

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX  
Archæological Society.

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Vol. IV.

JANUARY, 1871.

Part I.

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THE ORDINANCES OF SOME SECULAR GUILDS  
OF LONDON, 1354 TO 1496.

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[Read at an Evening Meeting of the Society, 13th February, 1871.]

THOUGH the history of the old trade guilds of London is sufficiently known through the works of Maitland, Herbert, and others, the rules and ordinances which governed the internal economy of those interesting institutions are, I may venture to say, a sealed book.

Herbert indeed intimates that the more ancient records of the guilds (now better known under the name of Companies) have perished in the conflagrations which from time to time have devastated the metropolitan city. \*

If this destruction has really occurred, it is the more to be regretted, inasmuch as the same casualty would seem to have overtaken even those transcripts of them which by the 12th Richard II. were ordered to be returned into Chancery. †

Of the returns made under that authority, the copies of the charters

\* *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, Advertisement, p. vii.

† No transcripts of rules of the trade guilds of London are extant at the Record Office.

only seem now to be in existence, and these, it is obvious, do not supply the information and particulars which the rules would have given.

Some of these missing rules have, however, been recently discovered in a place of legal custody little anticipated even by the accomplished antiquary who unearthed them.

In prosecuting a research amongst the records of the court of the Commissary of London, our esteemed member J. R. Daniel Tyssen, esq., F.S.A., was agreeably surprised to find duly recorded in that venerable depository the entire English texts of the rules and ordinances of four secular Guilds of London,\* and of two German fraternities established in the same city.

The London Guilds whose rules have thus reappeared are of those of the Glovers, the Blacksmiths, the Water-bearers, and the Shearmen. †

\* In especial reference to the discovery made by Mr. Tyssen, I cannot forbear remarking that the stores of archæology dormant in the registers and other records of the ecclesiastical courts of London are incalculable. They pre-eminently deserve to be abstracted and published by authority. A few years ago I called attention in the *Athenæum* to the fact (*known* by me) that the whole of the inventories of the seventeenth century, filed in the Prerogative Court by the representatives of all deceased persons, were in existence, though inaccessible to the curious. At the instance of Lord Stanhope, *President of the Society of Antiquaries*, Lord Penzance ordered these and other inventories of prior date to be looked up, with a view to their being indexed. The order was, I believe, nominally obeyed for a few weeks, and was then disregarded. To demonstrate the interest of these inventories, at least those of the seventeenth century, it is sufficient to say that amongst them *must* be the inventory of the personal estate and effects of William Shakespeare, and therein, perhaps, may be found some mention of his copyrights.

† It is unnecessary to say that every guild was entirely isolated and independent of all others of the same description. This is traditionally said to have been the true constitution of the guilds of Freemasons, now called lodges. Originally they were, like other guilds, distinct communities, neither affiliated to nor dependent upon any other association of the same craft. At the beginning of the present century (perhaps at the end of the last), through extraneous influences, a hierarchical system was introduced into Freemasonry, and all the independent lodges (or guilds) submitted themselves to one lodge, in London, as their chief, at the same time surrendering to the latter their royal charters (or licences), and their ordinances. These were probably all destroyed by the central authority at the time of the surrender. Copies of the charters, however, will possibly be found in the *Record Office* amongst the returns made under the 12th Richard II. (see *ante*), and Mr. Tyssen's discovery

The German fraternities are those of St. Katharine and of the Holy Blood of Wilsnach in Saxony.

Of the guilds themselves I will observe, that the Glovers and the Blacksmiths are old fraternities still amongst us.\* The Shearmen also still exist, though under their later and better-known appellation of Clothworkers, and are one of the twelve great Companies.† The Water-bearers are, however, entirely unknown to fame, Maitland and Herbert making no mention of them.

The same oblivion has come over the two German guilds. Maitland, Herbert, Riley, and Dr. Lappenburg (*Geschichte des Hansischen Stalhofes zu London*) have left them unnoticed. Dr. Pauli also, the latest writer upon London from a German point of view, ignores them.

At the same time it is possible that these last-mentioned guilds may have severally belonged to the two establishments of Germans trading in London, those of Cologne and the Hanse.‡

The rules thus discovered by Mr. Tyssen are, as I have said, all in the English language. As they range in date from the year 1354 to the year 1496 they represent the vernacular in its progress towards fixity and consolidation. They have an obvious worth, therefore, as texts of our language, besides their intrinsic value as illustrations of the machinery and inner working of those most powerful institutions of the middle ages—the trade guilds.

Their interest also does not stop there. Having by their means complete details of these fraternities, we are now in a position to compare them with those more ancient institutions preceding the Norman Conquest which first assumed the name of guilds in this country, and these latter may, in their turn, also be subjected to a further comparison, viz. with those *collegia privata* of the empire which were the precursors of them all.

As no one would expect to see these rules in the place where they shows it to be more than probable that the rules and ordinances are registered in some of the ecclesiastical courts, where they will be discovered whenever a search shall be made for them. When they shall be found we may assure ourselves that Von Hammer's hypothesis of Baphomet and the Templars will not hold good, still less will Mithras (another and a later theory) stand a chance of being accepted.

\* Maitland, *History of London*, vol. ii. pp. 1242, 1247.

† Herbert, vol. ii. p. 650.

‡ Riley's *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, Introduction, p. xcvi.

now are and have always been, it will not be superfluous to ascertain upon what principle of law and for what legal object they were thus registered in the court of an ecclesiastical judge.

We shall find by the rules themselves that this registration was not ministerial only, but that in each case there was either expressly or by implication a preliminary confirmation of the rules by ecclesiastical authority. In other words, the rules were *certified*, to use a term of our own time, which is exactly applicable.

The proem to the rules of the Shearmen registered in the Court of the Commissary of London 27 February, 1452, states that they have been submitted to the official of the Consistory of London, and contains his confirmation of them in the following words: "Et quia nos Johannes officialis antedictus, per nonnulla documenta aliasque probationes legitimas, evidenter invenimus et comperimus præmissa apunctuamenta sive ordinationes ex causis veris rationalibus et legitimis fuisse et esse confecta et ordinata; igitur dicta apunctuamenta sive ordinationes, tanquam juri consona, in quantum possumus de jure et debemus, auctoritate qua supra confirmavimus et auctorizavimus, prout ea sic tenore præsentium confirmavimus et auctorizavimus, ipsaque appunctuamenta sive ordinationes omnia et singula per omnes et singulos dictarum artis et fraternitatis fratres et liberos homines ac eorum successores imposterum observanda et perimplenda fore sub pœnis in hujusmodi appunctuamentis sive ordinationibus plenius descriptis decrevimus et decernimus per præsentem."

At the conclusion of the rules of the Water-bearers, registered 20th October 1496, in the Court of the Commissary of London, we find the same Commissary confirming them "as far as in him is."

The rules of the German guild of St. Katharine, registered in the same court on the 25th October 1495, are confirmed also by the Commissary of London.

We further find, by the evidence of the rules themselves, that the object and intention of this confirmation and registration was to facilitate the suing in the Ecclesiastical Court for the *quarterages* and penalties contained in them.

The rules of the Glovers contain this provision: "Also it is ordeyned that if any brother of the same fraternitie of the crafte of glovers be behynde of paiement of his quarterage by a yere and a day, and his power the same quarterage to paie, and if he that do maliciously refuse, that thenne he be somened tofore the officiall

(*i.e.* the official of the Consistory of London) and by the wardens for his trespass and rebelness of such manner, duly for to be chastised or ponyssed, and to paie the fine aforesaid, and her (*i.e.* their) costs of the court, as in here (their) account tofore all other brethren of the same craft wellen answer."

So the rules of the Shearmen provide, that if a brother "breke his othe he shall be punysshed by the lawe of our moder holy chirche," and "that the said wardens do make certification unto the officers of the Bishop of London \* \* \* to the intent that thay by the lawe spiritual compel the said person so being rebel and disobedient for to pay and satisfy the said fine."

The rules of the brotherhood of St. Katharine in the same strain provide that "the names of all persons, transgressors and rebels, being brethren of the fraternity, be presented unto the judge ordinary of the Lord Bishop of London."

The principle of canon law by which an ecclesiastical court could enforce payment of the quarterages and fines of a Livery Company has so long passed out of existence that I may be excused for entering into some particulars concerning it.

In all cases of the infraction of an oath or solemn promise to pay, the ecclesiastical court could enforce performance. The canonist Lyndewode describes the pleadings in a suit of this nature (styled *pro lésione fidei*) in a manner which throws light upon the clauses in the rules which I have recited. He says, "A libels B that the latter, by interposition of his faith or by his oath, promised and bound himself that on a day named he would pay, &c., but has since *minus canonice* refused to fulfil his promise, in violation of his oath, which by the divine and canon laws he is bound to perform under pain of mortal sin; wherefore the complainant prays that, on proof of the facts, the judge will decree and compel the defendant to observe his promise and engagement by canonical censures."\*

The rules of these guilds being thus confirmed and registered by full legal authority, it is impossible to conceive a record more authentic than those transcripts the discovery of which we owe to the penetration of Mr. Tyssen.

We have, accordingly, no reason to regret the more than probable

\* Lyndewode's *Provinciale*, lib. v. tit. 15 *de pœnis*. See Ducange also, sub voce *Curia Christianitatis*.

loss of the originals themselves. The authenticity of all these rules being thus placed beyond doubt, I will abstract the regulations of the oldest set, in order to facilitate a comparison of them with the provisions of those other guilds which, as we shall see, preceded the Norman Conquest.

The first in date are the ordinances of the *GLOVERS* (A.D. 1354).

They purport to be made by the masters and keepers (or wardens) of the craft of Glovers of the City of London and the brethren.

1. Every brother shall pay sixteen pence a year, by quarterly payments, towards providing two wax tapers to burn at the high altar of the chapel of Our Lady in the new church-haw beside London, and also to the poor of the fraternity who well and truly have paid their quarterage so long as they could.

2. If any brother be behind of payment of his quarterage by a month after the end of any quarter he shall pay sixteen pence, that is to say, eight pence to the old work of the church of St. Paul of London, and the other eight pence to the box of the fraternity. Also as often as any brother be not obedient to the summons of the wardens, or be not present in the "hevenys that folk be dead," and in offering at the funeral of a brother, and in attendance at church with the fraternity on the feasts of the Annunciation and Assumption and others, he shall pay sixteen pence in like manner.

3. Every brother shall come to *Placebo* and *Dirige* in the "hevenys of dead folk," in suit or livery of the fraternity of the year past, and on the morrow to mass, and there offer, in his new livery or suit, upon pain of sixteen pence.

4. If a brother be behind of his quarterage for a year and a day, and though it be in his power to pay it he maliciously refuse, he shall be summoned before the official of the Consistory of London, &c. (see *ante*).

5. If any brother or sister be dead within the city, and have not of his (or her) goods him (or her) to bury, he (or she) shall have burning about his (or her) body five tapers and four torches, at the cost of the brethren, provided the deceased have continued seven years in the fraternity, &c.

6. All the brethren be clothed in one suit, &c.

7. The masters, wardens, and brethren shall attend and hear mass on the feast of the Assumption, &c.

8. Every brother shall keep his livery for four years, &c.

9. Settles the fee for entrance into the fraternity, and also the form of oath.

10. On the day of the feast when the brethren have eaten they shall go together to the chapel of our Lady before-mentioned, and there continue the time of *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and on the morrow shall attend mass of *Requiem*, and from thence come together to their Hall, on pain of sixteen pence.

11. If any brother revile another he shall be fined six pence or eight pence, &c.

12. All the brethren, with their wives, shall go together to their meat the Sunday next after Trinity Sunday, &c. &c.\*

13. A trade regulation concerning the admission of apprentices.

14. Settles fines for "contrarying" against the rules.

15. Settles further penalties for disobedience to the rules, and regulations as to apprentices.

Twenty-nine brethren have signed these rules. At the same time they were sworn (*fidem fecerunt*) well and faithfully to keep and fulfil them.

The ordinances of the BLACKSMITHS come next (A.D. 1434).

They are made by the masters and wardens and the whole company of the craft, "in the worship" of St. Loy.

They are *in pari materiâ* with the preceding rules.

These rules, as registered in the Commissary's Book, are subscribed

\* Upon the admission of females to the companies' dinners, Mr. Herbert makes the following quaint remarks (vol. i. p. 83). "This curious, we had almost said indecorous, custom, but which must at the same time have greatly heightened the hilarity, occurred in consequence of the companies consisting, as we have seen, of brothers and sisters; and which practice they seem on their reconstruction to have borrowed from the religious guilds. Not only did widows, wives, and single women who were members join the joyous throng, but from the Grocers' ordinances of 1348 we find the brethren could introduce their fair acquaintances on paying for their admission; and that not, as in modern times, to gaze in galleries, the mere spectators of good living, but as participants. There is an amusing simplicity in the ordinances alluded to of the Grocers on these points. They enjoin that every one of the fraternity, from thenceforward, having a wife or companion, shall come to the feast, and bring with him a damsel, if he pleases. If they cannot come from the reasons hereinafter mentioned, that is to say, being sick or big with child and near delivery, they are then, and not otherwise, to be excused."

by sixty-five brethren and by the wives of two of them, the original signatures appearing on the record.

The rules of the SHEARMEN follow next (A.D. 1452).

Their proem states that "the wardens and freemen of the craft for the more encrease and continuance of brotherly love and good example unto the honor of God, our Lady St. Mary, and all saints, by license of the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London, form a religious brotherhood amongst themselves for the sustentation of a perpetual light of thirteen tapers to burn in the church of the Augustinian Friars in London before the image of Our Lady."

The ordinances refer to the guild generally as well as to this interior fraternity, and need not be repeated here, though the extreme particularity of the details, including the oath of the brotherhood, make them exceedingly interesting.

The rules of the WATER-BEARERS of the City of London are the last of our English series.

They bear date A.D. 1496, and purport to be made by the wardens and the whole fellowship of the brotherhood of St. Christopher of the Water-bearers founded within the Augustine Friars.

The three remaining guilds are of Germans residing and trading in London. Their objects are good fellowship, and, where need might arise, the succour of the poor members of the guilds. As they do not directly concern English antiquities, I abstain from making any comment upon them, save to observe that, from the stringency of the provisions against loss of temper and strife, it is clear that there is ancient authority for the proverbial *querelle d'Allemand*.

We have in the old English rules now published full details of the inner life and working of our guilds. Their origin, however, is as mystical as it was before, and we must go beyond even these rules to trace it. Luckily, materials for this research do not fail us. We have references to English secular guilds existing long before the Norman Conquest, and, what is still more valuable, we have the texts of the rules of three of such associations, of the date respectively of the tenth century.

The guilds whose rules we thus possess are of London, Cambridge, and Exeter.

The rules of the London guild, perhaps the first in date, contain the fullest details of them all.\*

The proem states that the text contains the constitution of the guild, which is composed of thanes and ceorls, (gentlemen and yeomen,) under the perpetual presidency of the bishop and port gerefa of London.

It also declares that the rules are made by common consent of the brethren, in addition to and furtherance of the stringent provisions against robbery of the acts of the witenagemot therein specified,† and for the better comprehension of the object of the guild, it invokes into the rules the enactments themselves.‡

The object of the guild is the recovery of stolen stock and slaves, wherever that recovery is practicable, and where that cannot be effected,

\* Mr. Thorpe (Preface to *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, p. xvii.) calls this "A deed of incorporation by the prelates and reeves of the Londoners for the repression of theft and maintenance of the public peace, which in its provisions is closely akin to the later institution of frithborg, or as it is mistranslated frankpledge." This is a strange misconception of the meaning of a very plain instrument. Equally strange is the confusion in Mr. Thorpe's mind between frankpledge, which is security, and the object of the London guild, which is indemnification by mutual assurance.

† "Þis is seo gerædnis þe þa biscopas and þa gerefan þe to Lundenbyrig hyrað gecweden habbað, and mid weddum gefæstnod on urum friðgegyldum, ægðer ge eorlisce ge ceorlisce, to eacan þam domum þe æt Greatanlea, and æt Exanceastre gesette wæron, and æt þunres felda." (Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutions of England*, vol. i. p. 229.)

‡ "Þæt we ewædon þæt ure ælc scute IIII pæng to ure gemæne þearfe binnan XII monðum, and forgyldon þæt yrfe þe syððan genumen wære þe we þæt feoh scuton, and hæfdon us ealle þa æsceap gemæne, and scute ælc man his scylling, þe hæfde þæt yrfe þæt wære xxx pænig wyrð, buton earinee wudewan þe nænne forwyrhtan næfde, ne nan land." Mr. Thorpe corrects "scylling" by "pænig," the equivalent of which appears in Brompton's translation. *Forwyrhta* is the literal translation of the Latin *procurator*. See Ranks, Thorpe's Laws, p. 192.

*Ibid.* p. 230. "Þæt we tellan a x menn togædere, and se yldesta bewiste þa nigene to ælcum þara gelaste þara þe we ealle gecwædon, and syððan þa hyndena heora togædere, and ænne hynden man þe þa x mynige to ure ealre gemæne þearfe, and hig xi healdan þære hyndene feoh, and witan hwæt hig forðsýllan þonne man gildan sceole. And hwæt hig eft niman gif us feoh arise æt urum gemænum spræce, and witon eac þæt ælc gelast forð cume, þara þe we ealle gecweden habbað to ure ealra þearfe be xxx pæn, oþþe be anum hryðere, þæt eall gelæst sy þæt we on urum gerædnissum gecweden habbað, and on ure fore spræce stænt."

then the indemnification of the loser by *pro rata* contributions of the brethren.

2. Each of the brethren shall contribute yearly four pence to the common behoof; the brethren shall pay for the stolen property so soon as the contribution is made. They shall make the search for it in common. Every man who has property to the value of thirty pence shall contribute his penny. The poor widow who has neither a friend who will contribute on her behalf, nor land of her own, is exempted.

3. The guild shall be subdivided into bodies of ten men, one of those ten being its chief.

Further, these bodies of ten men or tithings shall be united into a body of one hundred men (or *hynden*),\* and over this last-mentioned body shall be appointed an officer, called a *hynden man*, who shall direct the other ten, to the common benefit of the guild.

These eleven shall hold the money of the *hynden*, and will decide what they shall disburse when a payment must be made, and what they shall receive when there is anything to receive, and when money shall be payable to the brethren at their common suit.

The brethren are to take notice that there must be forthcoming every contribution which has been ordained to the common behoof, at the rate of thirty pence, or an ox, so that all may be fulfilled which has been ordained, and which stands in the agreement of the brethren.

4 and 5 contain directions for commencing and prosecuting the searches after stolen stock.

6.† Is a rule respecting the payment of the policies on the stolen

\* Mr. Thorpe (*Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. ii. Glossary, *sub voce*) explains "hynden" to be "an association of ten men." The context shows that this is not so, and etymology supports this contrary view. Dr. Leo made the same mistake in "Die angel-sæcische dorpverfassung." *Rectitudines*, p. 176. Even Dr. Bosworth has accepted this as the meaning of the word.

† *Ibid.* p. 232. "Embau urne ceapgild. Hors to haelfan punde, gif hit swa, god sy, and gif hit mætre sy, gilde be his wites wyrðe, and (supple ne) be þam þe se man hit weorðige, þe hit age, buton he gewitnesse habbe, þæt hit swa god wære swa he secge, and hæbbe þon afer eacan þe we þar abiddan. And oxan to mancuse, and cu to xx and swyn to x. and seop to scll. And we cwædon be nrum þeowum mannum þa menn þa men hæfdon gif hine man forstæle, þæt hine man forgilde mid healfan punde. Gif we þonne gild arærdon, þæt him man yhte

property. A horse shall be paid for at the maximum rate of half a pound, if it be so good. If it be inferior, it shall be paid according to its value. An ox shall be compensated for at a mancus, a cow at twenty pence, a hog at ten pence, and a sheep at a shilling.

The money required beyond what shall be in hand shall be raised by a call amongst the brethren.

A theowman (*i. e.* a slave) shall be compensated for at the maximum rate of half a pound, or according to his value, the money to be raised by a call, as before mentioned. If he has stolen himself (*i. e.* has run away from his owner),\* he shall be stoned, and every brother who has a slave shall contribute either a penny or a halfpenny according to the number of the brotherhood. If the slave shall make good his escape he shall be compensated for according to his value.

7. The brethren shall avenge each others wrongs, and shall be all as in one friendship so in one enmity.

The brother that shall openly kill a thief shall have a reward of twelve pence out of the common fund.

The owner of property insured shall continue the search for it until he be paid, and he shall be recouped the expenses of the search out of the common fund.

8.† The hyndenmen and those who preside over the tithings shall meet together once in every month and ascertain what business has been done in the guild.

ufon on þæt be his wlates weorþe, and hæfdon us þone ofereacan þe we þær abædon. Gif he hine þonne forstalede þæt hine man lædde to þære torfunge, swa hit ær gecwædon wæs and scute ælc man, þæt man hæfde, swa pænig swa heafne be þæs geferscipes manio, swa man þæt weorð up aræran mihte. Gif he þonne oðseoce þæt hine man forgulde be his wlates weorðe.

\* This phrase is very suggestive. It is altogether Roman (see Cod. vi. tit. 1). "Servum fugitivum sui furtum facere . . . manifestum est." A happier or more philosophical definition of the crime of a fugitive slave, who, by his flight robs his owner, cannot be conceived. The same phrase was applied to the *colonus* also who left his farm. (See *Neglected Fact in English History*, p. 51.)

† *Ibid.* p. 234. "þæt we cwædon dyde dæda soþe dyde, þæt ure ealra teonan wræce, þæt we wæron ealle swa on anum freondscype swa on anum feondscype, swa hwæþer hit þonne wære, and se þe þeof fülle beforan oðrum mannum þæt he wære of ure' ealra feo xx pæng þe betera for þære deade and for anginne and se þe alte þæt yrfe, þe we foregildað, ne forlæte he þa æscean be ure oferhyrnesse, and þa, mynegunge þarmid, oþþæt we to þam gilde cuman, and we þonne eac him his geswinceas geðancedon of urum gemænum feo, be þæm þe seo fare wurðe wære, þy læs seo mynagung forlæge."

These eleven men shall also have their dinner together *à discretion*, and shall give away the remains of the dinner, for the love of God.\*

Every brother shall help another, as it is ordained and confirmed by oath. †

If a sworn brother of the guild die, each brother shall give a loaf for his soul, and shall sing or procure to be sung fifty psalms within thirty days. †

Every brother who has lost stock and intends to claim the amount of his insurance shall notify his loss to his neighbours within three days. But the search shall be proceeded with notwithstanding, for the guild will pay only for stolen, not unguarded, property; and many men make fraudulent claims. §

The regulations and provisions of this guild command our unqualified respect. They are irrefutable evidence of a high state of civilization. We have in them a scheme of mutual assurance, with all the appliances for carrying it out, combined with thorough comprehension of the true principles upon which such schemes are founded, and can alone be supported. For the guild not only satisfies itself that the claim is honest, but repudiates payment of it whenever the claimant has shown himself to have been contributory by his negligence to the loss of which he affects to complain. And, lastly, the guild, in order to secure the society against claims of unlimited and overwhelming amount, establishes a maximum rate of compensation.

The rules of the Cambridge Guild are as follows : ||—

The proem states that the instrument embodying these rules con-

\* *Ibid.* p. 236. “*Þæt we us gegaderian a emban ænne monað, gif we magon, and æmtan hæbban, þa hyndenmenn and þa þe tcoðunge bewitan, swa mid bytt fyllinge, swa elles swa us to anhagic, and witan hwæt ure gecwyðradeune gelæst sy and hæbban þa xii. (lege xi.) menn heora metscype togædere, and fedan hig swa swa hig sylfe wyrðe munon, and dælon ealle þa mete lafe Godes þances.*”

† *Ibid.* p. 236. “*And eac þæt ælc oðrum fylste, swa hif gecweden is, and mid weddum gefæstnod.*”

‡ *Ibid.* p. 236. “*And we cwædon eac be ælcum þara mænna þe on urum gegyldscipum his wedd gescald hæfð, gifhim forðsið gebyrige, þæt ealc gegilda gesylle ænne gesufelne hlaf for þære saule and gesinge an fittig; oþþe begite gesungen, binnan xxx nihtan.*”

§ *Ibid.* p. 238. “*þonne beode we þæt binnan iii. nihtum he his neoburan gecyðe, gif he þas ceap gildes biddan wille, and beo se asce þeah forð, swa hit ær gecweden wæs, forðan we nellen nan gymeleas yrfe, forgyldan, buton hit forstolen sy. Mænige men specað gemahlice spræc,*” &c.

|| These rules were first published by Dr. Hickeys in his “*Thesaurus Lin-*

tains the constitution which the society had determined upon in the guild of the thanes of Cambridge.\*

guarum Septentrionalium, in his "Dissertatio Epistolaris ad Bartholomæum Showere," pp. 20, 21. They have been often republished; but, as the originals were destroyed in the fire of the Cotton Library, the text, as given by Dr. Hickes (in some respects faulty, as we shall see), now admits of no emendation, save by conjecture. The MSS. were formerly in Tiberius, E. 5, and at present they are "burnt to a crust," says the catalogue.

\* Her is on þis gewrite siu geswitclung þære gerædnisse þe þius geferræden geræd hæfð on þegna gilde on granta bryce—

1. Þæt is þonne arest þæt ælc oþrum að on haligdome sealde soþre heldrædenne for gode and for worulde and eal geferræden þæm a sylste þe rihtost hæfde.

2. Gif hwilc gegilda forðfære, gebringe hine eal gegildscipe, þær he to wilnie. And se þe þarto ne cume gylde syster huniges. *And se gildscipe hyrfe be healfre feorme of þone forðferedan.*<sup>1</sup> And ælc scoote twegen penegas to þære ælmesan. And man þær ogebyrge þæt arise æt see Æðeldryðe.

