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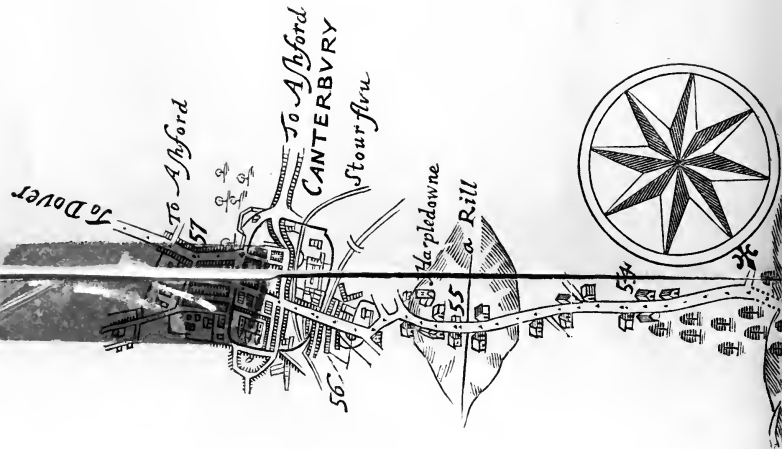
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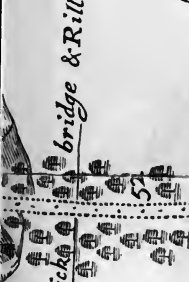
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*To Hearn
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a Rill



*Bocton ats
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*To Home
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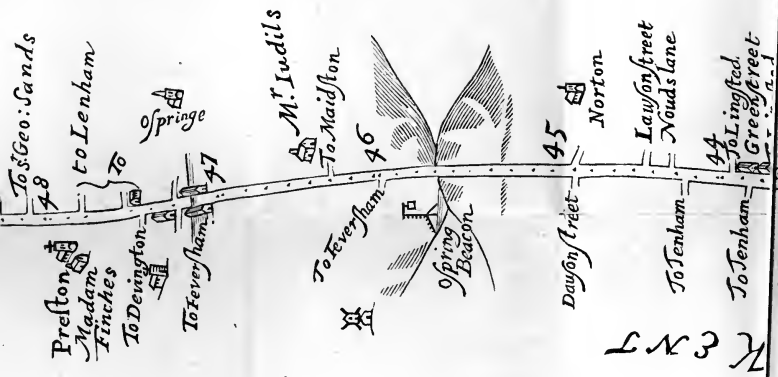
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[THE ROAD FROM LONDON TO CANY]



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To Kingsdowne

Radfeild Street

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To Kingsdowne

Bapchilde

42 Radmerham

To Radnisham

To Murston

To Leynam

Milton

Sittingborn

To Milton To Tomstal

To Milton To Borden

Bobbin

To Moores
St George
to Breedgate



20 To Swancomb Swancomb



To Green Hithe 19

To Green Hithe

To Southfleet

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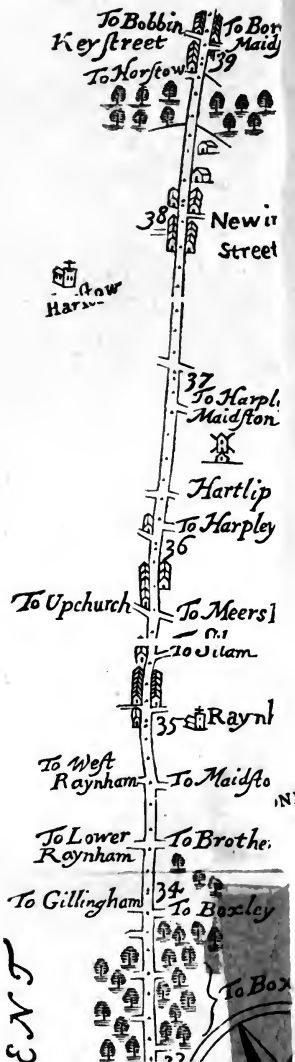
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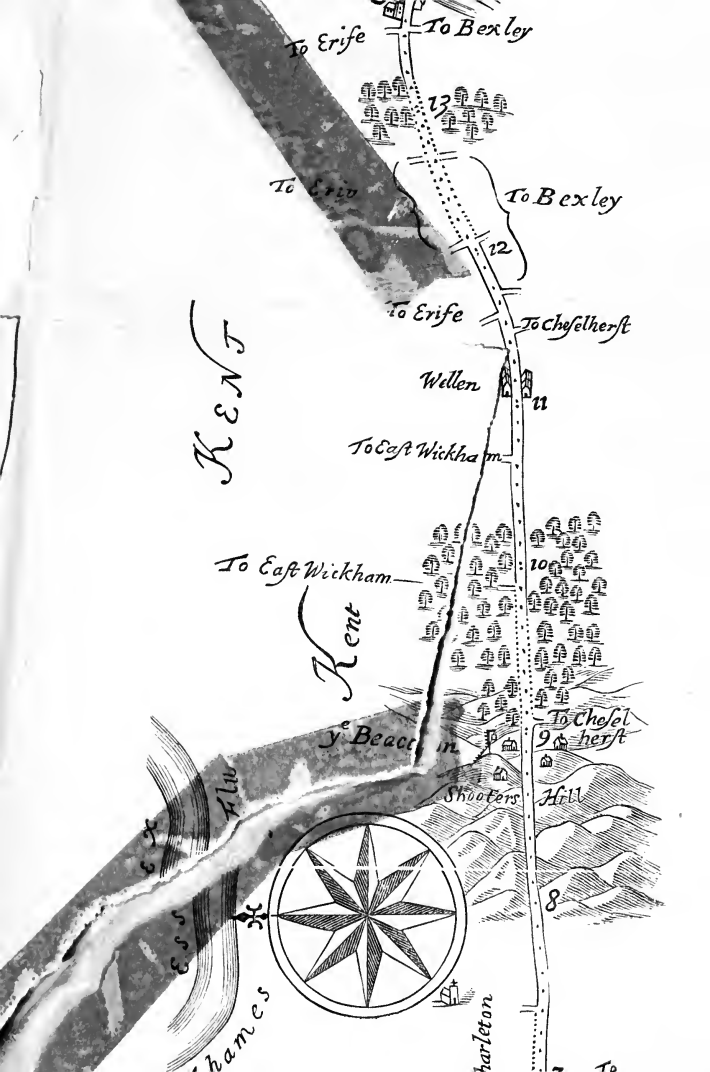
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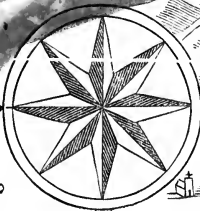
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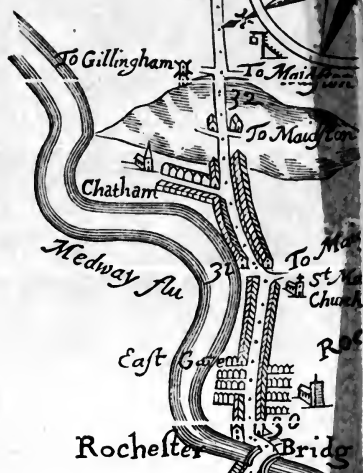
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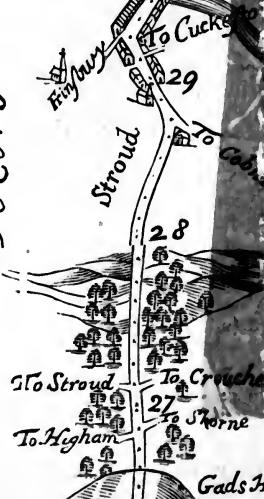
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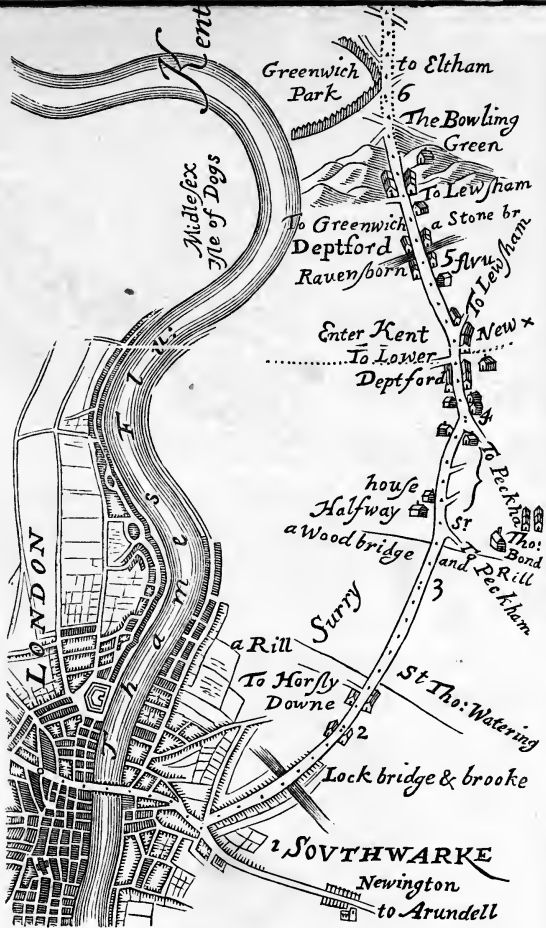
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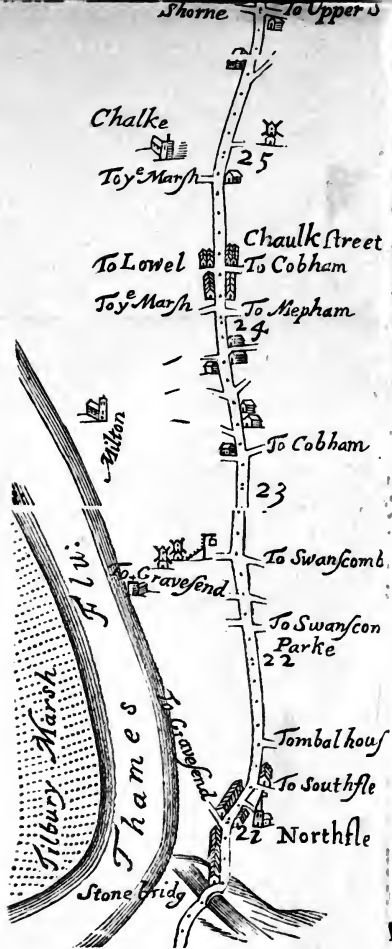


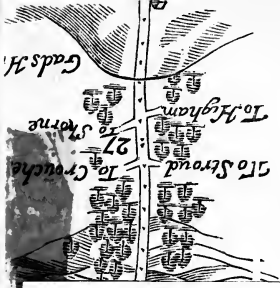
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Gads H.







Society

Some Notes on the
Road from London to Canterbury
in the Middle Ages

EDITED BY

HENRY LITTLEHALES

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Published for the CHAUCER SOCIETY

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TO THE MEMORY
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PREFACE.

THE present little book, being but a sketch, does not profess to reproduce the history of those features and places the story of which is readily accessible, neither is it in any way concerned with history of a date posterior to the Reformation. The aim has been to attempt to trace the route commonly followed by Pilgrims, and to collect some of the scattered notes which refer to the route during the period between the canonisation of St. Thomas and the proscription of all pilgrimages.

I am indebted to Mr. M. Beazeley for kind assistance in connection with the *MS. Scrap Books* of the Capitular Library at Canterbury.

For assistance in finding the illuminations referred to, all of which are in the British Museum, I am very greatly indebted to Messrs. Birch and Jenner's *Dictionary of Illuminations*; their dates have been supplied from the same source, as well as the authority for the statement that all are English.

I shall be greatly obliged if any reader will kindly correct any mistakes, or aid me in any way, either in the elucidation of the route, or in the story of those features of interest on it.

