had in his mind or imparted to the other ministers any idea of the use which might afterwards be made of it for supplying the necessities of the crown is left to conjecture. The subsequent facts appear rather to negative such a supposition. If the proclamations of the first year of Charles had been ordered with a view to the use subsequently made of them, there can be little doubt that when the second Parliament had met and parted in the first half of the year 1626 without granting a supply, recourse would have been had to this expedient of raising money, for which there was so strong a show of precedents. Such a measure,

^a Stat. 17 Car. I. c. 20.

^b Proclamatur, ut de more, per comitatum; sed venientibus et non venientibus a Carolo Rege evocatis sors plerumque eadem. Nesciebant enim qui venerunt ubi suam exhiberent præsentiam, eandemque facerent recordari. Opinantur quidam coram Baronibus in Scaccario, quidam apud comitem Marescallum, quidam apud Magnum Camerarium Angliæ; et dum caligant singuli deviant omnes. Tandem enim definiri perhibent in cancellariâ registrandum. Verba autem brevis sunt, *coram Regis præsentia*. Et dum regium sic opperiantur otium et beneplacitum, facultatum partem non exiguam, forte etiam et ævi, minuant. Vicecomites autem summonitorum nomina Baronibus exhibent Scaccarii, hi vicissim Commissariis a Rege delegatis, ad componendum statuendumque de animadversione pecuniaria in evocatos, velut contumaciæ reos, sigillatim imponenda; quam si (gravem licet) non admiserint vel subterfugiendo detrectaverint, e terrarum suarum usufructibus, quos Exitus vocant, Barones Scaccarii regi addicunt, primo termino, 40s.; secundo, 4l.; tertio, 8l.; quarto, 12l.; quinto, 16l.; atque ita pro arbitrio assurgentes. Fuit retroactis seculis animadversio a commissariis imposita satis levis, sed hodie gravis admodum; tenuis enim fortunæ viri olim 20, 30, 40 solidis plectebantur, hodie libris todidem; et ditiores nonnulli ducentis, trecentis, quadringentis. (Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ, p. 175.)

^c Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 135. (See post, p. 241.)

however, does not seem to have been suggested at this time to the financial advisers of the Crown; and it was not until the 29th of May, in the fourth year of Charles, 1628, that a commission was issued to the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and others, "to tax and assess fines as well for default in not obeying the summons of the first year of the reign, as for having respite of assuming the arms of knighthood."^a It is remarkable that this commission was made out during the sitting of the third Parliament, at a time when the two houses were discussing the terms of the Petition of Right, when the supply was not yet voted, and the House of Commons was beginning to investigate the royal claim to tunnage and poundage,—an act of presumption which led to the sudden prorogation of the Session on the 26th of June following. The commission was probably unknown to the Commons. Its existence furnishes a commentary upon the well remembered words in the King's speech upon the opening of Parliament:—"If you, as God forbid, shall not do your duties in contributing what the state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means which God hath put into my hands."^b Five subsidies were voted on the 12th of June, after the Petition of Right had received the royal assent, and no notice of the threatened exaction of knighthood money appears upon the Journals of the House. The final dissolution of the Parliament took place on the 10th of March, 1629, and it was in the course of the following year that this plan of relieving the Exchequer was first seriously taken into consideration.^c The precedents of former reigns were then looked into, and the mode of proceeding determined.^d

The Commission of 1628 was probably never acted upon. Its legality was questionable, inasmuch as it imposed upon the commissioners the duty of assessing fines, a judicial function which properly belonged to the Court of Exchequer.^e On the 28th of January, 1630, a new commission was issued.^f It is remarkable that

^a Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xviii. p. 1020.

^b Speech of Charles I., 17th March, 1628. (Rushworth, vol. i. p. 476.)

^c All the contemporary authorities are agreed that the grievance of knighthood money did not commence until after the King's final breach with Parliament. (See the "Remonstrance," presented to the King, December 1, 1641, *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 950; Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 70; Clarendon's *Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 119 (ed. 1826); Whitlock, *Memorials*, p. 33.)

^d The *Calendar of State Papers, 1629-31* (p. 147), mentions a Paper of Precedents stated by Richard Wright of fines imposed on persons, who, having, temp. Hen. II. (*qu.* III.) 10*l.* or 15*l.*, and temp. Hen. VIII. 40*l.* a year in lands, omitted to take the order of knighthood, with suggestions of the way in which the King might proceed to levy fines upon the same ground. This paper is without date.

^e See Coke, *Inst.* pt. ii. pp. 597, 598; Speech of Mr. Hyde, Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1353.

^f Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 119.

in this commission, in order to give a more legal colour to the intended proceedings, the writs for the proclamations are recited to have been issued, "according to the form of the statute in such case made and provided," the statute referred to being apparently the so-called *Statutum de Militibus*;^a and the commission is "to treat and compound with all who were willing to make fine with the King for their contempt in the premisses, and for discharge of the said knighthood for this time." The commissioners were more numerous than in the former commission, and included the Lord Keeper Coventry, and Lord Wentworth, President of the Council of the North.

During the two years following the issue of this renewed commission vigorous efforts were made by the government to make the imposition profitable.^b The sheriffs were ordered to furnish more complete returns of the gentry and others having 40*l.* a-year; and, in July, 1630, additional lists of commissioners were named for compounding with the persons liable to the fines in their several counties. This measure was announced by royal proclamation as adopted for the relief of the subject.^c Noblemen were at the same time summoned to attend in person or by attorney before the Privy Council for the same purpose.^d

About the same period a declaration (apparently extra-judicial) was obtained from the Barons of the Exchequer, fortified by the opinion of the law advisers of the Crown, in favour of the legality of the royal claim; and it was intimated, through the Commissioners, to those whom it might concern, that no further commissions would be issued, but those who now refused would have no other recourse for it but to the Council.^e The sum to be received from compounders was fixed at the tax which would have been paid by the same persons upon the grant of three subsidies and a half, according to their rating in the subsidy books.^f This was a moderate composition, since a single subsidy levied upon the whole kingdom did not produce more than 70,000*l.*;^g and even this rate of composition does not seem to have been always exacted.^h On the other hand there is reason to believe that when any persons had shewed a decided disposition to resist the proceedings of the government, the Commissioners were not satisfied without a much higher fine. We learn from Sir Henry Spelman that persons

^a See *ante*, p. 216. ^b Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 70. ^c Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 175.

^d Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 71. Some satirical verses on "Knighthood money" are printed in Hunter's *Hallamshire*, p. 104, commencing

Come all you farmers out of the country,
Carters, plowmen, hedgers, and all.

^e Letter from the King to Sir Henry Mildmay and others, Commissioners for the county of Essex, 4 Aug. 1630. *Calendar of State Papers, 1629-31*, p. 321.

^f Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 70.

^g Coke, *Inst.* pt. iv. p. 33.

^h Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 725.

even of small fortune had to pay 20*l.*, 30*l.*, or 40*l.*, and some of the richer class from 200*l.* to 400*l.*;^a but the majority of the landowners, especially those of small means, were glad to avoid further vexation by a comparatively trifling payment. It was not, however, to be expected that so unusual a tax could be collected without some opposition. Several of the sheriffs were unwilling agents in the exaction, and their returns were conceived to be partial and negligent. The Attorney-General was accordingly directed by the Council to proceed against such as had been most delinquent in that kind.^b

The proceedings of the Commissioners for Huntingdonshire are detailed by Mr. Bruce in the preface to his volume of the Calendar of State Papers, 1629-1631. Oliver Cromwell, then resident at Huntingdon, was among the compounders, his composition being set at 10*l.*; but, from the manner in which his name is inserted in the list, Mr. Bruce has been led to the conclusion that the composition was paid by him, or possibly for him by his uncle Sir Oliver Cromwell who was one of the Commissioners, after the list had been made up, without his name originally appearing in it.^c

Some of the more considerable gentry in several counties were still resolved to try the legal right by refusing to compound, and thus forcing the government to take proceedings against them in the Exchequer. Writs were accordingly issued against several gentlemen, summoning them to appear in the Exchequer in Trinity Term, 1631. In some of these proceedings it would seem that William Noy, so well known afterwards for his ill-omened support of the royal prerogative as Attorney-General, was counsel for the defendants. Some papers, in the Lansdowne Collection of MSS., which are said to be in his handwriting, contain notes of the pleas and of an argument upon one of these cases. These notes display all the research and ingenuity which might be expected from one so distinguished for his knowledge of law and legal antiquities. He cites several examples of summonses from the reign of Henry III. to that of Edward IV. and observes the variation in the form and substance of the writs of summons which had been issued at various times, and classes these variations under four heads; variations in the tenure of the persons summoned, whether tenants of the King *in capite* or *de honore*, tenants of the King or of others, in chivalry, in demesne, or in socage; variations in estate, whether freeholders having 40*l.* per annum, which includes tenants for life, or those having inheritances; variations

^a Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ, p. 175. (See *ante*, p. 237.)

^b Order of Council, Oct. 10, 1630, abstracted in Calendar of State Papers, 1629-31, p. 356.

^c Preface to Calendar of State Papers, 1629-31. See further as to the proceedings in connection with Huntingdonshire, Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 275-293.

in value, 60*l.*, 50*l.*, or 40*l.*, or less; variations in the place named for receiving the dignity, in the King's presence or in a place mentioned in the writ. Upon this variation in form he founds an argument that the defendant is not under any general liability, but must be proved to have had legal notice of the special summons applicable to his case. The paper to which I am now referring would appear to have been before Noy in court, as it contains a short note of the argument of 'Mr. Attorney' (Heath). It is endorsed with the words, Moyser, Barkley, Nicols, which appear to be the names of some of the gentlemen against whom proceedings were taken.^a The same volume contains in another hand copies of several early writs relating to knighthood, which were probably prepared for Mr. Noy's use in the same argument.^b

The manner in which these proceedings terminated may be gathered from a statement preserved by Rushworth, apparently from some petition to Parliament, of the proceedings against James Mauleverer of Arneliff, co. York, Esq. The defendant pleaded that no proclamation was made in any part of Yorkshire before the 30th of January, and that it was therefore impossible for the defendant to obey the summons, which required an appearance in London before the 31st January; nevertheless, for his fine he submitted himself to the Court. The Court of Exchequer, however, alleged that they had no power to impose a fine, and told him that he must compound with the Commissioners, directing at the same time a distress to be levied upon his lands. A distress was accordingly levied to the amount of 2,000*l.* a great part of which Mr. Mauleverer was compelled to pay. It is remarkable that the special hardship and injustice of this proceeding of the Court of Exchequer was dwelt upon by Clarendon, then Mr. Hyde, in a speech in the Long Parliament: "The Barons had no power to fine! As if the sole business of sworn judges in a court of law were to summon and call men thither and then to send them on errands to other commissioners for justice."^c

It was among the grievances complained of in the proceedings of the Commissioners, that persons having only leasehold interests in land were summoned before them, and forced by distresses to compound for knighthood to which they were clearly not liable by their tenure.^d This, it may be observed, was in accordance with an equally illegal contemporary decision of the Court of Wards, by which he

^a See as to Mr. Moyser (Thomas Moyser, esq. of Yorkshire) Rushworth, vol. ii. pp. 71, 136, and as to Mr. Nicols (Francis Nicols of Hardwick, co. Northampton, esq.) Calendar State Papers, 1629-1631, p. 351.