3. And gif ðonne hwylcum gyldan þearf sie his geferefa fultumes, and hit gecyð wyrðe þæs gildan nihstan gerefan, butun se gilda sylf neah si, and se gerefa hit forgyrneleasi gegyldean pund. Gif se hlaford hit forgyrneleasi gegyldean pund, buton he on hlafordes neode beoððe lagerbæra.

4. And gyf hwa gyldan ofstlea, ne si nan oðer butun eahta pund to bote Gif se stlaga ðonne þa bote oferhogie, wrece eal gildscipe þone gildan, and ealle beran. Gif hit þonne an do, beran ealle gelice.

5. And gif ænig gilda hwylcne man ofstlea, and he neadwraça si, and his bismær bete, and se ofstlagena twelfhende sy, fylste ælc gegylða healf mearc to fylste. Gif se ofstlagena ceorl sy twegen oran. Gif he wylisc si anne oran.

6. Gif se gilda þonne hwænne mid dysie and myd dole stlea, bere sylf þet he worhte.

7. And gif gegilda his gegyldan þurh his agen dysi ofstlea bere sylf wið magas þæt he bræc; and his gegylde eft mid eahta pundum gebycege, oððe he þolie à geferes and freondscipes.

8. And gif gegilda myd þæm ete oððe drince þe his gegildan stlog, butun hit beforan cynige oððe leodbisceope oððe ealdormen beo, gilde an pund, butun he ætsacan mæge mid his twam gesetlun þæt he hine myste.

<sup>1</sup> The words in italics Mr. Kemble has translated: "and let the gildship inherit of the dead half a farm." (Kemble's History of the Saxons in England, vol. i. App. 513.) This is simply absurd. The original words are so corrupt and ungrammatical that it is impossible to give any meaning to them. Mr. Thorpe has left them untranslated (Diplomatarium Anglicum, 611), and following so excellent a leader I have done the like. Dr. Hickes has made a very clever guess, but it is only a guess. His translation is "Et sodalitas alteram partem sumptuum accommodabit quæ ad justa solvenda in silicernio, seu epulatione funebri impendentur." (Thesaurus Ling. Septent. Dissertatio epistolaris ad Bartholomæum Showere, p. 20.)

1. Each gave to other upon the holy Gospels an oath of true fidelity as regarded God and as regarded the world, that he would ever give all fellowship to him that had most right.

9. Gyf hwile gegilda oðerne misgrete, gyldre anne syster huniges:—

And gif hwa oðerne misgrete, gyldre anne syster huniges, butun he hine mid his twam gesetlun geladie.

10. Gif cniht<sup>1</sup> wæpn brede, gild se hlaford an pund; and hæbbe se hlaford æt þæt he mæge, and him eal gildscepe gefylste þæt he his feoh of hæbbe.

11. And gif cniht oðerne gewundie, wrece hit hlaford, and eal gyldscype on an, sece þæt þ he sece, þæt he feorh nebbe.

12. And gif cniht binnan stig<sup>2</sup> sitte, gyldre anne syster huniges.

And gif hwa fotsetlan hæbbe, do þæt ylee.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this word "cniht" has been strangely misunderstood, though nothing can be plainer. Ælfric, in his *Abstract of the Old Testament*, translated *miles*, in the Apostle's expression *miles non portabit gladium*, by "cniht." The ballad on the death and last exploits of Byrhtnoth the ealdorman or eorl of East-Anglia calls him "cniht."

"Be þæm man mihte oncnawan,  
þæt se cniht nolde  
wacian æt þæm wige,  
þa þe he to wæpnum feng."

The eorl was the King's cniht, because he was a King's thane, that is, he had taken his oath of homage to the King and was his man. On the other side, and for the same reason, the same appellation is applied by the poet to the eorl's own men.

"Him be healfe stod  
hyse unweaxen.  
Cniht on gecampe."

To a charter of the tenth century we find, after the mention of several attestants, these words "and mænig god cniht to eacan þysan." (Hickes' *Thesaurus*, præf. vol. i. p. xxi.) Oswald (Bishop) in a diploma A.D. 969, gives certain land "sumum cnihte, þæm is Osulf nama." (Kemble's *Cod. Dipl.* vol. iii. 557.) And in another document of the same period Oswald (Archbishop) makes a similar grant, "sumum cnihte, þæm þe is Wulgeat nama." (*Ibid.* *Dipl.* 680.) Ælfbæd's will, of no date, but referrible to the tenth century, has the following "Ic geann Brihtwolde minum cnihtæ," &c. (*Ibid.* *Dipl.* 684.) Ætheling Ætheling, in a charter of the eleventh century, says "Butan þæm VIII hydum þe ic Ælmære minum cnihte geunnan hæbbe. And ic geann Æthelwine minum cnihte þæs swyrdes þe he ær me sealde." (*Ibid.* *Dipl.* 722.)

<sup>2</sup> *Stig* is wholly unintelligible, and can only be an error of the copyist. Mr. Kemble translates it *spence* (History of the Saxons in England, vol. i. p. 514); but in this the interpreter is at least as hard to understand as the original. Mr. Thorpe leaves the whole phrase untranslated. (*Diplomatarium Anglicum*, p. 613.) A reference, however, to par. 2 of the rules of the Exeter Guild (p. 17)

2. If any brother die, the whole guild shall bring him to the place where he has wished, and he that comes not thereto shall pay a *sextarius* of honey; and each shall pay two-pence towards the alms (*viz.* at the offertory), and what is befitting shall be delivered to St. Ætheldrith.\*

3. If any brother be in need of the aid of his comrades, and it be made known to the land steward of the nearest brother, unless the brother be himself at hand, and if the steward neglect it he shall pay a pound. If the lord neglect it he shall pay a pound, unless he be compulsorily engaged on his lord's business, or confined to his bed by sickness

4. If anyone slay a brother, let fully eight pounds be exacted for the compensation. If the slayer neglect to pay the compensation, let all the guild avenge the brother, and bear the feud. If one do it, let all bear alike.

5. If any brother slay any man, and he be an avenger by necessity of repairing his outrage, and the slain man be a thane, let each brother pay half a marc in aid. If the slain man be a *ceorl* (*i.e.* a yeoman), let him pay twelve oras. If the slain man be a Welsh man, let him pay one ora.

6. If the brother slay any one out of wantonness or malice, let him himself bear the consequence of what he has done.

7. If a brother slay his guild brother through his own foolishness,

13. And gif hwilce gegilda ut of landæ forðfere, oððe beo gesycled, gefeccan hine his gegildan, and hine gebringan deadne eððe cucene, þær he to wilnie, be þæm ylcan wite þe hit gecweden is.

14. Gif he æt ham forðferð and gegilda þæt lic ne gesæcð; and se gegilda þe ne gesecc his morgen <sup>1</sup> spæce, gilde his syster huniges.

\* See note, p. 13.

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will throw light upon the meaning of the provision itself. That paragraph contemplates a guild brother's *cniht* sitting with his lord in the banqueting room of the guild, in which case, as the *cniht* cannot be expected to be abstemious, he, as his lord, is required to contribute something towards the increased consumption. It must be borne in mind that the *cniht* would be of the same social standing or birth as the lord, and therefore without offence to the other guild brethren he could sit at table with them. Dr. Hickes mistakes the sense of the passage by translating it thus, "Si famulus in via cuiquam insidiatur, &c." (*Dissertatio epistolaris*, p. 20.)

<sup>1</sup> We have a hiatus here; but the sense of the passage may be arrived at notwithstanding without difficulty. "Morning" or "morrow speech" is an expression which continued to be used very late in the middle ages for the general meeting of a guild. (See *passim* in Mr. T. Smith's *Old English Guilds*.)

let him himself bear, as regards the relatives, what he broke (*i.e.* the consequences of his infraction of the law) and also redeem his fellowship with eight pounds, or lose for ever fraternity and friendship.

8. If a brother eat or drink with him that slew his guild brother, except it be before the king, or the ealdorman of the shire, or the bishop of the diocese, let him pay one pound, unless he can disprove by the evidence of the two persons who sat on each side of him at table that he knew him not.

9. If any (brother) revile another, let him pay one *sextarius* of honey, unless he can clear himself by the evidence of the two men who sat at each side of him at table.

10. If a *cniht* (*i.e.* an armed retainer of a brother\*) draw his weapon let the lord pay one pound and detain what he can (of the servant's effects) and let all the guild assist him in recovering his money.

11. If a *cniht* wound another (*cniht*) let the lord avenge it, and all the guild together, wherever he may seek refuge, (effect) that he have not his life.

12. If a *cniht* take his seat indoors (*i.e.* in the banqueting room of the guild †) let him pay (*i.e.* contribute) one *sextarius* of honey.

And if any brother have a servant to sit at his foot let him do the same.

13. If any brother die out of the country, or fall sick, let his guild brothers fetch him and bring him, dead or alive, to where he wishes, upon the penalty aforesaid.

14. If he dies at home, and a brother does not repair to the body, and the latter does not excuse himself at the morning speech (*i.e.* the general meeting of the guild), let him pay his *sextarius* of his honey.

The rules of the Exeter Guild are as follows :

The proem states that this Society is assembled in Exeter for God's love and their soul's profit, both in regard to the prosperity of this life and the future, which we wish for ourselves in God's judgement. ‡

\* See note, p. 14.

† *Ibid.*

‡ þeos gesamming is gesamnod on Exanceastre for godes lufun and for usse saule þearfe, ægðer ge be usses lifes gesundfulnesse, ge eac be ðæm æfteran dagum, þe we to godes dome for us sulfe beon willað.

1. þonne habbað we gecweden, þæt ure myttung si þriwa on xii monðum, ane to Sce Michael's massan, oðre siðe to Sce Marian massan ofer midne winter, þridan siðe on eal hæligræ mæsse dæg ofer easton.

1. There shall be three meetings in the year, the first at Michaelmas, the second at the feast of our Lady after midwinter, and the third at the feast of All Saints after Easter.

2. Each brother shall contribute two *sextarii* of malt, and each cniht one and a portion of honey.

3. The priest shall celebrate two masses, one for the living friends, the other for the dead, at each meeting; and each brother of lay estate shall recite two psalters, one for the living friends, the other for the dead. This altogether (says the rule) will make six masses and six psalters, there being three general meetings.

4. At each expedition ordered by the king every brother shall contribute five pence.

5. At a house burning each brother shall contribute a penny.

6. If any brother neglect an appointment for a meeting, on the first occasion he shall pay for three masses, on the second occasion for five,

2. And hæbbe ælc gegilda ii sesteras mealtes, and ælc cniht anne and sceat huniges.

3. And se mæssepreost à singe twa mæssan, oðre for þa lyfigendan frynd, oðre for þa forðgefarenan æt ælcere mittinge; and ælc gomænes hades broðer twegen salteras sealma, oðerne for þa lyfigendan frynd, oðerne for þa forðgefarenan; and eft forð siðe ælc monn vi messan oððe vi sealteras sealma.

4. And æt suð fore ælc <sup>1</sup> mon v peningas.

5. And æt husbryne ælc mon anne pen.

6. And gif hwylc man þone andagan forgemeleasige, æt forman cyrre iiii. mæssan, æt oðerum cyrre v. æt ðriðdan cyrre ne scire his nan man, butun hit sie for mettrumnesse, oððe for hlaforðes neodde.

7. And gif hwylc monn þone andagan oferhabbe æt his gesceote bete be twifealdum.

8. And gief hwylc mon of þis geferscipe oðerne misgrete, gebete mid xxx. peningum, þonne biddað we for godes lufun, bæst ælc mann þæs gemittinge mid rihte healde, swa we hit mid rihte gerædod habbað god us to þæm gefultimige.

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<sup>1</sup> For "suð fore," which means nothing, I read "ufare," the expedition ordered by the King's *geban*. This reading is supported by a practice of the burgesses of Colchester before the Norman Conquest. Ellis says (Introduction to Domesday, p. 113), "Six pence a year was paid out of every house, which might be applied either for the maintenance of the King's soldiers, or for an expedition by sea or land. This payment, it is said, did not belong to the King's ferm." The contributions are analogous. In the one case the burgesses subscribe among themselves for the behoof of their brother burgesses going to the war. In the other case the guild brethren subscribe much the same sum for the same purpose.

and on the third occasion no allowance shall be made for the neglect unless it be through infirmity or his lord's business.

7. If any brother neglect the appointment for paying his subscription or contribution, let him compensate for it two-fold.

8. If any man of this fellowship revile another, let him compensate for it with thirty pence.

In conclusion the document prays "for God's love, that every man of this assembly justly observe what we have justly ordained. God assist us therein."

Though these three secular guilds are the only associations of that kind whose rules we possess, our knowledge of the existence of guilds amongst the Anglo-Saxons goes back to a much earlier date.

They are mentioned generally in the seventh century, viz. in the laws of King Ine.\*

In A.D. 860-866 there was a guild of cnihts.† A similar guild would appear to have existed in London at a date long anterior to the Norman Conquest.‡ Domesday also speaks of a guild of clerks possessed of considerable house property at Canterbury.§

As that great record could only refer to institutions possessed of real property, and as the city was exempted from its range, its silence is in no way conclusive, either against their having been other guilds in England unendowed, or against there having been guilds in London both with and without estate.

After the Norman Conquest we find guilds in abundance in London. These, or many of them, we have every right to consider to have preceded that great event. They are called by their old Anglo-Saxon name of "gild;" they are governed by an official of like Anglo-Saxon nomenclature, and their word for a great meeting of the associates, viz. morning speech,|| we have already seen in the association of Cambridge.

In a short space of time succeeding the Norman Conquest the guilds became in England, as upon the Continent, a power in the boroughs,

\* Thorpe, vol. i. p. 112.

† Kemble's Cod. Dipl. vol. ii. 293. A signature to a defaced charter of Ealhere is "cnihta gealdan."

‡ Herbert's History, vol. i. p. 27.

§ Ellis's General Introduction to Domesday, p. 115. Earlier than this date similar guilds of clerks are alluded to in the canons enacted under King Eadgar. (Thorpe's Laws, vol. ii. p. 246.)

|| See *ante*.

and above all in London. In that city they had by the time of Edward II. overturned the old burghal constitution. Herbert says, "By one of a number of articles of regulation, ordained by the citizens for their internal government, which articles were confirmed by the King, and incorporated into a charter, it was provided that no person, whether an inhabitant of the city or otherwise, should be admitted into the civic freedom, unless he was a member of one of the trades or mysteries, or unless with the full consent of the whole community convened; only that apprentices might still be admitted according to the established form. Before this no mention occurs of any mercantile qualification to entitle the householder to his admission to the corporation."

The next reign saw greater changes still.

"The reign of Edward III. (says Herbert) gave birth to an entire reconstruction of the trading fraternities, which, from now generally assuming a distinctive dress or livery, came to be called Livery Companies." He adds, "The alterations under this reconstruction were numerous. Amongst the principal may be reckoned their change of name from gilds to crafts and mysteries, and the substituting for the old title of alderman that of master or warden, \* \* \*. A more important change for the interest of the companies was their being at this time generally chartered, or having those privileges confirmed by letters patent which they had before only exercised through sufferance, and the payment of their fermes."

These changes led to the further aggrandisement of the companies. Norton says, "In 49 Edward III. an enactment passed the whole assembled commonalty of the City, by which the right of election of all city dignitaries and officers, including members of parliament, was transferred from the ward representatives to the trading companies."\*

All our rules come under the reconstruction mentioned by Herbert. They are not however the less interesting, for though the institutions to which they refer are no longer called guilds, they are still such in fact and in spirit.

Finding thus a succession of guilds in England from the seventh

\* The same strange assumption of power on the part of the guilds had already taken place on the Continent. In 1297 Dante became a member of the Company of Physicians and Apothecaries at Florence (the *sesta* of the *arti maggiori*), to enable him according to the existing laws to take office under the government. (See Dr. Barlow's *Divina Commedia*, p. 491.)

century to the present era with nothing to show that they received their creation from King Ine of Wessex,\* we may naturally ask, to what origin are we to refer these fraternities of our land?

This has been a topic much discussed both at home and abroad. As might be expected, the opinions expressed upon the subject have been various and contradictory.

Lappenberg traces our English guilds to the sacrificial feasts of the Teutonic tribes. This is perhaps the strangest theory of all. For what connection can reasonably be supposed between a rendezvous of uncivilized Pagans and an association of Christian men combining for schemes of mutual benefit?

Dr. Brentano rejects this hypothesis, and supports a view of his own in the following manner. He says, "Neither Wilda, the principal writer on guilds, nor Hartwig, who has made the latest researches into their origin, is able to discover anything of the essential nature of guilds, either in what has just been related about the old family and its banquets, or in the sacrificial assemblies; and it is only as to the one point of the custom of holding banquets on the occasion of anniversary festivals that Wilda is inclined to derive the guilds from them. But of the essence of the guild, the brotherly banding together in close union, which expressed itself in manifold ways, in the mutual rendering of help and support, he finds no trace. The banquets were either casual meetings, to which every one, as he thought proper, invited his friends, or which several people prepared in common, and which did not produce any more intimate relationship than that already existing from the actual bond of the family, or state, or neighbourhood, or they were meetings in which every one of the nation was able, or was obliged to take part. There appears in them nothing of any closer voluntary confederacy of the members within or by the side of the union caused by the state or religion. Hartwig considers these objections of Wilda conclusive, and believes that from the continued existence of Pagan ceremonies, even amongst the religious guilds, and from the custom of holding feasts, nothing whatever can be deduced which is essential to the guilds."

Dr. Brentano, having thus disposed of an opposite theory, goes on to attribute the guild to the family, *i.e.* the Teutonic family, the guild being an instance of that union for mutual support which existed in

\* See *ante*.

that Teutonic family, and he sums up as follows: "The family appears as the first guild, or at least as an archetype of the guilds. Originally its providing care dispels all existing wants, and for other societies there is therefore no room. As soon, however, as wants arise, which the family can no longer satisfy—whether on account of their peculiar nature or in consequence of their increase, or because its own activity grows feeble—closer artificial alliances immediately spring forth to provide for them, in so far as the state does not do it. Infinitely varied as are the wants which call them forth so are naturally the objects of these alliances. Yet the basis on which they all rest is the same. All are unions between man and man, not mere associations of capital, like our modern societies and companies," &c.

It is not very difficult to dispose of the theory to which the fervid Teutonic genius has led Dr. Brentano.

This theory proves too little in one sense and too much in another. It is wholly illogical to deduce from the natural obligation of the family an institution which is not only voluntary and optional, but which can only begin outside of that family. In this respect, therefore, Dr. Brentano's theory falls short.

Again, if the guild be derivable from the family, every other association of freemen must be equally so derived, and should Dr. Brentano's arguments prove his contention, the army, the navy, the civil government of a country have all claims to that origin. But this is to prove more than is proposed.

Mr. Toulmin Smith was of opinion that "none of our guilds were founded upon a Roman basis." Miss Smith adds "and, when a reference to early Roman history was suggested," he replied "there is not the shadow of an analogy (misleading as even analogies are) between the old Sabine *curies* and our old English guilds. We trace ours back to the old Saxon times."

As I am free to confess that I do not understand the allusion in this, I must leave it, with all its mystery, uncommented upon, except to observe that it may mean that English guilds are of English origin.

In the various hypotheses which I have referred to the propounders all agree in one point, viz., in ignoring the past history of Britain. They seem to have forgotten that England was a Latin country for four centuries, and during that period as she received Latin colonists so she received also Roman laws and institutions.

Amongst the latter the *collegia privata* were planted here, at the infancy of the Conquest. The *collegium fabrorum* which dwelt in the *Civitatibus Regnorum*, when Claudius and his successors were Emperors, is known to all antiquaries.\*

The colleges remained in this country throughout the imperial rule, and with the provincial inhabitants survived the Anglo-Saxon occupation of Britain. They were subsequently, through that marvellous imitativeness † which distinguished the German in the early stages of his national life, adopted by him also.

That this is the true origin of the English guild it will not be very difficult to demonstrate.

Under the empire and before it private colleges (*collegia privata*) were corporations composed of men voluntarily bound together for a common lawful purpose.‡

They were established by legal act,§ either a *senatus consultum* or a decree of the emperor.

The number of the *sodales* could not be less than three. It might be any larger number, unless it was restricted by the authority which gave the college existence.||

In its constitution the college was divided into *decuriæ* and *centuriæ*—bodies of ten and a hundred men.¶

\* Horsfield's History of Sussex, vol. i. p. 41, gives the inscription in its existing state, and see Horsley's Britannia Romana, p. 332 *et seqq.* for an ingenious restoration by the celebrated Roger Gale. Whatever may be thought of this restoration in the whole or in part, we have in the original (as it now exists,) the words "gium fabrorum," which can only be read "collegium f." These colleges were amongst the few "antiqua et legitima" left undissolved by Augustus. (Suet. in Aug. c. 32.)

† See the acute and philosophical remarks of Dr. Rolleston, who discusses the "imitative tendencies" of the Teutonic race in vol. xlii. Archæologia, p. 422.

‡ See J. F. Massman's *Libellus Aurarius, under the heading collegia*, p. 76 *et seqq.* See also Dig. 50, 16, 85, and 3, 4.

§ *Ibid.* p. 75. Massman says, "Inde frequens illa formula, quibus ex S. C. coire licet." (Gruter, 99 i. 391 i.; Murator, 472, 3, 520 3; Orelli, 4075, 4115, 1467, 2797.) See also Sueton. in Augusto, c. 32."

|| Fabretti, x. 443, Marini, Fratres Arvales. (Quoted by Massman, p. 75.) Dig. de verb. signific. Pliny's Epistles, x. 42.

¶ "Collegia divisa erant in decurias et centurias," says J. F. Massman, quoting Muratori, 518, 4; Fabretti, 73, 72; Marini, Fratr. Arv. 174a; Orelli, 4137.

It was presided over by a *magister* and by *decuriones*—a president and a senate.\*

It had a *quæstor* and *arcarius*—a treasurer and sub-treasurer.†

It was a corporation, and could hold property as such.‡

It had a common cult and common sacrifices at stated times. It had its priests and temple.§

It had its *lares* and its *genii*.

It had a *curia* (or meeting-house) where the *ordo collegii* (its senators) met to consult and to determine.

At the same *curia* also the whole sodality met at their general meetings and to feast.

There was a common *arca* (or chest) to contain their revenues, their contributions, and their fines.

Each college had its archives and its banners.

It had a *jus sodaliti* or full power over its members.

To each candidate on his admission was administered an oath peculiar to the college.

The *sodales* supported their poor brethren.

They imposed *tributa* or contributions to meet their current and extraordinary expenses.

They buried publicly deceased brethren, all the survivors attending the rite.

A common sepulchre or *columbarium* received the brethren.

Each college celebrated its natal day, a day called *caræ cognationis*, and two other days called severally *dies violarum* and *dies rosæ*.

We may guess the intention for which the natal day and the day *caræ cognationis* were appointed, viz. to carry out the general purposes of the college; but for the *dies violarum* and *dies rosæ* there were other purposes. On those two days of charming nomenclature the *sodales* met at the sepulchres of their departed brethren to commemorate their loss, and to deck their tombs with violets and roses, an offering (if not a sacrifice) pleasing to the spirit of the *manes*.||

\* See the authorities (derived from epigraphs) for these and for varying names of the same officers in Massman, p. 80.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Dig. 47, 22, 3.

§ *Ibid.* p. 81. For all the ensuing assertions the reader is referred to Massman and the authorities quoted by him.

|| Massman, in reference to these days, says only that the *dies caræ cognationis* was in the month of February, that the *dies violarum* occurred

Each college could hold property.

Of trade colleges epigraphy has preserved an infinity of examples; but, as I have intimated, the private colleges were not of craftsmen only; any persons could combine and form a college, if the common purpose of it were lawful.

Men could combine themselves into a religious college if the religion were tolerated by the State;\* and De Rossi has shewn that colleges *funerum causá*, or for the purpose of holding land wherein to bury the *sodales*, were rife in Rome both before and after the rise of when the violet began to blow, and that the "*dies rosæ*" was on the 10th day before the calends of June. (*Ibid.* p. 83.) This, however, gives only part of the information. It omits the objects for which such days were appointed. As regards the two floral days the information, however, is at hand. Violets and roses were strewn or hung in garlands upon tombs in commemoration of the dead, and to sooth the ever wakeful and mischievous spirit of the *manes*. As to the employment of these flowers, see Orelli, 4419, 4107, 4070, 3927, and Marini, *Fratres Arvales*, 580, 581, 639. Suetonius (Nero, c. 56) says, that after the burial of that emperor "non defuerunt, qui per longum tempus vernis æstivis que floribus tumulum ejus ornarent"—persons strewed his tomb with violets and roses. Byron's allusion to this fact is amongst the best known passages of his *Childe Harold*. Before then Augustus had acted similarly in regard to the remains of Alexander the Great. (Suet. August.) "Corona aurea ac floribus aspersis veneratus est." M. Antoninus Pius (Capitolinus, c. iii. vol. i. p. 46, Peter's edition) so honoured his *magistri* that after their death "sepulchra eorum floribus semper honoraret." A graceful poem (*Anthologia Latina*, 4. 355), thus alludes to the same custom—

"Hoc mihi noster herus sacra vit inane sepulchrum,  
Villæ tecta suæ propter ut adspicerem;  
Utque suis manibus flores mihi vinaque sæpe  
Funderet et lacrimam quod mihi pluris erit."

This scattering of violets and roses upon tombs was commonly known by the quaint names of *violatio* and *rosatio* (see Orelli), and Henzen has gone very fully into the subject of the mischievous powers of the *manes*, and of the consequent necessity for propitiating them. (See *Annali di Roma* for 1846). He quotes the following inscription preserved in the Villa Panfili: "Quamdiu vivo, colo te: post mortem nescio; parce matrem tuam (*sic*) et patrem et sororem tuam marinam, ut possint tibi facere post me solemnia." (See also a paper by the same author in the *Annali* for 1849, p. 77).