H. L.

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OGILBY'S MAP OF THE ROAD IN 1675.



SECTION I.

The Route or Routes.

CHAPTER I.

LONDON TO DARTFORD.

IN the following pages of this little sketch an attempt has been made to in some measure trace the route and tell something of the story of the road travelled by medieval Pilgrims on their journey from London to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury.

The task is not an easy one, though the pilgrimage to the shrine must, for more than 300 years, have been undertaken by a great number of men and women, of whom some doubtlessly died on the journey, and whose bones still remain in some of the quiet churchyards not far from the common way.

In considering the route taken by Pilgrims, it is of importance that we should bear the following facts in mind :

1. That when two roads of any antiquity run parallel with each other, we cannot feel sure that one road more than another formed the customary route for Pilgrims.
2. That it does not by any means follow that all Pilgrims from London to Canterbury took exactly the same route.

3. That it may have been common for Pilgrims to avoid the main roads and choose by-paths for reasons of greater personal safety.
4. That where the present road can be shown to occupy the site of the Roman Road, and no evidence is forthcoming of another parallel road having existed at any time, we may then, in a measure, believe the existing road to be the Pilgrims' Way.

Bearing these facts in mind, we may now attempt to deal with the route, and though unfortunately a portion of the road is still left in some obscurity, we may feel fairly sure that much of the road still existing is beyond doubt the actual road travelled over in the Middle Ages by Pilgrims to the famous shrine.

Our starting point is of course the Tabard Inn in Southwark, of which, however, little need be said, the site and the fact that an inn still stands upon it forming the only items of interest within our limits. (*See Rendle and Norman's Inns of Old Southwark.*)

On leaving the modern inn, though little *proof* is forthcoming, there is perhaps no reason why we should not believe that we are following the ancient Pilgrims' Way when we take the present road down the Borough to St. George's Church, situated at the first main corner on our left. Then, turning to the left, we may go down the Great Dover Road, Old Kent Road, and New Cross Road to Deptford (Stanford's reproduction of Newcourt's Map of 1658 and Sellers' Map of Surrey, 1729).

"The Watering of Saint Thomas" (Prologue, *Canterbury Tales*)—

"Saint Thomas A' Waterings was situated close to the second milestone on the Old Kent Road, and was so called from a brook or spring dedicated to Saint Thomas A' Becket . . . the memory of the place is still kept alive by Saint Thomas's Road . . . The 'Thomas A' Becket' at the corner of Albany Road commemorates the spot where the Pilgrims first halted." (*Thornbury's Old and New London*, pp. 250-1.)

Deptford Bridge.—Canon Scott-Robertson writes—

“St. Katherine’s Hermitage abutted on the east end of Deptford Bridge, and masses were said by the hermits from the time of Edward III. to that of Henry VIII., who on the 29th July, 1531, caused £3 6s. 8d. to be paid to the hermit for the repair of his chapel.”

At Deptford we turn up the Blackheath Road and go up Blackheath Hill (Ordnance Map, Middlesex, sheet xxiii.), bearing in mind that at Blackheath the road we are to follow is more probably that running by the side of Greenwich Park than the present main road crossing the Heath.

In this respect we follow Ogilby’s map of the road from London to Canterbury, 1675, reproduced in facsimile and issued by the Chaucer Society with the *Tale of Beryn*.

We shall note too that the Ordnance Map (Middlesex, sheet xxiii.) shows the Old Road, as Ogilby has drawn it, running by the side of the Park, and then, soon after, bearing to the right and joining again the present main road some little distance before Shooter’s Hill.

To speak more clearly, on arriving at the Heath we keep on our way upon it for some two or three hundred yards; then, on reaching the angle formed by a house and pond, we bear to the left, and take the road by the side of the Park wall.

Blackheath.—

“In 1381, Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and their associates were encamped upon Blackheath. Jack Cade, the counterfeit Mortimer, twice occupied the same station in 1450. On the 23rd of February, 1451, the king was met on Blackheath by a great number of Cade’s deluded followers in their shirts, who humbly on their knees craved for pardon. In 1452, Henry VI. pitched his tent upon Blackheath, when he was preparing to withstand the forces of the Duke of York, afterwards Edward IV. . . . Here in 1400 Henry IV. with great parade and magnificence met the Emperor of Constantinople when he arrived in England to solicit assistance against Bajazet,

Emperor of the Turks. Here on the 23rd of November, 1415, the Mayor and Aldermen of London, with 400 citizens clothed in scarlet with red and white hoods, met their victorious monarch returning from the field of Agincourt. . . . In 1474 the citizens met Edward IV. on Blackheath as he returned from France. . . . Cardinal Campeius being sent by the Pope into England as his Legate was received upon this Heath. . . . A still more magnificent procession was that which appeared upon Blackheath at the meeting between Henry VIII. and the Lady Anne of Cleves, on the 3rd of January, 1540 . . . she came down Shooter's Hill at 12 o'clock and alighted at a tent of cloth of gold. . . . The king having notice of her arrival went through the Park to meet her, attended by most of the Nobility, the Bishops, the Heralds, the Foreign Ambassadors, &c. . . . All the city barges were on the water near the Palace." (*Beauties of England and Wales, Kent*, p. 514.)

On leaving the Heath we keep on our road with little deviation till we reach a small triangular green, at which point we turn to the right, up the "Old Dover Road," which soon leads us into the main highway again.

The main road between Blackheath and Shooter's Hill is apparently the old Roman Road, according to the Ordnance Map (Kent, 6 in. to the mile, Map 2).

The Ordnance Map also seems to imply that the present road between Shooter's Hill and Welling is also the Roman Road (Map 2), but the following note, for which I am indebted to a correspondent, is distinctly antagonistic to this theory:

"The road from the top of Shooter's Hill towards Welling has not existed in its present form for many years. It was made in 1739. The old road remained in existence till 1796, and although ploughed up and cultivated, is said to be still traceable on the north side of the descent (*vide* W. T. Vincent's *Record of Woolwich District*, p. 645). The old road was considered too

narrow, and afforded too many advantages to highway-men."

We may now follow the road on through Welling to Bexley Heath, the road between the two places being apparently the old Roman Road according to the Ordnance Map (Map 8).

Bexley Heath.—A small house, called Clapton Villa, contains an ancient and perfect sacramental wafer. For very many years the wafer has been in the possession of the family of the lady who still retains it. It is, perhaps, unique, though a volume in the British Museum contains a fragment of a similar nature, imbedded in one of its covers.

Keeping to the main road, which still appears, according to the Ordnance Map, to occupy the site of the Roman Road (Map 9), we go on to within about a quarter of a mile of Crayford, when we meet with a serious difficulty, for at this point the Ordnance Map shows the old Dover Road, leaving the present main road at the angle now occupied by gas-works. The question therefore arises, which was the mediæval road, the "Old Dover Road," to the left of the gas-works, or the Roman Road continuing straight on? In addition to this, the little triangular piece of ground opposite Crayford Church, too small to appear on an ordinary map, presents some difficulty. There is the road to the left and then to the right past the church, and also that continuing straight on to the top of the High Street. The latter route is more direct, and also retains an ancient inn at its eastern end. Perhaps both these ways as well as the lower Roman Road may have been in use by Pilgrims; but of the two upper it is not unreasonable to consider the more direct as having been more probably the main road.

From the foot of Crayford High Street, we may rejoin the high road, which according to Mr. George Payne's *Archæological Map of Kent* (*Archæologia*, vol. 51, Pl. 18), occupies the site of the old Roman Road. The road takes us to Dartford.

Dartford.—On descending the hill into this town, we may

notice an almshouse on the right midway down the hill. According to Mr. Dunkin's *History of Dartford*, this establishment, though not the building, was originally before the Reformation a leper house, the endowment of the present establishment being formed by the ancient estates of the earlier institution.

The two houses immediately east of the post-office some fifty yards lower down on the same side of the way, enclose some very ancient work. Possibly the core of both houses may be of the fifteenth century.

From Mr. Dunkin we gather that somewhere near the present open space, at the crossing of the roads a few yards farther on, stood formerly the market cross erected in the time of Henry VI. (Dunkin, p. 10.)

The ancient house at the corner of the lane on the left a few yards before we reach the church, is thus mentioned in Mr. Dunkin's history:—

“The house at the east corner of Bullis Lane, now occupied by Mr. Stidolph, an upholsterer, was the dwelling of John Grovehurst in the reign of King Edward IV. That gentleman in 1465 obtained permission of the vicar and churchwardens of Dartford to erect a chimney (still standing) on a part of the churchyard, and in acknowledgment thereof provided a lamp to burn perpetually during the celebration of divine service in the parish church. . . . The principal apartment in the upper floor (a room about twenty-five feet by twenty feet) was originally hung round with tapestry, said to be worked by the nuns at the priory who were occasionally permitted to visit at the mansion. The principal figures were in armour, and two of them as large as life, latterly called Hector and Andromache; in the background was the representation of a large army with inscribed banners. The colours of the worsted remained quite brilliant, although the tapestry itself was decayed. . . . The blue room was supposed to have been an oratory. Old legends say a ghost was laid under one of the floors.” (Dunkin, pp. 13-14.)

The present occupier, Mr. Stidolph, has most kindly taken me over his house. Though subjected to considerable alterations, there is undoubtedly much of interest remaining, the whole of the core of the house being probably intact.

The "principal apartment" referred to by Mr. Dunkin is situated at the back of the house. Mr. Stidolph informs us that the room beneath is panelled with oak under the present wall paper.

In reference to the "Blue Room" Mr. Stidolph kindly supplies the following note—

"There is no room now known by that name. Previous to 1870 there was an inner room on bedroom floor where, as a boy, I used to sleep, which was called by that name (its walls were coloured blue); it had its light only from the window on the landing [immediately behind the front sitting-room over the shop, and from which four steps rise] leading to passage intervening between the blue room and external wall of house next Bullace Lane. . . . The site of it is now occupied by a store closet and the staircase leading to attics."

The best view of the ancient part of the house is that obtained from the churchyard.

The Church.—Canon Scott-Robertson, in his article in the eighteenth volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*, mentions that—

"In the thirteenth century the north chancel seems to have been erected and dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury." Mr. Dunkin thinks, and very reasonably, that this addition was due to the number of Pilgrims passing through Dartford on their way to Canterbury.

"The churchyard formerly surrounded it (the church), but some few years ago that part of it which was on the southern side was given to the public, to make the road more commodious for passengers."

Mr. Dunkin tells us that the round corner of the west end of the south aisle was executed after the Reformation, from which we may gather that, before the Reformation, the yard

did not extend very far at this point towards the road ; had been so there would have been no necessity to interfere with the angle of the church, and bearing in mind the fact that there were no footpaths to the streets even in towns before the Reformation, we may, I think, infer that the road occupied probably the same position as at present, but that the angle of the church would almost, if not quite, abut upon it.

The Bridge at Dartford in the middle ages, according to Dunkin, was very similar to that still existing at Eynsford. According to the same authority, a succession of hermits occupied a cell adjoining the foot of the bridge on its eastern side. Canon Scott-Robertson writes—

“The chapel of the Virgin Mary and St. Katherine was greatly supported by the alms of Pilgrims. Originally a hermitage had been founded at the Ford of the Darent. The hermit’s labours in keeping the Ford open and in good condition were consummated by the erection of a bridge. The chapel was much frequented by Pilgrims.”

Close by the bridge, according to Mr. Dunkin, was the Trinity Hospital, founded in 1452, and being under the management of the vicars and churchwardens. The house was built partly on piers over the stream, and perhaps the present overhanging house so built may perpetuate in a measure the place and appearance of the older one. The parish church formed the chapel of this establishment.