^b Lansdowne MS. 253, ff. 450-488.

^c Speech of Mr. Hyde, Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 1053.

^d Speech of Mr. Pym, Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 1134.

that had a term only in lands held originally *in capite* or by knight-service, if the lease was for one hundred years or more, was adjudged to die seised, so as to carry to the Crown the rights of relief and wardship.^a That the above complaint was not founded upon any individual case of hardship, but arose from the systematic proceedings of the government, is shown in a singular way by a letter preserved in Lord Strafford's Correspondence, which is interesting as showing the part which the Lord Treasurer Weston and Wentworth himself seem to have played in these exactions. The writer Sir John Melton (dating from York, May 4, 1635,) urges Wentworth, then in Ireland, to press for the supreme office of Lord Treasurer then vacant by Sir R. Weston's death. "Consider," he says, "whether it will not be better for your lordship to direct others, and to have the power of making others the instruments to prosecute your designs, they having for their pains the dislike and hatred of such as they deal withal, and you the credit and honour of the service, and to be able at a sad distance sometimes to express a seeming dislike unto the Publick of the most advantageous Services done unto the King by some of the ablest and most active of those instruments; *as a late great officer did* (when after he knew the contrary had been done, it may be by his direction, or at least by his approbation,) declare openly that none ought to have been fined for not attending at his Majesty's Coronation to receive the order of knighthood but such as had 40*l.* per annum in freehold; and when he likewise said upon another occasion that it was a bold thing to compound with recusants before conviction; or whether your lordship will be such an instrument so employed and so used too *as your lordship knoweth who was heretofore*, and may be so again if another get the directing power."^b

At length the Government had obtained all that could be expected from the exaction of "knighthood money," which is said to have brought into the Exchequer an amount variously stated at from 100,000*l.* to 170,000*l.*,^c and other

^a Sewal's Case, *in cur. ward.* 7 Car. Examen Legum Angliæ, 1656, p. 45.

^b Strafford Letters, vol. i. p. 418.

^c In a small pamphlet printed in 1647, and purporting to be "An Account of the King's Revenue," the amount derived from fines for not taking knighthood is stated at 173,537*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* I am indebted for this information to John Bruce, esq. F.S.A., who made a note from the pamphlet in the British Museum; but I have not been able to find the pamphlet myself.

Rapin states the amount at 100,000*l.* (Hist. vol. ii. p. 286.)

There is a large manuscript volume in the Record Office in which are copied the returns from all the counties of England of the moneys collected by the various commissioners, with the names of the compounders. The total of the several sums amounts to about 100,000*l.*; but neither the compositions from the city of London, nor those paid by peers appear in the volume. The counties seem to have been somewhat unequally dealt with, the collectors in some districts being more zealous and energetic than in others.

means of raising money were adopted. Considerable bitterness of feeling was however left by the vindictive and oppressive character of the proceedings against defaulters. It is admitted by Clarendon in his history that, though the demand "had a foundation in right, yet in the circumstances of the proceeding it was very grievous."^a

Upon the meeting of the Long Parliament knighthood money was among the foremost of the grievances to be redressed.^b Pym, in a speech made in April, 1640, denounces it as an abuse of the customs of chivalry, and complains that "it was extended not only to terre-tenants but to lessees and merchants, who were first to plead for themselves at the council board, but were delayed from day to day to their great charge and inconvenience; and, notwithstanding the just defence they have made for themselves, there have been infinite distresses laid upon them until the fines were paid which were imposed not by courts but commissioners assigned for that purpose; and this being a continuing offence, they are by the same rule as liable now to fines as ever."^c

On the 20th of March, 1641, it was referred by the House of Commons to "the Committee for the Judges" to consider of the judgment of the Exchequer concerning knighthood money, and likewise to consider of the matter of escuage, and to present the inconveniences of them to the House. The consequence was the preparation of a bill, which was among those which received the assent of the King just before his setting out for Scotland.^d The statute of the 17th year of Charles I. chapter 20, recites that "upon pretext of an ancient custom or usage of this realm of England that men of full age being not knights and being seised of lands or rents of the yearly value of fourty pounds or more (especially if their seisin had so continued for the space of three years next past), might be com-

The compositions for Devonshire amount to 10,649*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, and those of Yorkshire, which are not added up, would probably reach about the same sum. Cambridgeshire produced 305*l.* 10*s.*, and Huntingdon 355*l.* In the collections from Cornwall amounting in the whole to 2,723*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* four distinct commissions are mentioned, the last of which produced 150*l.*, including 70*l.* from Sir John Trelawney, *knight* and baronet. This phrase perhaps meant nothing more than baronet. Other examples of knights appearing among the compounders for default of knighthood are Sir Simon Bennet, *knt.* of Santon, *co.* York., and Sir William Quadringe of Irby, *co.* Lincoln. The former paid 50*l.*, the latter 35*l.* These gentlemen may have been knighted since the coronation. In turning over the pages I noticed no higher composition than 100*l.* In Durham, Ralf Cole paid 100*l.*, and, in Newcastle, Alexander Davison 100*l.* The highest composition in Yorkshire is 80*l.* from Marmaduke Tunstall of Everingham, *esquire*, and I could not find the name of Mr. Mauleverer, owing probably to his refusal to pay anything to the collectors.

^a Clarendon History, vol. i. p. 119, Ed. 1826. Compare speech of Mr. Hyde, Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1353.

^b Remonstrance of the Commons, December 1, 1641. (Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 950.)

^c Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1134.

^d Clarendon, History, Book iii. ad fin.

pelled by the King's writ to receive or take upon them the order or dignity of knighthood or else to make fine for the discharge or respite of the same, several writs about the beginning of His Majesty's reign issued out of the Court of Chancery for proclamations to be made in every county for that purpose, and for certifying the names of all such persons, and for summoning them personally to appear in the King's presence before a certain day, to be there ready to receive the said order or dignity; upon return of which writs and transmitting the same with their returns into the Court of Exchequer, and upon other writs for further inquiry of the names of such persons issuing out of the said Court of Exchequer, process by Distringas was then made against a very great number of persons, many of which were altogether unfit, in regard either of estate or quality, to receive the said order or dignity; and very many were put to grievous fines and other vexations for the same, although in truth it were not sufficiently known how, or in what sort, or where they or any of them should or might have addressed themselves for the receiving the said order or dignity, and for saving themselves thereby from the said fines, process, and vexations; and it is most apparent that all and every such proceeding in regard of the matter therein pretended is altogether useless and unreasonable;" and it is then shortly enacted that from thenceforth no person should be distrained or compelled to receive the dignity of knighthood, or suffer fine by reason of not having received that dignity.

Royal summonses for the assumption of knighthood were thus abolished, after having been in occasional use for more than four centuries. Taking their origin from admitted feudal obligations, they soon became mere pretences for the exaction of penalties, and were employed at short intervals during the first two centuries of their existence, as a precarious means of increasing the royal revenue. During the last two centuries they had become less frequent, and were reserved for extraordinary occasions. Having become in later times a part of the formal ceremony of a coronation, their fiscal use was almost forgotten, until the exactions of an earlier age were revived by the government of Charles with a vigour and pertinacity proportioned to the urgent necessities of their position. Had that king been more successful in obtaining supplies from Parliament in the early part of his reign, the form of summoning 40^l. freeholders to receive knighthood might probably have remained to this day a part of the coronation ceremonies, as time-honoured and as innocent as the challenge of the champion or the banquet in Westminster Hall.

XIII.—*Remarks on some Portraits from Windsor Castle, Hampton Court, and Wilton House.* By GEORGE SCHARF, Esq., F.S.A.

Read February 21, 1861.

HAVING in the course of last autumn received permission to examine and make sketches from the vast collection of pictures at Windsor Castle, I gladly availed myself of this opportunity, to examine as thoroughly as possible the very fine and authentic series of early portraits which some of the private apartments contain.

The treasures of Blenheim, of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, of Arundel Castle, and Lambeth Palace had already been opened to me; but those collections, either singly or collectively, cannot be compared in importance with the galleries of the royal palaces at Windsor and Hampton Court. Many of the pictures on the venerable walls of these palaces can be traced back as having been the property of the crown in the reigns of Charles I. and even Henry VIII.

As regards the reign of Charles I. we have not only the catalogue of his pictures,^a drawn up by one Vander Doort, a Dutchman, about the year 1635, but also another curious document, viz., an appraised inventory of the works of art belonging to that King, with the price that each separate article was expected to fetch, and a note also of the exact sum for which it was sold. The names and descriptions given of the pictures are unfortunately so short and vague that it is not easy to identify them, especially when subjects recur frequently; most, however, of the leading pictures and portraits can be satisfactorily traced.

It is gratifying to ascertain by these means that a considerable number of royal portraits, that formerly hung as a collection in the gallery at Whitehall, did not perish in the great fire which destroyed so much of that palace in 1698. They are still in very good condition, and now hang in a small private apartment known as the Waiting-Room at Windsor Castle. After their removal from Whitehall, they were successively located in Kensington and Hampton Court Palaces.

^a A Catalogue and Description of King Charles the First's capital Collection of Pictures, &c., now first published from a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, transcribed by Mr. Vertue. Published by W. Bathoe, 1757.

It was to this Waiting-Room or entrance to the royal pew in the private chapel at Windsor Castle that my attention was concentrated.

Most of the portraits are of English and foreign sovereigns, and are inscribed with their names. A striking difference may be noticed between the completeness of the painting of the accessories and more minute ornaments of these authentic pictures, when compared with other repetitions that were bestowed probably as marks of favour upon loyal subjects of the period, and still more different from the careless imitations of the present day. The portraits of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III. merit special attention as genuine and favourable specimens of the art of their period; but the head of Richard II. is inferior to that of the full-length figure of the same monarch in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster. The Henry IV. also does not impress me so favourably as the one in the possession of the Earl of Essex at Cashiobury, exhibited at the Manchester Exhibition in 1857.^a

One portrait, however, belonging to the early part of the sixteenth century, attracted my attention by its extreme simplicity, and by certain peculiarities in the costume and style of decoration.

This portrait has, by the gracious permission of Her Majesty and the Prince Consort, been exhibited to the Society. It has no designation; but it is with the view of eliciting information, and of arriving at some conclusion as to the person represented, that these memoranda have been prepared.