In the *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 31, is recorded an inscription found at Hispellum of the same tenor; "Viridi requiesce viator in herba; fuge si tecum cæperit umbra loqui." The phrase "de mortuis nil nisi bonum," (if it be ancient) refers to this property of the *manes*. It is not a lesson of generosity, as it is now taken to be; but a counsel not to rouse the anger of an irritated ghost by speaking too freely of his past actions in the flesh.

\* Dig. 47, 22, 1.

Christianity.\* In fact, it was the glorious destiny of this order of colleges, as the creators of the catacombs, to preserve our nascent and struggling faith. Under cover of a Roman burial club the scheme of man's redemption was carried out.

Though a glance over the preceding pages will have shewn the identity of the English guild (through the Anglo-Saxon institution) with the Roman college, it may perhaps assist the reader if I place their resemblances in stricter juxtaposition. In doing so I will refer, where I can, more particularly to the guild as found in the Anglo-Saxon period of our history.

The *collegium* was an association of men, combined for a common lawful purpose, and cemented together by admission into a *sodalitium* and an oath of fellowship.

The Anglo-Saxon guild was identical in these respects.

The *collegium* had a complete self-government of master and officers.

Though we have no full information upon this in the Anglo-Saxon guild, the old English guild is constituted in a manner similar to the *collegium*.

When the *collegium* was large it was divided into *decuriæ* and *centuriæ*.

We have seen this identical division in the Anglo-Saxon guild of London.

The *collegium* and the guild had a special cult. In the old English

\* A very interesting paper of the Cavaliere de Rossi's in the *Revue Archéologique*, vol. xiii. N.S. p. 295 *et seqq.*, and entitled "Existence légale des Cimitières Chrétiens à Rome," contains a *resumé* of his discoveries upon this and cognate points treated from time to time in the *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* and *Roma Sotterranea*. I refer the reader to this paper, p. 240 *et seqq.* The Cavaliere thus sums up his discoveries (*ibid.* p. 240): "Aussi les Chrétiens, en leur qualité de possesseurs de cimitières communs, ont-ils formé *ipso jure* un collège de ce genre (*i.e. funerum causâ*); et pour leur ôter le bénéfice du *senatus-consulte* on devait prouver qu'ils tombaient sous le coup de cette restriction de la loi: *dummodo hoc prætextu collegium illicitum non coeat*. À la constatation de ce délit équivalait chacun ees édits spéciaux de persécution, où l'on interdisait aux Chrétiens l'usage de leurs cimitières; et ces édits sont en effet du iii<sup>e</sup> siècle, époque où l'histoire et les monuments témoignent que les fidèles possédaient des tombeaux en qualité de corps constitués. Après la revocation de l'édit le privilège rentra en vigueur; et alors les empereurs restituaient aux évêques comme représentants du corps de la chrétienté la libre possession avec l'usage des cimitières."

form this is uniform and prominent, and it shews itself in the Anglo-Saxon guild of Cambridge in the reference to S. Ætheldryth.\*

There are fixed general annual meetings of the *collegium* for business.

We have seen the same in the Anglo-Saxon guild.

The *collegium* and the guild have also severally their *réunions*, at which to feast and disport themselves.

The *collegium* and the guild subsist through the contributions of their members. Their business and their pleasures depend upon these exactions.

The *collegium* and the guild correct their disobedient members by mulcts and fines.

They both have a common chest, and they both may and do hold landed estate.

The *sodales* of the *collegium* are brethren as well as contributories.

Nothing is better defined than the same feature in the guild also.

The *sodales* supported their poor and comforted their sick brethren.

We have seen this in the guild.

The *collegium* and the guild could make bye-laws for their respective regulation.

When a *sodalis* died the surviving brethren followed him to the grave or to its Roman equivalent.

The same kindly spirit is enforced in the Anglo-Saxon as well as in the old English guild.

The *collegium* was a corporation.

The guild was unequivocally the same. In the dearth of words of precision which followed upon the disuse of the Latin language in this country the word was assumed and continued to late days to express a *commune*—the same thing.†

\* Mr. Toulmin Smith is anxious to exculpate the guilds from the charge of being religious. He says, "These were not in any sense superstitious foundations, that is, they were not founded, like monasteries and priories, for men devoted to what were deemed religious exercises." (Old English Guilds, Introduction, p. xxviii.)

† See Glanville, v. c. 5. Domesday, in speaking of Canterbury, says that the burgesses held certain land "in gildam suam," *i.e.* in their aggregate capacity. (See Ellis's Introduction, p. 115). At Dover the burgesses had a "guild hall." (*Ibid.* p. 105.)

We have found also in one of the Anglo-Saxon guilds mention made of the brotherhood suing in the aggregate.

Lastly, as the pagan sodalities met on the day of violets and the day of the rose to commemorate the death of brethren in the manner which has been mentioned, so the Christian guild at all times of its history in this country met similarly on stated days for an analogous commemoration of those who had preceded them with the sign of faith, to use the words of the old office of *memento*.

I think that these resemblances are so striking and so nearly connected with the essence of each that the common similarity can mean nothing less than the identity of the two institutions—the *collegium* and the guild.

And it does not, I think, conflict with this conclusion that the *collegium* could not be constituted without authority, while it is more than probable that no such difficulty existed in regard to the Anglo-Saxon guild.\* But any authorisation, besides not being of the essence of the institution, would be out of the question in those days of irregular liberty which succeeded the dislocation of Britain from the empire.

Still less does it affect that identity for which I have contended, that amongst all the purposes for which *collegia*, so far as we know, were instituted there is no mention made of mutual assurance. For, as it was the machinery and system which made a college, whatever the object might be, the institution was still a college, being like the sun in Horace, “*aliusque et idem*.”

\* The proems of the Anglo-Saxon rules seem to prove this. In addition thereto is the inference to be drawn from a fact related by Herbert, vol. i. p. 24, who says that in the reign of Henry II. certain guilds in London were amerced as being adulterine or set up without the King’s licence. In other words these were probably old guilds which followed the old custom. The Normans had introduced the licencing of these fraternities.

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## TEXT OF THE ORDINANCES.

ARTICLES AND ORDYNANNCES undirwrite by the MAISTRES and KEPERS OF WARDEYNES of the FRATERNITIE of the CRAFT of GLOVERS in the Cite of LONDON. In the Chapel of OURE LADY in the Newe Chirchawe beside London. Acknowledged before the Commissary of London 1354, 28 Edward III.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (E Libro "Prowet," fo. C.lxxxxvjo.) Dated A.D. 1354. 28. Edw. iij.]

xj° 7 xij°.

In the Worshipe of the holy and the hye Trinite fadir and sone and holy Goost And in the Worshipe of the blessed and Glorious Virgyne Mary Moder of oure Lord Godde Jhesu Crist Maistres and Kepers or Wardeyns of the *Fraternite* of the Craft of Glovers of the Cite of London and alle of the same *Fraternite* brethren with oon consente and assent in the worshipe and solempe festes the Nunciacion and in especiall the Assumpcion of the blessed Mary Virgine they have doon ordeyned and ymade alle the Articles and Ordynaunces undirwrite by hem and either of hem and here successours for evirmore wel and truly to be kepte to be holde and fulfilled upon the peynes in the same Articles here aftir specified.

First it is ordeyned that every brothir of the same *Fraternite* the which for the tyme beyng and here successours for here tymes paieth or doth to paye yerely to fynde ij. Tapres of the wight everych of hem of x li. wax brenyng in the Chapel of Oure Lady ysette in the Newchirchawe beside London atte the Hye Auter of the same Chapell in the worshipe of the Blessid Virgine Marye xvj d. to be paid that it is to wete every quarter of the yere iijj d. to the fyndyng of the forseid light and to the pore of the same *Fraternitee* the whiche well and trewly have paid here quarterage as longe as they and to here power have done.

Also it is ordeyned that if any brother of the same *Fraternite* of the *Crafte of Glovers* be behynde of paiement of his quarterage by a monyth aftir the ende of any quarter that thanne for defaute of paiement of soch quarterage he shal paie or do to be paid xvj d. st. that is to wete viij d. to the olde werk of the Church of Seynt Poule of London and other viij d. to the Boxe of the same *Fraternitee* of the Craft of Glovers And so as oftetymes as it happeth any brothir be behynde in paiement of his quarterage any quarter of the yere or be not obedient to the somounce of the Wardeyns or be not present in the heuenys that folk ben dede and in offerynges for to be doon as in beryng of the bodies of the brethren of the same *Fraternitee* of Oure Lady that is to wete the *Annunciacion* and *Assumpcion* specially and in alle othir tymes in the

which brethren of the same Craft of Glovers togedyr owen for to be And that for every defeaute he paye xvj d. in maner and forme as is above expressed And that the Maistres Kepers or Wardeyns of the same Fraternitee which for the tyme ben such sommes of money for everych defeaute so ygradred shul do to rere or doon to be rered othir elles an othir that the same Maistres Kepers or Wardeyns a fore said for the same defeautes of here owen proper godes shal make satisfaccion and yelde accompte ther of of the same sommes in the endes of the yeres of thike Kepers or Wardeyns that is for to say as for ij yere.

Also it is ordeyned that every brother of the same Fraternitee shul come to *Placebo* and *Dirige* and in the heuenys of dede folk in sute or in here lyverey of the same fraternite of the yere last passed and in the morowe atte Masse and there for to offer alle snych brethren in here newe lyverey or sute atte snych offerynges for to be doon owen for to be upon the peyne of xvj d. to paie in maner and fourme above seid.

Also it is ordeyned that if ther be any brother of the same Fraternite and of the same Craft of Glovers be behynde of paiement of his quarterage by a yere and a day and his power the same quarterage to paie And if he that do maliciously refuse that thenne he be somened to fore the officiall and by the Wardeyns for his trespas and rebelnes of suche maner duly for to be chastised or ponyssed and to paie the fyne afore seid and her costes of the court as in here account to fore alle othir brethren of the same Craft wellen answer.

Also it is ordeyned that if any brothir or suster of the same Fraternite if have be of the Craft of Glovers and be dede withynne the endes and the lymytees of the citee of London and have not of his owen godes hym for to berye he shal have abowte his body v. tapres everych of the wight of x lb. beryng and iiij torches upon the costes and expenses of the brethren of the same Fraternite if it have be that he by vij yere contynuyng in the same Fraternitee so long hath duelled and his quaterage wel and truly aftir his power ypayde.

Also it is ordeyned that alle the brethren of the same Fraternite ben clothed in oon sute onys every ij yere ayeys the feste offe Assumpcion of oure Lady. And that all soch brethren that is to wete of the forseid Crafte of the Werk of Glovers in the same fest of Assumpcion atte the forseid chapell of oure Lady in the Newe Chirchawe beside London ysette for thanne togedir personlich togedir shul neighberly and there here offerynges shul doon as the maner afore hath ben And if any brothir that day be absent but if a cause resonable hym doth lette that thenne for his absens of the same he pay xvj d. for to be paid in maner and fourme above seid.

Also it is ordeyned that the Maistres Kepers and Wardeyns of the Fraternite afore seid of the Craft of Glovers of the Cite of London the which for the tyme shul be and alle othir brethren of the same Fraternite and of the same Craft of Glovers for here tymes in the feste of Assumpcion of the blessyd Virgyne Marie atte the aforeseid Chapell of Oure Lady in the Newe Churchawe beside London ysette personally shul neighe and come by vij of the klokke to fore the our of ix. And therefore to be in syngyng of masses and ther her offerynges for to do after the maner of longe tyme passed and ther of forto contynue and abyde and remayne from the same our of vij vnto the our of viij fullich

fulfilled but if they have cause resonable hem for to lette upon the peyne of xvj d. to be paied in maner and fourme abovesaid.

Also it is ordeyned that every brothir of the same Fraternite that is to wete of the Craft of Glovers her lyvery of the same Craft by iiij yere holde next sewyng aftir that he it receyved hole and faire shal it kepe and the same in no maner withynne thike iiij yere shal not leve it ne selle it ne aliene it upon the peyne of xl d. to paie therof xx d. to the olde werk of the Church of Seynt Poule of London and the othir xx d. to the boxe of the Fraternite of the same Craft.

Also it is ordeyned if any brothir of the forseid Fraternite of the Craft of Glovers aforseid absente hym from his mete and he be withynne the Cite of London butte if it be that he holde with grete sikenes or any othir cause resonable hym doth lette that thanne for his absens of the same he shal paie xl d. that is to wete xx d. to the olde werke of the Church of Seynt Poule and the other xx d. to the box of the same Fraternite.

Also it is ordeyned that he or they the which hath be resceyved or shalbe resceyved here aftir into a brothir of the same Fraternite if it so hadde be that he or they have ben or hadde ben of the Craft of Glovers of the forseid Cite of London paieth or dooth to paie everych of hem for his in comynges xl d. or elles as the Maistres Keepers or Wardeyns of the Fraternite aforeseid and othir iij. brethren of the same Craft and Fraternite to gedir mow accorde. And also it is ordeyned that he and they that so have be resceyved or have ben resceyved into a brother or a brotherhood of the same Fraternite and everych of hem shal be sworn on the boke so helpe hem God and Holydom that he and they well and truly shal kepen holden and fulfille in alle the ordynnances and articles of the same Fraternite of the Craft of Glovers of the forseid Cite of London keypyng upon the peynes in the ordynances and articles aforeseid above specified.

Also it is ordeyned that the day of the feste that every brothir whenne that they have eten shal go to the forseid Chapell of oure Lady in the Newchurchawe beside London i set personlich to gedir an ther to ben and contynue the tyme of *Placebo* and *Dirige* for alle the brethren and sistren of the Fraternite and on the morow aftir atte the oure of viij to be at Masse of *Requiem* and fro thens to come to gedir to her halle in payne of xvij d. to ben paied in maner and fourme above seid and so that Sondag twellmoth as the yer commeth about to that thanne be mad a quatter day and so the *Dirige* to be kept yerly in manner and form above said.

Also it is ordeyned that if any of the same Craft or Bretherhood of what degre he be revyle any man of the same Lyvery with any foule langage as thus lying falsyng or sclauderyng or with any word unfeully violently and ther be made compleynt to the Wardeyns and therof be atteynt by recorde that thenne anone he be warned by the Clerk of the Craft that he come tofore the Maister and Wardeyns of the Craft therto be examyned and therto make a fyn of vj s. viij d. di. to the olde werk of the Church of Seynt Poule and the othir di. to the box of the same Craft of Glovers.

Also it is ordeyned that alle the Brethren of the same Fraternite the Sondag next folowyng aftir Trinite Sondag to here mete to gedir shull goo and that

every brothir of the same Fraternite of the same Craft be warned atte that mete to come by the Maistres Keepers or Wardeyns of the same Fraternite the which for the tyme ben or by her servants other her familiaries or elles here deputies due tymes and that every brothir and sister paie to his mete xx d. that is to wete for hym self xij d. and his wyfe viij d. and on the morow aftir for hym self iiij d. and thagh his wife come nomore and if more that day be spende falle upon the Maistres for that tyme beyng as the maner is and that the Maistres or Wardeyns the which for the tyme shulbe in the same Sunday in the which afore seid to gedir owen for to etc. and on the morew aftir thenne sewyng without any lette of the resseittes by hem for alle the ij yere afore tofore alle the Brethren of the same Craft shull make a trewe accompt and yelde other elles that they be redy of here accompte with ynne xv daies aftir othir elles that every Maistre Keepers or Wardeyns for the tyme beyng paie for suche defaute eithir of hem in xiiij s. iiij d. that is to wete xx d. to the olde werke of the Church of Seynt Poule and the othir xx d. to the box of the same Fraternite.

Also it is ordeyned that no maner person of the Crafte of Glovers presente to fore the Chamburlayn of London no man to make hym free lesse thenne he be presented to fore the Maistres or Wardeyns of the Craft of Glovers upon peyne of vj s. viij d. to be paid xl d. to the Church of Seynt Poule and xl d. to the box of the same Craft of Glovers.

Also if any of the same Craft of Glovers be founden contraryng to do ayens the poyntes afore seid or ayeys any of hem thanne that he be somoned by the office atte the sute of the Wardeyns of the same Craft for the first defaute he to paie xl d. the on half to be paid to the olde work of the Church of Seynt Poule and the othir di. to be paid to the box of the same Craft of Glovers and atte the secunde defaute vj s. viij d. and atte the thirde defaute x s. and so forth from tyme to tyme til he wol obeye to the good rules and ordinaunces of the Craft of Glovers and for to be rered in maner and fourme afore seid.

Also it is ordeyned if any maner man of the forsaid Craft of Glovers of what degre he be disobeye any rules ordynances or articles lawfully made by the goode avys of the Maistre and Wardeyns that ben for the tyme and othir vj Brethren of the same Craft of Glovers that ben nedeful and profitable for the comen welfare of the seid Craft and also to the gode profite to alle the Kynges lege pepull be not denyed upon the peyne of xiiij s. iiij d. that is to sey vj s. viij d. to be paid to the olde werk of the Church of Seynt Poule of London and vj s. viij d. to the box of the same Craft of Glovers atte the first default and atte the secunde default ij marcs and atte the iij<sup>de</sup> default x s. to be rered and paid in maner and fourme above seid.

Also that noon apprentice of the same Craft in the ende of his terme be made freman lasse thenne the Maister and Wardeyns of the seid Craft for the tyme beyng with his Maister or his lawfull depute presente hym able afore the Chamburlayn and that no man of the seid Crafte selle ne alien the terme of his prentice without the avys and counceille of the Maister and Wardeyns of the seid Crafte for the tyme beyng and that no man of the seid Crafte teche or enfourme any foreyn or straunger in the seid Crafte in hyndryng of the same upon payne of vj s. viij d. as ofte as any be founde defectyf to be paid in maner and fourme above said.

Anno Millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup> liiiij<sup>to</sup> et anno regni Regis Edwardi Tercii post Conquestum xxviiij<sup>o</sup> per ordiuacionem fratrum subscriptorum.

Qui quidem Fratres de Arte Cirothec' videlicet:

|                         |                               |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Symon Spenser           | Petrus Haberdassher           |
| Willielmus Derby        | Johannes Roger                |
| Willielmus de Pilton    | Willielmus Sprygge            |
| Johannes de Cornewaille | Robertus Martyn, White Tawier |
| Ricardus de Banbury     | Thomas Crowcher               |
| Johannes Grundhill      | Walterus Gosgrove             |
| Johannes Elmestow       | Johannes Yanceslee            |
| Johannes Coke           | Johannes White                |
| Symon Haverhille        | Stephanus le Burner           |
| Robertus de Preston     | Johannes Derneford            |
| Adamus de Thurston      | Walterus de Bedelle           |
| Galfridus de Salisbury  | Willielmus de Burton          |
| Johannes Guygge         | Willielmus Bissshop           |
| Petrus de Preston       | Robertus de Chesterfeld       |
| Johannes de Ratford     |                               |

Fidem fecerunt bene et fideliter tenere et adimplere omnes ordinationes antedictas.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN, 14 May, 1852.]

ORDEYNANCE ARTICULIS AND CONSTITUCIONES ordeyned and graunted by the WORSHYFFULL MAISTRES and WARDEYNES in the *Worship* of the Bretherhed of SAYNT LOYE att the Fest of Ester with alle the hole company of the Crafte of BLAKSMYTHES who assemble in SEYNT THOMAS of Acres and thence to the GREY FRERES in London. Founded and ordeyned atte the Fest of Ester 1434—12 Henry VI.

[Liber 3 More. 1418—1438. f. 455. (1435.)]

In the worship of almyghtte Gode oure Lady and all the holi company of bevene and in the worship of Seynt Loye atte the fest of Ester in the yer of Kyng Henry the vj<sup>the</sup> after the Conqueste the xij<sup>te</sup> The Worshyppfull Maistres and Wardeynes with alle the hole company of the Crafte of Blaksmynes of London hathe ordeyned and graunted to the servantes of the seyd Crafte that they shul come in to the brethered of the sayd Saynt Loye as hit was of olde tyme and thei to kepe trewelie and deweli al the ordynance articulis and constituciones the whiche is ordeyned be al the worthi compani of the seyd Crafte.

Firste they byn accorded and graunted be the seyd company that every

servant syngulerly shal pay a quarter ij d. to his Bretherhed and everi suster j d. And if ther be eny newe cliant will come into the Bretherhed to be a brother he shal pay for his yncomyng ij s.

Also they byn acorded hennesfortheward that if hit soo be that ony strangere other alyant come to London to have a servyse in the Crafte he shalbe reseved in to the Crafte to serve ij wokes and after that he to make his covenant iij yer, he to have for his saleri be yer xl s. And whanne the seyde servant shal make his covenant thanne at that tyme shal be the wardeyne the wheche is asyued be the yere that he may here witnesse of the covenant and thet the seyde wardeyne may reherce to the seyde servant al the governance of the Crafte he forto treweli and deweli to kepe hem.

Also they byn acorded that the seyde servantes schal not doo no maner thyng the wheche that perteyneth to the seyde Crafte and of here Bretherhed of articules constitucionys and ordynances withouten thet they have to conseyll of the same wardeyne thet is chosen to be here governour upon the payne of xiiij s. iiij d.

Also they byn acorded that ther schal no servant of the seyde Crafte susteyne ne socour noo neweman that cometh newe to toun to have servyse be noo maner crafte ne collusioun but in the forme aforeseyde.

Also they byn acorded that no master of the seyde Crafte shal not susteyne ne socour noo servant otherwyse thanne the seyde constituciones and ordynance afore seid specefie.

Also thei byn acorded that from hennesfortheward whenne eny stranger cometh to London to have a servise oni of the servantes knoweth that he will have a servise he shall brynge him to a mastir to serve and to warne the wardeyne that is here governour that he may be at the covenant makyng.

Also they ben acorded that the seyde servantes shal come and geder into the place the wheche is nessasari to hem at sevene of the bell in here clothyng of here Bretherhed soo that they mai come to Seynt Thomas of Acres be ix of the bell to goo fro thennes before the Maistres of the Crafte to the Grey Freres to here here mas in the worshup of the holy seynt afore seyde upon the payne aforeseyde.

Also they byn acorded that the seyde articles be treweli and duely ikepte upon the payne of xx s. And that the same persone that is founden in ony defaute he to be corrected be the wardeyne that is here governoure and be the wardeynes of the Bretherhed of yomen to stonde at here discrecioun in alle maner degre. Also he that cometh nat at all maner of somons the wheche is worship and profit to the seyde Bretherhed of yomen shall pay at everi tyme a pounce of wax but if he have a resonable excusacioun.

Also thei ben acorded that there schall be a bedell of the yomen and the seyde bedell to take for his salari be the quarter of every brother of the seyde Bretherhed ob.

And wanne eny distaunce other thyng that perteyneth to the seyde Bretherhed the wheche that is profit and worship to the seyde Bretherhed he to have for his labour j d. ob. And whanne eny brother other sister be passed to God the seyde bedell to have for his travayle ij d.

Also they byn acorded that if hit soo be that ony servant hennesfortheward be founden false of his hondes or in eny other degre at the first defaute he to be

corrected be the oversseer that is ordeyned to the Bretherhed of yomen and be the wardeynes of the same. And at the secounde tyme he that is founde in such a defaute schalbe put oute of the Crafte for evere. And at the firste defaute hoo that is founde in that degre shal make a fyne to the Crafte that is to seye iiij s. halfe to torne (*sic*) to turne to the box of the Maistres and halfe to the box of the yomen.

Also they byn acorded that they shull chese newe Mastres at the fest of Seynt Loy. And that the olde Maistres yeve up here acountes to the newe at the fest of Cristemasse. And thenne that to be here quarter day. And the newe Maistres be bounde to the olde. And that this artycul be treweli and deweli to be kepte upon the peyne of xij s. iiij d.

Also ther shal not on brother plete with another at no maner place withouten leve of the wardynesse and xij<sup>e</sup> of the bretheren in the peyne of xiiij s. iiij d.

Also if ther be eny brother that forsaketh here clothyng schal paye to the boxe of the seyde yomen xij d.

Also they byn acorded whosoever be wardeyne withoute the gate he shall not have the box in keypyng nother the wex in governance but he shall have a key of the box and another of the wex. Also they byn acorded if therbe eny brother that telleth the counseyle of the seyd Brethered to his master prentis or to eny other man he shall paye to the box ij s. halfe to the Maistres and that other halfe to here oune box. And the seyde money to be reysed of the Mastres.

Also they byn acorded if therbe eny brother that revylet the wardeyns or eny of here brethren he shal pay xij d. halfe to the master box the tother halfe to ther oune box.

Also if the wardeyns be mys governed ayenest ony brother the foreseyd brother shall playne to the Master of the Crafte and the Mastro forto correcte the foreseyd wardeyns.

Also a remembrance that in the tyme that William Ferour was wardeyne of blakesmythes and governour of yomen of blakesmythes in that tyme John Water, John Speer, Jheferey More, and John Lamborn, Mastres of the yomen *aforeseyd* and xij<sup>e</sup> of the same company: We have ordeyned that every brother shall pay the firste dai vj d. and everi wif of the seyd bretheren iiij d. and also at the quarter day everi man and his wif iiij d. And also if eny of the seyd bretheren or here wyves be absent fro oure comon dyner or elles fro oure quater dai schall pai as moche as if he or sho were present.

Also we be fulli acorded that he that hath byn wardeyn of the yomen he shall not be chose within vj yere next foloyng aftur, and thei that chese hym til the vj yer ful passed thei shall pai vj s. viij d. to the box.

Also we byn acorded that thei that byn wardeynes of the foreseyd yomen thei shal abyde ther in ij yere.

Also we byn acorded that the wardeyns that byn choson for the yer shal geder up here quarterage clere before the tyme that they go out of her offis.

Also the bretheren be acorded that fro Mychelmas fortheward everi brother shal pay for his quarterage j d. and for that is behynde thei shall gedre hit up as hit was before.