“The steep ascent of the Dover Road leading towards the Brent was, in ancient times, called ‘St. Edmund’s weye,’ from its leading to a chapel dedicated to that saint situated near the middle of the upper churchyard.” (Dunkin, p. 14.)

According to Hasted and Dunkin, a portion of this upper churchyard, situated on the left hand, half way up the hill from Dartford, and easily noticeable by its lofty dull brick wall, has been for very many centuries in use as a burial ground.

“The Roman Road shows itself very conspicuously on the south side of the high road between Dartford and the Brent.” (Hasted, vol. 2, p. 292.)

Dartford Brent.—A little beyond the top of the hill we come to the open space once known as—

“Dartford Brink [now Brent], where Edward III. held a solemn tournament in the year 1331.” (*History of Rochester*, 1817, p. 361.) “This place is famous for the encampment of the army of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, in 1452, whilst he waited to obtain a parley with King Henry VI., who then lay encamped on Blackheath.” (Hasted, vol. 2, p. 292.)

Arriving at this Common or “Brent,” serious difficulty arises. Shall we keep the main road to the left, and so on, passing near the famous church of Stone, or shall we keep straight on over the Roman Road? which, according to Andrews and Drury, 1769, runs, from the Brent to Swanscomb Park, a little north of the present road, the Ordnance Map making the Roman Road follow the present one. (*See Map 9.*)

If we take the Roman Road, we shall not come into the main road again until we reach the Coach and Horses Inn, just before Strood. But it is to be borne in mind that St. Thomas’s Well lies on this road, a little beyond Singlewell. As regards the question of the period of the disuse of the Roman Road, it would be helpful to obtain, if possible, some idea as to the date when the present break beyond Dartford first made its appearance. This break commences about a mile to the north-west of Betsham, and lasts to the angle formed by the present roads from Singlewell, Betsham and Swanscomb, about a mile in all being more or less obliterated. The Ordnance Map appears, with one exception, to mark this road as the Old Roman Road. The exception is the mile before St. Thomas’s Well, where the old road is marked as lying a shade to the south of the present one.

Respecting the question of the common medieval use of the main road, Dr. Furnivall’s ample knowledge comes to our aid, and the original documents to which he advised reference prove beyond, I think, any question that the route, for at any rate ordinary travellers, was *via* Gravesend, and not

by the Roman Road. Dr. Furnivall refers us to the ninth volume of the Historical MSS. Commission, and the Scrap Books A and B of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. In all the bills to be seen on folios G, 29-38, &c., of the great white MS. volume labelled "Accounts, 1445-1506 II.," now in the Cathedral library at Canterbury, we find that all travellers from London to Canterbury show clearly their route by the amounts paid at the various stopping places. All, without exception, went through Sittingbourne, Rochester and *Gravesend*, a fact of very great importance. Scrap Book B does furnish information respecting the route, but nothing in addition to that afforded by the Account Book. Dr. Furnivall's opinion as to the use of the two routes inclines to the Roman way. He writes:—

"I doubt whether Chaucer went through Gravesend. I incline to the old Watling Street and Roman Road, straighter, as the arc of the bend."

CHAPTER II.

DARTFORD BRENT TO STROOD (MAIN ROAD).

Northfleet.—At the Leather Bottle Inn at Northfleet, the road divides, and does not conjoin again till a little beyond Gravesend.

The left or northern road runs through Gravesend. The right-hand or southern road (which has nothing to do with the Roman Road) runs south of Gravesend. The southern road is marked on the Ordnance Map as the "Old London Road," and in the maps of Bowen (1751), Hasted (1778), Faden (1796), and others, it appears as the main London highway.

But I shall, I hope, prove that though this southern road was the London Road before the present one, it was not that of the Middle Ages, and that the present main road occupies more or less closely the site of the old pre-Reformation highway.

In the first place, a glance at the maps will show us that no distance is saved by the southern route avoiding the town, and it is unreasonable to suppose that the main London road would not go through so important a town as Gravesend, unless there was some special reason for such a course; but that reason will appear, and, I think, be explained, by the following extract:—

"1801. A great improvement was made at this time in the line of the London Road to and from Gravesend. The old line ran from Northfleet along the edge of the cliffs north of the fair field to Church Street. This

becoming dangerous by digging away the chalk almost to the roadside, it was very little used, and the traffic was chiefly by the old Dover Road from Northfleet to the intersecting road leading from Gravesend to Perry Street, and there turning to the left or north towards the town. Then passing Manor Farm House, another turning on the right led past the workhouse and burying-ground, and then by another sharp turning on the left into the town at the top or north end of High Street. This zig-zag route was superseded by a high road in a straight line from the Leather Bottle at Northfleet to the top of High Street, made under the authority of an Act of Parliament, passed in 1801. This line retains the name of the New Road, and is continued through King Street, past Denton and Chalk, to Rochester, Canterbury and Dover." (Cruden's *History of Gravesend*, p. 477.)

We have here the record of an earlier road from Northfleet to Gravesend, more or less occupying the site of the present road, and the reason why it was for a time abandoned (perhaps from 1600 to 1801). If we look at the facsimile of Ogilby's Map of 1675, we shall see that this northern road is indicated, though the southern is shown to be the main highway.

With regard to the continuation of the earlier road from Gravesend towards Rochester, we have still remaining a very considerable weight of evidence, for a very little distance from the town, on the present road towards Rochester, stands the old church of Milton, and a little distance farther on are the ruins of Denton Church, and still a little farther the junction of the two roads, the whole distance being about a mile. Both churches are on the direct road to Rochester, and by the side of the present highway. Between them, and to Gravesend and Chalk, which lies a little beyond the junction of the two roads, there must have been a road of some sort, added to which is the fact that in the Middle Ages the journey from London to Canterbury was at times accomplished by water so far as Gravesend, on which occasions it is highly

improbable that the road towards Rochester would start towards the south, or nearly so, for the greater part of a mile.

With regard to the question of the present road following the site of the ancient way, we can, I think, obtain a very fair idea from an examination of existing maps. The result of such an examination is as follows:—

In 1659 both roads were present, the road from Gravesend east running, as now, past the south sides of the two churches of Milton and Denton. (*See Symonson's Map, 1659.*) In 1797 the southern road is the highway, but the road from Northfleet to Gravesend is gone. (*See Stockdale's Map, 1797.*)

From these facts we may, I think, believe the eastern part of the present highway, that is, the road from Gravesend to the junction of the two roads before Chalk, to be the medieval road, but that the western part from Northfleet to Gravesend lies probably a little south of the ancient highway.

CHAPTER III.

DARTFORD BRENT TO STROOD (ROMAN ROAD).

THE Roman Road leaves the main road at the angle on Dartford Brent, and continues in a straight line for about three miles, when it follows the course of the modern road no longer, but, in a very rough form, goes on towards a wood, whilst the modern road turns to the right up a slight incline towards Betsham. We can take up the Roman Road again by going up this little hill, and soon after, at the end of a long deep cutting, we shall come out by some farm buildings. At this point a cross-road leads right and left. The left hand road will take us to Springhead Gardens, a little before which the Roman Road recommences again as abruptly as it terminated. (*See Map.*)

Singlewell.—Canon Scott-Robertson writes :—

“Singlewell was originally written *Schinglydwell*. It evidently derived its name from a *well* over which there was a shelter or roof covered with shingles of wood, such as we see used upon church spires. From its use by vast numbers of Pilgrims this Schyngledwell or Schynglewell became a well-known landmark. Although it stood within the parish of Ifield, that parish was actually described in 1362 as Ifield-juxta-Schyngledwell (*Register of Archbishop Islip*, f. 297a). At this well, or in the hamlet which sprang up around it, a chapel was erected, probably for the use mainly of pilgrims, which became an appendage to the parish church of Ifield. In 1405 Thomas Raston was admitted to be rector of

the 'church of Ifeld, together with the chapel of Shingeldwell.'" (*Register of Archbishop Arundel*, I., f. 305a.)

The village well, which we may believe to be that from which the place takes its name, is situated by the roadside.

St. Thomas's Well.—This very interesting feature is on the right-hand side of the road, rather more than a mile from Singlewell, and just beyond the turning to the left leading to Chalk. Though the mouth of the well is now closed in, and the water (constantly used) is drawn by a pump, the well is still known as St. Thomas's Well. It is an important feature in connection with the question of the route. Andrews and Drury mark this well on their map of 1769.

CHAPTER IV.

STROOD TO CANTERBURY.

“AT the top of Strood Hill [was a leper hospital], at a spot called the White Ditch on the south side of the present highway there. . . . The hill . . . perhaps . . . retains to this day the name of Spittal Hill.” (Stead’s *Bygone Kent*, p. 75.)

It will be remembered that Spital St. Dartford contains an ancient foundation of a leper hospital.

Strood.—We may take the following from Canon Scottbertson’s *Strood in the Olden Time* :—

“The Roman Road, having passed straight through Rochester by the way now called High Street, crossed the river Medway and entered Frindsbury on the opposite bank. Where the Watling Street entered Frindsbury upon its continued course towards London a cluster of houses sprang up which owed their existence to the fact that the road or Watling Street emerged from the river at that point. This cluster of houses was therefore called Strode. Like the Italian *Strada* and the German *Strasse* this name of Strode was simply another form of the Roman word *Strata*, which designated a paved way, high road, *viâ* or street. . . . Bishop Gilbert de Glanvill . . . with a view to accommodate pilgrims . . . founded here a hospital or house of entertainment for poor persons on the road. This he called the Hospital of St. Mary in Strood . . . the vicar of Strood was really the Master of St. Mary’s Hospital, which acquired the name of Newark. The good bishop fully recognised

the importance of the bridge end to the people of Strood and to the welfare of his newly founded hospital. He therefore built a quay of stone close beside the Strood end of the bridge, and he erected a small chapel on the quay at which any passenger crossing the bridge might previously kneel in devotion or subsequently offer thanksgiving. On the quay around the bridge end he built a few houses. . . . ”

Mr. Smetham, a local historian, tells me that Newark Hospital stood on the site now occupied by the block of houses facing the opening on the left just beyond North Street.

In *Strood in the Olden Time*, the Canon tells us that “for centuries the Angel Inn seems to have been again and again rebuilt upon the same spot in Strood,” and that the Red Lion and Star Inn contained some work of probably pre-Reformation date.

The Angel Inn stands at the corner of North Street ; the Red Lion and Star Inn will probably be pulled down before 1898. The site is on the north side of the street, next to the house before North Street.

The Bridge.—The story of Rochester Bridge is briefly as follows :—

In the time of the Roman occupation the river was crossed apparently at the same spot as that now occupied by the present bridge. Later on a wooden bridge was erected, which lasted till the time of Richard II., when a bridge of stone of twenty-one arches, not all of the same span, was erected some forty yards higher up the river, that is nearer to the castle. Attached to this bridge at its eastern end was a chantry chapel, founded in 1399 by John de Cobham, in which the kin of the founder and all Christian souls were to be prayed for. From maps, &c., we learn that the approach to this bridge appears to have been by the present ancient main road, which led, as now, to the banks of the river. The bridge was then reached by the road along the banks on either side of the stream. The ruins of the chapel mark the

spot where the bridge started on the Rochester side. A tall house on the opposite side of the river some two thirds of the way down the Strood esplanade marks approximately where the Strood end started.

It is perhaps impossible to obtain a very clear idea of the appearance of this bridge, as existing engravings represent it after many alterations. It lasted till the present century, when the existing bridge was erected on the more ancient site again. (From *The History and Antiquities of Rochester*, 1772; *The History of Rochester*, 1817; Hasted's *Kent*; and vols. 18 and 21 of *Archæologia Cantiana*.)

The High Street through Rochester may be considered to represent the old Roman Road. (See Map, vol. 21, *Arch. Cant.*, p. 17.) Mr. Phippen tells us that many interesting cellars remain under houses in the High Street.