The picture, which is engraved in Plate XIV., is painted on thin oak panel measuring 1 foot $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and exhibits the portrait of a youth of about fourteen or fifteen years of age, on a scale somewhat smaller than life. He is seen nearly to the elbow, with the right hand raised to the breast, and the fingers of the left resting on the front ledge of the picture. The face, turned three-quarters to the right, is round and beardless. The eyeballs are of a light brown colour, and the hair is soft and flowing, and of a very deep chesnut tint. The cap is of a monotonous scarlet glazed with a rich crimson colour, having on the broad turned-up edge two gold rosettes, and a large gold medallion, with an engrailed border, on which is a standing figure of a saint, probably St. John the Baptist, laying his hand on a small figure. The under vest is cloth of gold with a richly-designed pattern all over it in fine white lines. A broad dark brown fur collar covers the shoulders, and the full crimson sleeves, open on the left hand side, show a cloth of gold lining underneath. The white shirt along the front of his neck has on it a broad gold band with a red zigzag pattern. A black

^a No. 1 of the British Portrait Gallery Catalogue.



G. Scharf, F.S.A. del.

W. Holl sc.

ARTHUR PRINCE OF WALES.

from the original at Windsor Castle.

ribbon passes down both sides of the neck under the shirt in front. From shoulder to shoulder extends a large collar of alternate white and red roses, having gold cords or laces between them, tied in five loops with two tassels. Three of these loops, which are wider than the others, contain large round pearls. The centre rose on his breast is red, and from it hang three large pear-shaped pearls; these touch the rose, without the appearance of any gold-work, link, or chain, to connect them. A gold ring with a red stone is on the third finger of each hand. The brown fur of the broad collar to the mantle has turned very dark, but the hairs appear to have been originally pencilled with great care and delicacy. The background is a rich grassy green with an elaborate pattern of the same colour to represent brocaded hangings. The general tone of the picture is now dull-brown, but it must, when first painted, have looked rich and powerful. It would be idle at the present time to speculate upon the name of the artist, but it was most probably the work of a Flemish painter of considerable skill and refinement in the use of his colours.

Among the peculiarities which drew my attention to this picture was the collar round the neck of the young man, which, although it bore some resemblance in the alternation of the roses and knots to the collar of the Garter, could hardly be the collar of that Order, owing to the absence of the Garter, one of the most important features. On this point I have collected a few notes, which I have appended to the present communication.

The mention of a collar of white and red roses had previously struck me in perusing the catalogue of the pictures belonging to King Charles I.; and on further reference to it I found, among the Whitehall portraits (No. 30, page 113, of Bathoe and Vertue's published edition), the following passage relating to a picture, of which the dimensions unfortunately are not specified:—

Item, a Whitehall piece, The Seventh, being the picture of King Henry VIII. when he was young, painted with two hands, with a red cap, and a collar about his neck of white and red roses, in a red painted and gilded frame.

Before seeing the picture, I remember having been puzzled to imagine what a *collar of roses* really signified. My mind went back to the custom mentioned in Horace of chains and garlands of roses worn at banquets, but the collar now in question had very different associations. The different colours of the roses would clearly indicate the union of the two great houses. In the picture we find that the colours are not combined in one flower, but that roses of these colours alternate.

There is every probability, from its style and costume, that the picture under consideration belongs to the reign of Henry VII.; it certainly does not represent that monarch, but may be one of his sons, either Prince Arthur, who was born September 20, 1486, and died April 2, 1502, or Prince Henry, born June 28, 1491.

Of the Crown pictures of England there still exist earlier catalogues than the time of King Charles I.; but, unfortunately, as late as the sixteenth century, pictures were classed among goods and chattels, and only incidently distinguished from furniture by an additional name or two. In the reign of Henry VIII. A.D. 1542, an inventory was taken of all his furniture and property; another list was taken on the accession of Edward VI., and a list of pictures was made out in the second year of the same reign.

In King Henry's catalogue, page 128, No. 97, I met with the following entry:—

Item, a Table,^a with the picture of King Henrye the VIII., being then young.

This seems to correspond with the picture mentioned in King Charles's catalogue; but here we have fewer particulars on the subject. No mention is made either of a red cap or of the hands being shown. The following entry, however, No. 98 of King Henry's catalogue, is much more to our purpose:—

Item, a Table, with the picture of Prince Arthur, wearing like a red cap with a brooch upon it, and a collar of red and white roses.

The red cap, in the Windsor picture, struck me as a peculiarity. All the other portraits in the apartment either are crowned or wear caps of a dark colour. The gold ornament or brooch in the hat also corresponds exactly with this entry; but King Charles's catalogue alone mentions the introduction of the hands (also a rare occurrence in the Royal series of portraits), entirely omitting any mention of the name of Prince Arthur.

It therefore seems to me very probable that the two brothers were painted in corresponding size for the royal collection; that one had in course of time disappeared; and that the picture of Prince Arthur was catalogued under Charles I. as Henry VIII. when young; an adoption not difficult to account for when we remember the greater importance of the surviving brother. Let us, therefore, with a view of deciding the claims of the two brothers, refer to such portraits of them as have been preserved to us.

^a A flat board for writing or painting, an expression still used in Scripture, as, the Tables of the Law, and retained also by the Italians in the word Tavola.

Portraits of Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII. are extremely rare, and I can at present refer only to a glass painting in a window of Great Malvern Abbey-church, which represents him at the period of his marriage, when in his sixteenth year.^a Prince Arthur's name has likewise been associated with a picture at Hampton Court, known as "The Three Children of Henry VII." to which I shall presently have occasion to refer.^b

Portraits, however, of his brother Henry VIII. are comparatively numerous, and among them the following deserve to be specified, as bearing indications of the dates at which they were executed :

1. The first portrait that I will mention, although not perhaps the earliest, is the kneeling figure of a monarch in the great east window of St. Margaret's church, Westminster, to which the names of Henry VII. and Prince Arthur^c have been assigned. I feel, however, satisfied that it really represents Henry VIII. as a young man, and that the kneeling queen, on the opposite side of the window, is Catherine of Arragon. The massive golden four-arched crown on his head shows him to be a reigning monarch ; and the round, beardless face is far too full and youthful to accord with the known portraits of Henry VII., or to suit the age of that king even at the period of his accession to the throne. The workmanship of the window corresponds very closely with that of the painted glass in King's College Chapel, Cambridge,^d which was completed, as we know by historical documents, between 1526 and 1532. Mr. Winston observes, of the Westminster window, that the work is of the time of Henry VIII., and thinks it may have been executed as late as "1526 or thereabouts."^e The introduction of the pomegranate in an upper compartment, and the figure of St. Catherine above the kneeling queen, clearly show the latter to be Henry's first wife Catherine of Arragon. Her head-dress is of a somewhat earlier date, corresponding, in point of fashion, with that of Elizabeth of York. The face of the king is quite colourless ; the features are carefully moulded, and shaded with a rich brown colour, tinged

^a Carter's Specimens, pl. xiii. ; Dresses and Decorations, &c., by Henry Shaw, F.S.A, 1843, vol. ii. pl. 73 ; also lithographed separately of a large size.

^b A portrait of Prince Arthur is mentioned in King Charles's Catalogue, which I have been as yet unable to identify ; it is catalogued under "little heads, most of them painted without hands, upon board, much smaller than life:"—"No. 47. The sixteenth being Prince Arthur in his minority, in a black cap and golden habit, holding in his right hand a white gilly flower, in a red golden frame. Length 1ft. 11in., breadth 7in. A Whitehall piece." This may be a portrait of Prince Arthur mentioned in the catalogue of Henry VIII., but not described.

^c Walcott's Westminster, p. 136.

^d See Archæological Journal, vol. xii. p. 356.

^e Winston, Hints on Glass Painting, p. 180, *note*.

in some places with a madder-red. The expression of the eyes, looking up towards the central subject of our Lord on the Cross, is very earnest, and the eyeballs are painted with the same colour as the rest of the shadows. The hair is very pale yellow. Under the large ermine cape of his crimson mantle may be noticed a broad gold collar, having in the centre a heart-shaped device, pendant from a pearl between two full roses. The collar is entirely of a deep yellow colour. His under-dress is a rich dark blue, with ample folds. His hands are joined in prayer over an open book on a *prie-dieu*, covered with yellow brocade. I needly hardly add, that no trust can be placed in the colours of any details in painted glass, owing to the difficulties of varying tints without inserting lead-lines.

2. A large picture, finely painted on panel, at Hampton Court (No. 313 of the present catalogue), thus described in King Charles's catalogue, page 119, No. 57 :

King Henry VIII. when he was young, with a white scroll of parchment in his hand ; the picture being to the shoulders half a figure so big as the life, in a carved gilded frame. Length, 4ft. 0. A Whitehall piece, said to be done by Jennet or Sotto Cleve.

The King has his hair closely cut, with a small thin beard. He wears a black cap with a medallion, on which are the Virgin and Child in colours, and with a white jewelled feather falling to the left. His dress is yellow, crossed with strings of pearl and slashed with rows of white puffs. His white shirt is brought high up the neck and terminates in a small frill. His eyeballs are dark black-gray. The background is a rich green ; a crimson cushion lies before him. On a scroll in his hand is an inscription from St. Mark xvi. 15.

3. A fine picture on panel, belonging to the Earl Spencer, and probably described also in King Charles's catalogue as follows, page 115, No. 38 :—

The sixth being the picture of King Henry VIII. in his youth, in a gilded doublet, with a glove in his right hand, in a red and gilded frame. A Whitehall piece. 1ft. 0½in. by 8½in.

The picture now measures, within the frame, 11 inches by 7¼ inches. No hair is visible under the cap or beside the ears ; the hairs of the moustaches and beard are very fine and thin. The eyeballs are clear blue-gray. He wears a black jewelled cap with a white feather falling to the left. The sleeves of his doublet are cloth of gold ; the under-dress is of a lavender gray, covered with a beautiful pattern in fine black lines, and with three rows of white puffs down the front of the dress. The white shirt has a high collar fitting close round the neck, which is adorned with a rich pattern in gold, and terminates above in a very small frill. The under-sleeve is gray puffed with white, and there is a brown glove in his right hand. The picture is painted in oil on a very solid piece of English oak.

ornamented with silver patterns. The black cap is studded with pearls, and has a gold medallion, but no feather.

The countenance accords with another representation of the same monarch at page 197, where he is depicted as crowned and seated as Sovereign of the Order, at a Chapter held in 1534, the 26th of his reign.^a

6. The next portrait bearing a date is not contemporary, but evidently taken from some authentic representation of the King. It is at Windsor, and is painted on the back of a playing card, the seven or eight of hearts, by Nicholas Hilliard, who was not born till 1547; it measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter.

The following description is given of it in King Charles's catalogue, page 48, No. 51:

Item, done upon the wrong light, being King Henry VIII. in a black cap and white feather, and a little ruff, in a silver tissue doublet with a collar about his shoulders. Length $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Done by the old Nich. Hilliard.

The eyeballs are pale gray, his beard also gray in short round curls. The dress is slate-coloured, with white puffs separated from each other by dark gray lines (originally silver) forming lozenges. Inscribed in golden letters on the dark blue background, "1536. *Ætatis sue* 46."

The three next portraits exhibit a very important change in the King's countenance, inasmuch as in the year 1543 we find him entirely beardless.