Also at the quarter dai we will have baken conys as hit was be gonne, and

what Master that breketh this ordynance everi pece shall pay vj s. viij d. halfe to the Mastres box and halfe to oure box.

|                       |                                  |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Johannes Lamborne     | Johannes Kyng                    |
| Johannes Peyntur      | Johannes Wolston                 |
| Galfridus More        | Thomas Klerk                     |
| Johannes Water        | Willielmus Rolston               |
| Willielmus Johnson    | Johannes Hille                   |
| Willielmus Wodryse    | Petrus Patrik                    |
| Stephanus Manne       | Willielmus Baudewyn              |
| Johanna Uxenisdemme   | Robertus Penmore                 |
| Ricardus Abbot        | Johannes Harvyce                 |
| Jacobus Barton        | Johannes Baron                   |
| Johannes Fantard      | Robertus Edward                  |
| Johannes Sylvester    | Holiverus Broune                 |
| Willielmus Walpoll    | Reginaldus Brombey               |
| Rogerus Holdernesse   | Henricus Smyth                   |
| Willielmus Breteyn    | Hugo Robard                      |
| Johannes Trefelweth   | Willielmus Mors                  |
| Johannes Lynne        | Willielmus Langwyth              |
| Thomas Kelen          | Robertus Caton                   |
| Johannes Criste       | Johannes Warner                  |
| Johannes Hermes       | Willielmus Frebody               |
| Petrus Leyre          | Johannes Hayne                   |
| Willielmus Mapull     | Martinus John                    |
| Elizabet uxor ejusdem | Johannes Goddesfaste capellanus  |
| Johannes Broune       | Johannes Newerk                  |
| Robertus Edward       | Willielmus Warde                 |
| Robertus Rose         | Stephanus Priour                 |
| Johannes Fraunces     | Andreas Dericsoun                |
| Johannes Tachon       | Johannes Aylewyn                 |
| Johannes Coventre     | Thomas Cristemas                 |
| Egidius Fauderle      | Willielmus clericus apud Sanctum |
| Thomas Lemmeryk       | Zacarie                          |
| Thomas Foxe           | Petrus Ryley                     |
| Stephanus Clampard    | Willielmus Bolivere.             |
| Johannes Stone        | Rogerus Clerk.                   |
| Willielmus Syxsumby   |                                  |

[Examined, 14 May, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN.]

RULES AND ORDINANCES of the BROTHERHOOD of the CRAFT of  
SHEARMEN of the City of London.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (E Libro  
"Sharp" fol. 101 b.) 27 Feb. 1452, 31 Hen. VI.]

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes Litteræ sive præsens publicum  
instrumentum pervenerint sive pervenerit et quos infrascripta tangunt seu tan-

gere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum Johannes Druelle utriusque juris doctor Officialis Consistorii Episcopalis Londonie salutem in Domino ac fidem indubiam presentibus adhibere. Ad vestrae universitatis notitiam deducimus et innotesci volumus per presentes quod discreti viri Willielmus Bette, Johannes Hungerford et Johannes Baker, cives civitatis Londini, Gardiani Artis vocatae in Anglicis Shermencrafte civitatis Londoni, necnon

|                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Johannes Whitefeld    | Johannes Trewynard |
| Willielmus Butte      | Henricus Phillippe |
| Willielmus Spaldyng   | Ricardus Harford   |
| Robertus Topclif      | Johannes Stanlake  |
| Johannes Gadde        | Johannes Hopkyn    |
| Ricardus Herberd      | Johannes Biforde   |
| Willielmus Baldewyn   | Thomas Mersshe     |
| Willielmus Kee        | Thomas Draper      |
| Thomas Gronde         | Johannes Bronde    |
| Johannes Fisser       | Thomas Hoddesdon   |
| Ricardus Partriche    | Johannes Hopton    |
| Johannes Dewyke       | Johannes Broun     |
| Johannes Phillipp     | Johannes Blakboru  |
| Johannes Nottingham   | Willielmus Basele  |
| Johannes Harry        | Thomas Fraunceys   |
| Thomas Overey         | Johannes Scottys   |
| Laurencius Picot      | Willielmus Colman  |
| Ricardus Daunce       | Thomas Flete       |
| David Kyrie           | Hugo Hilkot        |
| Willielmus Hariot     | Stephanus Martyn   |
| Henricus Kyng         | Johannes Essex     |
| Robertus Angevyn      | Henricus Warer     |
| Robertus Northland    | Willielmus Benett  |
| Willielmus Thomlynson | Robertus Lenyse    |
| Johannes Davy         | Johannes Traves    |
| Johannes Daunson      | Ricardus Clerk     |
| Johannes Plunket      | Thomas Bedford et  |
| Willielmus Dixon      | Johannes Bolton    |
| Johannes Laudesdale   |                    |

Cives ac liberi homines ejusdem artis et Civitatis ac fratres Fraternitatis Beatae Mariae Virginis in domo fratrum Augustinensium ejusdem Civitatis London' majorem et sanioerem partem in duplo omnium Civium et liberorum hominum ac fratrum dictarum artis et Fraternitatis ut asseruerunt facientes coram nobis officiali antedicto in quadam aula superiori vocata Lambardeshall infra dictam domum fratrum situata pro tribunali sedente personaliter comparuerunt. Et ex consequenti praefati Willielmus Bette, Johannes Hungyrford et Johannes Baker gardiani praedicti tam nominibus propriis quam omnium aliorum singulorum supradictorum quaedam appunctuamenta sive ordinationes in Anglicis scripta de eorum expresso consensu et per ipsos ad Dei laudem et honorem dictae Beatae Virginis ipsiusque artis et fraternitatis incrementa et sustentationem pauperum ut asseruerunt facta et ordinata tunc ibidem exhibuerunt coram nobis.

Unde nos Johannes officialis antedictus in hac parte ulterius legitime procedentes præmissa appunctuamenta sive ordinationes omnia et singula in præsentia dictorum gardianorum ac omnium aliorum et singulorum suprascriptorum per Magistrum Thomam Marvyell notarium publicum scribam nostrum et per nos in hac parte assumptum et deputatum distincte et aperte perlegi mandavimus atque fecimus. Quibus quidem appunctuamentis sive ordinationibus sic ut præmittitur lectis et intellectis suprascripti gardiani ac alii omnes et singuli fratres et liberi homines dictarum artis et fraternitatis tunc presentes assenserunt et affirmarunt hujusmodi appunctuamenta et ordinationes ex eorum certa scientia et notitia processisse atque emanasse nobis humiliter supplicantes et supplicarunt quatenus ipsa ordinationes sive appunctuamenta auctoritate qua fungimur in hac parte confirmare et auctorizare dignemur juxta juris exigenciam. Et quia Nos Johannes Officialis antedictus per nonnulla documenta aliasque probationes legitimas evidenter invenimus et comperimus præmissa appunctuamenta sive ordinationes ex causis veris rationabilibus et legitimis fuisse et esse confecta et ordinata Igitur dicta appunctuamenta sive ordinationes tanquam juri consona in quantum possimus de jure et debemus auctoritate qua supra confirmavimus et auctorizavimus prout ea sic tenore præsentium confirmavimus et auctorizavimus Ipsaque appunctuamenta sive ordinationes omnia et singula per omnes et singulos dictarum artis et Fraternitatis fratres et liberos homines ac eorum successores imposterum observanda et perimplenda fore sub pœnis in hujusmodi appunctuamentis sive ordinationibus plenius descriptis decrevimus et decernimus per præsentés consequenter quidem tunc ibidem præfati Willielmus Bett, Johannes Hungerford et Johannes Baker et alii omnes et singuli dictæ artis et Fraternitatis suprascripti personaliter constituti coram nobis tactis per eos et eorum quemlibet Sacrosanctis Evangeliiis ad ea jurarunt et quilibet ipsorum juravit hujusmodi appunctuamenta sive ordinationes omnia et singula sub pœnis in eisdem limitatis debite et fideliter adimplere et observare. Proviso semper quod licebit majori et saniori parti artis et Fraternitatis prædictæ et suis successoribus hujusmodi appunctuamenta sive ordinationes corrigere emendare aut reformare eisdemve addere sive ab eisdem detrahere prout utilitati et commodo artis et Fraternitatis prædictæ magis videbitur expedire, hujusmodi nostris confirmatione et auctorizatione sive discreto ac aliis præmissis per nos et coram nobis gestis atque factis in aliquo non obstantibus.

Verus tenor dictorum appunctuamentorum sivi ordinationum sequitur et est tale :—

In the name of the Blessid Trinity Father Sone and Holy Gost, owre blessyd Lady Seint Marie Moder of Jesu Criste and of all the holy compani of Heven, We William Bette, John Hnngirford and John Baker citezeins of the Citee of London Wardeyns of y<sup>e</sup> Craft called Shermeneecraft of the Citee of London, and John Whitefeld, William Butte, William Spaldyng, Robert Topclef, John Gadde, Richard Harberd, William Baldwyn, John Trewynnard, Harry Phillypp, Richard Herford, John Stanlake, John Hopkyn, John Byford, Thomas Mersshe, William Kee, Thomas Gronde, John Fyssher, Richard Partrich, John Devyke, John Phillypp, John Notingham, John Harry, Thomas Overey, Lauraus Picot, Richard Danuce, David Kyrie, William Harriott, Harri King, Robert Angewyn, Robert Northland, William Tomlynson,

John Davy, John Daunson, John Plunket, William Dixon, John Laudedale, Thomas Draper, John Brounde, Thomas Hoddesdon, John Hopton, John Broune, John Blaborn, William Basele, Thomas Fraunceys, John Scott, William Colman, Thomas Flete, Hugh Hilcot, Stewyne Martyn, John Essex, Harry Warer, William Benett, Robert Levyse, John Traves, Richarde Clerke, Thomas Bedford, and John Bolton citezeins and Fremen of the Crafte and Mistere of Shermen of the Citee of London for the more increas and continuans of brotherly love to be had among us and oure successours goode ensample from thys tyme forthwards unto the honour of Almyghti God oure Lady Seint Marie and all seintys above sayd and unto thentente that there schalbe founde a perpetuall lyght of xiiij tapers in the chyrche of Frere Austeyns in the Citee of Londoe beforesaided afore the ymage of oure sayd Lady for to brenne there unto hyr worship by licence, auctorite and power to us yeven in thys behalf of the Maire and Communalte of the sayd Citee begynne erecte ordeyne and make of oure silfe a Fraternite or yelde amonges us and of us and of other of the seyde Mistere or Crafte as havynge affectione to the same Fraternite to be callyd the Brethyrhede of oure Lady of the Craft of Shermen of London for the sustentacion perpetuall of the seyde lyght and for du correccion reformacion and good rule and gouvernauce of the same Crafte or Mystere for evyr hereafter to be had and contynued in oure dayes of three wardeyns and of the brethern and sustren hereafter atte all tymes to be had receyvde and admittyd in to the same Fraternite successifly for evyr more after the ordinances of appunctuamentis here after wryten in the seyde Crafte be us and oure successours to be kep in fourme as folewyth.

Ferst we ben accordid and ordeyne that every persone of the seyde Fraternite be bounde for to susteyne and mayntene the seyde lyght of xiiij tapres of waxe to brenne before the sayd ymage of oure Lady in the seyde Chyrche of the Frere Austeyns for the prosperite and welfare of alle brethern and sustren of the seyde Fraternite beyng on lyve and for the sowlys of all them of the same Fraternite that be passyd oute of thys mortal lyfe or here after schal so passe and for the sowles of all cristen after imposition as the wardeyns of the same Crafte and twelve councelers to them to be ordeyned in fourme hereafter more playnly rehersyd schall charge or the more partie of the seyde nombre of xv<sup>ne</sup> schall do, charge and ordeyne.

Also that the brethern and sustren of the seyde Fraternite every yere the Sunday nexte after the Feste of the Assumpcion of oure more blessyd Lady Seynt Marie assemble in ther clothyng att wat place that the wardeyns shall assigne unto them wythin the seyde citee and fro that place goo honestly and worshipfully unto the chyrche of the Frere Austyns and there here masse by note praying specially for the goode spede and welfare of all the brethern and sustren of the seyde Fraternite beyng on lyve and for the sowles of the same Fraternite that ben passyd oute of thys mortall lyf and for alle crysten sowles and than there every brother and sustyr offre att the masse j d. and that the same brethyrn and sustren come the same day at after none to the seyde chyrche of freres to *Dirige* and so on the morowe to the Masse of *Requiem* and every brother and suster offre j d. and from thens to goo honestly togyddyr unto theyr dener where as the wardeyns assygneth them and ther to make theyr eleccion of iij wardeyns whyche schalbe aswell wardeyns of the seyde Crafte or Mistere as

of the seyd Fraternite to rule and governe the same Craft or Mistere and the same Fraternite during a yere next folwing and in cas that any of the seyd wardeyns passe oute of thys mortall lyf whithyn that yere hys ij felawes schall occupye and kepe the charge of that ocupacion for that yere withoute ony eleccion of any othyr into ys place to be made in ony wise and then on the Tuesday folwing to come to thaire brekefaste unto the same place aforeseyd and there and thanne every brothyr to paye for hys dyner aforeseyd and yf eny brothyr in the seyd citee without cause lawfull absent him from thes masses *Dirige* and dyner he schalle pay for ys absentyng vnto the seyd lyght iij s. iiij d. and thanne with ynne xiiij dayys aftyr the same tyme the seyd wardeyns schall do call all the seyd brethern and sustren and they there schall make their eleccion of xij persones discrete sad and welavised for the noble and worthi of them for to assiste keepe and counsell the seyd wardeyns in all thinges concernyng the rule and governaunce of the seyd Bretherhede Crafte and Mistere as the ordinaunces ther vpon made schall require after the forme tenure and effect of the same ordinaunces and the same day the seyd newe wardeyns schall take the charge of the olde wardeyns wythynne hem selfe for the charges that perteynyd or may perteyne of the seyd Bretherhede Crafte and Mistere and he that is electe and chosen for a wardeyn and warnyd in thys partie and absenteth him withouten resonable cause determinable by the othe of hym that ys absente to be made and sworne before the wardeyns withouten fraude and male engyne schall pay vnto the seyd lyght and Bretherhede and for sustenaunce of the poure men xls.

Also that the wardeyns that be for the yere chosyn and charygd kepe iij quarter dayes that ys for to sey withyn a fouretynght after Mighelmasse the first day and thanne the olde wardeyns of the yere before to brynge yn theyre accompt to the newe wardeyns and to theyre Felawschyp in peyne xx s. to the use of the same Crafte to be payd and the ij day withyn xiiij daies affir Cristmas and the iij day withyn xiiij dayys aftyr Ester and the iiij<sup>th</sup> daye withyn xiiij days aftyr Midsummyr and thei schall at eche of thes quarter daies do call all their felawschip and there to do rede and declare all the poyntes and articles belonging unto the seyd Crafte and Fraternite to all the felawshyp that they may wel undirstond them and kepe them that they falle notte in the peynes conteyned in the same and than yf yt may be founde that ony of the felawship have forfeyd in any of thys articles afore declaryd or aftyr folwyng he to be punysshed aftyr the same paynes and that the wardeyns that be for the yere kepe wel and trewly alle thes quarter dayys and rules that lyeth in them to be don uppon peyne above reheced and if so be that ony of the wardeyns kepe not there quarter dayys and rules aforeseid or be found fawty in any of these articles be the seid xij persones or the more partie of them that he thanne renne on peyne of xls. to be payd unto the boxe to the susteynyng of oure Lady Lyght and of the poure men and the peynes and forfetis so doon to be resid be the wardeyns nexte yere folwyng well and trewly to be doon be the othe that they have made or ellys the same wardeyns to pay the same summe and that every housholder enfranchisyd of the seid Crafte paye every quarter ij d. and that yt be payed at the iij quarter dayes afore reheced in peyne of dubling unto the seyd lyght.

Also that all the brethern of the seid Fraternite be clothid in oon sute at suche tymes as the wardeyns for the tyme being shall orden and appoynte that ys to

wyte every secunde thirde or fourthe yere. And that no persone be admitted to have the same clothyng withoute thassent of the same wardeyns and of the said xij persones or the more partie of them. And for the worship of the seyd Crafte every man of the seyd Fraternite shall kepe ys clothyng clenly and honestly iiij yeres whether it be gowne or hode. And that receiveth gown or hode to kepe them honestly the tyme above rehercid withoute ony gyfte of them to hys apprentyse or ony other persone in peyne of forfeiture to the Crafte the valow of the same clothyng. And that no man of the seyd Crafte or Mistere doo make or countyfete in any wise neither gown nor hode lyke unto the clothyng of the seyd Crafte withouten licence of the wardeyns for the tyme being in peyne of paying unto the seyd lyght suche a fyne as wardeyns shall deme and appoynte. And that every man that hath receyvdy any clothyng of hys wardeyns of the seyd Craft that ys for to sey either gown or hode that he pay for hyt by the feste of Mighelmasse aftyr that they have so received it in peyne of doublyng of the same somme.

Also that every man that hereaftyr shalbe received into the seyd Fraternite be received by the avise and assent of the seyd wardeyns and of the seyd xij persones or the more partie of them and that no man be received into that Fraternite but yf he be knowyn a goode man and of goode name and fame and of goode condicions and that he be perfith and able werkman of the seyd Crafte and therto admittid by the seyd wardeyns and be the seyd xij persones or the more party of them and in none nothyr wyse upon peyne xls.

Also if any of the seyd Crafte that ys enfraunchesyd be lye or fals despite or repreve ony othyr that ys in the seyd clothyng of the same Craft he schall pay unto the seyd lyght xx d. And that no man of the seyd Crafte schall take accion by the law upon another wer the mater may be endid by trefy or compromyse unto the tyme that he hath hasked the wardennys leve wyche that ben for the yere and that the same wardeyns shall trefwly examyn bothe parties and that eche of hem schall chese a man or twoo men wythyn the seyd Crafte and thei for to sette them atte corde if they can. And yf so yt be they cannot than that it shalbe leffull to both partyes aforsaid for to goo to the commune lawe. And who so dothe the contrarie shall pay unto the seyd lyght vj s. viij d.

JOHN MAYE.

Also that no man of the Crafte hire no man of the seyd Crafte oute of hys house for malyce nor malygne nor be noon othyr sotyll meane nor be procuracion to any othyr straunger of the seyd citee so to be doon and if it may be founde so doo by ony of the seyd Crafte he renne in peyne to pay to the seyd lyght xls.

Also if so be that ony of the forescid Fraternite and of the clothyng wiche that hath be of good rule fal into poverte than he shall be the assent of the wardeyns and of the seyd xij persones or the more partie of them be refresshyd with the almesse of the commune godes of the seyd Fraternite aftyr discrecion of the seyd wardeyns and xij persones councelors or the more partie of them. And if any man of that clothyng die inn poverte than that the wardeyns with the whole felawshyp of the clothyng do brynge him in erte in theyre clothyng on the costes on the seyd Crafte. And who so of them be warnyd thereto and cometh not he schal paie unto the seyd light jli. of wex.

Also that there be a commune chest and box with iiij keyys to ben in the

keeping of the wardeyns ordeyned and made for to kepe yn all that remainyd in store yerely unto the seid Fraternite in golde, silvyr or othyr joyall or thyng saufley to be kepte unto the use of the same Fraternite And the same cheste for to stonde in suche place as the wardeyns and the seid xij persones with the more partie of the seid Fraternite shall be apoyntyd and assnyed and that there be in the same cheste a registre booke for to engroce thereyn the names of the brethern and sustren, theire othys theyre peynes and forfeitures the dettys accomptes of the wardeyns and all othyr thynges necessarie and in any wyse apperteynyng unto the seid Crafte or Mistere and Fraternite aboveseid.

Also that no man of the seid Crafte take noon apprentice unto the Crafte but if he be freborn and clene of body and of lymmes and that he be not disfigured in any maner wise and that be the next quarter day that the seid apprentice be bounde unto ys mayster and that than hys maister presente him to the wardeyns and they for to see his Indenture and do write the terme of his apprenticehode in theire boke and there the maister to pay xx d. for the interyng thereof unto the helpe of owre Lady Lyght and of the poure almes men and who so othyr wyse doth to renne in the peyne of payyng vj s. viij d. to the same lyght and that no man of the seid Crafte hereafter occupie over the nombre of iiij apprentices doyng him service attounys butt hee that hath moo than iij apprentices before the tyme of thys ordinaunce made which so havyng we woll that he enjoye them and them kepe and occupie tyll they be weryd into the nombre of iij apprentices and than he to take the iiij<sup>th</sup> if him liste and if any man enfraunchysed of the seid Crafte after thysoure ordinaunce made and publisshid take moo than iiij apprenticis atte oons in hys craft boundyn to hyme he shall paye to the seid lyght a fyne of xl s. and that every maister having apprentice whan hys apprentys hath servyd him hys yeres of hys apprenticehode withyn iij dayes after that terme finisshyd do warne ys wardeyns for the tyme beyng of suche apprentice and than the wardeyns shall sende for him and lette hem knowe the goode persones of the seid Crafte and hereto for to be sworne as othyr men enfraunchesed of the seid Crafte beith and what maister othyrwyse doth shall thenne pay unto the said lyght vj s. viij d. and if the apprentice refuse that othe he shall not be admittyd to werke with any man of the said Crafte upon peyne to be limittid by the wardeyns and the seid xij. persones or the more partie of them upon hym that contrarie receiveth hym.

Also that if any man of the seid Crafte or ys apprentice shere any clothe but yff it be truly wette he shall make unto the wardeyns unto the use and behove of the same Crafte a fyne arbitrarie bi the advise of the seyd wardeyns and of the seid xij persones or the more partie of them as ofte as he so doeth.

Also if any man of the seid Crafte take any manner chaffer of eny Lumbard or straunger or of any othyr man of hys workyng in the occupacion of hys crafte but onely coyned money on lesse that hyt be to hys owne propre use for hymself hys wyfe and ys servantes withoute any othyr maner of colour he shall paye unto the seyd lyght and to the sustentacyon of the poore men of the said Fraternite as ofte as he so doth x li. of sterlinges.

Also that no man of the seid Crafte receive any foren man withouten licence of the wardeyns and the xij. persones or the more partie of the xij. upon peyne xl. s. to be payde unto the seid lyght as ofte tymes as suche man of the Crafte shall

be founde fawty thereyn and than the seid wardeyns with the seid xij. persones or the more partie of them schall see the foreseid foren werke and concienely sette ys salary betwixte hys maister and hym and there to be bounde iijj. yeres in covenant aftyr the rule of the Crafte and to all othyr goode rules of the seid Crafte.

Also that every man of the seid Crafte take for the barbyng of a yerde of clothe ob. and if it be twys barbyd j d. and for sheryng of scarlettys and all othyr engreynd clothe every yerde ij. d. and for sheryng of fyne whites every yerde ij d. and all othyr maner clothes what so evyr they be yf they be barbid ob. for a yerde and for the shering a j d. every yerde and for the sheryng of fine redes murreyes and blues and Essex clothes and also Sowthfolke clothes every yerde j d. and for all othyr clothes course and Ludlowys every clothe xvjd. and for all maner clothes foldes and takkys in Jenewey maner ij d. and for foldes and takkys a dosen streytes in Jeneweys maner vj d. and for foldes and takkys of kerseyes for every carsey j d. and for foldes and takkys of xij streites in Venycien maner viij d. and for foldes and takkys of all westrons and bastardes every clothe iijj d. thus to be doon undyr thys forme to all maner straungerrys that ys to sey Lumbardys, Jauneys, Venycians and all othyr whatso evyr they be upon peyne of xl s. to paye at every tyme that any of the seid Crafte be founden fawty and culpable thereyn.

Also we the seid bretheren before named be assentid agreed and fully acordid that for the obseryng as well of the seyde ordinaunces made as of all othyr ordinaunces hereaftyr to be made of us and every othyr part shall be received in to the seid Fraternitie in tyme to come att is admission and receivyng swere and make hys othe here folwyng be fore the seid wardeyns forthe tyme being undir forme I N. shall be faithful and trewe unto oure Souveraigne Lord Hery Kyng of Inglonde and to hys heyers and successors Kynges of Ingland I schall not do nor consent unto ony tresons or felonyes nor any offenses agayn hys pees but that suche of them as I know I shall truly do beknow unto the Maire of London or unto others having his poure or more I schall also be obedient unto the wardeyns of the Crafte of Shermen of the same citee for the tyme beyng in all thynges concernyng and tochyng the same Crafte and Brothyrhede and come duely unto their somnaunce but if I be lawfully lettyd under the peyne of a pounce wexe and to be contributorie to all maner costes and charges doon by them upon and abowte the same Crafte and Brethirhede and al the ordinaunces now made and hereaftyr to be made for the commune well of all persones of the seid Crafte and Fraternite I schall well and trewly do my powre, obeye, observe and kepe and noon of them to discover nor of them speke but onely to men of the same Crafte in like wyse sworn. So God me help and the Holy Evangelies.

Also we ben acordid and ordeyne that if any man of the seid Fraternite sworne in the forme above seid breke his othe wilfully or any part thereof he shall renne in to a peyne arbitrarie unto the seid wardeyns and xij persones chosen in the forme abovesaid and that whan any of the seid Fraternite and Crafte shall make hys seid othe in the fourme abovesaid that there be there thanne present atte the costes of the seid Crafte a notarie for to wisse the makyng of the same othe to th'entente that if he breke his othe he shall mowe be punysshid by the lawe of oure moder holy cherche.