It is said that there are three underground passages leading from the town to the castle. My informant told me he had travelled for some distance up one of them.

“The three principal inns are of great antiquity, and, as well as some of minor note, are situated in the High Street. The oldest in point of date is the Crown Inn, not probably the present commodious building, but certainly an inn bearing that title was erected here before the commencement of the fourteenth century. . . . The Bull and the King's Head are also tavern indications of great antiquity.” (Phippen's *Descriptive Sketches*, p. 133.)

Chatham.—

“The Roman Road having crossed the River Medway at Chatham is still visible on the top of Chatham Hill, the hedge on the north side of the great road from thence to Rainham standing on it, from which place hither [Newington] it seems to run on the southern side of the road till within a very small distance of Newington Street, where it falls in with the great road and does not appear again till it has passed Key Street, a mile and a half beyond it.” (Hasted, vol. 6, p. 43.)

And the Ordnance Map apparently implies that the present

main road between Rainham and Newington practically occupies the site of the old Roman Road (Map 20) and so also between Sittingbourne and Bapchild (Map 33).

Rainham.—In the *Kentish Traveller's Companion*, published 1799, we read:—

“The country near Rainham seems, in the sixteenth century, to have been so open as to entitle it to the appellation of a down, for, writes Holingshed, A.D. 1539-40, ‘From Canterburie Ladie Ann Cleve came to Sittingburne and laie there that night. As she passed towards Rochester on new year's even on Reinham Downe met her the Duke of Norffolke.’”

Newington.—

“The village of Newington, on the high road from Rochester, became famous as a stage on the pilgrimage, because there the Archbishop on his last return from London had administered the rite of Confirmation, and the fact had been commemorated by the erection of a cross.” (Rolls Series *Materials for a History of Thomas Becket*, vol. 2, p. 35.)

“The manor of Newington became part of the possessions of a priory founded here, the nuns of which held it of the king of his manor of Middleton” (Hasted). “Divers of the nuns being warped with a malicious desire of revenge, took the advantage of the night and strangled the lady abbess, who was the object of their fury and passionate animosities, in her bed, and after, to conceal so execrable an assassination, threw her body into a pit, which afterwards contracted the traditional appellation of Nun-pit.” (Philipott's *Villare Cantianum*, p. 249.) “The king seized on this manor and kept it in his own hands and removed the remaining nuns to the Isle of Sheppey. After which King Henry II., by the persuasions of Archbishop Thomas Becket, placed in their room here seven priests as secular canons, and gave them the whole of the manor, and as a further increase of their maintenance twenty-eight

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weight of cheese from his manor of Middleton. After which one of these canons having been murdered, four of his brethren were found guilty of the crime and the two others acquitted." (Hasted, vol. 6, p. 48.)

The question of the site of this monastery, which is not, I think, marked or recognised in any of the maps of monastic England, lies buried in much obscurity. Even with the kindly aid of the Harnett family, long resident in the neighbourhood, and that of the occupants of the farmhouse to which tradition points as occupying the site of the monastery, we have been able to collect but little evidence. The name of the farmhouse is Nunfield Farm, and the house lies in the hamlet of Chesley, about a mile to the south of the high road to Newington. Another house close by is known as Nunfield House, but the appellation is modern. Nunfield Farm is now occupied by the family of Waters. The house itself contains apparently nothing to connect it in any way with the monastery. Outside, however, in one of the pretty flowerbeds before the house lie two fragments of stone which apparently once formed part of the jamb and lintel of a doorway (fifteenth century?). These were discovered not very long ago close to the farmhouse, when the foundations of a greenhouse were dug.

Mrs. Hutchinson, of Eynsford, to whom the property belongs, kindly sends me the following note:—

" . . . I have often heard the tradition that the house, or at any rate the cellars, formed part of an ancient nunnery, and that on some occasion a nun was bricked up alive in one of the niches."

The story of the bricking-up alive we may dismiss as a fact, once, there being no evidence that such cases occurred. But the legend has its value. We have, therefore, such evidence as is afforded by tradition connecting the place with the former monastery, the name "Nunfield Farm," and the remaining stone fragments.

Dental.—Canon Scott-Robertson tells me:—

"When we have passed out of Newington parish and

down Keycol, we come to the 'Fourwent Way,' where meet the roads to Maidstone, to Sheppey, to Sittingbourne and to London. Not far east of this 'Fourwent Way,' on the south side of the road, stood a wayside chapel, erected by the family of Savage, of Bobbin Court. The chapel was within the parish of Border and was called the Chapel of St. . . . at Dental. A modern villa of small size, called Dental House, approximately marks the site of this chapel, which was mainly used by pilgrims. The founder's will provides for services in this chapel during the summer season, but authorises the chaplain to shut it up in winter."

The Pilgrim season, as Chaucer tells us, began in April.

Schamel.—In Canon Scott-Robertson's *Sittingbourne during the Middle Ages* we read:—

"Mediaeval Sittingbourne consisted of three distinct portions. The chief centre of population was near the church, but there was an important little hamlet called Schamel at the western extremity of the parish on the London Road. . . . As any traveller from London approached Sittingbourne in the middle ages, the first thing to attract his attention was a chapel and hermitage standing on the south side of the road, about three parts of the way up that little hill which rises from Waterlane-head towards the east: this was Schamel Hermitage and the Chapel of St. Thomas Becket, to which were attached houses for the shelter of pilgrims and travellers, a small public house called 'The Volunteers' now standing upon or close to the site of the ancient chapel and hermitage. Nearly 700 years have elapsed since the first chapel and hermitage were built at Schamel, in the reign of King John. They were then occupied by a priest whose name was Samuel. His duties consisted in saying Mass daily in the chapel, and in rendering such accommodation as he could to pilgrims and travellers, by whose alms he supported himself and the chapel. After Samuel's death the building fell in

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decay, but in the reign of Henry III. sufficient alms were collected to rebuild it on a larger scale. A hermit of St. Augustine's order, whose name was Silvester, became the occupant of the new building. . . . Besides the hermitage itself he had at Schamel four messuages clustered around it, which lodged pilgrims for a night upon their road to Canterbury."

Subsequently, as the same pages tell us, the Schamel establishment so interfered with the prosperity of the parish church, that on the death of Silvester, in about 1271, the establishment was very soon after abolished. In a very few years, however, the whole institution was re-established, and existed till the period of the Reformation.

Sittingbourne.—We may select the following from very many interesting notes in Canon Scott-Robertson's *Sittingbourne* :—

"The name of Sittingbourne, which was commonly written Sedyngburne in the middle ages, contains two elements. The first portion of the name relates to the tribe which settled here, the final portion describes the peculiar features of the place which attracted them to the spot. When the clan or tribe of Sædingas settled here, this spot was remarkable for its brook or brooks. . . . Persons now living still remember the stream at the east end of the street, through which the Dover and Canterbury coaches used to splash, and many still recollect stepping stones near Mr. Boulding's butcher's shop, east of the churchyard. . . .

"The Red Lion has been the sign of an inn on one and the same site in Sittingbourne for 500 years. There it was that in November, 1415, King Henry V. was entertained on his return from the battle of Agincourt, by Squire Northwode, of Milton. Seven years later, on the 3rd of October, 1422, this and the other inns of Sittingbourne were crowded with travellers who were sadly doing honour to the memory of the same great king—Henry V. having died at Vincennes, his remains

were brought with great solemnity and honour from France to Westminster Abbey. The sad procession was headed by James I. of Scotland and Queen Catherine of Valois, Henry's widow. Hearses* were erected, and the body lay in state at Canterbury, at Ospringe, at Rochester, and at Dartford. There was not so magnificent a ceremony at Sittingbourne, but even here, when the great king's remains passed through the town, the Bishop of Norwich performed a solemn funeral service in the church. . . .

"When Cardinal Wolsey wrote a letter at Sittingbourne on the 17th of September, 1514, it is probable that he was resting at the Red Lion. . . .

"We find it recorded that King Henry VIII. himself was here at the Red Lion. In his Privy Purse expenses it is mentioned that on the 19th of November, 1532, there was 'paied to the wife of the Lyon in Sittingbourne, by way of rewarde, iiiis. viiis.' It was then customary to apply to the hostess of an inn such an appellation. . . ."

The Lion Inn stands in the centre of the town on the north side of the high road. I can neither find nor hear anything of any *Red Lion*. Possibly the word *Red* may have been inserted inadvertently by Canon Scott-Robertson. It will be noticed that in the original extract he quotes, the reference is to the Lyon, without the prefix.

The Canon, who lived for years in the neighbourhood of Sittingbourne, gives in his *Sittingbourne during the Middle Ages* some interesting notes of the church:—

"Its entrance porch bears on its groining corbels the heads of King Edward III. and his wife. The Chilton chancel with its beautiful south window and its remarkable exterior buttress at the south-east angle was either built or rebuilt in the 14th century. . . . The exterior buttress at the south-east corner of Chilton chancel contains a niche with pretty canopy, under which once

* A structure erected over a corpse, upon which burnt lighted candles.

stood a statue of the Virgin. It was placed there for the use of pilgrims and travellers who could not enter the church, and there was some sort of pentise or shelter around it where Pilgrims knelt. The will of Robert Wybarn in 1474 speaks of it as 'the Chapel of St. Mary of the Boterasse.' He desired to be buried in the graveyard opposite that chapel. . . . What was the exact size and population of Sittingbourne at the period when Chaucer wrote I cannot discover, but I think it contained about ninety houses and 450 persons. . . .

"Much of the town must have been devoted to houses of entertainment for pilgrims and travellers. . . . We have still remaining a very interesting fragment of one that was built about 400 years ago, near the church . . . it was originally called the Hart, or the White Hart."

Probably much of this inn still remains in the houses opposite the church. At No. 31, Mr. Cremer's, in the shop itself is an extremely beautiful medieval chimney-piece, and the lofty ancient entrance to the yard close by is also a special feature.

The position of the chimney-piece indicates perhaps, in a measure, the narrowness of the medieval street at this point, for from the fireplace to the line of the church porch opposite, a little lower down, the width is insufficient to allow of any but a narrow street, if we allow for any projecting space at all before either building. We must remember that before the reformation there would be no footpath on either side of the road.

Swanstree.—In Canon Scott-Robertson's *Sittingbourne during the Middle Ages*, he refers to the three portions of Sittingbourne, the western hamlet of Schamel, the town itself near the church, and the hamlet of Swanstree on the east. We read:—

"At the time when the vicar of Sittingbourne, Symon de Shordich was actively striving to ruin, if not to destroy, St. Thomas's Chapel and the Hermitage at Schamel on the west, he was assisting to uphold and

enrich the chapel of Swanstree or Swainstree on the east of the town. Pilgrims going with full pockets to Canterbury could not reach Swanstree Hill until they had passed through the town of Sittingbourne. Hence the chapel of St. Cross and Hospital of St. Leonard at Swanstree were much favoured by the vicar and the townsfolk. They stood where the grounds of Murston Rectory are now. . . . The Swanstree Chapel was originally connected with a hospital for lepers. . . . Throughout the whole of the fifteenth century the rector of Murston was incumbent of Swanstree Chapel. How this came to be the case is not known. All the foundation and other charters of the hospital and chapel are now in the possession of New College at Oxford . . . The name Swanstree Hill seems to have been changed to Snips Hill. There is, however, close at hand in Murston, on the north side of the London Road, a field of Mr. White's which is still called Swanscombe."

Bapchild.—

"There are yet [1798] part of the walls of an oratory remaining near the high road, on the north side of it, almost at the east end of Bapchild Street, which is by some supposed to have been erected in memory of the celebration of this council, and in later times was made use of by the pilgrims, who on their journey to Canterbury to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket, here offered up their prayers for the success of their pilgrimage." (Hasted, vol. 6, p. 124.)