7. A miniature in the royal collection at Windsor is inscribed in gold on the blue background

. H R	. AN ^o .
. VIII	. XXXV.

This I at first associated with the miniature No. 4 of this list, where xxxv. also occurs, but a more careful consideration led me to the conclusion that the number here refers to the year of his reign, (A.D. 1543-4), and not to his age, a circumstance confirmed by the dates on the picture No. 11 of this list. In the spandrils of the miniature four golden angels, on a bright red ground, are holding the letters H and K in golden cords, and linked by true lovers' knots, probably referring to the king's last marriage, which took place with Katherine Parr, at Hampton Court, July 12th, 1543.

The eyeballs are quite blue, and the hair falling by the side of his ears is long, thin, and wavy. The face, at first sight, looks youthful, but it is fat, and, on careful inspection, has a worn and very artificial appearance, as if means had been employed to conceal age. The face is turned to the right, and the light is admitted from the spectator's left. He wears a gray dress with a pattern of oak

^a There is an engraving of this in Anstis, Register of the Garter, vol. i. p. 268.

leaves, having their points upwards, each in a lozenge, and expressed in fine black lines, originally silver. A fine small gold chain passes round his neck, and falls down on each side to his chest, between the white shirt and his outer dress. The mantle has a rich brown fur collar and purple sleeves. The centre part of the miniature, which is not quite circular, measures in the widest part $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch. The square card on which it is painted measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height.

8. A much finer miniature, in the collection of Mr. Magniac,^a exactly like the preceding, and most probably the original of it, painted on a prepared parchment such as was sometimes used at that period. The angels on the vermilion ground are much more forcibly drawn, and very German in character. The central portion with a blue ground is completely circular, and measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. A portion of the bare parchment shows along the lower edge. The Windsor miniature is on a rough paper surface, without the usual preparation.

9. Another portrait of the monarch when beardless, but without any date, is at Windsor. It is circular, painted on card, which measures in diameter $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch. On the dark blue ground is inscribed in golden letters—

REX
HENRICVS . OCT
AVVS.

The eyeballs are bluish gray, the complexion very fair, cheeks pale, and lips a bright red. The drawing of the mouth is very peculiar; the dress is gray, with a brown fur cloak and pink sleeves.

The following entry of King Charles's catalogue, page 47, No. 48, may be compared with it :—

Item, done upon the right light, another and lesser picture, as if it were a copy of the aforesaid picture, without a beard, also in a black cap and a little golden chain about his neck, in an ash-coloured wrought doublet in a furred cloak with crimson sleeves, his name and age written also on it with golden letters, length $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Being also one of the limned pictures which my Lord of Suffolk gave to the King.

A small paper pasted on the back is inscribed, "In the cubborde within y^e cabon^t roome at Whitehall, 1638."

^a Described in the catalogue of Mr. Magniac's collection, by J. C. Robinson, F.S.A., under No. 193; exhibited in the Loan Collection at South Kensington, 1862.

10. An important portrait of the King is in the court-room of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, which is inscribed ^a

ANNO DNI ÆTATIS . SVÆ
1544 55

It has been engraved by J. Cook for Sir Henry Ellis's Original Letters (Third Series, vol. iii.), and gives a date to the portraits belonging to the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Manchester, to one at Knole, and to one formerly in the collection of Mr. Barrett of Lee Priory, sold at Christie's in 1859, No. 95 of sale catalogue. The only difference between this and those other pictures is that the black hat here has a large white feather falling to the left, whilst they have no feather. He is dressed in a long dark straight falling gown with hanging sleeves fastened down the front, a collar of white fur round his neck, and a gold chain or jewelled collar across his shoulders. His left hand is raised holding a stick, and the right holds a glove; both hands are bare. The figure is life-size and extends to the knees.

11. A half-length portrait, life size, on panel, at Longleat, in Wiltshire, the seat of the Marquess of Bath.

Inscribed in gold on the dark green background is

ANNO ^{REG} 36 ETATIS . 54.

The date of the picture is therefore 1544. The eyeballs are gray-brown; the beard grayish. The figure is seen in full, wearing a gold and jewelled dress puffed with white; a large collar extends from shoulder to shoulder, under which a small chain of columns alternating with the letter H supports a disk of gold adorned with jewels. The right hand is seen holding a brown glove. The sleeves of his mantle are cloth of gold and very full, projecting on each side in front of the brown fur trimming.

12. A miniature at Windsor, painted in oil-colours on a circular piece of oak $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. According to the inscription on it this would seem to be one of the latest portraits of the monarch, for it adds a year to the age which he actually attained. It is inscribed in gold letters, on the dark green background,

HENR 8 REX ANGL ÆTA . S . 57.

The type corresponds very closely with that already described under No. 10. The eyeballs are gray, and beard and whiskers extremely thin. The large diamond-

^a This date is not quite accurate, as Henry VIII. was born June 28, 1491, and did not enter his 55th year till 1545; the same error may be noticed in No. 12 of this list.

shaped jewel under his fur collar is of a ruby colour, and rendered more brilliant by being painted on red foil or a gold ground. There is a large white feather in his black cap.

The following description from King Charles's catalogue, page 46, No. 45, seems to refer to this picture :—

The first done upon the wrong light, in a round turned white ivory box, being King Henry VIII. in a black cap with a white feather, and silk embroidered doublet, with a furred cloak, length 2 inches. Supposed to be done by Holben, and given to the King by my Lord of Suffolk.

It is observable that the light comes into this picture from the right hand of the spectator, and therefore differs from that in the miniatures previously described.

13. The latest portrait of the King is a curious engraving described by Granger, vol. i. page 95, and bearing date 1548. It is the work of Cornelius Matsis, and expresses the peculiar character of the King so strongly as to have been considered by some as a mere caricature. It is, however, exceedingly well drawn, and accords very much in style of costume, fur tippet, small moustaches, and bloated countenance with the last-named painting.

From a comparison of these portraits there can be little doubt that Henry's eyes were of a clear blue-gray, the only exception being one that has been extensively restored, while those of the portrait under consideration are a full brown. The face likewise is longer than that of Henry VIII., although there is not unnaturally much resemblance in it to that monarch. Of the colour of Prince Arthur's eyes we have, unfortunately, no means of judging; the details of the painted glass at Malvern are executed as usual in brown enamel, and afford us no help; but his mother Elizabeth of York, as seen in the authentic portraits at Windsor, had brown eyes, a colour which may have been imparted to those of her eldest son Prince Arthur, while Henry's eyes resembled his father's.

It seems to me, therefore, more than probable that, although the catalogue of Charles I. describes this picture as a portrait of Henry VIII. when young, it in reality represents his elder brother Prince Arthur; and if so it is of greater value, as affording us an example of a rare portrait in the English series.

The next picture to which I wish to call the attention of the Society is one that has been already mentioned, the well-known picture of three children, at Hampton Court, which is generally attributed to Mabuse. It was engraved by Vertue in 1748, with the following inscription :—

Three children of K. Henry VII. and Elizabeth his Queen—1. Prince Arthur, 2. Pr Henry, 3. P^s Margaret. From the Royal Collection at Kensington Palace. J. Maubeugius Pinxit cir. MCCCXCVI. To his grace the Most Noble Thomas Duke of Leeds this is most humbly inscribed by GEO. VERTUE.

This picture, when Vertue made his Catalogue* for Queen Caroline, in September 1743, was in her closet at Kensington Palace;^a where it seems to have remained till 1748, the date on Vertue's engraving; after which it was removed to Windsor Castle, as we find by the following description in Pote's History and Antiquities of Windsor, published in 1749, page 420.

“In this room, also, is the china closet of that Queen (Caroline), filled with great variety of curious china, elegantly disposed, and the whole room finely gilt and ornamented; over the chimney are the pictures of Prince Arthur and his two sisters, children of K. Henry VII., by Holbein.”

The picture is also described in the first edition of Walpole's Anecdotes, the preface of which is dated 1762, as being in the china closet at Windsor.

The description given of Windsor in the English Connoisseur, published 1766, vol. ii. page 202, is taken almost word for word from Pote's account quoted above, and makes the description of Henry VIII. and his two sisters accord with the writing on the back of the picture itself (see post, page 259). These changes of locality seem to have caused some confusion, and to have led Walpole into the belief that there were two distinct pictures in the Royal Collection, one at Kensington and the other at Windsor; see the Anecdotes, edited by Dallaway and Wornum, page 53, note.

The original picture (which I will call No. 1) has, by Her Majesty's kind permission, been exhibited to the Society: the general disposition of the figures will be sufficiently illustrated by the following rough sketch.

In King Charles's catalogue, No. 60, p. 119, this picture is noticed, and, though no names are given, it is clearly identified by the following entry:—

Item, a Whitehall piece, curiously painted by Mabusius, wherein two men-children and one woman-child, playing with some orange in their hands, by a green table; little half figures upon a board, in a wooden frame.

The editor adds, (*Less than the life; now engraved by G. V., Prince Arthur, Prince Henry, Princess Margaret.*)

* See Catalogues published by Bathoe, page 15, No. 97, and page 31.



In the catalogue of Charles's pictures with valuation prices, it is merely entered thus—

Mabuse, 199, *Trois Enfants dans un Tableau*,^a £10 0s.

There is no mention of this picture in James II.'s catalogue; but on reverting to the old catalogue of Henry VIII. I find the following entry:—

Item, a table wth the pictures of the three children of the Kynge of Denmarke, wth a curtayne of white and yellow sarcenett paned together.

This entry I believe to refer to the painting under consideration, though there may at first be some hesitation about conceding this point. If Henry's portrait is to be recognised there, his clear blue-gray eyes would at once decide the question; but the three children in the Hampton Court picture have all of them decidedly dark brown eyes.

Moreover, the costumes of the children are not those of the reign of Henry VII. but of Henry VIII., and probably not earlier than 1525; while the ages of the children do not correspond with the names given to them by Vertue, for Prince Henry was more than a year and a half younger than his sister Margaret; while it is more than probable from the dress—for instance, the shape

^a The above is quoted from a MS. copy in the Royal Library at Windsor, vol. ii. page 42, No. 199.

of the opening for the neck, the necklace, and the ermine for the sleeves—that the second child represents a girl.

In addition to this, the physiognomies are quite unlike those which we are accustomed to find in portraits of English Royal children of that period; whilst they exhibit much more affinity to the family of the Emperor Charles V. whose sister Isabella (Elizabeth) married Christian II., King of Denmark.

This Queen of Denmark was, it must be remembered, the niece of Catherine of Arragon, and therefore nearly connected by marriage to Henry VIII.; that monarch's collection contained a portrait of the Queen, as we find by the following entry in his catalogue—

Item, a table with the picture of Elizabeth of Austria, Queen of Denmarke.