Also if there be any discord or stryff be twixte eny man enfraunchised of the seid Crafte and his servaunt the parties shall notifie it unto the wardeyns of the same Crafte and thei shall here the mater and grevaunce oon both sides and put the mater undir rule. Any suche man or servaunt woll not obeie their rule in that partie the seid wardeyns schall thanne do warne everyman of the seid Crafte that noon of them sette not the seyde servaunt a werke unto the tyme that he have agreed with ys seid maister and obeied hym unto the seid wardeyns and unto the rules of the seid Crafte and who soever othyr wyse doth the contrarie shall paie unto the seid lyght vj s. viij d. and if the maister be founde in the fawte that he be punysshed aftyr the discrecion of the wardeyns and xij counceylours or the more partie of them.

Also if any man enfraunchised of the seid Crafte have iij jorney men in hys hous and a nodyr man enfraunchised have noon and have nede to have oone that than the wardeyns shall goo to hym that hath the seid jorneymen and schall take oone of them suche as the goodman of the hous may beste forbere and delyver hym to hym that hath noon and hath nede to have as is abovesaid.

Also we ordeyne and fully ben agreed that in caas that ony persone of the seid Crafte be rebell and disobeisaunt ageyns the rules conteyned in the articles abovesaid or ageyns eny of the poyntes conteyned in the same articles and woll not in any wyse obeie unto the wardeyns abovesaid that than the same wardeyns with the good avisement of the seid xij persones or the more of them shall sette upon hym that so ys rebell and disobeissaunt double as grete a fyne as he whas sette att be fore to be payde the oon moyte thereof unto the olde werkes of the Cathedrall Chyrche of Powlys and the other moyte unto the Chambre of London and of that fyne the seid wardeyns to make certification aswell unto the officers of the Bisshope of London as unto the Chambyrleyn of London for the tyme beyng withyn the nexte quarter day upon payne of xl s. to be payd unto the seid lyght of Oure Lady to that entent that they shal be the law spirituall and temporalle compelle the seid persone so beyng rebell and disobeisaunt forto paie and satisfie unto the seid fyne.

Also for all othyr ordinaunces to be made in this behalve for the rule, governance and owirsight of the seid Fraternite, Crafte or Mistere for shortness of tyme and lak of leysur, We the foresaid William Bette, John Hungirford, John Baker, John Whitefeld, William Butte, William Spaldyng, Robert Topelyf, John Gadde, Richard Herberd, William Baldewyn, John Trewynnard, Henri Philipp, Richard Herford, John Hopkyn, John Stanlake, John Bigord, Thomas Mersshe, William Kee, Thomas Gronde, John Fisser, Richard Paritche, John Devike, John Philipp, John Notyngham, John Harry, Thomas Overey, Laurence Picot, Richard Daunce, David Kyrie, Willyam Hariot, Henri Kyng, Robert Angevyn, Robert Nortland, William Tomlynson, John Davy, Johan Daunson, John Plunket, William Dixon, John Laudesdale, Thomas Drapier, John Bronde, Thomas Hoddesdon, John Hopton, John Broun, John Blacborn, William Basele, Thomas Fraunceys, John Scottis, William Colman, Thomas Flete, Hugh Hileot, Stewyn Martyn, John Essex, Henri Warer, William Benet, Robert Leuyse, John Traves, Richard Clerke, Thomas Bedford, and John Bolton citezennys and fremen of the seid Crafte and brethren of the Fraternite aboverhercid yeve and graunte our power and autorite unto the wardeyns of the seid Fraternite and Crafte that now be or here

aftyr shall be and unto the seid xij persones of the same and to their successours with thassent of the more worthi part of the seid brethren for to adde amenuse change and undo all maner of ordinaunces made and here aftyr to be made in this party so that the same makying amenusyng addyng and undoyng be not ageyns the comon lawe nor any hurt or prejudice unto the common ryght and wele of the seid Crafte in any wyse.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium præsentēs litteras nostras sive præsens publicum instrumentum exinde fieri et per præfatum magistrum Thomam Mawell publicari et subscribi ejusque signum apposuisse ac nostræ officialitatis sigilli appensione mandavimus et fecimus fideliter communiri. Data et acta sunt hæc prout suprascriptuntur et recitantur anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo indicione prima Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Nicholai Divina Providencia Papæ quinti anno sexto mensis vero Februarii die penultimo in dicta aula de qua supra fit mentio et anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti trigesimo primo.

Et ego Thomas Maywell clericus Bathoniensis et Wellensis Diocesis Publicus auctoritate apostolica notarius venerabilis viri Magistri Johannis Druell utriusque juris Doctoris Officialis Consistorii Episcopalis Londonii scriba assumptus et per ipsum dominum Doctorem et officialem in hac parte deputatus suprascriptorum appunctuatorum sive ordinationum hujusmodi exhibitorum ac discretorum virorum Willielmi Bette, Johannis Hungirford et Johannis Baker gardianorum et aliorum omnium et singulorum Fratrum et liberorum hominum dictæ artis et Fraternitatis tunc ibidem existentium ut præmittitur juramenti præstatione cæterisque omnibus et singulis dimisit ut præfertur sub annis Domini et Regis Indictione Pontificatu mense die et loco de quibus supra fit mentio coram præfato Magistro Johanni Druell officiali et per ipsum agebantur et fiebant personaliter interfui ac ea omnia et singula sic fieri vidi (et) audivi ideo præsentēs litteras sive hoc publicum instrumentum de mandato ipsius Domini officialis fieri et per alium scribi feci publicavi et in hanc publicam formam redegi hicque me manu propria subscripsi ac signo et nomine meis solitis et consuetis una cum appensione sigilli officii dicti Magistri Johannis Druell officialis ut prædicitur signavi rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum. Et constat mihi notario antedicto de rasura dictionum theme sexto primo superius in præsentē instrumento publico facta. T. M. + +  
..... Deo gracias + Et ego Thoma.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, 20 July, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN.]

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RULES AND ORDERS of the Brotherhood of THE HOLY BLOOD of  
WILSNAK in SAXONY. CRUTCHED FRIARS. 1 April 1459.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (E Libro  
"Sharp" fol. 404b.)]

In Dei nomine Amen. Per præsens publicum Instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter quod anno ab Incarnatione Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo

quinquagesimo nono Indictione septima Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris et Domini nostri Domini Pii Divina Providencia Papæ secundi, anno primo Mensis Aprilis die quartadecima ante horam nonam ejusdem diei in domo habitationis mei notarii subscripti in vico vocato Thamisesstrete in parochia Sancti Dunstani in Oriente Londonii situato In mei notarii præsentia et testium subscriptorum præsentia personaliter constituti discreti viri Dominus Johannes Johnson capellanus, Dedericus Hunter, Bertramus Johnson et Conradus Molle, nominibus fratrum et sororum Fraternalitatis Sanctissimi Sanguinis Jesu Christi vocati Almus Sanguis de Wilsnak in Saxonia in Ecclesia fratrum ordinis Crucis Civitatis Londoniæ ut asseruerunt fundatæ et ordinatæ jurarunt et quilibet eorum juravit ad Sanctæ Dei Evangelia per ipsos et eorum quemlibet tunc ibidem corporaliter tacta quod ipsi et eorum quilibet bene et fideliter observabunt ordinationes et fundationes ejusdem Fraternalitatis omnes et singulas et quamlibet particulam in hujusmodi contentam juxta ipsorum et cujuslibet eorum posse et facultates: quæ quidem ordinationes et fundationes et quælibet particula earum fuerunt et fait eisdem Fratribus tunc ibidem in vulgari Anglicano lectæ et expositæ prout et sicut in una papyri cedula huic ibidem ostensa et perlecta plenius continetur cujus quidem cedulæ tenor sequitur et est talis :

In the name of God that is Almyghti and of our Lady Seynt Mary his Moder and for the blessid blode of hir sone Jesu Christ whiçh is by all Cristen people wurshipped at Wilsnak and opynly called the Holy Blode of Wylsnak and of all the Seyntes of Hevyn the xiiijth day of Aprill the yere of our Lord God Ml.cccc.lix and the yere of Kyng Henry the Sixt xxxvij. A Fraternalite in the special honour of the seid Holy Blode of Wylsnak and of all the Holy Seynts of Hevyn is ordayned founded and devised in the Chirche of the Crossid Freres of London for to norish encrece and engender love and peas amonge gode Cristen people in the fourme sewyng that is to weten.

First hit is ordeyned that no maner of person shall come in the same Fraternalite but with good will of all the Brethern as well of the most as of the lest and shall pay at his entre xx. d. to the use of the same Fraternalite and he shall be of good condicions and conversacions.

Also if any Brother or Suster of the same Fraternalite have any accion ageyn any brother and suster of the forseid Fraternalite the pleyntiff shall compleyn hym to the masters of the same Fraternalite beyng for the tyme and they shall make an ende reste and peas between them as good fay and conscience asken and who that will nought stonde to the accorde and warde of the same maysters shall pay a lb. wex for to be arrered of hym by the same maysters to the use of the same Fraternalite and who that will nought do so shall be put oute of the same Bretherhede and never have no maner good longyng ther to.

Also what maner brother or suster disklaudereth or defameth other of the same Bretherhede in wurdis of malice or other wise in unhoneſt maner that hit be proved and verified on hym with good and trew men with oute fraude or male engyne shall shall pay ij lb. wex to be arrered of hym to the use of the same Bretherhed within xv. dayes sewyng withoute any lenger respite and he that will not pay so if he be funde gilte in the maner aforesyd shall be pute oute of the Bretherhede for evermore.

Also yf any brother or suster of the same Bretherhede desese greve or dis-

clauder other on the day of the Bretherhede holden of the seid Holy Blode of Wilsnak which shall be yerely on Holyrode day which is the iij<sup>de</sup> day of May by any grevous wurdes what they be founde in defaute shall make amendes hey and lowe after the awarde and jugement of the mastris beyng that tyme uppon the peyne of ij lb. wex or elles to be pute oute as it is aforesyd.

Also yf any of the same Bretherhede greve or deceesse with grevouse and evill wurdes the Maistris when they go a bouthe to gadyr mony and duettes longyng to the Bretherhede what may be founde in defaute shall pay a lb. wex within xv dayes sewyng.

Also by oon assent of all the brethern of the same Bretherhede every yere shall be chosyn ij or iij sufficiaunt and honest men of the same Bretherhede for to be maystris for the yere sewyng for to rule and govern well and trewly the same Bretherhede, the which maystris shall be bound in a certeyne somme for to kepe good rule and govern all maner constitucions and ordonances to the same Bretherhede belongyng And for to yelde and geve att the yeris ende good and trowe rekenyng and accomptes of all maner receytes and paymentes by them y do duryng theyr yere and all the bretherne shalbe at the same rekenyng and who that will not comme therto and he be warned shall pay at every time at his absence a lb. wex, but if he may resonable excuse hym.

Also when any brother or suster of the same Bretherhede is dede he or she shall have iiij torchys of wex of the Bretherhede to bryng the body in erthe and every brother and suster shall come to his masse of *Requiem* and offer a j d. and a byde still in to the tyme the body be buried uppon payne of a lb. wex yf he or she be with in the Cite [but] yf he or she cane resonable excuse them.

Also if any brother or suster of the same Bretherhede by fortune shall [fall] yn naturall sikenesse by visitacion of God so that he nor she mought labore and travel to helpe them selfe the same foke by warnyng to the Maysters for the tyme beyng the same day of the sekenesse comyng, or on the morow at forthest, shall have xx d. every wike sewing unto the same seke be recovered of the sekenesse and that trewly be payed at every wikes withoute any longer delay.

Also every brother and suster of the same Fraternite shall have every yere a hode of lyverey the which shall be kepped ij yere sewyng, and every brother and suster when eny of the same Bretherhede be dede shall be there in his hode of lyvery to bryng him in erthe as it is aforesyd. And every brother and suster shall kepe hys hode the fyrst yere after hit be ordeyned for holydayes and who that workyth in his hode the werkydayes or werke havyng on the same of the same yere shall paye ij lb. wex. And what brother or suster of the same Fraternite that is behynde unpayed of the quarterage by iiij d. ob. shall not opteyne the right of gylde withoute amendes makyng bi the discrecions of the maistres for tyme beyng.

Also there shall no brother ne suster go oute of the Brotherhede withoute speciall licence of all the hole Fraternite and to pay iij s. iiij d. for the lycence to be hadde.

Also every brother and suster of the same Brotherhede shall be sworn to be good and trowe and to perfourme and to fulfill to his poure all maner good condicions and ordonances longyng to encrece and profit of the same Brotherhede and there upon an instrumente shal be made and every brothirs name entred in

record of a notari for to fulfill the condicions a foresayd and that every brother and suster shall be of good conversacions and good condicions.

Super quibus omnibus et singulis prefatus Johannes et predicti Dedericus, Bertramus et Conradus, ut magistri dictæ Fraternitatis ut asseruerunt, requisierunt me notarium publicum subscriptum sibi conficere publicum instrumentum. Acta sunt hæc, prout superius scribuntur et recitantur sub anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, mense, die et loco in principio præsentis Instrumenti publici specificatis, præsentibus discretis viris Ricardo Barton pannario Cive Londonii et Johanne Pumfret literato. Testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis subsequenterque anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, ac quintodecimo die, mensis, in principio præsentis instrumenti publici specificatis post horam prandii ejusdem quintodecimo diei in Refectorio dictorum fratrum Ordinis Sancti Crucis in parochia Sancti Olavi juxta Turrim Londonii in meo ejusdem notarii et testium retroscriptorum presencia personaliter constituti discreti viri Johannes Bull, Petrus Hugenson, Johannes Johnson de Swolley, et Gysbritus de Acon' fratres ut asseruerunt dictæ Fraternitatis juraverunt et quilibet eorum juravit ad Sancta Dei Evangelia per ipsos et eorum quemlibet tunc ibidem corporaliter tacta quod ipsi et eorum quilibet bene et fideliter observabunt et observabit ordinationes et fundationes ejusdem fraternitatis omnes et singulas et quamlibet particulam in eis contentam juxta eorum et cujuslibet eorum posse et facultatem. Quæ quidem ordinationes et fundationes et quælibet particula earum fuerunt et fuit eisdem fratribus tunc ibidem in vulgari Anglicano lectæ et expositæ prout et sicut supra plenius expressum. Super quibus omnibus et singulis præfati Dedericus, Bertramus, Conradus, magistri prædicti requisierunt me notarium publicum subscriptum sibi conficere publicum instrumentum. Acta sunt hæc prout suprascriptum sub anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, quintodecimo die et loco proximo superius specificatis præsentibus discretis viris Gerordo Johnson, Hans Hane, Johanne de Moleyn, Johanne Harryson, Petro Boeykyn, Willielmo Michelson, Jacobo Evettisson, Johanne de Horst testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et ego Johannes Ecton clericus civis Civitatis Londonii publicus auctoritate imperiali notarius præmissis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut præmittitur agerentur et fierint una cum prænominatis testibus præsens ac personaliter interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audivi aliundeque occupatus per alium scribi, feci, publicavi et in hac publica forma redegi signoque meo solito et consueto signavi rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum. Et constat michi de Rasura harum dictionum "and shall pay" in undecima linea a capite.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, 7 March, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL TYSSEN.]

RULES AND ORDERS of the Brotherhood of the HOLY BLOOD of  
WILSNAK in SAXONY. 8 December 1490. AUSTIN FRIARS.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (E Libro "Sharpe" fol. 406b.)]

In Dei nomine Amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter quod anno ab Incarnatione Domini Millesimo CCC<sup>o</sup>. XC<sup>o</sup>. primo,

Indictione decima, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Innocentii Papæ octavi anno octavo, mensis vero Decembris die tercio-decimo, in domo officii Commissariatus Londonii juxta Paulys Cheyne infra parochiam Sancti Gregorii Civitatis London ibidem situata in mei notarii publici subscripti et testium infrascriptorum præsentia personaliter constituti discreti viri Edwardus Rohe, Lodowicus van Brig, Tankardus Hewson, Petrus Adrianson, Johannes Johnson, Vincentius Rute, Johannes van Water, Stephanus Sprynkehelle, Oliverus Weste, Cornelius Goodrede, Erasmus Sukande et Petrus Fase, fratres Fraternitatis Sanctissimi Sanguinis Jesu Christi vocati *Alnus Sanguis* de Wilsnake in Saxonia, in ecclesia fratrum Ordinis Augustinensis Civitatis Londonii, ut asseruerunt fundatæ et ordinatæ, nominibus omnium fratrum et sororum Fraternitatis prædictæ, jurarunt et quilibet eorum juravit ad Sancta Dei Evangelia per ipsos et eorum quemlibet tunc ibidem corporaliter tacta, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet bene et fideliter observabunt ordinationes et fundationes ejusdem Fraternitatis omnes et singulas et quamlibet particulam in eisdem contentam juxta ipsorum et cujuslibet eorum posse et facultates. Quæ quidem ordinationes et fundationes et qualibet particula earum fuerunt et sunt eisdem fratribus tunc ibidem in vulgari Anglicano lectæ et expositæ prout et sicut in una papiri cedula tunc ibidem ostensa et perlecta plenius continetur; cujus quidem cedulæ tenor sequitur et est talis.

In the name of God the Fader, the Son, of the Holy Goste, and in the honor and worship of the holy blode of Wilsenake, We bretherene in our Lord God, in whiche present instrument our names and surnames are subscribed, considering that herein in this mortall and wreched worlde we be not stablISHED to lyve evere and as whos say dayly awaytyng after the owre of our dethe; Therefore of oon assent and comon accorde for the helthe and salvacion of our synfull sowles and for pease loue and charite to be kept with our even cresten, have proposed to holde maynten and to kepe a Fraternyte within the chirch and cloyster of the Freres Anstyn within the Cite of London in the worship and honor of the forsaide holy blode of Wilsenake wheruppon wee the foreseid bretherne be sworne every of us in particuler upon the holy gossell to susteyne perfourme and holde in all goodnesse loue and charite the forseid Confraternyte accordyng to the wordes of the prophete saying Howe good and howe holsom it is to be brethern togedir lyyng in charite.

And Firste whosoever wille come and entre the saide Confraternite to be a brother of it he shall pay xx d. at his commyng in and so therat he shal be receyved if he be knowen of the moste partye of the brethern for a good man and a true and if eny broder wolde say there geynst there shalbe founde a good meane be tweue theym and a paixe and soe he shalbe receyved and not forsaken.

Also who soever in this forsaid Confraternyte is entred or herafter shal entre if he have any question or angre or that makethe eny debate or strife with any of his bretherne the wardeyns governours and maistres of the said Confraternyte shall com unto them to make a paix be twix them and who soever of the said bretherne saith ther against he shall ranne to the forfayttor of a lb. wex to the behouf of the said Confraternyte alweys the Kinges and the Lordis right upon the same reserved. And if so be that he will not be greable to do soe he shall abyde the saying of the hole felawship of the said bretherne upon the same.

Also what soever brothere that belieth an other with ungoodly wordis spoken

the one agaynst that other he shall pay a lb. wex and he that smytteth shall forfaitte ij lb. wexe and all this to the said Brotherhoodes behouffe whiche forffairtor must be contented and paid within xiiij. daies thereafter.

Item also whatsoever of the said brothers or his wif upon the day the feste is kepte that is to witt the Sondag next after Corpus Christi day and the next daye folowyng com not to the masse of the feest and secondlye to the Masse of *Reguyem* the said day folowyng they shall forfaitte to the same Brotherhodes behouff a lb. of wex. Also if ony brother or suster or eny of our brother wifes speke ony evill the one to the other they shall pay iij lb. wex to the said Confraternyte behouff.

Also atte eny tyme that the said governours and maistres shall goo aboute to gader the dute belongyng to the said Bretherhod yf eny resayveth or saith to them otherwise then reason requiereth and saith and that they therof do complayne he or she that so entreateth them ungoodly shall renue unto the payne of lb. wax to be paid withoute eny lenger delay within xiiij. daies thereafter.

And also the forsaid maistres shall yelde and shewe their accomptes bifore all the forsaid brethern foure tymes in the yere that is to witte at every quarter ons and for this cause every of the said brethern shall com to suche a place as where the saide governours and maistres shall send for them and if they com not so shall they forfaitte a lb. of wex but if they can lay for theym a lawfull excuse.

Also when eny gildebrotther or his wif is decessed oute of this worlde all the bretherne of the same Brotherhid shall com to the Masse of *Requiem* that shalbe don for hym or hir that is dede and ther they shall ofre jd. and they shall abide till that the corps be brought and buried under the erthe and that all the servys be doon and whosoever faileth herof shall paye a lb. of wex to the said Confraternyte behouff but if it wer so that he wer forthe of the towne or ellys aboute som syngler bysynes wher by he myght lawfully excuse hymselfe.

And also whan eny of our brethern happith to fall sike of som sikenesse that comith of Godis hande and not by no fawte of good governaunce and good gydyng he shall have for his sustentacion after that he hath lien vij dayes xx d. every weke as long as he lieth sike and this benefacte and charite shall perseyve as moche the moost as the lesse to thend that this charite and almosse be not mynysshed be no wise and whatsoever brother of the same Brotherhod that shall owe to the same as moche as cometh to more money then iij d. ob. he shall not have nor perceyve the forseyd benefacte and charite of the said Brotherhod.

And also where our forsaid Confraternyte shall have neede of councell or of eny maner of thyng that shall belong to the same there shall then be made an enquirye aboute upon the same. And so after the saying of the moost of an opynyon it shalbe ordeyned and made. And thereupon shall the hole felawship of the said brotherhod abide by.

And whosoever shalbe clerke of our Bretherhod he shall not paye no quarter money and also he shall goo scott free at the day of our said feest. And he with the same shall take and perceyve that that the said maisters and he can agree. Also he that oweth no thing of his duety to the said Brederhod shall not com to the quarter day but he wille but if it wer nedfull for som other thyng.

And also noon of the said Brethern shall nether medle nor say towchyng that

that concernyth the said Confraternyte but if he first have paied all that he is behynd of dutee therunto.

Also every brother and suster of this forsaid Brotherhod at every quarter shall paye for his quarterage viij d. and j d. to drynke and this to be paied within xij daies upon payne of a li. wax.

And whoo so evere will departe oute of our said Confraternyte he shall com to the forsaid maisters of the same. And to them he shall paye all that he is behynde of dute due to the same Bretherhod. And also with the same for his goyng oute of it xli<sup>ii</sup> penys. And whansomever he will com in ayen he shall entre in it with halfe money. But and if he departe with angre or eny rancor from the said Felawship and Bretherhod he shall first paye all that he owith to hit and not com in it ayen but only as a stranger.

Also when any of our brethern shall dye if his wif wille abide as on of our susters she shalbe reseyved therintho as long as she shall paye the right due unto the forsaid Bretherhod. And if she hap to wedde ayen than shall hir husband com in hir plase and if he wille not do soo she shall not be no more no suster.

And upon the day of the feest shall a dyner be made wherat shall every man com with his wif and they shall pay as the forsaid maisters shall set them unto. And if he be oute of the towne then shall he pay but halfe money.

Also whan we shall make lyveray than shall the said maisters have j d. for their labor and the clerke j d. for beryng home the said lyveray.

And if it be so that there be eny of our seid brethern or susters fallen in poverte or sore in age so that they can not get their lyvyng but muste begge their brede from dore to dore he shall have and perceyve of the said Bretherhod x d. every weke so that it be founde that he have be a brother of the same Confraternite the (*sic*) of vij yere. And for this to be had and paied unto the said pore brother every brother and suster shall geve a verdyng every weke.

Also where no dyner shall not be made so shall the forsaid maisters have vij s. oute of the box.

And also when the said maisters wille chuse other maisters ther shall no man saye there agaynst upon payne of x lb. of wax.

Also we have every wyke a Messe for our bretherne and susters soules and for all cristen soules upon suche day as Corpus Christi day falleth to with as many moo masses as we may paye thrughe the yere. And to thend this be performed and kepte ther shalbe overseers that shall see that it be doone.

And that day that the masse of the feest is doon than shall every brother and every suster offre there that is to witte every man a peny and his wif an half peny.

Also our susters shall paye like as a brother doeth paye atte eny quarter daye when they shalbe sent for or at eny other tyme to the offryng upon peyne of a lb. wax.

And also when ony of our bretherne or susters hapen to dye then shall som body of there frends com for to warne the clerke that he goo aboute for to warne our bretherne and susters for to com to the offryng. And so they shall geve iiij d. to the clerke to a tokyn.

Also if eny of our said bretherne or susters happen to dye out of the towne and have paid theire duetye to the said Bretherhod thenne shall they have the rightes of the same like as they that dye within towne soo that the clarke be warned as it is saied in the next article afore. And soo shall the bretherne come to the masse of *Requiem* and not to faylle therof upon payne of a lb. of wax.

And who so evere the day of the feest be not at the begynnyng of the Masse that is to witt afore that the preest have torned hym ones he shall paye a lb. of wax.

Also noon of our bretherne shall not make another of the same Felawship to be attached nor arrested for dette but that the some be above xl<sup>tes</sup>. withe oute he have licence to doo it of the said maisters. And this upon peyne of x lb. of wax.

And whan our *Confraternite* is to his above in all thynges (*sic*) than shall there be a comon askyng aboute of the bretherne for to wit and understande whither they shall doo make eny hodes or noo. And this shall be taken and doon after the moost of one opynyon.

Also atre all oferynges where the forsaid maisters of the said Bretherhod shall sende for the bretherne and susters to com offer every of the said bretherne and susters shall com therat with their token in sight upon the peyne of a lb. of wax to the behouffe of the said *Confraternyte*.

And also when we shall have eny of our bretherne or susters sike than shall every brother and suster geve an half peny every wyke to the sustentacion and keypyng or the said sike.

Also we have v masses of *Requiem* in the yere that is to wit the first upon the Monday next folowyng after the day of our said feest. The second upon the Monday after Lammasse day. The iij<sup>de</sup> upon the Monday folowyng next after Alhalowen day. The iiij<sup>th</sup> upon the *Hoppe* Monday. And the v<sup>th</sup> Masse upon the Monday next folowyng after Candilmasse day. And there at every of the said Masses every Brother and Suster shall come and offre there an half peny. And who so ever failleth therof he shall forfaite a lb. of wax to the said *Confraternyte* behouffe.