Canon Scott-Robertson writes :—

"On the north side of Bapchild Street (which stands within the parish of Tong) stood the Lepers' Hospital of St. James of Puckleshall, with its chapel and cemetery. It was much helped by the alms of pilgrims, but it possessed a small estate in Sheldwich upon which there were forty-seven tenants in A.D. 1251. In 1464 Robert Brewer of Bapchild by his will expressed his desire to be buried in the cemetery of the chapel of this hospital, and

he bequeathed twenty shillings to be distributed in this chapel upon the days of his obit, his trental, and his anniversary. Thomas Jenkyn, vicar of Newington by Sittingbourne, bequeathed 6s. 8d. to this hospital of Pokeleshale."

Now, 1897, we find on the north side of the road at the east end of the village a red brick wall enclosing a yard. Immediately west of this yard is a red brick barn-like structure, and west of this is a stile and little rough footpath. The footpath will take us through a garden, at the end of which we can step over a rough fence into an orchard where almost immediately at our right is a little hollow containing Thomas's Well, now known as Spring Head.

The modern barn-like building probably occupies the site of the ancient chapel, though apparently containing nothing of ancient work. The yard was probably the ancient burying place of the chapel, for persons now living have seen bones disinterred when it has been necessary to disturb the soil.

The Ordnance Map appears to imply that the present high road between Bapchild and Ospringe occupies the site of the old Roman Road. (Map 33.)

Radfield.—Canon Scott-Robertson writes :—

"Less than a mile eastward [of Bapchild] the pilgrims came to the free chapel of Radfield, where again their alms would be solicited."

Dr. Grayling tells me that the chapel was pulled down about ninety years ago. It stood just behind the house which almost immediately faces the forty-second milestone.

Stone Chapel.—The ruins of Stone Chapel lie about 100 yards to the left of the road, at the foot of the hill beyond the forty-fifth milestone. Dr. Grayling tells me that the chapel "formed a little wayside oratory in its primitive condition." There is little to see now beyond some broken walls of flint.

Ospringe.—At Ospringe, on either side of the stream which occupies a road, turning south we shall notice an ancient inn on the one side, and a house, perhaps equally ancient, now a baker's

and confectioner's, on the other. These houses, according to Hasted, were at one time a *Maison Dieu* or hospital, founded by Henry III. about 1235 for the benefit of the poor, Pilgrims, travellers, and lepers. "It was," says Hasted, "dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and under the management of a master, three brethren, and two clerks, and existed till the reign of Edward IV.," when the master and one of the brethren dying, it was thought of the plague, the house was forsaken and fell to the Crown. In the time of Henry VIII. it was given with its possessions to St. John's College, Cambridge, and still forms part of the College property. The buildings on the west side of the stream appear to have been the lepers' part, being thus in some measure isolated from the main building, now the inn. (See Hasted, vol. 6, p. 523.)

Canon Scott-Robertson writes—

"Many Pilgrims left the direct road to Canterbury in order that they might visit the handsome church of Faversham, which contained on the north side of the chancel a well-decorated chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury."

From the Ordnance Map it seems that the present high road between Ospringe and Brenley Corner, a little farther on, occupies the site of the old Roman Road. (Map 34.)

Chapel House.—Canon Scott-Robertson writes:—

"Less than half-a-mile beyond the *Maison Dieu* at Ospringe stood on the south side of the road a wayside chapel, upon the extreme boundary of the parishes of Ospringe, Preston, and Faversham. Its site is now occupied by Chapel House. As long as Pilgrims frequented this road the chapel stood. When pilgrimages ceased its *raison d'être* ceased, and the chapel fell into decay and was pulled down."

Chapel House is the last house on the right hand before the turning to Throwley. The house stands in the angle formed by the two roads. Of the present state of the house, the owner writes that—

". . . though this house occupies the site of an ancient

chapel, there are now no visible signs of such a building."

A little further on we come to Brenley Corner, at which place a very serious question comes before us: Shall we turn down to the right towards South Street, or shall we keep straight on? The question is raised by the following careful letter from Mr. J. M. Cowper, written to the *Athenæum* in 1868. Mr. Cowper tells me that he has since seen no reason to change his opinions on the subject.

"CHAUCER'S BOB-UP-AND-DOWN.

"FAVERSHAM.

"As the one who declares for Up-and-Down near Thannington being the place indicated by Chaucer in the Manciple's Prologue, I crave space in your pages to give the reasons why I think neither Boughton-under-Blean nor Harbledown was intended, and why I declare for Up-and-Down.

"1. As far as I am aware, there is no instance of Chaucer having used a nickname to denote any place mentioned in his Tales. Rochester, Sittingbourne, Boughton-under-Blean, are names as easily recognised as Southwark. Why should he nickname any place at all?

"2. When I set out on my quest to find the place, I started on the supposition that it must denote some undulating locality between Ospringe and Canterbury. But a difficulty presented itself—the whole district is undulating, and any number of places may be found which exactly suit the description, notably Boughton-under-Blean (not Boughton Street) which is quite as bob-up-and-down as Harbledown.

"3. Could I find any place which still bears any name resembling Chaucer's? Names of places do not easily change. If any place bore that name in Chaucer's days, some similar name will be found now. Boughton has changed from Bolton and Bocton, and Harbledown has changed from Herbaldowne, and Sittingbourne from Sidenbourne; but how easily all are recognised. Was it likely, then, that the little town in question would be utterly lost?

"4. As I could find no place to satisfy me on the now well-known road between Ospringe and Canterbury, the question arose: Did the pilgrims follow that route? In the first place, I had failed to find Bob-Up-and-Down in this direction—would it answer in other particulars? The Canon's yeoman overtook the pilgrims not five miles on at Boughton-under-Blean. Supposing Ospringe to have been the 'hostelrye' mentioned, the present village of Boughton is only about three miles and a half distant. Is it likely Chaucer would have said 'not five'—would he not have said four? But another question presented itself: Did the modern village exist in Chaucer's days? To satisfy myself on this head I turned to Hasted's *Kent*, 8vo, vol. 7, p. 4, where I found the following:—"A little further on is a hamlet called South Street, which report says was once the only one in this parish, the London road having gone through it instead of the present way, on which the present street of Boughton has been since built. It is remarkable that the above road leading from Ospringe through this parish is called, in an antient perambulation of the town and parish of Faversham so early as King Edward the First's reign, Key Street, most probably, like Key Street beyond Sittingbourne on the same road, from

Caius Julius Cæsar.' Again, vol. 9, p. 3, speaking of the Forest of Blean, the same writer remarks that 'several houses having been built within the bounds of it, many, especially on the south side of the common at the bottom of Boughton Hill, which were inhabited by low persons of suspicious characters, who sheltered themselves there, this being a place exempt from the jurisdiction of either hundred or parish, as in a freeport which receives all who enter it without distinction. The whole district from hence gained the name of Dunkirk. . . . The high road from London to Canterbury crosses the whole length of this ville from the bottom of Boughton Hill eastward. This part of the road being in neither hundred or parish, was neglected and left in a ruinous state . . . and it continued so till the beginning of the present (eighteenth) century.'

✓ "5. Is there another road which, without violating any probability will answer Chaucer's description? At two miles and a quarter from Ospringe, the Key Street above mentioned commences on the right-hand side of the road at Brenley Corner, and running close under the wall of the church of Boughton-under-Blean passes through the hamlet of South Street, which still bears all the marks of a very ancient village. It is moreover, fully four miles, perhaps more, from Ospringe, and so tallies better with the Canon's yeoman's 'not five miles on.' This road then passes between Fishpond Wood and College Wood down to Hatch Green Wood, where it falls into the old Pilgrims' Way, so well described in Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, by Mr. Albert Way. The road as described by him then runs through Bigberry Wood, and meets the London Road about half a mile above St. Dunstan's, Canterbury. At this end it is known as Cut-Throat Lane, 'but they do say,' as a labourer remarked to me the other day, 'as how it is the old London Road.'

"6. Still we have no Bob-Up-and-Down. I have gone thus far to show the existence of an old road round the hill. I now retrace my steps to the middle of Bigberry Wood, and again turning my face towards Canterbury, take the road over Turnford and thence to Thannington Church. On the right of this church is the field still known as Up-and-Down Field, and most appropriately is it so named. From Up-and-Down through Wincheap and Worthgate into Canterbury the way is direct.

"7. Another route yet remains. From Nick-Hill Farm the Pilgrims may have passed down to Chartham Mill, and thence have followed the road by Chartham, Horton and Milton, passing through Up-and-Down Field. In either case my theory is that Chaucer used 'Bob-Up-and-Down' the name of part of the parish of Thannington, for the parish itself.

"8. It may be objected to this route that the distance would be increased, but this increase of a mile—perhaps not more than half a mile—would be of no moment to men on horseback, especially if by going the way they could escape the difficulties and dangers which seem to have beset Boughton Hill, while it is well known to all who have studied the ancient ways, that 'in the dark ages the days described by Deborah the prophetess had returned. The highways were unoccupied and the travellers walked through byeways; the villages were deserted. Then was war in the gates, and noise of the archers in the places of drawing water.'

"No map that I have yet seen is so satisfactory as a pilgrimage along these byeways and disused and forgotten roads. Their track still remains in the forest, their name is handed down from generation to generation of wood reeves and tillers of the soil. The many 'new roads' which have been made for more civilised times are only apt to mislead in cases of this sort if researches are carried on only by the aid of a map.

"J. M. COWPER.

"P.S.—Since the above was in type I have seen the perambulation referred to by Hasted. It was made for Sir Stephen de Pensherst, Constable

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of Dover. A translation of it is given in Jacobs's *History of Faversham*. From this translation it seems doubtful whether that part of the main road between Ospringe and Brenley Corner or the old road which leaves the main road at Brenley Corner is meant by Key Street. It is not of much importance.

“J. M. C.”

(*From the Temporary Preface to the Six Text, pp. 32-4.*)

It is a curious fact that, according to Mr. Cowper's argument, the Pilgrims from London go distinctly out of their way to enter Canterbury from an apparently unnecessarily northern point, whilst, according to Mrs. Ady in her *Pilgrims' Way, from Winchester to Canterbury*, and the Ordnance Map, those Pilgrims from the southern district coming through Chilham, go equally out of their way to the north past Old Wives Lees, then west past Bridge Farm, then north past Nackholt Farm (the route between these two farms being apparently lost), on through Bigberry Wood and by Harbledown, to enter the city eventually from the west. Briefly, the Pilgrims from the west enter by a north gate, those from the south by the west gate, the two routes actually crossing each other about a mile from the city. A map dating 1659, and Seller's Map, dated in the Museum Catalogue as 1710? depict the London Road into Canterbury as it is to-day.

If instead of leaving the present main road, which according to the Ordnance Map, apparently occupies the site of the old Roman Road (Maps 35 and 46) at Brenley Corner, we keep straight on, it will take us to—

Boughton.—The vicar of Boughton kindly tells me that—

“The older part of this parish is the hamlet now called South Street, and I doubt if anything now existing in Boughton Street dates from pre-Reformation times.”

Canon Scott-Robertson writes—

“When the Pilgrims reached Boughton, they found on the south side of the road, about half a mile east of Brenley Corner, another wayside chapel. Its site is now marked by a lane, called Holy Lane. Oddly

enough, there is no other landmark of the Chaucer Pilgrims' Road between that chapel and Harbledown. It is quite possible for Mr. Cowper to argue that Holy Lane really leads off the High Road (Watling Street) towards the Chartham Road, on which Up and Down Field stands."