Christian II. married her in 1515, and had five children: John, born 1518; Philip and Maximilian, who died young; Dorothy, born 1520, married to the Elector Palatine; and Christina, born 1523, who had for her first husband Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and for her second Francis Duke of Lorraine. The last of these princesses was the Duchess of Milan whose hand was sought by Henry VIII. and whose portrait was painted by Holbein.^a

There exist very interesting engraved portraits of Christian and his Queen, by Jacob Binck, dated 1525;^b and Mr. Carpenter has had the goodness to show me, in the Print Room of the British Museum, a very fine portrait of Christian II., unknown to Bartsch, probably by the same artist, and representing him at a somewhat earlier period of life. The arch over his head is highly decorated with figures and various shields exhibiting armorial bearings of the Danish Principalities. He wears a large flat cap, and broad furred mantle, with the Golden Fleece suspended round his neck, and the hands, admirably drawn, rest on an architecturally ornamented parapet. The King's countenance is rough, with a far from amiable expression. Binck the engraver held subsequently the appointment of portrait painter to the King of Denmark.

In 1523, Christian was compelled to abdicate, and quitted Copenhagen with his family: they carried with them all their personal property, jewels, records, charters, and regalia.^c Hall's Chronicle states that Christian King of Denmark

^a See *ante*, p. 7. A fine portrait of her as Duchess of Milan is at Arundel Castle, and her portrait as Duchess of Lorraine was engraved by Agostino Carracci.

^b Nagler, *Kunst. Lex.* vol. i. p. 505; and Bartsch, viii. p. 294, No. 91, 2. In the portrait of the Queen the same kind of ermine sleeves may be noticed that are to be seen in the two youngest children.

^c Univ. History, p. 246.

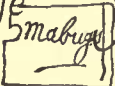
and his Queen landed at Dover 15th June, 1523, and were lodged in the Bishop of Bath's palace at London; they stayed in England twenty-two days, and passed into Flanders.*

I mention these facts merely to show the intercourse that subsisted between the royal families of England and Denmark at that period. Henry the VIII.'s catalogue of pictures is dated 1542, and Christian died in 1559. From his cruelties and massacres Christian has been called the Nero of the North; but his connection with the Queen of England, and his condition as an outcast, may have created a peculiar interest for his family in our sympathizing country.

It may, however, be observed, and with perfect justice, that a picture of the three children of the King of Denmark might very naturally be found in the collection of a potentate like Henry VIII. nearly related to their mother, but that it was hardly likely to have been several times copied, as it has been, in this country, while no copy has hitherto been met with abroad; a circumstance in itself very remarkable.

(No. 2). Besides the picture in the royal collection, there is a celebrated *replica* at Wilton House, dated 1495, and it has long been very desirable to compare the two; an opportunity has been afforded to the Society by Her Majesty the Queen having most graciously permitted the picture from Hampton Court to be conveyed to these apartments, and Lord Herbert of Lea having allowed his to be brought hither from Wilton House.

The Hampton Court picture is without a date. It is painted on oak, and has on the back of it the following inscription, written roughly in black ink :

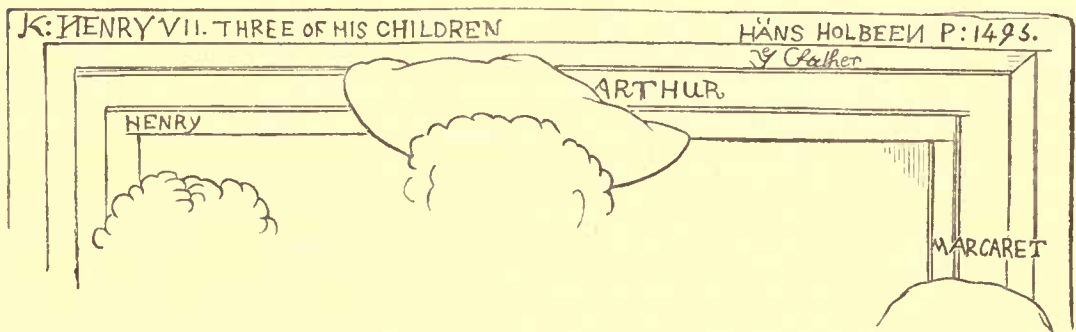
*Henry huit^{me} Roy de La Grande Bretagne. avec Ses Deux Soeurs
Marie Espouse Louis XII Roy de France en Suite
Brandon.
Margarite espouse  Jacques III Roy d'Escoffe*

On a small piece of paper, also at the back, the name "Mabuge" is traceable. The left-hand figure, it may be observed, wears a necklaee. This is wanting in

* xv. yere of Hy. 8. Hall's Chronicle, page 657. See also State Papers of Henry VIII. vol. vi. p. 155-8.

the Wilton picture; which is a further evidence, taken with the omission of the leaves and stalks from the cherries on the table, that the latter is in reality an old unfinished copy of the Queen's picture.

The Wilton picture appears to be less carefully finished, and the figures are on a smaller scale; but it is painted on oak panel in precisely the same manner, except with less spirit. On the face of it are inscribed the names of the children, as will be seen by the reduced fac-simile annexed; the writing is rough, and apparently written with a pen at no very distant period. It is certainly not coeval with the picture, and the manner in which the names have been inserted is irrespective of the moulded surfaces over which they are written. The writing has been in several parts effaced.



In the *English Connoisseur*, published 1766, vol. ii. p. 170, I find this picture thus described:—

Three children of King Henry VII.—Arthur, Prince of Wales; Henry, about three years old (was afterwards King Henry VIII.); and Mary, who married the King of France.—*Hans Holbein*, the father.

Four other repetitions of this picture are known to exist in collections of considerable importance, which I will describe as Nos. 3—6.

(No. 3). The one formerly belonging to Richard Cosway, Esq., and afterwards at Strawberry Hill, deserves the first mention. It is of the same size as the Hampton Court picture, and, notwithstanding the badness of its condition and a good deal of clumsy patching up, retains traces of a very good and genuine picture. Walpole himself records it in his *Description of Strawberry Hill*,^a as—

Prince Arthur, Prince Henry, and Princess Margaret, children of Henry VII., by Mabuse, from Cosway's Collection.

^a Lord Orford's Works, 4to. vol. ii. p. 512.

The picture is on panel, and seems to have been exposed to great heat at some time, as the paint is shrivelled up and the cracks have been filled, in many places, with a raw red colour, which imparts a peculiar general tone to the whole picture. The hands are carefully drawn, and the child in the left corner wears a necklace, but the fruit is not so well painted as in the Hampton Court picture. It was purchased by J. C. Dent, Esq., of Sudeley Castle, for thirty guineas. *See* Strawberry Hill sale catalogue, 20th day's sale, No. 75, page 201.

(No. 4.) The next example of this subject is at Corsham House, the seat of Lord Methuen, in Wiltshire, and is correctly designated by Dr. Waagen (*Galleries of Art*, vol. iv. page 395) as "an early but moderate copy." It is described in the *English Connoisseur* (1766, vol. ii. page 27), when at the residence of Paul Methuen, Esq., in Grosvenor Street, as follows:—

The portraits of three of Henry VII.'s children, viz. Prince Arthur, Henry VIII., and Princess Mary, who was afterwards Queen of France and Dutchess of Brandon, by a hand not certainly known.

The picture is painted on panel and very highly varnished. It is superior to the Wilton picture, and is about 1 foot 7 inches in width (sight measure). The shadows are very black in tone, but the forms are very carefully modelled. It was exhibited at the British Institution in 1857 (No. 73 of the Catalogue). Britton in his "*Historical Account of Corsham House*," 8vo. 1806, page 48, No. 121, adopts the usual designation "Henry VII.'s three children, Mabuse," and gives the measurements of the panel 20 inches by 14 inches.

(No. 5.) A painting at Longford Castle, the seat of Lord Folkestone. It is numbered 106 in the catalogue, and painted on panel, in coarse and heavy colours. Dr. Waagen says of it (vol. iv. page 358):

Of the various cotemporary repetitions of this picture, this specimen, which was in the collection of Charles I., approaches nearest to the original at Hampton Court, and proceeds, no doubt, from the master's hand.

(No. 6.) A chiaroscuro repetition of this subject was, in Vertue's time, at the Duke of Leeds' at Kiveton. Walpole calls it in his *Anecdotes* (page 53 of Dallaway and Wornum's edition), "a neat little copy of, or rather his original design for it, in black and white oil-colours."

It will be seen that every inscription, either on these pictures or affixed to the back of them, belongs to no earlier period than the eighteenth century, whilst the entries in the catalogues, supposing that they refer to the same picture, merely specify "Trois enfans," "Two men-children and one woman-child," and "The Three Children of the King of Denmark." The last is

tolerably specific, and the catalogue which contains it was written in the time of Henry VIII. It becomes, therefore, an important question how far this designation may be accepted. My own feeling, in consideration of the reasons I have given, is decidedly in favour of it, notwithstanding that the number of repetitions of the picture, regarding it as foreign and of foreign subjects, would seem against it. But, it may be alleged that the supporters of Catherine of Arragon may have taken some interest in children so nearly connected with her; and that in the reign of Mary, a near relation of theirs, Philip II. occupied the English throne; and that even in later times, when James I. married a Danish princess, and her brother Christian IV. paid long visits here, there might have been some motive for having such pictures carefully copied and repeated. The Wilton picture might very well be a copy (unfinished as before stated) made at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

It must, moreover, be borne in mind that there is great probability from the entry in King Charles's catalogue as "a Whitehall piece," that the picture there described formed part of the collection of Henry VIII.; while in his catalogue there is no entry which could be considered to apply to this painting, excepting that of the three children of the King of Denmark.

I may be thought very bold in thus bringing forward the question and thereby raising doubts upon portraiture which, if they are what they have been supposed to be, we must naturally wish to possess. But I venture upon this step in the hope of eliciting truth, and with the sincere desire of obtaining some further and better means of authentication.^a

I have ascertained, through favour of the Danish Legation, that no portraits

^a Since this communication was read I have received a note from that distinguished antiquary Mr. Planché, Rougecroix, dated Feb. 28, 1861, from which the following is an extract:—

"I take the first opportunity of assuring you that I am strongly of your opinion respecting the Windsor portraits, and consider the evidence of the catalogue you quote as all but conclusive. The three children, I have little doubt, will prove to be those of the King of Denmark, and not of Henry VII. an error which has been supported by the likeness of the child supposed to be Prince Henry, in Lord Herbert's copy, to the portraits of Henry VIII. in his manhood, but not at all borne out by the features of the same child in the original picture, independently of that child being more probably a girl than a boy. On my return to town next week, I will (if you have not looked to the point already) see how the ages correspond with those of the family of the King of Denmark. On the other picture, also, the catalogue seems to throw a clear light; and if you are positive as to the collar being composed of red and white roses (the red having the place of honour) it must have been painted after the union of the houses; and I see no reason to dispute the probability of its being intended for Prince Arthur. The nose is not so aquiline as that of King Henry VII., but the general contour of the face resembles his; and it has since occurred to me that (as well as I can recollect) there is much in it of the character of Elizabeth of York—just compare them and let me know—that would account for the supposed likeness to Edward IV."

of the children of Christian II. are known to exist in Denmark; nor does there seem to have been any in the Castle of Fredericksborg, which was destroyed by fire with most of its contents Dec. 17, 1859. This, however, may to a certain extent be accounted for by the exiled state of the father.