And also it is ordeyned by the consent of the holle felisship that in the forsaid *Confraternyte* noon shall not be receyved but if he be boron beyonde the see And if eny of the said bretherne paie not all such duetes as they shall owe unto the said Bretherhod within the xiiij daies as it is specified above and that they happen to fall sike so shall they be barred from the right that a sike brother shuld have by as many daies as they have owed their dueti to be paid unto the same without it be so that they have afore accorded of their said duety with the forsaid maisters and rewlars of the same.

Also it is graunted of the said Felawship of brethern forsaid that viij men shal be chosen every yere for to com to suche place as the said maisters sendeth for them to holde and kepe their love daies that is to wit to redresse all that is wronge betwixt party and party. And the party that will not be agreable as the said viij men shall ordeyn thenne shall they pay as the said viij men shall sett them. The on halfe to the behouffe of the said Brotherhod and the other parte to the behouffe of my Lord the Bishop of London.

Super quibus omnibus et singulis dictis constitutionibus requisierunt me notarium publicum subscriptum sibi conficere publicum instrumentum. Acta sunt hæc prout suprascriptum et recitantur sub anno Domini, indictione, pontificatu, mense, die et loco prædictis. Presentibus discretis viris Ricardo Mayler cellario et Johanne Turtilton mercer civitatis Londonii litteratis testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, 7 March, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN.]

RULES, ORDENANCES, AND STATUTIS made by the RULERS and WARDENS of the Bretherhed of the FRATERNITY of SAINT KATHERYN founded and ordeyned by DUCHEMENNE iiiij<sup>xx</sup> yeres passed in the CROSSE FRYERS in the CITE of LONDON and acknowledged before RICHARD BLODYWELL Doctor of Law and Commissary of London. 25 October 1495, 10 Henry VII.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (*E Libro "Harvey"*—fo. lxxxxviii.)

[Dated 25 October, A.D. 1495.]

In the Name of God Amen.

We Richard Blodywell Doctor of Lawe and Commissary of London to alle Cristene peopille to whome this presente wryting shall come or shall here of know, sende greting in our Lord God. And wher it is soo that of late the rulers and wardens of the Bretherhed of the Fraternite of Saint Katheryn founded and ordeynd by Dychmenne iiiij<sup>xx</sup> yeris passid in the Crosse Fryers in the Cite of London and the bretheren of the same Fraternite, that is to say, Rolland Jonson, Herry Percy, nowe being Rewlers and Wardens of the saide Fraternite; Gerard Wygarson, Jamys Edward, Cornelys Walter, Cordelys Jamys, John Cornelis, John Jonson, Peter Andrew, Peter Jonson, Thomas Herryes, Henry (*sic*) Wyssyll, Peter Arnoldson, John Harryson, Gilbard Arnoldson, Reynolde Frederykson, William Williamson, Jamys Lambert, Poles Husman, John Bacon, Peter Bell, Leonard Herryes, John Tomson, John Vansanton, Cornelys Knyspard, John Godfrey, Leonard Higbarson, Mathew Jonson, John Jonson, Deryk Bruer, Raynkyn Egbarson, Barnard Egbarson, John Cleve, John Arnoldson, Gyles Clayson, Mathew Godfrey, and John Kyrchynson being all or the more parte in *doble* of the Fraternite aforesaid have with good mynde and to thentent of good rule to be had and kept in the saide Fraternite in tyme comyng with grete instancis had in this party presented unto us alle suyche rules, ordenaunces and statutis within written mekely beseching and desyryng us the Commissary aforesaide to ratefy stabelische auctorise and conferme the saide rules, ordenaunces and statutis: We therfor Richard Blodywell Commissary aforesaid considering that the saide beseching and desyre benne resonable and consonant to good lawe and consciens with the consent of the saide rulers wardens and bretherne ratefy stabelische auctorise and conferme as fer as is in us all and singuler rules

ordenaunces and statutis within written effectually charging the saide rulers masters and bretherne all and eche of theme that they and eche of theme doo dewly and trewly obbey observe and kepe all the saide rules ordenaunces and statutis as it to theme and eyther of theme concernyth and to theme perteyneth under payne of the grete curse and other paynes expressed in the same statutis ordenaunces and rewlis And for the more feyth and credence to be gevyn to this presente wryting We the said Commissary have put to this wrytinges rules ordenaunces and statutis our seale of office the xxv day of the monyth of October the yere of Our Lord God a M<sup>cccc</sup>lxxxv<sup>te</sup>ne.

First that no maner persone nor persones fro hensforth be admitted or receyvid into the said Fraternite but with the good will of *all the Bretherne of the Bretherne (sic)* of the same Fraternite or of the senior and sanior parte of theme and that he or they soo admitted and receyvid pay at his entre ij li. of wex to the encesse of the light of the saide Fraternite and opinly to be sworn to kepe and observe the ordenaunces statutis and determinacions here after folowing.

Also that no brother nor sister of the saide Fraternite from hensforth fray not missay ne pyke bate nor quarell one with a nother nor have eny slaundersous or rebukful wordis or disfamacions one ageynst a nother uppon payne that he or she that is provid in the defeaute and will not abyde the rules sayingges and a warde in that behalfe of the governors for the tyme being forfeit as often x li. of wex or ellis gyff for every pounce vj d. of money to be leved and applyed half therof to the use and behoof of the werkes of Poules and that other half to the use of the saide Fraternite.

Also that every broder of the saide Fraternite from hensforth faythfully and trewly pay theyr quarteragis and dewtis longyng to the said Fraternite as of olde tyme accustomed it hath benne used And he that is behynde by iiij d. and woll not pay it within the space of vij dayes after that he is therto lawfully required forfett as often ij li. of wex to be leved and applyed to the uses maner and forme above saide.

Also that every persone and persones of the said Fraternite for the tyme being from hensforth honestly as well in theyr wordis as in theyr dedis demeane and behave theme sylfe anenst the rulers and governors of the saide Fraternite for the tyme being whanne they go aboute to gadder quarteragis fyns and other dewtis longyng to the saide Bretherhed uppon payne that he or they that doo the the contrary forfett as often v li. of wex to be levid and applyed to the uses aforesaid.

Also wher as often tymes at the assembles and drinking to gidders of the saide bretherne and specially uppon Saint Katheryns day certeyne misavysed and evill disposed bretherne of the saide Fraternite brall and chyde togidders with gret revyilis and rebukefull wordis and sum whylle the same misavysed persones rebuke the rulers for the tyme being and other sadd and wele avysed persones of the said broderhed wherby grete wrath ire and devysyon have benne often provoked among the saide bretherne to the grete grugge and trowbill of all the good folke of the saide Fraternite Therfor to kepe a good order and rule amonge theme by way of penaltys for reformacion and scilence of all snych froward and seducious peopill it is ordeynde that what persone or persones of the said Fraternite that from hensforwardis at any snych assembles or drinkyns or

uppon Saint Katheryn day that soo ungoodly demeane and behave theme sylff and at the commaundmentes and biddinges of the rulers and governors of the saide Fraternite for the tyme being woll not kepe silence nor be in peas forfet for the first tyme v li. of wex for the ij tyme x li. of wex for the iij tyme xv li. of wex and for the iiij<sup>th</sup> tyme xx li. of wex; and so as often as the saide rebellis of theyr malicious frawdnesse disobbay the saide commaundmentes and biddinges of the saide rebellis, to be leved without redempcion and applyed to the uses abovesaid.

Also that no persone nor persones being bretherne of the said Fraternite from hensforwardys maytene nor support ne bere oute in worde or dede eny of the saide rebellis or transgressours in theyr ungoodly demenours ayenste the said rulers and governours for the tyme being or ayenste eny good brother of the said Fraternite being of good and honest demenor uppon payne that he or they that soo doone forfet as often x li. wex to be leved and applyed to thuses aforesaid.

Also that the rulers and governours of the saide Fraternite for the tyme being shall every yere from hensforth xiiij dayes afore the Feste of Saint Katheryne the Vergyn and Marttrecall unto theme the iij. olde bretherne of the saide Fraternite that were rulers and governors in the yere next before passid. And they all vj togidders with one will and consent within the saide xiiij dayes shall chose betwix theme selff of the feloshipp of the saide Fraternite iij new rulers bretherne to governe the same feloshipp for the yere folowing the which iij newe rulers bretherne soo chosen uppon the day of Saint Katheryn shalbe opynly presented and shewed unto all the bretherne ther and thenne being presented. And ther and thenne being they shalbe sworene discretly to rule the said Brethered in good love peas and condicion to theyr powers and to make levey of the fyns quarteragis and dewtis growing and longing to the same Brethered for the yere folowing. And in case be that iij or v of the said vj persones in chosing of the saide new rewlers agre togidder and ether ij or j of theme of his or theyr obstynacy and frawdnesse woll not consent to the same agreement that thenne those ij persones or that one persone that soo of his or theyr wilfulnesse disagre shall eyther of theme or that one forfet and pay v li. of wex to be leved and applyd to thuses aforesaid and yet those iij bretherne which the said iij or v chosyn into newe rulers and governors shall stande in force and strength for the said yere And over that in case be that the said iij olde rulers and governors that were in the yere passid as afore is sayde or eny of theme refuse and wilnot come to the said eleccion whanne they therto benne required and callid in forme abovesaide that thenne they or such of theme as so refusith and will not come shall pay and forfeit every of theme as often v li. of wex to be levid and applyed to the uses abovesaid without a lawfull impediment or cause proved.

Also that the olde rulers and governours of the saide Fraternite which for the yere passid alway have benne within xxj dayes after the presentacion and shewing of newe rulers and governors in forme abovesaid to be electe and presented shall gyve unto the same newe rulers and governors a lawfull rekenyng and account for theyr tyme that is to say what they have receyvid and takyn upp and what they have paid and gevyn out, and in all things what remaineth to the use of the saide Fraternite as trew and feythfull governors ought to doo without conceling or hyding of eny point therof uppon payne that

every of the saide olde rulers and governors forfett xxli. of wex, to be leved and applyed to the uses aforesaid.

Also that all other ordenaunces, actis, constitucions and rules made among the saide Bretherhed by their owne free willis and consencions specyfyed and declared in Duych tong wherof a copy in a cedule to these presentis is annexed by the said rulers and governors and theyr successours for the tyme being and by all the bretherne and sustrene of the seid Fraternite that nowe benne and alle those that hereafter shalbe and everych of theme from this tyme forwardis be faythfully holden kepte performed and inviolably observid upon the paynes therin comprysed and written to be leved and applyed half therof to the use of the said werkis of Poules and that other half to the use of the said Fraternite.

Also that the rulers and governors of the saide Fraternite for the tyme beyng from hensforth truly presente without favour or excuse unto the Juge Ordinary of my Lord Bisshopp of London for thē tyme being the names of all maner persones transgressours and rebellis being bretherne of the said Fraternite that offend in eny point or article of the premisses and woll not be reformed by the said rulers and governors within the space of xv dayes after theyr offencis and trespasses committed and no manne spare contrary to trouthe and yf the saide rulers and governors or eny of them for eny mede favour or love lete spare or woll not truly presente suyche transgressours and rebellis and say trough in that behalf forfett he and every of theme as often as he or they be founden in faute x li. of wex to be leved and applyed to the uses aforesaid.

Provided alway that yf eny of the said transgressours being bretherne of the said Fraternite fortune to be of such povertye and insufficientnes so that he is not able to pay the said hoole fyns and forfeturs or ellis yf eny other consideration or remorce of consciens or pitty canne be thought in such losses and forfeturs that conscience and pitty wolde not that they shulde not be hoole leved that thenne by the advyse of the said Ordinary Juge and of the said rulers and governors of the said Fraternite for the tyme being the said fyns and forfeturis by grace shal be mittigated and lessid as the case shall require after theyr discreciouns.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, 18 May, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN.]

RULES, ORDENAUNCES, AND STATUTES made by the RULERS, WARDENS, and the hoole FELISHIP of the Brotherhed of SAINT CRISTOFER of the WATERBERERS of the CITE of LONDON, founded and ordeyned in the FRERE AUGUSTINYS of LONDON and acknowledged before THOMAS BRENT Doctor of Law and Commissary of London; the See then being void. 20 October 1496, 12 Henry VII.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (E Libro "Harvey" fo. c.xxxviii.) The Statutes of the Bretherhod of the Waterberers. [Dated 20 Oct. A.D. 1496, 12 Hen. 7.]

Thesee been the Statutes that beth made by the wardens and the hoole Feliship of the Brotherhed of Saint Cristofer of the Waterberers founded withyn the Friers Augustines in London as folowith.

First hit is ordeyned that ther shall no man chese the wardens of the seid Fraternite but onely they that have been wardyns and they that bith for the yere.

Also hit is ordeyned that there shall no brother nor sister arrest none of hys seid brothers nor sisters without licence of the wardens that be and the wardens that have been byfore tyme undre the payne of vj s. viij d. to the boxe.

Also hit is ordeyned that if ther be eny man or woman of the seid Brotherhed that wil not obbey the statutes that been made in this behalf but frowardly wille disobbey them he for to pay iij s. iiij d.

Also it is ordeyned that if ther be any man or woman of the seid feliship that revileth any of them that beth wardens or have been wardens of the same Feliship and callith them otherwise than they owght to doo be it brother or sister then if it be a man that so doth he for to pay iiij li. wex and if it be a woman she for to pay ij li. wex as oftentymes as it may be provid eny of them so offendith this statute.

Also it is ordeyned that if ther be eny brother or sister of the seid Brotherhed that dieth withyn the franchises of the said Citee of London than that persone that so deceaseth shal have the torches and the tapers of the seid Fraternite if so be that they do ther diuety to the seid Brotherhed as they shold doo.

Also it is ordeyned that they that beth wardens of the Feliship for the yere shall do no correccion without they do first take counsell of them that hath been wardeyns afore tyme that thann the seid wardens that have been before tyme shall stond by them in all that is rightfulle and lawfull and they forto ber with them their mony like as they doo and if the seid wardens for the tyme being wille not doo as is aforeseid eche of them for the yere beyng shall paye v li. of wex as often as they so offendith.

Also it is ordeyned that if the seid wardens that have been byfore tyme wilnot stande by them that beth wardens for the yere in all ryght when they calle them then they for to pay a peece vj li. wex as often as the wardens for the yere being calle them.

Also it is ordeyned that if there be eny brother of (*sic*) sister of the Fraternite aforeseid that remeveth out of the seid Cite of London that he shalbe don for if he decease and have doon his diuety than he shal have his Masse and his *Dirige* with the torches and tapers as a brother shuld have or a sister that deceaseth in the forseid Cite of London.

Also if there be any man or woman of the seid Fraternite warned to come to the byrring of any brother or sister that dieth withyn the Cite of London and come not if that he have no lawfull excuse he or she so faylyng for to pay j li. of wex as often as he or she is warned and so fayleth.

Also if ther be eny brother or syster that takeyth eny custemar owt of eny brothers handys without so be that the parties that he serveth wille no lengar have his service and that the seid brother seith that he be content of his diewte that he shold have or ellis he to take no mannys custmyer owt of hys hands under the payne of vj s. viij d. be hit brother or syster.

Also it is ordeyned that if there be eny brother or syster that heryth eny of our counsell withyn our selfe and uttereth it and will not kepe it wythyn our selfe that they shall pay iiij li. wex as often tymes as it may be knownen and

lawfully proved so that the seid counsell be not contrary to the lawes of the Chirch nor prejudiciall to the Kyng and this realme of England.

Also it is ordeyned that if eny brother or syster of the seid Fraternalite take into ther service eny persone not beyng a brother of the same Fraternalite that then the seid persone shalbe presentid before the wardens for the tyme beyng withyn iij dayes after he shall so be set a werk. And to paye at hys presentment j li. of wex to the use of the seid Fraternalite. And this to be doon uppon the payne of forfayture of ij li. wex. And costys and charges of every such brother so doying to the contrary to be convertid to the seid use.

Providid alway that if any of the seid transgressours beyng a brother or a sister of the seid fraternalite fortune to be of such poverté and insufficiennesse that he or she is not able to pay the seid hole ffynes and forfeitures or ellis if eny other consideracion or remorse of consciens or pite canne be thought in suche losses or forfeitures that conscience or pite wolde not that they shulde not be hole levied that then by the advise of the undrewiten Ordinary Juge or his successors and of the seid rulers and governors of the seid fraternalite for the tyme beyng the seid fynes and forfaytures by grace shalbe mitigat and lessid as the case shall require after ther discrecions.

In the name of God Amen. We Thomas Brent Doctor of Law and Commissary of London the see ther being voied to all Christen people to whome this present writing shal come or shall hereof know send gretying in our Lord God. And where it is so that of late the rulers and wardens of the Bretherhed of Seint Cristofere foundyd and ordeyned by Waterberers of the Cite of London in the Frere Angustynys of London aforeseid and the Brethern of the seid Fraternalite that is to sey William Johnson, John Kerver and John Parker now beyng rulers and wardens of the seid Fraternalite, John Gregori, Thomas Johnson, John Raynoldson, Robert Savage, Robert Digonson, John Baker, Richard Payn, John Bager, John Lesby, Thomas Mores, John Smere, John Cakes, Elis Brian, Thomas Lambe, Jeffrey Blake, William Smyth, David Breupine, Jacobe Offzand, Simond Wryght, Richard Payne, John Maston, Richard Trowyll, Harry Barbour, William Aylmer, William Cornyshe, Robert Long, John Goodfeld, John Browne, Thomas Payne, John Bland, John Watson, John Byckys, Thomas Somer, Thomas Nepecker, and Nicholas Thomson being alle or the more parte or greter parte of the Fraternalite aforeseid have with good mynde and to thentent of good rule to be hadde and kepte in the seid Fraternalite in tyme comyng with gret instances had in this party presentid unto us all suche rules ordinaunces and statutes as bith above wryten with one statut folowing in the end mekely besechyng and desyryng us the Commissary aforeseid to ratify, stabilish, auctorise and conferme the seid rules, ordinaunces and statutes :

We therefore Thomas Brent Doctor and Commissary aforeseid considering that the seid beseching and desire been resonable and consonant to good law and consciens with the consent of the seid rulers, wardens and brethern ratify, stabilishe, auctoryze and conferme as fer as is in us all and singler rules and ordinaunces and statutes above specified especially charging the seid rulers, wardens and brethern all and eche of them that they and eche of them doo duly and truly obbey, observe and kepe all the seyd rules, ordinaunces and statutes as it to them and ether of them concernith and to them perteynithe undre payne of the

grete curse and other paynes expressed in the same statutes, ordinaunces and rules and for the more feith and credence to be given to this present writtinge w the seid Commissary have putt to this writtinge, rules, ordinaunces and statutes our seale of office the xx day of Octobre the yere of our Lord God M<sup>c</sup>ccccxxxxvj and in the xij yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the vijth.

Also hit is ordeyned that no brother nor syster of the seid Fraternyte shal have at the condyte at onys to his owne use above one tankard upon the payne of li. of wex to the use of the lyght aforeseid to be applied.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, 14 May, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN.]

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NOTE.

A curious trace of the Company of Waterbearers of London is afforded by the report of a recent case before the Master of the Rolls ("Merchant Taylors' Company v. Attorney-General," *Law Reports*, 11 Eq. 35.) Robert Donkin, citizen and merchant taylor of London, and deputy of the ward of Cornhill, by his will dated 1 Dec. 1570, besides various charitable bequests to his own company, which were the subject of the recent litigation, left the following:—

"That ys to saye ffirst all that my messuage or howse w<sup>th</sup> all singuler commodities and appurtenances thereto belonginge which the ix<sup>th</sup> daye of October in the yere of our Lorde God 1568 I purchased of the Companie of Waterbearers in London, beinge now rented at fowre poundes by the yeaere, I give and devise unto the p'son and churchwardens of the p'ishe church of Sct Michaell in Cornehill in London for the tyme beinge and to their successors Persons and Churchwardens of the said p'ishe Church for ever, To this intent that the p'son, churchwardens, and p'isheners of the said p'ishe or some of them shall w<sup>th</sup> the profytts thereof p'vide and give every weeke wekely on the Sondaye for ever one dozen of peny breade w<sup>th</sup> the vantage\* in the Church to and amonges the poorest howseholders of the said p'ishe where most neade shall appere. And two shillings, the rest of the rente, I give to the churchwardens for there paines. And the whole rest of the rent I will shalbe reserved to the maintenance of the rep'ac'ons of the said howse." Signed and sealed the 1st December in the yere of our Lorde God a thousand fyve hundreth threscore and tenne and in the 13<sup>th</sup> yeaere of Elizabeth (1570).

12th March, 13th Elizabeth, Roll No. 256, Mem. 26. †

In a list of deeds, evidences, &c. belonging to the parish of St. Michael's, and preserved in the "Great barred Chest" in the vestry the 8th of February, 1582, appear the following notices of Waterbearers' Hall:

"Item six pieces of evidences, two obligacons and a quyttance concernyng the howse somtyme the Waterbearers Hall ‡ and of the ten'tes and gardeyns w<sup>out</sup> Bishopsgate gyven by Robert Donkyn to the parish.

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\* Surplus, excess.

† Records of the Hustings Court, Guildhall.

‡ Now Numbers 143 and 144 Bishopsgate Street Without, between Lamb Alley and Angel Alley.

“Item a Counterpayne of Ticknes lease of yt in 1591.

“Item a Counterpayne of a lease made to Evan Davy baker of his dwelling house called somtyme Waterbearers Hall.” Great Book of Accounts 193.

1st December 1588.

“Item first the Churchwardens to viewe the estate and rep’acions of the hous called the Old Water Bearers Hall.”

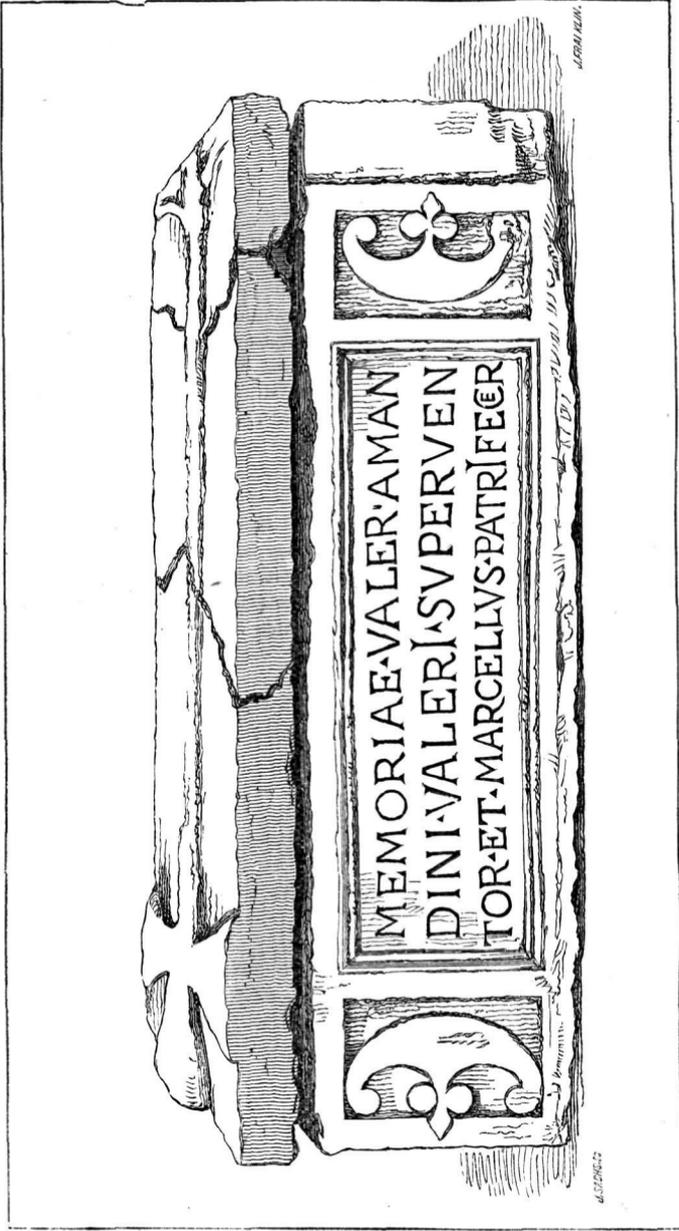
Sunday 8th of December 1588.

“Item it is agreed that John Olmestid first agreing for the old leas graunted by Mr. Dunkin of Old Water Bearers Hall shall have a leas of the same made in his own name for xxx yeres from Mighelmas last paying p’ntely for a fyne to the p’ishe vj<sup>li</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup> iiii<sup>d</sup> and oth<sup>r</sup> rent and rep’acions accordinge to the newe leas in reversion w<sup>t</sup> oth<sup>r</sup> resonable devise an the p’ishe shall devyse the said old leas and oth<sup>r</sup> leas in rev’cion ffyrst surrendered unto the p’isshes handes.”

20th September ano 1590. “It is also ordered that the Churchwardeins or two of them acco’panyed w<sup>t</sup> Mr. Kevall, Mr. Bull and Mr. Cowp’ p’ntelie shall vewe ov’ the leass or lessees of o<sup>r</sup> hous called Waterbreres Hall given by Mr. Dunkin and to take order by their best discretion eyther y<sup>t</sup> the house nowe in ruyn and abused may be p’ntelie in good order repayred or elles to take the adv’ntage of the hous or lessees to the use of the p’ysh.”

We are indebted for these extracts from the Minute Book of the Vestry of St. Michael’s Cornhill (1563 to 1697) to Mr. W. H. OVERALL, F.S.A. They show that the Brotherhood of Waterbearers existed at least seventy-two years after their rules were certified. How much longer remains to be ascertained; probably Sir Hugh Myddelton and his New River (which was opened Sept. 29, 1620) were the cause of their dissolution.