Harbledown.—That Pilgrims passed through Harbledown on their way from Canterbury just before the Reformation is established beyond doubt by the following extract from the pilgrimage of Erasmus:—

" . . . Then as we whent toward London not farre from Canterbury we came in to a great hollow, and strayt way moreover bowyng so downe, wyth hyllys of cyther syde, that a man can not escape, nor it can not be auoyed, but he must nedes ryde that way. Upon the lefte hand of the way ther is an almes howse for olde people, frome them runnyth on owt, as sone as they here a horseman commynge, he castyth holy water upon hym, and anone he offereth hym the ouer lether of a shoo, bownde abowte wyth an yerne whope, wherin is a glasse lyke a precyouse stone, they y' kysse it gyf a pece of monay." (Erasmus, *Dialogue*, p. 5 from end of the edition in English, 1540.)

The almshouse, mainly rebuilt, still exists on the right-hand side of the road, also the ancient well known as St. Thomas's or the Black Prince's, lying at the back of the Hospital. The "glasse lyke a precyouse stone" is probably that now set in the bowl of a mazer.—(*Archæologia*, vol. 50 p. 142).

Probably the finest collection of mazers in England, two of them unique, is to be found here.

In Stead's *Bygone Kent*, p. 105, we read—

"An old alms-box is still preserved here, such as was hung out at the end of a long pole to receive from Pilgrims and travellers whatever charity might prompt them to give. It may well be that this is the very box into which the cultured Erasmus let fall a coin."

SECTION II.

(I.)

Dr. Furnivall's Table of Allusions, &c.

The following Table of Allusions to Places, &c., is from Furnivall's Temporary Preface to the Six Text Edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, pp. 42-3.

Frag- ments.	Tales & Links.	Allusions to Places, Times, Prior Tales, &c. (Wright's 2 vol. ed.)	Distances & Stages.
I.	1 General Prologue.	In Southwerk at the Tabbard as I lay (l. 20). [“ And forth we riden, a litel more than pas, Un-to the watering of seint Thomas.” Skeats's <i>Student's Chaucer</i> ; Prologue.]	
	2 Knight.		
	3 Link.		
	4 Miller.	{	Lo heer is Depford, and it is passed prime ; Lo Grenewich, ther many a shrewe is inne (l. 3906-7).
	5 Link.		
	6 Reve.		
	7 Link.		
	8 Cook.		
	* * *		
	[? <i>End of the First Day's Journey.</i>]		[? Dartford 15 miles.]
II.	1 Prologue.		
	2 Man of Law.	It was ten of the clokke, he gan conclude (l. 4434).	
III.	3 Link.		
	1 Shipman.		
	2 Link.		
	3 Prioress.		
	4 Link.		
	5 Sir Thopas.		
	6 Link.		
	7 Melibe.		
	8 Link.		
	9 Monk.	Lo, Rowchestre stant heer faste bye (l. 15412).	
	10 Link.		
	11 Nun's Priest.		
12 Link.			
	* * *		
	[? <i>End of the Second Day's Journey.</i>]		[? Rochester 30 miles.]
IV. ¹	1 Doctor.		
	2 Link & Prologue.		
	3 Pardoner.		
	* * *		

This Group may go on any morning. It is put here to make the Tales of the Third Day not than those of the Second.

Groups.	Frag-ments.	Tales & Links.	Allusions to Places, Times, Prior Tales, &c. (Wright's 2 vol. ed.)	Distances & Stages.
D	V.	1 Prologue.	Quod this Sompnour, " And I byschrewe me But if I tell tales tuo or thre Of freres er I come to Syding- borne" (l. 6427-9).	
		2 Wife of Bath.		
		3 Link.		
		4 Friar.		
		5 Link.		
		6 Sompnour.	My tale is don we ben almost at toune (l. 7876)	
		* * *		[? Sittingbourne 40 miles.]
		[? Halt in the Third Day's Journey for Dinner.]		
E	VI.	1 Prologue.		
		2 Clerk.		
		3 Link.		
		4 Link.		* * *
		5 Merchant.		
		6 Link.		
		* * *		[? Ospringe 46 miles.]
		[? End of the Third Day's Journey.]		
F	VII.	1 Link.	(l. 10315.)	
		2 Squire.		
		3 Link.	I wol not tarien you for it is pryme (l. 10387).	
		4 Franklin.		
		* * *		
G	VIII.	1 Second Nun,	Er we fully had riden fyve myle (l. 12483) At Boughtoun under Blec us gan atake A man, that clothed was in clothes blake . . . It seemed he hadde priked myles thre (l. 12489) His yeman eek was ful of cur- tesye, And seid " Sires now in the morwe tyde (l. 12516) Out of your ostelry I saugh you ryde al this ground on which we ben ridynge. Til that we comen to Caunter- bury toun" (l. 12552).	
		2 Link, and		
		3 Canon's		
		Yeoman.		
		* * *		
[Pause. Go up Blear Hill and through the Forest.]				

Groups.	Fragments.	Tales & Links.	Allusions to Places, Times, Prior Tales, &c. (Wright's 2 vol. ed.)	Distances & Stages.
			<p>Wot ye not wher ther stont a litel toun, Which that cleped is Bob-up- and-down, Under the Ble, in Caunterbury way? (l. 16935) . . .</p>	
II	IX.	<p>{ 1 Prologue. 2 Manciple.</p>	<p>* * *</p> <p>* * *</p>	
		* * *		
I	X.	<p>{ 1 Link and Prologue. 2 Parson.</p>	<p>By that the Maunciple [?] had his tale endid (l. 17295), The sonne fro the south line is descendid So lowe, that it nas nought to my sight Degrees nyne and twentye as in hight, [Four] on the klokke it was, as I gesse . . . As we were entryng at a townes end (l. 17306) Now lakketh us no moo tales than oon (l. 17310) I wol yow telle a mery tale in prose (l. 17340) To knyht up al this fest, and make an ende ; But hasteth yow, the sonne wol adoun (l. 17366).</p>	

[End of the Fourth Day's Journey. Reach Canterbury.]

[56 miles.]

(2.)

The Appearance of the Country in the Middle Ages.

IN endeavouring to picture the aspect of the road in the Middle Ages we may, I think, feel sure that the general appearance of the country cannot, speaking roughly, have varied very greatly from that which we see to-day. We may suppose the whole district to have been very much more thickly wooded, the houses much less numerous, and in all cases either tiled or thatched.

The appearance of the great fields of waving corn would of course be the same as now, and the birds, animals, and trees would be substantially the same. Mr. Pearson in his *Historical Maps of England*, p. 54, tells us that the oak, birch, willow, beech, mountain-ash, yew, hawthorn, dog-rose, holly, furze, ivy, mistletoe, apple, vine, cherry, peach, pear, mulberry, fig, damson, walnut, raspberry and blackberry bushes, &c., &c., were all to be met with during the period with which we are dealing. To this list we may add a most important addition, namely the elm (Selby's *British Forest Trees*). Chaucer in his "Knight's Tale" mentions several of the above, and adds also the fir, poplar, plane, box, &c.

Lambard, in his *Perambulation of Kent*, published 1576, p. 8, refers to the crops of rye, barley, oats, beans, plums, pastures and meadows of Kent, and tells us that "as for Orcthards of Aples and Gardeins of Cheries . . . no part of the Realme that I know hath them, either in such quantitie and

4 *The Appearance of the Country in the Middle Ages.*

umber." At the entrance to the village of Newington our route takes us through one of these cherry orchards.

We must however bear one very important fact in mind, namely the exclusion of the hop (in any quantity) from our list. At the present time this forms a most important feature in the aspect of the country, but we find in Symes's *English Botany*, v. 8, p. 134, that the hop "was not cultivated in England till the year 1524."

The common hedge would probably be a conspicuous feature (Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* and *The Ayenbite E.E.T.S.*, p. 232).

The rivers and streams would probably present much the same appearance as to day. The fact of the extreme antiquity of most waterways is a curious feature, though one which we probably rarely call to mind. An ancient church seldom fails to evoke some thought of past times, but it is not so easy to realize that the insignificant little stream hardly is probably of a far higher antiquity.

The roads, according to the general opinion, were far from good in the Middle Ages; certainly many MSS. depict small tufts of grass growing in them (Sloane MS. 2474, p. 61). The streets would be narrow, and without pathways on either side for foot passengers. The traffic would be of course very much less than it is now, the population of the whole country being considerably less than that now contained in London alone.

Of medieval fabrics still existing on our route the churches take high rank in point of interest. In spite of restoration and alteration in their internal fittings, these buildings in almost all their structural features must have presented very much the same aspect to our mediæval forefathers that they do to our eyes to-day. Within their walls we realise with little difficulty the former presence and appearance of many of those medieval parishioners who lie even now within the immediate precincts. We know that beneath the arched entry before us numberless little mediæval babies have been carried in for baptism, and we can picture the interesting scenes at the font with the use there of water, salt,

and burning candle. We know that still later the same little ones have again and again passed through the same entry as children; when grown up; on the occasion of the wedding service, and for the last visit of all, when, as on their first, they have once more been carried through the entrance, though this time in the church bier. We know that generations of parishioners have so entered the church we are now visiting, and it is interesting, when on the actual spot where such scenes have been so often witnessed, to try to call up in one's mind some picture of them as they were then presented.

The old inns on the way offer a very wide field for interesting inquiry.

“Here is the interior of a beerhouse in the time of Edward the Third, and a description of the company therein:—

Cisse the sutors (cobblers) wife. sat on the bench,
Wat the warrener. and his wife both,
Tomkin the tinker. and twain of his knaves,
Hick the hackney-man. and Hogg the needler (needle seller),
Clarice of Cook's lane. and the clerk of the church,
. Daw the ditcher. . . . (a rattoner rat catcher.)
Clement the cobbler. Hick the ostler.
Bet the butcher.
. There were oaths a heap.

And [they] sat so till evensong. and sung somewhile.”

(Skeats's *Vision of William*, Early English Text Society, p. vi.)

It is not very difficult to realise the general aspect of a great city in the Middle Ages. The drawing given in facsimile in the *Tale of Beryn* issued by the Chaucer Society in and the coloured view on p. 222 of MS. I. E. IX. (early fifteenth century) will enable us to in some degree realise the medieval appearance of such a city as Rochester or Canterbury when viewed from a distance.

We should see the city surrounded by a high strong wall of masonry with a ditch at the foot, the whole being more or less circular in plan. This wall would be pierced by some six or eight gates, and the houses inside would many of them be of more than one story constructed with great wooden beams across the faces and with red tiled roofs. The streets would be narrow and the churches numerous.

The aspect of the rivers at London and Rochester may be gathered in some measure by the appearance of a great

ship represented on p. 5 of MS. Jul. E. IV. (mid-fifteenth century).

This vessel appears low in the waist, with both ends built up considerably higher. Two masts are shown, a small one at the after part of the vessel and a larger in the centre. From the larger a great sail, heraldically charged, depends, above which is a crow's-nest and, still higher, an elaborate flag. A little boat, very similar to those in use to-day, is depicted near the shore.

In Teynham Church, not far from Sittingbourne, and within a mile of our route, is an ancient painted window containing the representation of a medieval ship.

We are more or less familiar with the appearance of an ordinary medieval house (Turner's *Domestic Architecture*), and we may imagine that in many respects the sitting-rooms would present a somewhat similar aspect to a richly furnished room of to-day. We should see the windows with diamond-shaped panes, a bench with cushions, a wooden round-headed doorway with a door of upright boards, a projecting mantelpiece, iron dogs for the burning of great logs, &c., &c. (MS. Harl., 2838, p. 37, &c.)

Some idea of the appearance of the bedroom of the poorer medieval Pilgrim may be perhaps obtained from a picture on p. 99 of MS. Tib. A. VII. (mid-fifteenth century). This picture shows us a room containing two very low beds, one apparently being "made" by a female, who is depicted as holding a bedstaff. With the exception of a somewhat elaborate headgear, the dress of this woman does not materially vary from that in use to-day. The two very low beds are much like two shallow wooden boxes; each rests upon four very short legs, and each appears as though filled with a blue striped mattress which at the head is developed into a roll or bolster. The more well-to-do Pilgrim would probably find some such accommodation as that shown on p. 13b of MS. Harl. 2278 (mid-fifteenth century), where we see a half tester bedstead with sheets, coverlet and pillow, and a chair, table, bench, &c.