The last picture is from Windsor Castle, and has been exhibited to the Society through the kindness of Her Majesty; it is a remarkable piece of physiognomy. The accompanying rough sketch will recall it to the recollection of those who are acquainted with the original; which is painted on thin panel, measuring 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. It represents a young man wearing a large black cap with a medallion on one side of it. The eye-balls are gray, the hair very dark brown, and the complexion fair. The face is quite smooth and beardless, lips thick and red, with a very peculiar projection of chin and lower lip. The dress is a greenish gray, puffed with white, and with a black mantle covering the shoulders. The Order of the Golden Fleece is suspended round his neck by a narrow black ribbon. A sprig of rosemary, admirably painted, is held in his left hand; the right hand rests on a ledge before him; there are no rings on the fingers. The background is of a dark turquoise blue. In the medallion on his hat is a figure of the Virgin crowned, and wearing a blue mantle. No gold is used in the picture. The colouring is fresh and clear, very carefully finished, and probably by one of the best Flemish painters.



This picture has been named Charles VIII. of France, but on examining the features there can be little doubt that it represents the Emperor Charles V. at an early period of his life.* The very peculiar mouth, which at later times

* In the British Museum is a curious medallion ($3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter) carved in boxwood, representing Charles V. also beardless, and with the same peculiar mouth; he is in half length, turned to the left, and holding a pomegranate. Round it is the inscription—

CHARLES · R · DE · CASTILLE · LEON · GRENADE · ARRAGON · NAVERR · CECILIS.

it must, therefore, have been executed between 1516, when Charles succeeded to the crown of Spain, and 1519 when he was elected Emperor.

he wisely concealed with a moustache and beard, is here shown without reserve. It is the earliest picture that I have seen of the emperor; the nearest portrait to it, in point of age, with which I am acquainted, is at Knole, in Kent, and appears to be also the work of a good Flemish painter.

On referring to the MS. catalogue of King Henry's pictures, already quoted, I found my surmise fully borne out, as to its being a portrait of the Emperor, by the following entry (No. 99).

Item, a table, with the picture of the Emperour, his doublet being cut [slashed], and a rosemarye branch in his hand.

With regard to the medallion in his bonnet, having a figure of the Virgin standing on a crescent, and the legend "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis," I may mention that it is a device which I have several times observed in connection with the Insignia of the Golden Fleece.

These are all the points that I would, for the present, dwell upon. I feel it a very great honour to have been permitted to bring these pictures to the notice of the Society; and I cannot conclude without expressing my cordial thanks to Mr. B. B. Woodward, F.S.A., the Queen's Librarian, for his kindness in affording me every facility in my researches, and in taking charge of the pictures from Windsor, which form the subjects of my remarks.

I must further point out the great value of the manuscript catalogue of King Henry's pictures, as affording a very important means of obtaining earlier information on pictures in England than any hitherto published. It would, in my opinion—from the variety of works of art incidentally mentioned, and sometimes even carefully recorded in its pages—admit of illustration and editing from various sources; and, if printed, would form a volume of extreme usefulness for the guidance and service of all who are interested in subjects of this nature.

GEORGE SCHARF.

NOTE UPON COLLARS.

COLLARS were evidently favourite decorations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: not only do we find in mediæval inventories of that period frequent descriptions of ornaments of this kind formed of precious materials, and enriched with jewels and enamel, but many sovereigns appear to have had collars of their

“Livery,” as they were termed, which they bestowed as marks of favour or friendship on persons of various ranks and of both sexes.^a

It has been frequently stated that Richard II., in addition to his favourite device of a white hart—a device worn as a badge by his partisans—had a livery collar of broom pods (*planta genista*). That he himself wore such a collar is shown by the remarkable portrait of him at Wilton.^b The decoration does not, however, appear to be in any way connected with the white hart, which is fastened on his breast lower down; and there can be little doubt that it is the French collar of *cosses de geneste*, and was worn probably out of compliment to the French monarch.^c

Henry of Bolingbroke on ascending the throne as Henry IV. retained his well-known livery collar of SS, which had not only been used by him as Duke of Lancaster,^d but had, it is thought, been derived from his father, John of Gaunt. The origin and meaning of this collar have never been determined, and several explanations of its enigmatical letters have been proposed.^e It occurs very frequently on monumental brasses and effigies of persons of both sexes and various degrees during the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. It is found worn by Knights of the Garter, as, for instance, by Lord Camoys, 1419, Trotton, Sussex; the Earl of Westmerland, 1426, Staindrop, Durham; the Duke of Somerset, 1444, Wimborne, Dorset; and Thomas Duke of Clarence, at Canterbury; but other Knights of the Garter are represented without this decoration,^f and it appears on the effigies of very many persons quite unconnected with the Order.^g

^a For further information respecting the subject of collars, see Anstis, Register of the Order of the Garter, vol. ii. p. 110; Ashmole, Institution of the Garter, p. 218; a Memoir by Mr. Beltz, in Retrospective Review, 2nd Series, vol. ii. p. 500; and a series of papers by Mr. J. G. Nichols, in Gentleman's Magazine, 1842, pt. I. pp. 157, 250, 378, 477; pt. II. pp. 353, 595; 1843, pt. I. p. 258.

^b Engraved by Hollar, and in Shaw's Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages.

^c Richard had collars with broom pods which are described in the inventory as of the French King's Livery, see Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer, vol. iii. p. 354, 357.

^d See Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer, vol. iii. p. 322, 323.

^e Setting aside the older theories, such as that of the letters being the initials of S. Simplicius, I may mention that Mr. Beltz suggests *Souvenez*, Willement *Souverayne*, Mr. J. G. Nichols *Seneschallus*.

^f For instance, the Earl of Warwick, 1439, at Warwick.

^g A few examples will suffice:—Sir Thomas Massingberde and Lady, c. 1405, Gunby, Lincolnshire; Sir William and Lady Bagot, 1407, Bagginton, Warwickshire; Sir John Wilcotes, 1410, Great Tew, Oxon; Sir Thomas Swynborne, 1412, Little Horkesley, Essex; John Perient and wife, 1415, Digswell, Herts; Thomas FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, 1416, Arundel, Sussex; Edward de la Hale, 1431, Okewood, Surrey; Sir Edward Benstead, 1432, Bennington, Herts; Thomas de St. Quentyn, 1445, Harpham, co. York; John Barnard, 1451, Isleham, Cambridgeshire; Lord Hungerford, 1455, Salisbury Cathedral, &c.

Edward IV., issuing from another and a rival branch of the royal family, naturally adopted a new livery collar, if he had not already made use of it shortly before his accession:^a it was composed of two of his badges, the sun in its splendour and the white rose, while a third, the white lion of March, was added as a pendant. This collar appears on the effigies of James fifth Lord Berkeley and his son, 1463, in Berkeley church, Gloucestershire;^b and also on the brass of Judge Yelverton (who died about 1470), at Rougham, Norfolk.^c A fine example may be noticed on the tomb of Sir Robert Harcourt, K.G., at Stanton Harcourt, Oxon,^d who died in 1472; he is represented with a collar ornamented with suns and roses alternately, and having the lion pendant. A knight of the Erdington family at Aston, in Warwickshire^e, date about 1470, has round his neck suns and roses arranged alternately and united by chains; the central ornament is a sun placed in the midst of a rose, and from it hangs the lion. Other examples may be seen on brasses and effigies; for instance, Sir John Say, 1473, at Broxbourne, Herts;^f Sir John Crosby, 1475, at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate;^g Thomas Colte and wife, 1475, Roydon, Essex;^h Sir Anthony Grey, 1480, St. Alban's, Herts;ⁱ Jenkin Smith and wife, c. 1480, Bury St. Edmund's.^k One of the latest examples of the collar of suns and roses is on the fine enameled brass in Little Easton church, Essex, representing Henry Bouchier Earl of Essex, K.G., and his wife Isabella Plantagenet. The Earl died 1483, and both he and the Countess are represented with collars of suns and roses.^l It was probably a collar of this kind which was bequeathed by John Blount Lord Mountjoy to his son, in 1485, under the name of his chain of gold, with a lion of gold set with diamonds.^m

Although not strictly collars, the necklaces of two ladies may be worth noticing, both of which seem to be derived in part from the royal livery. These are on the effigies of the wife of Sir John Crosby, 1475, at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, and of the Countess of Arundel, in Arundel church. In one instance the necklace is composed of roses united by bunches of leaves, in the other of suns and roses placed alternately and joined by links formed of two sprigs of oak with acorns.ⁿ

^a The sun, it is well known, is supposed to have been derived from the appearance of three suns at the battle of Mortimer's Cross. The old livery collar of the Dukes of York was composed, it would seem, of falcons and fetterlocks (vii. linkettz et vi. faucons blancs). See Kal. and Inv. Exch. vol. iii. 346.

^b Gough, Monumental Effigies, vol. ii. pl. lxxvji.

^c Gough, vol. ii. pl. lxxxviii.

^d Hollis, Monumental Effigies; Gough, vol. ii. pl. xc.

^e Hollis, Monumental Effigies.

^f Waller's Brasses.

^g Gough, vol. ii. pl. xciii.; Stothard, Mon. Eff.

^h Gough, vol. ii. pl. xc.

ⁱ Ibid. vol. ii. pl. c.; Boutell's Brasses.

^k Boutell's Series.

^l Waller's Monumental Brasses, pl. xiv.

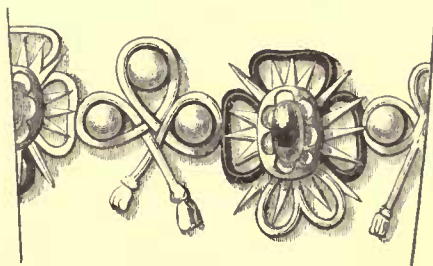
^m Testamenta Vetusta, p. 386.

ⁿ Stothard, Mon. Effigies, where it is not quite correctly engraved.

Richard III. retained the Yorkist collar, substituting for the lion pendant his own badge, a boar. This collar with its pendant may be seen on the effigy of a knight of the Neville family, at Brancepeth, Durham ;^a the suns and roses are there combined so as to form the *rose en soleil* ; the lady reclining by the side of the knight has a collar of suns and roses placed alternately, with a merely ornamental pendant.