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ROMAN SEPULCHRE DISCOVERED AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED  
ROMAN SEPULCHRE AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

BY WILLIAM HENRY BLACK, ESQ. F.S.A.

[Read at an Evening Meeting of the Society, 10 January, 1870.]

When the Dean of Westminster communicated to the Society of Antiquaries on the 9th December, 1869, the then very recent discovery of a Roman interment within an inscribed stone coffin, in the "North Green" of the abbey, lying east and west, between the north side of the nave of the abbey and the fence which separates it from the parochial churchyard of St. Margaret's; although I then perceived the importance of this discovery in respect of the history of that locality, yet I reserved the observations which then occurred to me until I should have visited the ground and seen the coffin itself.

Accordingly I went thither the next day, and inspected the coffin in the cloister; but could not obtain access to the exact spot where it had been found. On Monday the 13th I was more successful, having obtained an interview with the Dean; and I carefully examined those parts of the ground which then lay open. In the meantime I had marked the spot (as shown in a sketch-plan exhibited by the Dean) on one of the best maps of London which I possess, that published by Cross in 1842, and I had obtained a remarkable series of ancient lines and measures from it.

I have repeatedly pointed out to this Society and elsewhere the fact, of which no practical use had been made by antiquaries before I recovered the measures and methods of the Roman surveyors, that, by a law of the Emperor Tiberius,\* they were authorised to use *sepulchres* for purposes of boundary, and for points and intersections of geometric lines. I had already shown that the sculptured and inscribed marble sarcophagus or sepulchral monument, found in September 1867 at Clapton,† had served as a geometric point from which numerous

\* *Rei Agrariae Auctores, Legesque varia.* (Amst. 1674, 4to.) pp. 346-8.

† See the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society,

measures extended to boundary points of Hackney and its neighbouring townships. I thought, therefore, that this newly-found coffin, in like manner bearing a classic inscription at the side or in front, might have served for a similar purpose; and so I have found it.

Without entering upon a discussion of the veracity of the measures to which I have often referred in this Society or elsewhere, and without specifying the ancient denomination of the measure or quantity of those lines and spaces which I shall now describe, suffice it to say that the latter is neither an itinerary measure of the Romans, nor any one of the large or small measures used in originally surveying or mapping a country, but it is one rarely used in Britain, and here used only for supplementary surveys. Its proper denomination is perfectly well known to me, but has no identity with any measures that I have heretofore quoted. It stands on its own merits; and there is no necessity to stir up controversy by giving a name to it, beyond treating it as an algebraical quantity denoted by the letter  $x$ . The magnitude or linear quantity of this measure is enough for the present purpose, and is obtained by drawing equal lines to two Roman monuments, the positions of which are clearly ascertainable.

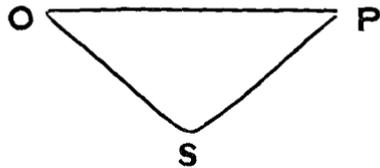
Of these two monuments the first is *Ossulstone*, from which the great hundred, wherein the metropolis is locally situate, derives its name. Its position and identity I had discovered some years ago by reversing my method of determining the uses of geometric stones: that is, by finding, from the proper boundary points, a centre where lines of proper quantities unite, so as to make them serve as *radii* from such centre to the said boundary points. I find this method infallible, and often trace out the positions of obscure or lost monuments by geometric figures. I examine the spot indicated by this method, and there I find the monument or some certain trace of it. *Ossulstone* is figured in Sir John Roque's great map of 1741-1761, sheet xi. in the very spot to which my process on other maps had led me; and it is there called the "Stone where soldiers are shot," situate near the north-east angle of Hyde Park. It was afterward covered with an accumulation of soil, and is now dug up and lies against the Marble Arch, as stated in my petition, presented last session to the House of Commons, for the protection of ancient uninscribed stones,

vol. iii. pp. 191-212, for an account of it, illustrated by engravings and a plan of the locality. My own papers and plans relative to that subject have not been printed.

mounds, and other landmarks;—monuments of more value and importance to historical science than mediæval tombs and sculptured effigies, which are already in official custody, and infinitely more in need of public conservation than ornamental works of art can be.

The second equal line leads to the well-known sculptured stone, undoubtedly of Roman work, formerly uninscribed, but now bearing an English inscription below the sculpture, dated “1685,” which stone forms part of the front wall of a house on the eastern side of Panyer Alley, between Newgate Street and Paternoster Row. I had already found and publicly mentioned that this stone had geometric uses, both within and without the City, and had mentioned to Parliament its temporary disappearance and restoration. Now I find that this stone is equally distant from the newly-discovered Sepulchre as that is from Ossulstone.

Although there is a triangle formed by lines between these points, of which the Sepulchre toward the south I shall call “S,” Ossulstone toward the north-west I shall call “O,” and the stone in Panyer Alley I shall call “P;” yet the base-line from “O” to “P” is here



dirigarded, not being constituted by multiples or parts of the quantity  $x$ , and there being no necessity, arising from the practice of the Roman engineers, that it should be so

constituted. They chiefly employed radiating lines, forming curves more or less parts of a circle, and sometimes in every direction, so as to make a whole circle. In this instance the radiating lines, except that from “S” to “O,” all tend to constitute a large arc in an eastward direction, toward the boundaries of London and Southwark, of which arc “S” is the centre.

Thus the same quantity  $x$  is found in a line drawn from “S” to an angle of the territory or liberty of London, on the Fleet River, situate north-west of Smithfield; and the same quantity  $x$  is found in a line drawn thence to “A,” the boundary of Whitechapel and Aldgate, south of Rosemary Lane; whence another line  $x$  leads to the Lord Mayor’s stone, “N,” at the ancient watercourse bounding the borough of Southwark and the parish of Newington, near the Elephant and Castle.

The next line  $x$  that I shall notice, drawn from “S,” leads to “D,”

at the mouth of Dowgate Dock, or the Wall-brook. Then the curve from "O" to "P" and "D," passing over the Thames, reaches the mouth of a corresponding Roman dock, "M," on the southern side of the river, properly named St. Mary Overy's Dock, but called in the map "St. Saviour's Dock." It next proceeds to a boundary point "H," in High Street, Southwark, and so on to the western extremity of Bermondsey parish, where a *trifinium* of three parishes or townships occurs, which I shall call "B." Each of those lines radiating from "S" is of equal length to the others, being the quantity designated  $x$ .

If the line "S" to "D" be directly prolonged by a further equal quantity, it reaches "W," the Whitechapel stone, situate at the corner of a street (called Cannon Row) between the London Hospital and Mile End, at the *trifinium* of three of the Tower Hamlets, whence extend various and long measures of different quantities throughout the county of Middlesex, and also into Kent, Surrey, and Essex. This prolonged line or radius therefore, from "S" to "W," is equal to  $2x$ . A similar long line is the last that I shall describe as leading directly from our first point, the Sepulchre, namely (*per radium*  $2x$ ) to "R," the *trifinium* of the great parishes or townships of Rotherhithe and Camberwell, and the manor of Hatcham; from which point runs another line  $x$ , to "C," the *confinium* of two Tower Hamlets crossing the Roman military way called Cable Street, 150 yards from the spot where I write this paper. Thence back again, across the river, passes another line  $x$ , to "RR," the *trifinium* of the said parish of Rotherhithe and of the manors of Hatcham and Deptford, in Surrey. Thence also (from "C") passes another line  $x$ , to "F," the mouth of the river Fleet, where it touches the line "S" to "P," second already described. From "F" another line  $x$  reaches a *trifinium* of three Tower Hamlets, at the north end of Back-church Lane, whence I had previously found measures of other known distances to many other boundary points. Two or more lines, also, of the same quantity  $x$ , pass from "W" to other boundary points, one of which terminates on the river Ravensbourne, and one other line  $x$  reaches from Cable Street to "T," the extreme south boundary of Southwark, near St. Thomas-a-Watering, at the *trifinium* of Newington, Camberwell, and St. George's Southwark. Thence a long line of  $2x$  reaches back to a Westminster boundary at Hyde Park Corner.

Returning again to the line "S" to "P," I find a line  $x$  running southward from the stone "P" to "NI," the *confinium* of Newington

and Lambeth, at the corner of Kennington Lane. Hence a like line  $x$  reaches (in a south-westerly direction) to "L B," the west angle of Lambeth, which boldly projects into Battersea parish at the locality now called "South Ville." Thence a like line, drawn almost northward, reaches to "Q," an ancient boundary-point of Westminster at the west end of Birdcage Walk. Thence another like line  $x$  reaches to "X," a projecting boundary-point between Marylebone and Pancras parishes, near Park Square, in the New Road. Thence the same quantity ( $x$ ) brings us in a south-east direction to the Thames, at the precise boundary-point "LW," between the liberties of London and Westminster.

From this last-mentioned point I gain, by the same remarkable measure  $x$ , the true diagonal quantity of the territory or liberty of London: viz. (1) from its south-west angle at "LW," to "Z," its extreme east angle in Portsoken Ward, behind and between Somerset Street and Great Alic Street, where, in making the perambulation of Whitechapel parish, the boundary-plate is touched in a wall behind the late Presbyterian Meeting-house now called "Zoar Chapel." The same diagonal  $x$  is found by measuring (2) from Holborn Bars to the *trifinium* on Little Tower Hill, where the City boundary meets the liberties of Tower Without and Aldgate Without; also (3) from the extreme north-west angle of the City liberty in Gray's Inn Lane, to the City boundary on the north (not the south) side of Swan Street, Whitechapel; and also (4) from Temple Bar to Aldgate Bars, at the north-east corner of Somerset Street, Whitechapel. All these are diagonal lines of the territory of the Roman *Londinium*.

I could greatly extend this survey with the same radius  $x$ , and its constituent parts and multiples, but I have shown enough to demonstrate three things: (1) the certainty, value, and usefulness of the quantity derived from the relation between the Roman Sepulchre at Westminster and other ancient monuments; (2) the great antiquity of the townships, manors, parishes, and districts marked out by this elaborate and exact system of limitation, of which some few elements only are now exhibited out of the measures of  $x$  described in my MS. "Explorations," and out of thousands demonstrable by the ordinary measures consisting of Roman miles and stadia; and (3) the true geometric character of the spot chosen for the position of the newly-discovered sepulchre.

Let me now treat of the sepulchre itself. It was found in a dry sandy soil,\* altogether different from what has been hitherto represented or supposed to be the nature of Thorney Island, the site of Westminster Abbey, and from the bog-earth which was lately dug out of the ground southward of St. Margaret's Church in making a subterranean railway. The boldly and deeply-cut inscription of this coffin remarkably contrasts with the delicate and almost obliterated inscription of the more elegant coffin found at Clapton, and now preserved at Guildhall. Both contained bones when found, but both had been disturbed and rifled long ago. Both were inscribed at the side or in front, as if for public view; and the Clapton sarcophagus bears an elegant medallion likeness of its occupant, which it is unreasonable to suppose should have been intended to be hidden under the ground. The original covers of both have disappeared: for the Westminster slab, bearing a fantastic cross of the twelfth or thirteenth century, rudely cut in relief, cannot be the original top of the sepulchre. The ornamentation of the Clapton monument covers its whole side or front: that at Westminster occupies only the extremities of the side or front, and seems to consist of two *pelta*, or perhaps the halves of a dimidiated shield, the curved edges being turned inwardly, toward the panel which contains the inscription, and the lines of division being placed at the utmost distance asunder. If so, each part has one-half of the pattern or bearing, the *insignia* of the shield; and the shield itself would be of the same round shape as all those figured in that most important Roman record, the *Notitia Dignitatum Utriusque Imperii*.

Together these *insignia* would constitute four pairs of bosses or circles, placed so that two of the pairs form, together with a central lozenge, a kind of *quatrefoil*; and the upper and lower pairs, situate against the edge of the shield, have lateral curves connecting them with the central group. No such shield is represented in the *Notitia*;† but there

\* Some of the sand is now produced, which I took from the spot upon which the stone coffin had rested, about four feet below the recent surface.

† Neither in the first complete and illustrated edition, Basil, 1552, fol.; nor in Pancirol's Venetian edition, 1602, fol.; nor in the stupid German edition of Bocking, Bonn, 1839-53, 3 vols. 8vo. All these are in my possession, besides the unillustrated edition of Labbé, Paris, 1651, 12mo. quoted below. The plates in the Dutch edition, published in Grævii Thesaurus, are too ornamentally and fantastically engraved. The *first* edition is the best and most intelligible of all.

are four shields bearing each a single *pelta*.\* Nor can I certainly determine its meaning from the inscription, which says, "Memoriæ Valer. Amandini, Valerii Superventor et Marcellus Patri fecerunt:" that is, "To the memory of Valerius Amandinus, Valerius *Superventor* and [Valerius] Marcellus to [their] father made" it. Here all three are named "Valerii," but the elder son is surnamed *Superventor*. This *cognomen* is a military term, not only used by Ammianus Marcellinus once, (as quoted by some of those gentlemen who spoke when the discovery of this monument was first made known,) but also repeatedly occurring in the *Notitia*. By this record it appears that, in the fourth century, some of the "auxiliaries," or regiments distinct from Roman legions, were stationed at Axiupolis "under the disposition of the respectable man, the Duke of Scythia," by the title of *Milites Superventores*.† Also, "under the disposition of the illustrious man, the Præsental Master of the Infantry," (subject to whom were the *Comes Limitis* and the *Dux Limitis* in Britain,) were constituted eighteen regiments of "Pseudo-Comitatenses," including those called "Superventores Juniores."‡ Also, "within Gaul, with the illustrious man, the Master of the Cavalry of Gaul," are specified "Superventores Juniores."§ Lastly, "under the disposition of the respectable man, the Duke of the Armorican and Nervican Tract," was stationed an officer entitled "Prefect of the *Milites Superventores*, at Mannatia."||

In the second of these four instances, the *insignia* of the "Superventores" are pictured in the Record. The form of their shield was round, with a simple circle or boss in the centre. How this is coloured in the illuminated MS. which I have used and collated at Paris, I cannot remember; but Pancirolus, in his Commentary,¶ describes the "shield red, with a golden orb in the middle." He adds that, in one MS. the shield was green, and bore a purple ball in the middle. It appears, however, that the only "Superventores," whose shield is exhibited in the Imperial Record, were the *Juniores*; and they must (as in all other instances) have borne a difference to distinguish them from the *Seniores*, who are twice mentioned without their distinctive

\* Namely, those of the following legions stationed in the Eastern Empire:—*Prima Flavia Theodosiana, Secunda Felix Valen. Thebaeorum, Prima and Secunda Armeniaca.* (Edit. 1602, f. 33.)

† Ed. 1651, p. 46.

‡ Ib. p. 69.

|| Ib. p. 114.

§ Ib. p. 75.

¶ Venet. 1602, f. 126<sup>b</sup>, 132<sup>b</sup>.

name of seniors. To these, I conceive, the *Valerii* belonged who erected this monument, and their father also, who was interred in it; at least the one surnamed "Superventor." Hence, I submit whether the *pelta* sculptured on this tomb were bearings proper to the "Milites Superventores," or "Senior Overcomers." If so, this is one of the most ancient examples of heraldry in Britain.

The importance of this sepulchral monument, in respect to the topography of Westminster, cannot be too highly estimated, since here is clear proof of its Roman occupation, which was alleged by the monkish historians, but is discredited by modern antiquaries. Whether or not there ever were a temple of Apollo, on the site of the abbey, is a matter of comparatively small importance; but that Roman domestic edifices were there, appears plain to me from the ruined substructures disclosed by the learned and zealous Dean. Among those ruins, consisting of squared chalk and stone rubble, I found lumps of mortar, containing finely-powdered brick, which all those antiquaries, who have fractured and examined the lumps now exhibited, agree with me in believing to be Roman.

I conclude by saying, that, when those foundations shall have been thoroughly explored, and the precise position of the Toot-hill, formerly in or near Tot-hill Fields, Westminster, shall have been ascertained, and treated as the other geometric mounds are capable of being treated, the earliest history of Westminster may be written, with greater probability than it could be under the uncertain influence of traditions and legends handed down by the monks of Westminster, whom our public records prove to have been in some respects untrustworthy. Nevertheless, there was some truth in their tradition of Roman occupation, whether or not by a temple. At all events, it now appears to be not improbable that this Roman interment, while its inscription was above ground and visible, being made without the usual dedication to the *Dii Manes*, may have been deemed a Christian sepulture (as possibly it was), and so may have given rise to a belief in the sanctity of the spot, as a place proper for the erection of a church or monastery early in the seventh century.

W. H. BLACK, F.S.A.

Mill Yard, Goodman's Fields,  
23 Dec. 1869.

## POSTSCRIPT.

The following are the authorities from the *Notitia* at length, extracted from the edition of 1602 :—

1. “ Sub dispositione viri spectabilis, Ducis Scythiæ. . . . Auxiliares *Milites Superventores Axiupoli.*” (f. 100<sup>b</sup>.)

2. “ Sub dispositione viri illustris Magistri Peditum Præsentalis, Comites Militum [leg. *Limitum*] infrascriptorum. Italiae. Africae. Tingitaniae. Tractus Argentoratensis. Britanniarum. Littoris Saxonici per Britannias. Duces Limitum infrascriptorum decem. . . . Britanniarum. . . . Legiones Comitatus triginta duæ. . . . Pseudo-comitatus decem et octo. . . . *Superventores Juniores.*” (f. 126<sup>b</sup>, 127.)

3. “ Sub dispositione viri illustris Comitatus et Magistri Equitum Præsentalis. Vexillationes Palatinæ ix. . . . Vexillationes Comitatus xxxii. . . . Qui numeri ex prædictis, per infrascriptas provincias habentur. Intra Italiam. . . . Intra Gallias cum viro illustri Magistro Equitum Galliarum. . . . *Superventores Juniores.*” (f. 133<sup>b</sup>, 135<sup>b</sup>, 136.)

4. “ Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Tractus Armorici et Nervicani. . . . Præfectus *Militum Superventorum Mannatias.*” (f. 174<sup>b</sup>.)

Compare sections 28, 38, 40, and 61, as the text is divided in the Edition of 1651.

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THE BIOGRAPHY OF SIR WILLIAM HARPER ALDERMAN OF LONDON, FOUNDER OF THE BEDFORD SCHOOL CHARITIES.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

[Read at the Evening Meeting, February 14, 1870.]

Among the good results arising from an increased attention paid to the history and antiquities of the City of London, promoted and fostered by the efforts of this Society, not the least interesting is the illustration which the Biography of the most eminent Citizens of former ages has received from the investigations of several persevering inquirers. I need only allude to some of the most prominent works—such as Burgon's *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, Brewer's *Life and Times of John Carpenter*, the worthy Town Clerk whose memory is now honoured as the Founder of the City of London School, and the memoirs of his more eminent contemporary Sir Thomas Whittington, written by the Rev. Samuel Lysons, M.A. under the title of *The Model Merchant of the Middle Ages*, (8vo. 1860). More recently Mr. Orridge has produced his interesting compilation regarding Philip Malpas and Sir Thomas Cooke, two aldermen highly distinguished in the political transactions of the fifteenth century, and ancestors of the great families of Bacon and Cecill, in the pages of the *Society's Transactions*,\* whilst our Secretary Mr. Milbourn has commemorated the history of Sir John Milbourne, the founder of the Milbourne almshouses,† and more briefly, in our last year's Part, all the more eminent members of the Vintners' Company.‡

Such indeed are the riches of Civic Biography that some surprise must be entertained that they have not more frequently afforded subjects for investigation, and that no general or comprehensive work of this character has hitherto been composed. Large and valuable collections for the purpose were amassed by the late Mr. Gregory of the Lord Mayor's Court Office, but were unfortunately dispersed after his death, though I am happy to remark that portions of them have found their way into the Library of the Corporation at Guildhall.

\* Vol. III. pp. 285—307.

† Vol. III. pp. 138 *et seqq.*

‡ Vol. III. pp. 448—470.

A lady already distinguished by her biographical works, Mrs. Matthew Hall, the author of *The Queens before the Conquest* (two vols. 1854), has, I understand, for many years been engaged in preparing materials for lives of the Lord Mayors, and I am sure that you will all unite with me in expressing a hope that she will bring her design to a successful completion. I will only add these two further general remarks, that there is a curious anecdotal volume, dated in the year 1800, which presents, under the title of *City Biography*, sketches of some sixty of the more conspicuous citizens of the preceding half-century;\* and that Mr. Orridge's† volume, entitled *The Citizens of London and their Rulers, from 1060 to 1867*, 8vo. 1867, contains a very useful summary of the biography of the Lord Mayors, accompanied by pedigrees of the more distinguished of their descendants among the nobility and aristocracy.

When the Dissolution of the Monasteries had put a stop to the dedication of superfluous wealth to religious uses, and it was no longer bequeathed to the four orders of friars or to other devotional purposes, it became very much the practice to direct its stream to the promotion of education. This object was earnestly pursued during the sixteenth century, and for some time after many great benefactors devoted their liberality in this manner. It was necessarily done under the sanction of the Crown, which continually assumes the credit really due to private munificence: for we find throughout the country that the grammar-schools which were founded by individuals, or by local corporations, yet received designation as the Free Grammar Schools of King Edward the Sixth, of Queen Elizabeth, or of James the First, as the case might be. This rule was even followed in the great instance of the Charter-house in London, which was at first attributed to the foundation of King James, though posterity now rightly honours the name of Thomas Sutton.

Among the Civic Benefactors none deserve commemoration more than the Founders of Schools, of one of whom, Sir Wolstan Dixie, the founder of the School at Market Bosworth in Leicestershire, a copious

\* See note on "Woodcocks' Lives," &c. in p. 93.

† Since this was written the Society has to lament the loss of their zealous colleague: who, no longer ago than the meeting at Mercers' Hall in 1869, read an animated paper on some of the more eminent members of that Company. Benjamin Brogden Orridge, esq. F.G.S. was a member of the Court of Common Council for the Ward of Cheap, and took a very active and useful part in the affairs of the City Library at Guildhall. He died on the 17th July, 1870, in his 57th year.

memoir was presented to this Society by Mr. Brewer, and has been published in our Transactions.\*

I believe that Mr. Brewer has directed his attention to the biography of other great citizens the founders of Grammar Schools, and I hope that more of his valuable memoirs will be hereafter given to the public. I have hastily compiled a list of Schools founded by Citizens of London, which I have no doubt would be lengthened if revised by Mr. Brewer.†

Lord Mayor.

|      |                    |                       |   |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 1498 | Sir John Percival  | M <sup>r</sup> Taylor | Macclesfield  |
| 1509 | Stephen Gennings   | M <sup>r</sup> Taylor | Wolverhampton   |
| 1515 | Sir George Monoux  | Draper                | Walthamstow   |
| 1545 | Sir William Laxton | Grocer                | Oundle  |
| 1548 | Sir John Gresham   | Mercer                | Holt, in Norfolk  |
| 1550 | Sir Rowland Hill   | Mercer                | Drayton, in Shropshire  |
| 1551 | Sir Andrew Judd    | Skinner               | Tonbridge   |
| 1554 | Sir Thomas White   | M <sup>r</sup> Taylor | St. John's Coll. Oxford, subsidiary to<br>the London sch. of M. T. Co. and<br>to those of Reading and Bristol |
| 1562 | Sir William Harper | M <sup>r</sup> Taylor | Bedford   |
| 1567 | Lawrence Sheriff   | Grocer                | Rugby   |
| 1593 | Sir Wolstan Dixie  | Skinner               | Market Bosworth   |

We all know Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*, the Founder of St. Paul's School, published early in the last century; but I do not recollect any other separate work of this nature, except a small quarto pamphlet, which contains an essay on the life of *Sir Andrew Judd* Founder of the School at Tonbridge, which was written by George Maberley Smith, scholar of the school, and recited by him before the governors, being the Master and officers of the Skinners' Company, at their annual visitation held in 1849. This, of course, from the position of the author, is rather a scholastic essay than the embodiment of any amount of historical research.

My attention has now been directed to this subject in connection with the task I have undertaken in conjunction with Mr. J. Jackson Howard, LL.D., to edit for this Society the *Visitation of London*, made in the year 1568. You will recollect from the portions of that work which have been already issued, that it has been the plan of the Editors to place opposite each Pedigree a Note giving some additional particulars of the family therein set forth, with references to other pub-

\* Vol. II. pp. 25-36.

† Since this was in type Mr. Brewer also has finally quitted his sphere of usefulness.

lications in which further genealogical or biographical details may be found. In pursuing this plan with regard to the family of Harper, my attention has been directed to a small volume printed in 1856, which bears this title :

THE BEDFORD SCHOOLS AND CHARITIES OF SIR WILLIAM HARPER. History of this celebrated Endowment; the Act of Parliament and scheme of Rules for its management; and a Memoir of Sir William Harper. Compiled by JAMES WYATT, and dedicated (by special permission) to the Trustees of the Charity. Bedford, 1856. 8vo.

The Memoir of Sir William Harper, contained in this book, I find to be so very injudicious a production, and at the same time so inaccurate, although it claims to have been published under the special patronage of the Trustees of the Bedford Charity, that I think it requires some public animadversion; and, as it concerns one of the munificent old Citizens of London, whose name is now among the best known in the long list of Benefactors, I imagine that its examination and correction cannot be made more properly than in the presence of the London and Middlesex Society.

The writer has managed to fill eleven pages; but, as he himself admits, with very "scanty biographical notices or historical memoranda." The rest is all bombast, in the original and proper sense of that word, that is to say, mere stuffing—imaginary statements, made upon presumption, and expressed in an inflated and impertinent tone; as, for example,—

"The chief records that exist of him show him to have been intelligent, persevering, and philanthropic. The very circumstance of the citizens of London choosing him as their Lord Mayor, at a time when the brightest stars of Great Britain were in the ascendant, proves him to have been not only a person of high moral sentiments, but also a man of wealth and intellect, one in whom his guild and the city could place the highest confidence and reliance. We find that he was born in the town of Bedford, and that his parents were in very humble circumstances, and that his education was most insignificant."