That an enclosed garden was a more or less common addition to a medieval house we know from the Tales themselves (Merchant's and Shipman's).

It will have been noticed that in the reproduction of the drawings of the Ellesmere MS. the Pilgrims have no special appearance to distinguish them as Pilgrims; all are clad in their ordinary apparel. From the various writings, however, on the subject of Pilgrims and pilgrimages, we should expect to see in the representation of a Pilgrim, if not a special dress, at any rate the staff and scrip or wallet, and the more so when we remember that there was a special service, "Benedictio Peræ et Baculi" (Surtees's *York Manual*). Excellent representations of an English medieval Pilgrim will be found on pp. 50, 51, 51b, 52b, 81, &c., of the Museum MS. Tib. A. VII., in almost all of which the Pilgrim is seen with his staff and wallet.

I think, however, we may explain the apparent discrepancy between the Ellesmere drawings which follow the description in Chaucer's text and the customary portrayal of Pilgrims without much difficulty, and in this manner:—The more religious and serious Pilgrim would probably prefer to adopt the idea of a pilgrimage in its entirety, and would go to the church before starting to obtain a blessing on his expedition and the staff and wallet which he took with him. In addition to this, if poor, and hoping to obtain help on the road at establishments such as that at Ospringe, some distinctive appearance would be almost indispensable.

The Chaucer and Ellesmere Pilgrim, with perhaps equal sincerity in the expedition, might undertake the pilgrimage with a full determination to obtain all the ordinary enjoyment possible of the outing on the road, in which case the Pilgrim's dress and accompaniments would be out of place, the more so if no assistance on the road were required. As we know, Chaucer's party are stated to have slept at certainly two inns, and at no time is there any mention of resting at an establishment containing especial provision for Pilgrims.

From MS. 10 E. IV., FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

SHIPPING.—On p. 19 of MS. 10 E. IV. is an excellent picture of naval warfare. P. 208 of the same MS. also represents a medieval ship. Representations of small boats are given on pp. 122 and 123, rudder, oars, mast, and sail being very similar to those in use to-day. On p. 231 a little boat without sails is seen. A ship with sailors will be found portrayed on p. 232*b* of MS. 1 E. IX. (early fifteenth century). The heads of the sailors appear to be covered by a hood, fitting closely to the head, the material allowing only the face to be exposed. MS. Harl. 1319 (early fifteenth century) has on pp. 7*b*, 14*b*, and 18, some very excellent representations of sailing vessels; one probably may have been called *The Sun*, if we may judge from the decoration of the sail. Many illuminations depict the manner of embarking by a plank extended from the side of the vessel to the shore. See the mid-fifteenth century MS. Harl. 2278, pp., 17, 26 and 27*b*. On p. 5 of MS. Jul. E. IV. of mid-fifteenth century date is a very valuable drawing of a ship and boat. The MS. Harl. 326 (late fifteenth century) has a shipping scene represented on p. 29*b*. The similarity of oars to those now in use is clearly seen in the Harleian Roll, 7353 (late fifteenth century).

TREE FELLING.—On p. 100*b* of MS. 10 E. IV. is a representation of the felling of a tree by two men clad in the usual hose or long stockings reaching right up the leg, boots, a gown closely fitting to the body with sleeves, but hanging freely from the belt. There is abundance of evidence that the garments might be of any colour. Each man has an axe, the handle not particularly long, but the blade widening out greatly towards its edge.

WOOD SAWING.—On p. 99*b* is an exceedingly interesting picture representing the sawing of a great balk of timber by two men. The arrangement of the rope and weight is apparently intended to convey the idea that the weight balances to some extent that of the saw. A similarly large saw is represented on p. 26 of the mid-fifteenth century MS. Harl. 2838.

MEN AND HORSES.—On p. 237*b* is an excellent representation of men and horses of the period.

WINDMILLS.—On pp. 70, 71, 114, are representations of windmills. The appearance of the mills is very similar to those seen to-day. In two of the pictures figures are seen approaching the mill bearing a sack. See, too, p. 227 of MS. 15 E. VI. (mid-fifteenth century).

FISHING.—P. 59 has the picture of a figure fishing with a small hand net similar to the shrimping nets we see pushed before the shrimper at the seaside. On p. 19 of MS. 29,704 (early fifteenth century) is the representation of a large net being pulled in to the shore by cords.

HAWKING.—On pp. 79 and 80 several scenes represent this pastime.

THE STOCKS.—P. 187 gives a representation of a monk and a nun in the public stocks. The use of a padlock to fasten the stocks is seen on p. 16*b* of the mid-fifteenth century MS. Harl. 2838.

A BIER.—On p. 205 a dead body is represented on a bier, but it will be noticed that apparently the corpse is not prepared for burial.

SPINNING.—On pp. 137, 139, and 142 (the last a very clear one), are representations of the art of spinning.

BAKING.—Bread making is portrayed on p. 145*b*. A loaf of slightly different form is seen on p. 18*b* of the mid-fifteenth century MS. Harl. 2838. Bellows exactly similar to those in use to-day are depicted on p. 142.

From MS. HARL. 6,563, FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

BLACKSMITH'S FORGE.—On p. 68*b* is a capital representation of a smith at work. On p. 69 a horse is depicted tied to a large frame in which it appears enclosed by the upright beams. A similar representation of a mediæval smithy is to be seen on p. 25*b* of the mid-fifteenth century MS. Harl., 2838.

DIGGING.—On p. 89 is the picture of a man digging.

From MS. NERO. D II., FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

PLOUGHING.—On p. 11*b* is an excellent representation of ploughing.

SHEPHERDS.—On pp. 30 and 45 are pictures apparently representing shepherds with their flocks, but both pictures are of inferior execution.

From MS. 22,720, EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

SOWING.—On p. 10*b* is the figure of a man sowing seed. See also MS. Harl., 1892, of about the same date, p. 29, September.

PRUNING.—On p. 7 is a picture of a man pruning.

CLIPPING SHEARS.—On p. 8*b* is the representation of a figure apparently clipping with a pair of long-handled shears.

MOWING.—On p. 9 a scythe exactly similar to that in use to-day is seen.

REAPING.—Reaping is portrayed on p. 9*b*. See also MS. Harl., 1892, about same date, p. 28, July.

THRASHING.—On p. 10 threshing with a flail is depicted. See also the Harleian MS., 1892, of about the same date, p. 28*b*, August.

AN ARCHER.—An archer is portrayed on p. 11.

The MS. Harl., 2,332, contains also several very similar pictures to some of the above, but they are of inferior execution.

From MS. 1 E IX., EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

A WALLED CITY.—On p. 222 is a fine representation of a city within its walls. The picture is somewhat similar to that of Canterbury, given in facsimile in the *Tale of Beryn* issued by the Chaucer Society.

SHEPHERD'S AND FLOCKS.—On p. 230 may be seen the shepherd's dress. It is of the ordinary appearance, the sleeves and body gown being slightly less closely fitting than those of the smith. The head and shoulders are however covered by a deep hood. On p. 13 of MS. 29,704 (early fifteenth century), a shepherd is shown with this hood lying on the shoulders, the head being covered by a hat with a very broad-brimmed hat.

CARTS.—On pp. 87 and 237*b* several carts are represented. The carts are little different from the field carts in use now; the harness appears of the simplest character possible. See too the mid-fifteenth century MS., 1 B. X., p. 21*b*.

From MS. HARL., 1892, EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

RIDING.—On p. 27 (May) is the representation of a man and woman riding a horse, the man in front.

SHEEP SHEARING.—On p. 27*b* (June) shearing is depicted, the shears being similar to those in use to-day.

WINE-PRESS.—On p. 29*b* (October) treading in the wine press is shown.

PIG KILLING.—On p. 30*b* (December) pig killing is depicted, the man being shown lifting a pole-axe to strike, while the woman is seen bearing a pan to take the blood.

The Appearance of the Country in the Middle Ages.

From MSS. OF THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

- A RIVER VIEW.**—On p. 10 of MS. Harl., 2838, a river scene is depicted.
- BUILDING.**—Building is depicted on p. 28*b* of MS. Harl., 2278. See, too, p. 36*b* of MS. Harl., 2838. On p. 30*b* of MS. Harl., 1808, workmen are depicted with axe and chisel and with squared stones before them.
- HOUSES.**—Houses are depicted on pp. 102*b*, 103 and 145*b* of MS. Nero D. VII. See, too, pp. 67*b*, 102 and 105*b* MS. Harl., 326. The interior of a living room is depicted on p. 37 of MS. Harl., 2838. The interior of a bedroom is shown on p. 105*b* of MS. Harl., 2278. Bedsteads with all their necessary furniture are portrayed on pp. 101 and 120 of the early fifteenth century MS. 1 E. IX. We see the pillow, sheets and quilt. The head of the bed is carried up with hangings, forming a half tester. The occupant is depicted as sleeping without a night-gown, which one understands to have been the common medieval custom. In Chaucer's *Story*, however, of January and May, January's nightgown appears to be alluded to. The bed described above is very commonly portrayed.
- PILGRIMS' BEDS.**—On p. 99 of MS. Tib. A. VII. is a picture of especial value and interest. It occurs in a long poem, in which a Pilgrim is the central character, and in the many illuminations with which the text is furnished the Pilgrim is almost at all times introduced. The picture on p. 99 represents the interior of a medieval bedroom, with a bed in process of being "made" with a staff. From the picture we may, I think, with little difficulty obtain a very clear idea of the appearance of the sleeping chamber of a medieval Pilgrim, and also of the appearance of the bed on which he slept.
- DINING.**—On pp. 132*b* and 276 of the early fifteenth century MS. 1 E. IX. Dining is depicted. On p. 155 of MS. 15 E. VI. the form of a dinner knife is very early distinguishable.
- MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.**—In MSS. Tib. A. VII and 17 C. XXXVIII. 28, musical instruments are seen. See, too, the early fifteenth century MS. 1 E. IX., p. 153.
- A CHAIR.**—On p. 105*b* of MS. Harl. 2278 we see a medieval chair portrayed. See, too, p. 38 of MS. Harl. 2838, and pp. 106*b* and 114 of MS. Nero D. VII.
- TABLE AND BENCH.**—On p. 78*b* of MS. Tib. A. VII. we see a common table and bench.
- A GATE.**—A common gate, not of five bars, but of a somewhat similar character, portrayed on p. 17*b* of MS. Harl., 2838.
- LADDER.**—A common ladder is depicted on p. 35*b* of MS. Harl., 2838.
- A MILL.**—The representation of a water-mill is to be found on p. 4*b* of MS. 1 E. VI.
- A WELL.**—On the same page is the representation of a well.
- SHAVING THE TONSURE (?)**—On p. 5 of the same volume is apparently depicted the shaving of a tonsure.

From MS. HARL., 2915.

- THE PRIEST AT THE ALTAR.**—On p. 84 this scene is portrayed. The single candlestick on the altar at mass is depicted with remarkable clearness on pp. 9 and 10*b* of the mid-fifteenth century MS. Harl., 2982. The position of chalice and missal book are also there very clearly portrayed.
- COMMUNION.**—On p. 84*b* this scene is depicted.

From MS. 29,704, EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

- BAPTISM.**—On p. 18 is the representation of a christening. See also p. 76 of the mid-fifteenth century MS. Harl., 2278.

(3.)

Of Pilgrimages.