On the accession of Henry VII. it seems probable that recourse was had again to the old Lancastrian collar of SS. Examples, however, of such decorations on monuments became rare towards the close of the fifteenth century. In a signet used both by Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the royal arms are surrounded by a collar of SS, terminating at each end in a portecullis, between which is suspended a rose. This form of collar may be likewise seen on the portrait of Sir Thomas More as Chancellor. On the effigy of Sir John Cheney, Lord Cheney and K.G., in Salisbury Cathedral, who died in 1489, is a collar of SS of unusual length, to which is attached a portecullis, in front of which hangs a rose by a small chain.^b Edward Stafford Earl of Wiltshire, who died in 1499, is represented on his monument at Luffwick, Northamptonshire,^c with a collar of SS. By his will, dated 1498, he bequeathed to his cousin, the Earl of Shrewsbury, his collar of the King's livery.^d

Though we do not obtain much material to illustrate this point of costume from monuments, we now begin to derive some assistance from pictures. Of the portraits of Henry VII. the greater number represent him wearing a broad and rich collar of gold, of irregular outline, thickly studded with jewels. Examples of this may be seen in the large picture in the Provost's Lodge, Eton, and in two of the portraits in the Society's Collection. A smaller portrait, however, also in the Society's Collection, bequeathed by Mr. Kerrich in 1828, furnishes us with a remarkable instance of a collar, as will be seen by the annexed woodcut. It is composed of a rose-like ornament and a knot placed alternately. The rose-like ornament is evidently in open work, and consists of a dark stone, probably a ruby, with a scalloped setting of gold ; above and at the sides of this are three loops resembling in outline the leaves of a rose, but open, and of a green colour ; below are two loops of a different form, both represented white ; from the central jewel proceed rays. It is possible



^a Stothard, Effigies ; Surtees' Durham.

^b Gough, vol. ii. pl. cxxx.

^c Gough, vol. ii. pl. cxix.

^d Testamenta Vetusta, p. 437.

that there may be in this ornament a reminiscence of the old Yorkist badge, the *rose en soleil*, which Henry VII. may have used in respect of his wife; but the tints are green and white, the colours of the Tudor family. The knots, it will be seen, have three loops and two tassels, each loop inclosing a pearl. The rose-like ornaments differ in tint, the larger leaves being in one green and in the next white, while the smaller leaves are of those colours reversed.

In the inventory of the jewels of Prince Henry, made in the year 1504, an entry occurs^a which may to a certain extent illustrate the device on the collar, viz. :—

11. Item, a rose of rubeis, sette in a rose white and grene, w^t iii. fayr perles, yeven by my Lorde Chaumbrelayn, poisaunt di. oz.

In the same inventory a curious collar is mentioned, which, from its donor, may have belonged originally to Prince Arthur. It is thus described^b :—

6. Item, a coller of golde w^t rede roses and white enameld w^t pauncis w^t wyres of pynnes, yeven by my Lady Princes [Catharine of Arragon] A^o xix^o, poisaunt xvij oz.

The same collar occurs in the inventory of the jewels of Henry VIII.^c :—

14. Item, a coller of golde wrought w^t paunsis and roosis white and redde wayinge xvij oz. quart.

It was, however, during the reign of Henry VII. that one of the most ornamental and important English collars was introduced, viz. the Collar of the Garter, though it is not till the reign of Henry VIII. that we find any distinct mention of it in the printed Statutes of the Order; in those enacted 14 Hen. VIII. (1522) chapter 38 is as follows :—

38. Item, pour avoir meillieure cognoissance des chevaliers qui seront du dict ordre, le Souverain d' icelluy veult et ordonne, par le vouloir et consentement de toute la compaignie, que doiresnavant chascun chevalier d'icelle aura et portera en apert et ouvertement ung collier d'or autour de son colle, pesant trente onces du poix de Troie et non outre, le quel collier sera fait par pieces en facon de Jarretieres, au millicu des quelles Jarretieres aura une double rose, l'une rose de rouge et l'autre dessus blanche, et a l'autre une rose blanche et le rose rouge par dessus; et auboute du dict collier sera mise et attaché l'imaige de Saint George, &c.

The form and ornaments of this collar are admirably shown in the gold seal of Henry VIII. appended to the English counterpart of the treaty between France and England, dated 18th September, 1527.^d The reverse has the royal arms, around which is disposed the collar of the Garter, formed of double roses inclosed

^a Kal. and Inv. Exch. vol. iii. p. 394. See also, for red, white, and green roses, Willement's Regal Heraldry, p. 63.

^b Kal. and Inv. Exch. vol. iii. p. 393. It was "yeven to the King by my Lorde Prince anno xxii^o."

^c Kal. and Inv. Exch. vol. ii. p. 263.

^d Engraved in the Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. pl. xxii.

in garters, linked together by knots with four loops and four tassels, and from one of the former hangs the George. The same collar is also seen well displayed on the monumental brass at Hever,* of Sir Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wiltshire, K.G., who died 1538. Here the garters inclosing roses are very large, so as almost to conceal the knots between them; no George is visible. Other instances are to be found in the portrait of the Duke of Brandon at Woburn, and in that of Sir Henry Guldeford, at Windsor Castle, painted by Holbein in 1527.

The origin of the collar of the Garter may be traced back to an earlier date than the ordinance of Henry VIII. in sundry ways: Ashmole^b and Anstis^c have collected several instances in which a collar is alluded to during the reign of Henry VII. and the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. For instance, Philip, King of Castile, was invested with a collar when he was installed K. G. in 1506; John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, K.G. in his will, dated 10th April, 1509, bequeathed to his cousin John de Vere "his coler of garters and red roses of gold." At the creation of Henry Lord Stafford as Earl of Wiltshire, 3 Feb. 1 Henry VIII. (1510), after he was invested with his robes of state the collar of the garter was put about his neck to denote his being a knight of that order. Among the insignia sent in 1503 to Guido Ubaldo, Duke of Urbino, was a collar, and it is stated to be alluded to in the MS. Book of Statutes sent to the Emperor Maximilian, and dated 5 Jan. 1508, as well as in a similar book that belonged to Edward Stanley, Lord Montegale, elected K.G. in 1514. In these documents it is described, according to Ashmole, as "a gold collar coupled together by several pieces of links in the fashion of Garters, with a vermillion rose, and the image of St. George hanging thereat."

The existence of the collar during the reign of Henry VII. is further shown by an entry in the inventory of Prince Henry's jewels, made in 1504, and already alluded to^d:—

47. Item, a coller of garters of gold, conť xxii garters and xxii laces, w^t a George on horsbacke, poisaunt togeders xxx oz. di. quart.

This same collar is described among the jewels of Henry as king; and another collar with a greater number of garters;^e viz.—

12. Item, a coller of golde, conteynyng xxvj garters knytte togidders w^t xxvj laces of golde for Kinges waryng, waynge xxviiij oz. quart. di.

* Waller's Brasses.

^c Anstis, Register of the Garter, vol. ii. p. 121.

^e Kal. and Inv. Exch. vol. ii. p. 263.

^b Ashmole, Institution of the Garter, p. 222.

^d Kal. and Inv. Exch. vol. iii. p. 399.

The collar of the garter is also to be seen on the tomb of Sir Giles Daubeny, K.G., in Westminster Abbey, who died in 1507. The roses are there very small in proportion to the garters, which are linked together with knots of gold cord in two loops elaborately interlaced, and having four tassels.

It is probable that some variations are to be found in the forms of the collar; since, in the illuminations of the Black Book of the Garter,^a dated 1534, all the collars but one are formed of garters inclosing the red cross of St. George; the exception is a figure of Henry VII., where the roundels are very small, and have plain black centres.

In any case however the garters form so essential a feature in the collar, that it is not likely that the collar worn by Prince Arthur in the picture which has been described is in any way connected with the Order.

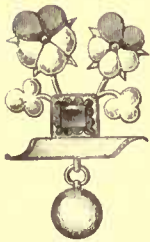
It has occurred to me as a question, whether the knots to be seen in that collar could, by any accident, have been described in the inventories as pansies; for the form of the loops is not unlike the petals of that flower. This however seems to be improbable, from the mention of *laces* in describing the garter collar in the same inventory. A pansy moreover is especially mentioned in two other entries^b as a device.

10. Item, a fayr balais w^t iij greate perles sett in a paunsey, poisaunt dī oz.

12. Item, a fayr ruby set in a paunsey w^t iij fayr perles yeven by the Master of the Rolles, poisaunt dī oz

In the inventory of jewels belonging to Henry as king we find this entry: ^c

20. Item, a devise of golde of paunsis, wayinge vij oz. iij quarters di.



The heartsease or pansy flower was occasionally used as an ornament at this period, as appears from a curious portrait in the Society's collection, from which the annexed woodcut has been made. The portrait is an Italian picture of the latter half of the sixteenth century, possibly painted by Antonello da Messina; it was supposed by Mr. Kerrieh to represent Bartolomeo Liviano d'Alviano. He is richly dressed and with long hair; in his cap appears the ornament in question, which seems to have been composed of jewels; the two upper leaves of the flowers are red, the three lower white.

^a Some of these are engraved in Anstis, Register of the Garter.

^b Kal. and Inv. Exch. vol. iii. p. 394.

^c Ibid. vol. ii. p. 264.

The occurrence of the heartsease or pansy reminds me of a very beautiful miniature belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, and formerly the property of King Charles I., in which this flower occupies a prominent position.*

The description in the Catalogue of King Charles's Collection, page 47, No. 49, is as follows :

Item. Done upon the right light, another King Henry VII., when he was young, without a beard, holding in his hand some three little flowers called Heart's-ease, and a lady's hand toucheth his heart; whereon is written with some golden letters, being in a round old turned box of wood, wherein another round little carved frame is, in which the picture is set. Length, 1 in.

Brought from Germany and given to the King by the Lord Ambassador, Sir H. Vane.

This description seems very correct, excepting as to the size. The front of his dress is embroidered in gold with a vase of fire, which the hand of the lady seems about to take hold of. The gold letters along the top of her arm are A · CORDE · COR · TRAHO. Around the inside of the frame and on the blue background is inscribed in gold characters HENRICVS · VII · D.G. ANGLIÆ · ETC. REX. The diameter of the miniature (sight-measure) is $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch.

The source whence the miniature was obtained naturally leads one to question whether it is an English subject at all. Vanderdoort, in making his Catalogue for Charles I., simply followed what he saw before him. But there is great reason to doubt the genuineness of the inscription on the blue ground. The costume and countenance at once forbid the acceptance of it as a portrait of Henry VII. when young; it belongs evidently to the close of his reign or the commencement of that of Henry VIII. It would, in some respects, do for the latter monarch, though the thin dark-brown curling hair and the decidedly brown eyeballs do not accord with the authenticated portraits of him. I would, however, venture to suggest, that, *if English at all*, this miniature may have been intended for Prince Arthur. The heartsease here held in the hand has no doubt some special signification; this flower again appears prominently on a miniature portrait of the Queen of Bohemia when young, in the Royal Collection, page 49, No. 54, of Vanderdoort's Catalogue.

I cannot conclude this long note, without acknowledging the assistance which I have received in compiling it from our Director, Mr. A. W. Franks.

* Contributed to the Manchester Exhibition, 1857, and to the Loan Collection at South Kensington, 1862, No. 2018.

XIV.—*On the Date and other Circumstances of the Death of the Painter Hans Holbein, as disclosed by the discovery of his Will.*^a By W. H. BLACK, Esq. F.S.A.

Read February 14, 1861.

HOWEVER interesting it may be to be acquainted with the time and circumstances of the *birth* of an eminent person, it is more instructive to ascertain when, where, and how he *died*. A man's career is then complete, his actions can be freely reviewed and recorded for the information of posterity, and nothing more can justly be added to the acts of his life on which to found his reputation. In more than one sense, therefore, is there truth in the words of Solomon, "A good name rather than good perfume, and a day of death rather than a day of birth." (Ecl. vii. 1.) The case of the great painter Holbein strikingly illustrates this saying. His powers and reputation as an artist far transcended, even in his royal master's judgment, the accidental distinctions of rank and fortune; and the true date of his death is far more important to his posthumous reputation and to posterity than the date of his birth.

All authors that I have seen agree to inform us that Hans Holbein was born at Basle in "1498," and that he died in London or Westminster in "1554." If the latter date be correct, he lived not only under Henry VIII., to whom Lord Chancellor More had introduced him, but also under Edward VI. and Queen Mary. Hence various pictures have been attributed to him, worthy or unworthy of his genius and pencil, the subjects of which were not in existence, or had not risen to eminence, in the first named reign; and the period of fifty-six years is ascribed to him as the term of his natural life. But on what original authority those dates rest I am unable, as yet, to ascertain.^b One circumstance is, how-

^a This communication should have been inserted at the commencement of this volume, but having been returned to the author it was mislaid and thought to be lost. Many of the particulars and the Will were therefore incorporated into the Memoir by Mr. Franks (ante, p. 1), which was printed before the MS. was recovered. It has however been deemed advisable to insert Mr. Black's communication here in its original form.

^b I have since traced those dates to Carel Van Mander's *Schilder Boeck, or Lives of Painters*, published at Amsterdam, 1618, 4to. ff. 142-145, which I first met with in Brussels.

ever, asserted, with equal unanimity, that "he died of the *plague*," in London. This assertion, if it can be relied upon, may help at least to strengthen or invalidate any assigned date of the great painter's death; and, if applied as a test of the truth of the date commonly assigned, it proves that the year "1554" cannot have been the year in which he died.

The historians of London say nothing of a plague or pestilence happening in the metropolis in 1554, and our national history shows that there was no such occurrence. It was in July of that year that Queen Mary was married to Philip of Spain, at Winchester; and it was in the following August that, after their marriage tour, they came by water from Richmond to Southwark, and passed in state through the city of London on their way to Westminster, where, in the November following, a Parliament was holden. Other events connected with the metropolis prove that it suffered no visitation of plague or pestilence in the year 1554.

The tradition, then, might lead us naturally us to search for a more probable occasion with which to connect the time of his death; and such an occasion can be shown as agrees exactly with the time at which the Will of a John Holbeine was dated and presented to the Ordinary in London, not, however, in 1563, which is known as a plague-year, but much earlier, namely in October and November, 1543, *eleven years before the alleged and commonly received time of the painter's death*. The Will is of itself curious, though insufficient to gratify the reasonable curiosity of the present age. It appears that the testator had little to leave, nothing to bequeath, and what he left could scarcely pay his debts and provide for his children. The Will doth not state whether he were sick or well when it was made; but, being brought before the Ordinary within the eighth week from its date, and, being informal in its construction, it may be supposed to have been dictated in a state of infirmity and approaching death.

In recording the events of that year, the London Chronieler, John Stowe, having mentioned the burning of Anthony Parson and two other martyrs at Windsor on the 28th of July, 1543, immediately informs us that "*a great death of pestilence was at London, and therefore Michaelmas term was adjourned to Saint Alban's.*" (Annals, 1592, 4to. p. 987.) At that time our chronieler was about eighteen years of age, and therefore he was able to state the fact upon his own knowledge. He might indeed, perhaps, have seen Holbein himself, though he has not preserved any notice of him, for he was his fellow parishioner. Stowe's bones and monument yet remain in the church of Saint Andrew's Undershaft, in Leadenhall Street, and the register still preserves his name as "John Stoc,"

buried on the 8th^a of April, 1605, aged 80. That register, the earliest now extant in the parish, begins in 1580, and therefore too late to contain Holbein's name.

Though the place of Holbein's residence is not mentioned in his Will, it is preserved in the Acts registered therewith, and that of necessity; for, as the Commissary's jurisdiction was confined to certain localities, and includes the parish of St. Andrew's Undershaft, so that parish was named in the proceedings taken upon the Will, to justify his authority as Ordinary of the place.

The testator describes himself as "John Holbeine, servant to the King's Majesty." He mentions his horse, which, with his goods, was to be sold to pay his debts; says not a word about his pictures or about his wife, but mentions his "two children" without naming them. These could not be the children whom he had long before left with his wife in Switzerland, and who were represented with her in a painting at Basle.^b Unless they were orphans, it may be conjectured that they were the fruit of some later (and perhaps irregular) connexion in this country, as they were put out "at nurse," upon a very small monthly allowance. Having mentioned his debts, he acknowledges two creditors by name: one was "Mr. Anthony, the King's servant, of Greenwich," perhaps the Anthony Anthony who belonged to the Ordnance Department and was a careful chronicler of public events.^c The other was Mr. John of Anwarpe (or Antwerp), a goldsmith, who was one of the witnesses. Although no executor is named in the Will, yet this last-mentioned person is described as such in the Act which follows the entry of the Will in the Register; and he is there said to have presented the Will to the Ordinary, *renouncing* all execution of it, and to have taken out letters of administration only, on the 29th of November, 1543. The Will being dated 7th October, 1543, it is clear that the testator must have died in the short interval of seven or eight weeks.

Beside John of Antwerp and two other foreigners (Anthony Sneeher, an armourer, and a "merchant" named Olrycke Obynger), a fourth witness is named, likewise a foreigner, and (which is more interesting) a fellow artist. This was "Harry Maynert, paynter," of whom no trace occurs in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, though perhaps he was related to the John Maynard, one of the two painters who had been employed under Torregiano to work upon the monument of Henry VII.

^a His monument says that he died on the 5th of that month.

^b Walpole's *Anecdotes*, in his works, vol. iii. p. 65.

^c See the Ashmolean MSS. at Oxford.

I now lay before the Society an exact copy of the Will and of the Aets thereupon recorded, which I found only a week ago in one of the Registers of the Commissary of London, preserved in the Record Room at St. Paul's Cathedral, called the Book "Beverly," folios 116 and 121. That volume includes the period A.D. 1539—1548, and there is neither calendar nor index of its contents; which may account for the obscurity in which the Will hath so long been hidden. No original Wills of that time are preserved in the Commissary's Registry.

WILL OF HANS HOLBEIN.

[E libro "Beverly," fol. cxvi.]

Holbeine.—In the name of God the father, sonne, and holy gohooste, I, Johñ Holbeine, servaunte to the Kynges Magestye, make this my Testamente and last will, to wyt, that all my goodes shalbe sold and also my horse, and I will that my debtes be payd, to wete, fyrst to M^r Anthony, the Kynges servaunte, of Grenwiche, y^e of [*sic*] summe of ten poundes thurtene shylynges and sewyne pence sterlinge. And more over I will that he shalbe contented for all other thynges betwene hym and me. Item, I do owe unto M^r John of Anwarpe, goldsmythe, sexe poundes sterling, wiche I will also shalbe payd unto hym with the fyrste. Item, I bequeythe for the kynpyng [*keeping*] of my two Chylder wich be at nurse, for every monethe sewyn shylynges and sex pence sterlynge. In wytnes, I have sealed and sealed [*sic*] this my testament the vijth day of October, in the yere of o^r Lorde God M^vCxliij. Wytnes, Anthoney Snecher, armerer, M^r Johñ of Anwarpe, goldsmythe, before sayd, Olrycke Obynger, merchaunte, and Harry Maynert, paynter.

XXIX^o die mensis Novembris anno Domini predict. Johannes Anwarpe executor nominat. in testamento sive ultima voluntate Johannis alias Hans Holbein nuper parochie sancti Andree Undershafte defuncti comparuit coram Magistro Johanne Croke, &c. Commissario generali, ac renunciavit omni executioni hujusmodi testamenti, quam renunciacionem dominus admisit, deinde commisit administracionem bonorum dicti defuncti prenominato Johanni Anwarpe in forma juris jurato et per ipsum admissa pariter et acceptata. Salvo jure cujuscumque. Dat. &c.

[Ibid. fol. exxj^o.]

Holbene.—XXIX^{no} die mensis predicti commissa fuit administracio bonorum Johannis alias Hans Holbeñ parochie sancti Andrei Undershaft nuper abintestato defuncti Johanni Anwarpe in forma juris jurato, ac per ipsum admissa pariter et acceptata. Salvo jure cujuseunque. Dicto die, mens. &c.

The discovery of Holbein's Will cannot fail to draw after it some interesting consequences, as affecting the genuineness of works of art ascribed to this great master. The principal of these is the celebrated picture at Bridewell Hospital, commemorating a noble public act of charity in the gift of the royal palace of Bridewell, at the very end of the reign of King Edward VI. viz. 10th April, 1553.^a The long-pending controversy about the authorship of that picture is now for ever set at rest, so far as regards the painter to whom it has been hitherto ascribed. Critics of art must now look out for another artist of that time; and perhaps there may yet lie hidden, among unexplored registers or accounts, the true name, which should be substituted, in this instance, for that of Holbein.

I am not enough acquainted with the history and existing monuments of painting in England to pursue this part of the subject. All that I can do, as a palæographer and chronologist, is to discover written evidence of facts, and to correct dates. The rest must be left to persons of greater artistic knowledge, taste, and skill, than I can pretend to possess.

It may be said perhaps that, as a great architect, so also a great painter, needs no monument beside his works. Walpole observes that "the *spot* of his (Holbein's) *interment* was as uncertain as that of his *death*," and he might have added (if the circumstance of the "plague" had but been considered) of the *time* of his death also. He alludes to Strype's story of Lord Arundel's desire to erect a monument to the painter's memory. Strype's words are (speaking of Saint Catharine Cree-Church), "I have been told that Hans Holben, the great and inimitable painter in King Henry VIII.'s time, was buried in this church; and that the Earl of Arundel, the great patron of learning and arts, would have set up a monument to his memory here, had he but known whereabouts the corpse lay."^b So uncertain is tradition that, although this rumour must have originated in a knowledge of the neighbourhood where Holbein died, yet a wrong place is assigned for his burial; for Cree-Church and Undershaft, those noble specimens of the ancient ecclesiastical buildings of London, are situate in the same street, on the same side of the way, and within 200 yards of each other. The beautiful pile of Undershaft escaped the Fire of London, but the register from 1538 to 1579 inclusively has not been preserved; and if it were extant, who would believe that a John Holbeine, dying and buried in 1543, was the Hans Holbein whose life hath been prolonged by all biographers to 1554, unless upon the infallible testimony of the Will now brought to light?

^a See Stowe's Annals, p. 1030.

^b Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey of London, 1720, vol. i. book ii. p. 64.

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