FOXES'S *Actes and Monuments*, edition of 1570, vol. I, p. 639, contains an interesting reference to medieval pilgrimages, the article in which it is found purporting to represent the examination of William Thorpe before Archbishop Arundell in 1407. The original document, now apparently destroyed, appears to have been compiled by Thorpe, who, speaking of the Archbishop, writes as follows:—

And then hee [the Archbishop] sayde to me : What sayst thou to the third pointe that those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterbury are accursed and made foolyshe, spending their goodes in waste."

Thorpe, in his reply, says:—

" I have learned and also know somewhat by experience of these same pilgrims, tellyng the cause, why that many men and women go hether and thither now on pilgrimages : It is more for the health of their bodies, then of their soules : more for to haue riches and prosperitie of this worlde, then for to be enriched with vertues in their soules : more for more to haue here worldley and fleshly frendship, then for to haue frendshyp of God, and of his saintes in heauen trauel farre their bodies and spend mekil money, to seke and to visit the bones or Images (as they say they doe) of this saint or of that : such pilgrimage going is neither praisable nor thankful to God nor to any saint of God I have preached and taught openly, and so I purpose all my lyfetime to doe with Gods helpe, saying y^t such fond people waste blamefully Gods goodes in their vaine pilgrimages, spending their goods vpon vitious hostelars I know well that when diuers men and women will go thus after their own wils, and findinge out one pilgrimage : they will ordeine with them before, to haue with them both men and women, that can well sing wanton songes, and some other pilgrimes, will haue with them bagge pipes : so that euery towne y^t they come thorow, what with the noyse of their singing, and with the sound of their pipyng, and with the iangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barkyng out of dogges after them, that they make more noyse then if the kyng came there away, with all his clarions, and many other mynstrels. And if these men and women be a moneth out in their pilgrimage, many of them shal be an halfe yeare after, great iangelers, tale tellers and lyers.

"And the archbishop said to me : Leud losell, thou seest not farre enough in this

matter, for thou considerest not the great trauel of pilgrimes: therefore, thou lamest that thyng that is praystable. I say to thee that it is right well done, that pilgrimes haue with them both singers and also pipers: that when one of them that goeth barefote, striketh his toe vpon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to blede: it is well done that he or his felow begyn then a song, or els take out of his bosome a bagpipe, for to dryue away with such mirth, the hurt of his felow. For with such solace, the trauel & werines of pilgrimes, is lightly and merely borne out." (Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, 1570, vol. 1, p. 640).

"We find curious indications that pilgrimages—those common devotional acts of the middle ages—were sometimes done by proxy. . . . Sir John Lumley of Lumley (1418) directs his executors to find two men to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury (no doubt to St. Thomas à Becket's shrine) on behalf of himself and Felicia his wife, who had died some time before him." (*Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. 22, p. 417):—

"The whole journey was sometimes performed on foot, although in some cases the patient was unable to walk without a crutch. The Countess of Clare, in gratitude for the recovery of her son, made the pilgrimage barefooted." (Rolls Series, *Materials for a History of Thomas Becket*, vol. 2, p. xxxiv.)

"The only entry I have met with relating to the Canterbury Pilgrims is the following in the year 1520:—

"Item paied to Nicholas Lynche for setting up of a post in the Kynges stret before the court halle, to hang on the letters expressing the orderung of vetale and adgyng for pylgrymes in this yere of grace, ijd." (*On the Municipal Archives of the City of Canterbury*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi., p. 207.)

The following from Wilkins's *Concilia* refers to the abolition of pilgrimages:—

"*Injunctions of Thomas, Lord Crumwell, his Majesty's Vicar-General, 1536.* In the name of God, Amen. . . . Item, the suche feyned images as ye know in any of your cures to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of anythinge made acurunto ye shall for avoidinge that moste detestable offence of idolatrie forthwith kee downe. . . .

"Item, yf ye have heretofore declared to your parishners any thing to the extolling or settinge forthe of pilgrimages feyned reliques or images or any suche superstition ye shall nowe openly afore the same recante and reprove the same. . . .

" . . . The commemoration of Thomas Beckett summe tyme archebisshoppe of Canterbury, whiche shall be clene omitted and in stedde therof the feriall service sed." (Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. 3, pp. 816-17.)

From the Rolls Series, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, we may obtain the following:—

“Your chaplain, my late steward Thos. O’Reef, priest, whom I dismissed for popishness, and who now in England has been on pilgrimages to Canterbury and Walsingham has,” &c. (Archbishop of Dublin to Cromwell, July 27, 1538; *Letters and Papers*, vol. 13, part i, No. 1478.)

“Desires Cromwell’s favour for the Mayor and City of Canterbury . . . a great part of their yearly charge used to be paid by victuallers and innholders who made their gain out of the pilgrims which heretofore came to the said city, but do not now continue.” . . . Canterbury, Thursday, December 26. (John Hales to Cromwell, 1538; *Letters and Papers*, vol. 13, part ii., No. 1142.)

In Rymer’s *Fœdera* we find several documents of interest. The following examples have been selected from Hardy’s *Syllabus*:—

“The K. orders that Q. Isabella be aided with carriages and other necessaries while going in pilgrimage to various places in England.” . . . December 23, 1322. The places are not mentioned in the document in Rymer.

“Safe conduct for the bp. of St. Andrew’s coming on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury.” . . . October 26, 1362.

“Safe conduct for Alexander Forster . . . and two other Scots going as pilgrims to S. Thomas of Canterbury.” . . . June 14, 1464.

Of Pilgrims' Signs.

The following, by the kind permission of the Council of the Kent Archæological Society, is from Mr. Cecil Brent's article on Pilgrims' Signs in the thirteenth volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*:—

"The small *Signacula* which form the subject of the following paper are signs or brooches of lead or pewter . . . purchased by pilgrims to show that they had visited the shrine of the Martyr. These signs were often sold at the fairs by priests who derived a large revenue from their sale.

"At Dartford, the Guild of All Saints' in Overy Street, and the Guild of the Virgin in Spital Street supplied Pilgrims to St. Thomas of Canterbury with such signs. When Henry VIII. ordered all pilgrimages to cease, and Becket to be declared a traitor, the altar of St. Thomas was removed from Dartford Church, and the towns people's trade in signs was totally ruined. I have been informed that at Canterbury, and in one or two other places, furnaces for melting the lead used in casting the signs are still in existence. Dean Stanley in his *Memorials of Canterbury*, states that the Pilgrims who visited the shrine, received the blood of the martyr mixed with water in a small leaden bottle or ampulla, which became a regular mark of Canterbury Pilgrims.

"A sign in my collection is said to have been one of these bottles. Its height is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, its diameter is at the mouth $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, at the waist $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, and at base $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Steps deeply worn away appear in the south aisle of the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral, and it has been suggested that here Pilgrims knelt to receive the blood. Besides these leaden bottles, Pilgrims usually procured more common reminiscences on their way back to the inn.

"Mercery Lane, the narrow street which led from the cathedral to the Chequers Inn, in all probability was so named from its shops and stalls, where objects of ornament or devotion were clamorously offered for sale to the hundreds who flocked by eager to carry away some memorial of their visit to Canterbury.

"Every Pilgrim who visited the shrine was expected to purchase a sign of the saint to be worn by him in his hat, or fastened to his garment. Most of the signs bore a pin at the back for the purpose.

"Erasmus in his *Colloquy of the Pilgrimage for Religions Sake*, makes Mendemus ask Ogygius, 'But what strange dress is this? it is all over set off with shells galloped full of images of lead and tin and chains of straw work, and the cuffs are adorned with snakes' eggs instead of bracelets.' Ogygius answers, 'I have visited St. James of Compostella, and returning I visited the Virgin beyond the sea.' Gualdus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, states, that returning from the continent by way of Canterbury, he had on his arrival in London, an interview with the Bishop of Winchester. The Bishop seeing him and his companions with signs of St. Thomas hung about their necks, remarked that he perceived they had just come from Canterbury."

"In Urry's edition of the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, published soon after Chaucer's death, we are told what the Pilgrims did on their arrival in Canterbury.

'Knelid adown tofore the shrine and hertlich their bedis
They preyd to Seint Thomas in such wyse as they couth ;
And sith the holy relikes ech man with his mowith
Kissid as a goodly monk the names told and taught.
And sith to othir places of holynes they raught
And wer in their devocioune tyl service wer al doon :
And sith they drowgh to dinerward as it drew to noon :
Then as manere and custom is signes there they bought ;
For men of contre shuld know whome they had sought
Eche man set his silver in such things as they liked :
And in the meen while the miller had ypidid
His bosom ful of signys of Caunterbury brochis ,
Though the Pardoner and he pryvily in her pouchis
They put them afterwards that noon of them it wist.'

"afterwards

'They set their signys upon their hedes and som upon their capp
And sith to the dyneruard they gan for to strapp.'

" Pilgrims' signs are seldom found in any place except in the bed of large rivers ; numbers of them are found in the Thames. One has been found in the Ouse at York, and preserved in the York Museum, and is a fine specimen of the Ampulla of St. Thomas à Becket. A sign of St. Thomas has been found in the Stour at Canterbury, and one at Lynn. M. Forgeais, in his *Collection de Plombs Historiés*, figures a fine Ampulla of St. Thomas which was found in the Seine in 1862.

"DESCRIPTION OF THE PILGRIMS' SIGNS OR BROOCHES PLATE. . . .

- No. 1. Demi figure of St. Thomas. . . .
- No. 2. Two circular signs of St. Thomas, an inch and a half in diameter. . . .
In the margin is this legend, *Sacte Thoma O. R. P. me.* The other sign is inscribed *S. Thom O. R. P. me.* . . . These two signs are of foreign work of the fifteenth century, and are most likely from the shrine of St. Thomas at Sens.¹
- No. 3. Head of St. Thomas, part of a demi figure. A perfect specimen is figured in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., on which is inscribed 'Thomas.' (Found in the Thames, 1867.)
- No. 4. Gloves of St. Thomas. . . .
- No. 5. A circular sign with twisted edge. . . . Within is the demi figure of St. Thomas. . . .
- No. 6. Two fragments of signs of St. Thomas, on which are figured portions of the knights who slew him. . . .
- No. 7. Two circular signs. On the first is depicted the head and shoulders of the Saint, mitre on head, and the letters T O on each side of the face. The second circular sign encloses the letter T.
- No. 8. Two signs. The first is circular, with the bust of the saint ; round the margin are the words '*Caput Thome.*' The second is a sign in the shape of the four-leafed shamrock, with the letter T in the centre.

¹ The connection between St. Thomas of Canterbury and Sens will be remembered.—H. L.

- No. 9. Fragment of a sign of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas, on which remains the figure of Edward Grim, Becket's cross-bearer. A similar figure of Grim appears in the painting discovered in St. John's Church, Winchester, in 1853.
- No. 10. Circular sign, enclosing the head of St. Thomas; inscribed round the border 'Caput Thome.'
- No. 11. Head of St. Thomas. . . .
- No. 12. Head and bust of St. Thomas. . . .
- No. 13. Square sign of St. Thomas. Head inside a quatrefoil. . . . (Found in the Thames, 1866.)
- No. 14. Fermail of the fourteenth century, inscribed 'St. Thomas.' Thames, 1867.)
- No. 15. Two bells of St. Thomas, inscribed 'Campane Thome.'"

"That signs of Becket were exposed on the person as early as the twelfth century is evident from the statement of Giraldus Cambrensis." (See above.) (*Journal of the Arch. Ass.*, vol. 19, p. 96.)

"Signacula . . . recovered from the Thames near the site of old London Bridge . . . , may have been there lost by some of the pilgrims who breathed their orisons in the chapel dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr." (*Journal of the Arch. Ass.*, vol. 19, p. 98.)

Several little figures probably once forming pilgrims' signs are to be seen in the British Museum, and that of the Guildhall in London. In the latter some represent the saint on horseback.





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