Now, for all this, the only foundation is that Stowe states that Sir William was "son to William Harper of the town of Bedford." For Mr. Wyatt's assertions that his parents were in very humble circumstances, and that his education was most insignificant, the authority is simply *nil*.

The other known facts of Sir William Harper's life,—that he was a Merchant Taylor by company, served Sheriff and Lord Mayor, married, and died, are eked out by some particulars regarding the Company of

Merchant Taylors, and by several passages from Machyn's Diary, in which the name of Harper occurs.

One of these is introduced by Mr. Wyatt after this fashion :—

“ We have said that the only records of Master Harper show him to have been philanthropic; there is one, however, which shows that he participated in the bigotry of the day. The point least to be admired in his character was his religious profession, and an amount of inconsistency is displayed which would hardly be expected from so otherwise sound and good a man. That he was a professed Papist there can be no doubt, for we find entries in the Diary referred to of his attending mass. For instance—The 29 day of August (1555) was the day of the Decollation of Saint John Baptist, the Merchant Taylors kept mass at St. John's beyond Smithfield, and my Lord of St. John's did offer at mass, and Sir Harry Hubblethorne, Sir Thomas White, and Master Harper, aldermen, and all the clothing; and after the four wardens of the yeomanry, and all the company of the Taylors, a penny a piece: and the quire hung with cloth of Arras. And after mass to the Taylors' Hall to dinner.”

Now, this was in the reign of Queen Mary, when all had to conform to her religion. There is therefore nothing surprising in finding master Harper, being an alderman, giving his attendance, as in duty bound, upon the principal religious feast of the Merchant Taylors' company. The patron saint of that company was St. John the Baptist, after whose name Sir Thomas White, the contemporary and associate of Sir William Harper, named the college of his foundation at Oxford, which is still flourishing in all honour and prosperity. It was customary for the Merchant Taylors to observe this feast by going in procession to the priory church of the Knights Hospitallers at Clerkenwell, which was dedicated to St. John, and Machyn describes the solemnity again in 1557, the last year in which it was celebrated.

“ The 29th day of August was the Merchant Taylors' feast on the Decollation of St. John Baptist, and my Lord Mayor (Sir Thomas Offley) and Sir Thomas White, and Master Harper, sheriff, and Master Row, and all the clothing, and the four wardens of the yeomanry, and the company, heard mass at Saint John's in Smithfield, and offered every man a penny. And from thence to the hall to dinner, two and two together.”

But Mr. Wyatt's greatest misapprehension of all is exhibited in the following passage :—

“ It was during his Shrievalty that the circumstance occurred which certainly does appear like a blot on his fair fame. There were thirteen Protestant martyrs, eleven men and two women, to be burnt at Stratford le Bow, and Sir William Harper attended to see the sentence carried out. So far it might be

argued that his official position compelled his attendance: doubtless that was so, but we can find no good defence for his tampering with the poor creatures before the execution. The event is thus described by John Foxe :—When these thirteen were condemned, and the day appointed they should suffer, which was the 27th day of June 1556, they were carried from Newgate in London the said day to Stratford le Bow (which was the place appointed for their martyrdom) and there divided into two parts, in two several chambers. Afterward the Sheriff who then attended upon them came to the one part and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore should be saved, willing and exhorting them to do the like, and not to cast away themselves; unto whom they answered that their faith was not built upon man, but on Christ crucified. Then the Sheriff, perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part and said (like a liar) the like to them, that they whom he had been with before had recanted and should therefore not suffer death, counselling them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themselves, but to play the wise men, &c. Unto whom they answered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not builded on man, but on Christ and his sure word, &c. Now when he saw it bootied not to persuade, (for they were, God be praised, surely grounded on the Rock Jesus Christ,) he then led them to the place where they should suffer: and being all there together, most earnestly they prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the stake, and kissed it, and embraced it very heartily. . . . . And so they were all burned in one fire. It is quite certain (adds Mr. Wyatt by way of comment,) that Sir William Harper was at that time as rigid a Papist as Bloody Queen Mary, his Royal mistress, could desire; but in the subsequent reign he conformed to the Protestant church, and was zealous for the faith.”

An examination of dates shows at once that Mr. Wyatt's censure is founded on misconception. Foxe tells us that the holocaust at Stratford le Bow was perpetrated on the 27th of June 1556. It is true that Harper was then Sheriff elect, having been “chosen” (or nominated by the Lord Mayor) as Sheriff for the King and Queen (Philip and Mary) at the Grocers' feast held on the 15th of that same month.\* But the Sheriffs, as every Londoner knows, do not enter into office until after Michaelmas day, on the morrow of which they are sworn at Westminster. It was therefore clearly one of the two sheriffs of the previous year † whose conduct at the burning of the thirteen martyrs is described by Foxe, and not Sir William Harper. Besides, it may be questioned whether the Sheriff's proceedings, whoever he may have been, were not dictated rather by motives of commiseration, than of religious zeal. His object was to save the lives of the condemned, even

\* Machyn, p. 108.

† They were Thomas Leigh, mercer, afterwards Lord Mayor in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, and John Machell, clothworker.

if by cajoling and deceiving them. Foxe's own side-note is, "A practice of policy in the Sheriff of London," not one of cruelty or bigotry.

But, leaving Mr. Wyatt, let us trace for ourselves William Harper's career. His name occurs in 1537 in the list of the Merchant Taylors' Company in the Public Record office. In 1553 he was elected by the Court of Aldermen to be the Second Alderman of the Bridge Ward Without, and in 1556 he was elected Alderman of Dowgate Ward. In the same year he was nominated for Sheriff, by the Lord Mayor of that year, Sir William Garrard. The event is thus commemorated by Machyn: "The xv. of June was the Grocers' feast; and there dined the Lord Mayor and fourteen Aldermen, and my Lord Chief Justice (Sir William Portman), master Cholmley the Recorder, and many worshipful men; and my Lady Mayoress, and many ladies and Aldermen's wives and gentlewomen. There was Master of the company master White, Grocer and Alderman, and master Grafton and master Greenway wardens. And master Harper, alderman, Merchant Taylor, was chosen Sheriff for the King."

The second Sheriff was elected at a court of hustings in Guildhall on Midsummer Day, but one had previously been "nominated (as Stowe says, *tit. Temporall Government*,) by the Lord Maior according to his prerogative." This was done at the Grocers' feast June 10, 1555 (Machyn, p. 30), as again in 1556. The Mercers called their annual feast a Supper, as appears from Machyn, pp. 205, 288; and on that occasion, on the night of the 25th July, 1559, "there supped my Lord Mayor (Sir Thomas Leigh, Mercer), and my Lord Treasurer and divers of the Council, and divers Aldermen; and there was chosen the Sheriff for the Queen,—master Lodge, alderman and Grocer, for the year to come." This ceremony of nominating one of the Sheriffs, by the Lord Mayor "drinking to" some wealthy and capable citizen, is circumstantially described in 1583 by the recorder Fleetwood in a letter to Lord Burghley, printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, I. ii. 290, and Nichols's *Progresses, &c. of Queen Elizabeth*, edit. 1823, ii. 410. It was performed that year by the Lord Mayor Sir Edward Osborne at Haberdashers' Hall, with the great standing cup, the gift of Sir William Garrard, being full of hypocras; and an announcement was immediately carried by the Swordbearer to Alderman Masham the nominee, then dining at the Grocers' feast. Of an earlier date is the anecdote related by Stowe and Grafton, that Sir Henry Colet, when Mayor in 1487, drank to his carver, then waiting

upon him, who thereupon took his seat as Sheriff, and was afterwards Sir John Percival, Mayor in 1499.

As Machyn contributes so largely to the incidents of Sir William Harper's career, I will not omit what is related by that minute eye-witness of his inauguration as Lord Mayor. He was elected to the chief magistracy in 1561, on the 29th September, being Michaelmas day. On the morrow, my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen and the new Sheriffs (Alexander Avenon and Humphrey Baskerville, both aldermen), took their barges at the Three Cranes in the Vintry,\* whence they proceeded to Westminster, and so into the Court of Exchequer, where they took their oaths; and Sir Rowland Hill † was armed with a chopping knife, when, one holding a white rod, he with the knife cut the rod asunder before all the people; ‡ and afterwards they returned to London to their places to dinner—my Lord Mayor, and all the Aldermen, and many worshipful men.

On the 29th of September the new Mayor took his barge towards Westminster, with all the Aldermen in their scarlet, and all the crafts of London in their liveries, their barges displaying the banners and arms of every occupation. There was a goodly foist § made with streamers, targets, and banners, and great shooting of guns and blowing of trumpets. And at xij. of the clock my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, on their return, landed at Paul's Wharf, and thence proceeded to Paul's churchyard; where there met him a Pageant gorgeously made, having children as the *dramatis personæ*, with divers instruments playing and singing. Again, after dinner, || he went to St. Paul's with trumpets, and with many ¶ men in blue gowns and caps and hose, and blue satin sleeves, carrying targets and shields of arms.

\* See London and Middlesex Archæological Transactions, ii. 404, 440.

† Sir Rowland Hill was perhaps the senior alderman then present. He died on the 28th of the month following: see Machyn, p. 271.

‡ This well-known ceremony of tenure has been preserved to the present day.

§ A barge fitted up.

|| Machyn does not here say "after dinner," but such was always the order of proceeding, as on the following Lord Mayor's day the company went "to Guild-hall to dinner (where there dined many of the Council and all the Judges and many noble men and women), and *after dinner* the Mayor and all the Aldermen yede to Paul's, with all the goodly musick."

¶ The number is left blank in the MS. The next year there were *sixty* poor men in blue gowns and red caps. I believe they usually corresponded to the years of the Lord Mayor's age.

We will further pursue from the same source some of the other ceremonials and occurrences of Sir William Harper's mayoralty:—

On the 1st of November (being All Saints day) went to St. Paul's the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in the afternoon, and all the crafts of London in their liveries, with four-score men all provided with torches; and my Lord Mayor tarried until night, and so went home with all torches lighted, for my Lord Mayor tarried the sermon, which was made by the Bishop of London (Grindal).

On the 5th of the same month the Lord Mayor was chief mourner at the funeral of the late alderman Sir Rowland Hill, solemnised in the church of St. Stephen's Walbrook.

On the Twelfth day of Christmas the Lord Mayor and Aldermen again went to Paul's with all the crafts in their liveries, and the bachelors; and afterwards there came into Cheapside a Lord of Misrule\* from Whitechapel, with a great company carrying guns and halberts, and trumpets blowing, his men "well beseen" in their attire. He went through Newgate out of the city, and in again at Ludgate, and so about Paul's, on to Cheapside, and so home by way of Aldgate.

Subsequently, in the same month, the young Duke of Norfolk, conducted by the master and wardens and all the clothing of the Fishmongers, was brought to the Guildhall and there made free of that company, as his grandfather the last Duke had been before him. He afterwards dined with the Lord Mayor, the Fishmongers' company dining at the King's Head in Fish Street.

On the 12th of May, 1562, there was a great fray, upon which my Lord Mayor and two Sheriffs were sent for, and they had much ado to pacify the people. Divers were hurt, and certain were carried prisoners to Newgate and the counters. The rest of the passage † is obscure, but mention is made of "the best archers in London," and "the master of the common hunt." However, the next night my Lord Mayor commanded that certain constables should keep all Smithfield, standing in array in harness, to see who would be so bold as to come and make any business; and my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs in their own persons did walk about Smithfield to see whether any would make any assault, as they had done the night before.

\* On the 27th of December preceding a Lord of Misrule—whether the same it is not clear—had come riding through London, in complete gilt harness, with a hundred great horse and gentlemen riding gorgeously with chains of gold; and had joined the Christmas festivities in the Temple. See Machyn, p. 274.

† Machyn, p. 282.

On the 1st of July was the Feast of the Merchant Taylors, the Lord Mayor's own Company; of which Machyn (himself also a Merchant Taylor,) gives a full account. He names among the more distinguished guests, my Lord Mayor, the Earl of Sussex, the Earl of Kildare, Sir ——— Stanley, (Aldermen) Sir Thomas White, Sir Thomas Offley and master Ro(bert Offley?), Sir William Hewett, Sir Martin Bowes, master Cowper, master Allen, master Gilbert, master Chamberlain, master Champion, master Avenon, master Malory, and master Baskerville (these all Aldermen); and the Master and four Wardens and the clerks and the beadle of the Skinners; Garter and Clarenceux kings of arms were also there, the latter (William Hervey) being a leading member of the Skinners; and many worshipful men, and many ladies and gentlewomen. And they had against the dinner more than fourscore bucks and four stags.\* On this occasion the Lord Mayor drank to master William Allen, whereby he was "elected Sheriff for the Queen for the year ensuing."

\* Machyn never fails to describe the annual feast of the Merchant-taylors, during the eight years to which his Diary relates, except in 1558, when there is an *hiatus* of some months. He usually notices the large amount of venison which was provided, viz.

|         | Bucks.   | Stags. |
|---------|--|--------|
| In 1555 | 58   | 2      |
| 1556    | 50   | 4      |
| 1557    | 60 (two of which the master, George Eyton, gave to his parish, "to make merry.") |        |
| 1559    | 30, "besides all other meats."   |        |
| 1560    | (great cheer).   |        |
| 1561    | (the numbers left blank.)  |        |
| 1562    | fourscore and more bucks and 4 stags.  |        |

Harper was probably present at most, if not all, of these feasts, though Machyn does not happen to name him at any of them; but his biographer Mr. Wyatt has somehow caught hold of the feast of 1559 (only), upon which he makes these remarks:—"It appears that master Harper, like most Bedford men, was fully alive to the importance of a good dinner, for we find that under his direction at one of the feasts there were 'xxx bukes be-syd al odur mettes.' Thirty bucks beside all other meats formed a tolerably substantial proof of our townsman's ability to cater for his guild." As usual, Mr. Wyatt is totally wrong, both in his facts and inferences. There is nothing to intimate that Harper was caterer for his Company in 1559, and the above figures show that the number of bucks was unusually small in that year. But, moreover, the venison was in great measure, if not entirely, sent to the City companies as presents, by the great men who came as visitors, or who bestowed this portion of the feast by annual grant. Thus in Kempe's  *Loseley Manuscripts*, p. 160, will be found a warrant from the Mar-

On the 20th of July the Lord Mayor and all the Aldermen graced a wedding with their presence, and it is the most fully described of any of the civic weddings which Machyn has introduced into his Diary. It was on the occasion of the marriage of Elizabeth the younger daughter of John Nicholls, gentleman, "comptroller of the works at London bridge, and all other lands and revenues of the same, and in charge for provision of corn to the city of London:"\* she was wedded to Edmund Cooke, of Lesnes abbey in Kent, gentleman. After this "goodly wedding" they went home to the Bridge-house to dinner: for there was as great a dinner as ever was seen on such an occasion, no manner of meats or drinks wanting that money could procure; and all manner of music; and afterwards a goodly masque at midnight. Again, on the day following, there was still "great cheer at the Bridge-house;"† and after supper came three masques;‡ the first in cloth of gold; the next of friars; and the third of nuns; and afterwards the friars and nuns danced together. This occurred, it will be remembered, only three years after real friars and nuns had been finally dismissed in this country after the death of Queen Mary.§ Master Thomas Becon, the celebrated Protestant preacher, had made a sermon at the wedding;

quess of Winchester to the keeper of the great park of Nonesuch, transferring to the wardens of the Grocers, for their feast in 1556, the fee buck to which he was entitled by virtue of his office of High Treasurer of England. In 1561 the Grocers had thirty bucks and some stags at their feast, and in the same year the Skinners had eight bucks and three stags. (Machyn, p. 260.)

\* Pedigree of Nicholls in the Visitation of London, 1568. A full account of this family of Nicholl or Nicholls, among whom were Dr. William Nicholls, Dean of Chester (ob. 1657), and Colonel Richard Nicolls, Groom of the Bed-chamber to James Duke of York (ob. 1672), is printed in *The Topographer and Genealogist*, 1858, iii. 533—544.

† The Bridge-house, which occupied a large plot of ground on the south side of the Thames a little below London Bridge, is described by Stowe as a store-house for stone, timber, or whatsoever pertained to the building or repairing of the bridge. Connected with it there were divers granaries for laying up of corn for the service of the City, and ten ovens for baking bread for the relief of poor citizens when need should require. These were built pursuant to the will of Sir Joseph Thurstan, Sheriff in 1517, who left 200*l.* for the purpose. There was also adjoining "a fair brewhouse for serving the City with beer."

‡ A marriage masque is represented in the curious Elizabethan painting of the life of Sir Henry Unton, and engraved in Strutt, *Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. pl. xi.

§ See Machyn, p. 204, as to the friars of Greenwich and Smithfield, the nuns of Syon, and monks of Westminster.

but whether he returned to witness the revelry of the following night our chronicler doth not say.

On the 1st of August the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and all the crafts of London, repaired to Guildhall to elect the second Sheriff, when they made choice of Alderman Chamberlain, ironmonger.

The 18th of September was the day of the Visitation of the Conduit-heads, and the accompanying hunting of the hare and fox, upon which I have to make some remarks presently.

Such are the transactions of Harper's mayoralty in which Machyn relates him to have been personally engaged; and it will be allowed that they are curiously illustrative of the various incidents of London life in the early days of good Queen Bess.

With respect to the last of them Mr. Wyatt's remarks are as sapient as before :—

“It is very remarkable (he thinks) that of the few records of this great man, there should be one in existence detailing the particulars of his going *hunting!* Although a man of undoubted benevolence and humanity, he had no morbid and ascetic antipathies to the national amusements; and we cannot say that we have less respect for him on that account. The passage describing this event occurs in Stowe, b. i. p. 25, and is also noticed in Knight's London. Stowe is speaking of the ancient conduits of London, which he says were regularly visited in former times, and particularly on the 18th of September 1562, the Lord Mayor (Harper), the aldermen, and many worshipful persons, and divers of the masters and wardens of the twelve companies, rid to the conduit heads for to see them after the old custom. Afore dinner they hunted the hare, and killed her; and thence to dinner at the head of the conduit.\* There was a good number entertained with good cheer by the chamberlain. And after dinner they went to hunting the fox. There was a great cry for a mile, and at length the hounds killed him at the end of St. Giles's, with great hallooing at his death, and blowing of horns. And so rode through London, my Lord Mayor Harper with all his company, home to his own place in Lombard Street.”

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\* The conduit-heads appear to have been at Paddington, and formed as early as the reign of Henry III. when Gilbert Sanford granted to the citizens liberty to convey water from Tybourn by pipes of lead to the City. Stowe describes the course in which the water was conveyed: from Paddington to James head was 510 rods, from James head on the hill to the Mewsgate 102 rods, from the Mewsgate to the Cross in Cheap, where a cistern of lead cased in stone called the Great Conduit was formed, was 484 rods. See the curious chapter of Stowe's *Survey*, on Rivers, Brooks, Bourns, Pools, Wells, and Conduits of fresh water, serving the City. On St. Andrew's day (November 30) 1560, there was no water in any conduit in London but in Lothbury; on the 14th of the following month two men were whipped who had cut the leaden pipes, and occasioned the mischief. Machyn, pp. 245, 246.

Now, to any one who has read of the ancient state of the Mayor of London, there will be nothing strange in his going hunting. He always kept four Esquires of his Household, and one of them was the Common Hunt, attendant upon whom were two men also maintained in the Mayor's house.\* From the earliest times hunting had not been unknown to Londoners. FitzStephen in the reign of Henry II. says, "Many of the citizens delight themselves in hawks and hounds, for they have liberty of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all Chilton, and in Kent to the water of Cray."

I do not find that Stowe has noticed the custom of visiting the Conduit-heads, and therefore the account given by Machyn is the more valuable. Mr. Wyatt quotes it as from Stowe, but he means Strype's edition of Stowe, and Strype took it from Machyn's Diary.

When Mr. Wyatt comes to speak of Sir William Harper's matrimonial alliances he is not more to be relied upon. The name of his wife "dame Alice" appears in the deed of gift (dated in the 8th Eliz.) which transferred to the corporation of the town of Bedford the thirteen acres and one rood of meadow in the parish of St. Andrew Holborn, which are the site of the rich estates now possessed by the charity. So Mr. Wyatt tells his readers that "the worthy Knight and the Dame Alice visited Bedford, and made a grant for the School." But this visit to Bedford is of his own imagining, and so in all probability is the statement that Dame Alice was buried in the tomb in St. Paul's church, Bedford. If that had been the case there can be little doubt that her name would have been there commemorated. It is far more probable that she died, and was buried, in London.†

The thirteen acres and one rood had been purchased of Dr. Cæsar Adelmare, and Mr. Wyatt says "It has been stated (he does not tell where) that Dame Alice was a daughter of Dr. Adelmare, and that he gave her and her husband the land out of natural love and affection." Afterwards the biographer adds, "it is quite certain Dame Alice was not his daughter. \* \* \* It is probable however that she was related to him, for the name of Alice was a favourite one in the family."

Now, the pedigree of Harper in the London Visitation favours no such idea. It furnishes these particulars of Dame Alice,—that she was a widow when married to Harper; that her maiden name was

\* Stowe, *Survey*,—List of Officers belonging to the Lord Mayor's howse.

† See Postscript in p. 93.

Tomlinson, her first husband Richard Harison of Shropshire, by whom she had an only daughter, Beatrice, married to Prestwood; and that she died on the 10th Oct. 1569, having had (so far as appears) no issue by Sir William. Very shortly before her death she is thus mentioned in the will of Thomas Thomlynson *alias* Towreson, Citizen and Merchant Taylor, living in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry:

“It'm, I bequethe to Sir William Harper, Alderman of London, and to my lady his wyffe, my cosen, to either of them a blacke gowne.”\*

Mr. Wyatt next volunteers the statement that, after remaining a widower a short time, Sir William Harper “married a native of Bedford, of whom we have obtained very little information, except that she was of a very different disposition to her husband. She was neither just nor generous.” The whole of this is gratuitous assumption on the part of Mr. Wyatt, even from his very first assertion that the lady was “a native of Bedford.” Asserting this, Mr. Wyatt yet cannot describe her parentage. Nor does it appear in the Visitation, although her arms are there given, viz. Per chevron gules and argent, three trefoils counterchanged, on a chief of the second three martlets of the first. But yet there is no surname. I have lately discovered, in Sir William Harper's will, the name of “Richard Lethers my wife's brother,” an obscure and unknown name certainly, but I presume that it may have been that of the second Lady Harper before her marriage.



Sir William Harper died on the 27th Feb. 1573-4, in the 77th year of his age: leaving, as it appears, in the tenure of his widow, the great house in Lombard street in which he had kept his mayoralty, and where former mayors, Sir John Percival and Sir Thomas Offley, who were both Merchant Taylors, had kept their mayoralties † in the years 1499 and 1557. It is related by Herbert, in his *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, that Sir William Harper's lease of this mansion was near expiring at the time of his death. “It shows (remarks Herbert,) the control exercised by government (meaning the

\* Recorded in the Hustings Court Guildhall Roll 256, 7 dorso, 11 Eliz.

† Herbert, *City Companies*, i. 168. The house stood in the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, as appears by Sir William Harper's will, and in 1605 was occupied by a Mr. Butler, mentioned by Wm. Smith, Rouge Dragon, when noticing Harper in his List of Mayors and Sheriffs. Was it the same which subsequently became the mansion of Sir Robert Vyner, and was converted into the General Post Office?

Queen's ministers and councillors) over the (London) companies at this time, that persons wanting favours of them scarcely ever applied in such cases direct to the Companies; but, if they had court influence, instructed some great person to interfere for them. Lady Harper procured Lord Burghley to write, in order to obtain low terms for her on this occasion. The company offered her a new lease for 21 years at an additional rent of only 10*l.*, but the lady wanted it at less. Lord Burghley wrote again, and was again humbly replied to by the company. They determined, after further negotiation, not to sacrifice their premises, finding their tenant would come to no terms, and attempted to eject her. Matters were coming to extremity, but were prevented by the lord mayor (Hawes), who, having learned from court that such a contempt of the Lord Treasurer's authority might be attended with serious consequences, wrote himself, to advise the wardens to compromise. They gave Lady Harper 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to quit possession, and afterwards let the house to Richard Offley, son of Sir Thomas, for the 21 years, at 13*l.* 6*s.* a-year more rent, and 410*l.* fine."

This is Herbert's account of the transaction, and we may remark that the result of this matter of house-agency, when properly understood, merely proves these two points: first that the Offley interest in the Merchant Taylors' Company was triumphant over that of the widowed Lady Harper; and, secondly, that the Company were successful in defending their proper rights against Court influence. But the Bedford biographer regards it as "a proof that the lady was very mercenary in her desire and very unfair in her demands," appending this absurd exclamation, "How unlike all the acts of her late husband and of the Dame Alice, the first wife!" the only act of Dame Alice of which he has any proof being that she married Sir William, and that, being his wife, (for some legal reason, no doubt,) her name was placed with his in his deed of gift to the town of Bedford.

Mr. Wyatt's fictions do not end even after relating Sir William's death and abusing the widow. He adds this account of an imaginary picture:—

The only portrait known to have been taken of Sir William Harper was that painted for the Merchant Taylors' Company, and hung up in their hall. Unfortunately, this was lost at the great fire of London. Granger, in his Biographical History, gives a portrait from a rare print in the possession of Mr. St. Aubyn, which is said to have been taken from the picture burnt in the ~~old~~ hall of Merchant Taylors. The portrait given in this work is taken from Granger's, for the use of the trustees, who have kindly lent the plate to embellish this publication. Some years back, a committee was appointed to ascertain if a genuine portrait existed, with power to purchase it under a certain sum. The

inquiries have not yet been attended with success, although it is believed that there is one in existence which belonged to the Harper family.

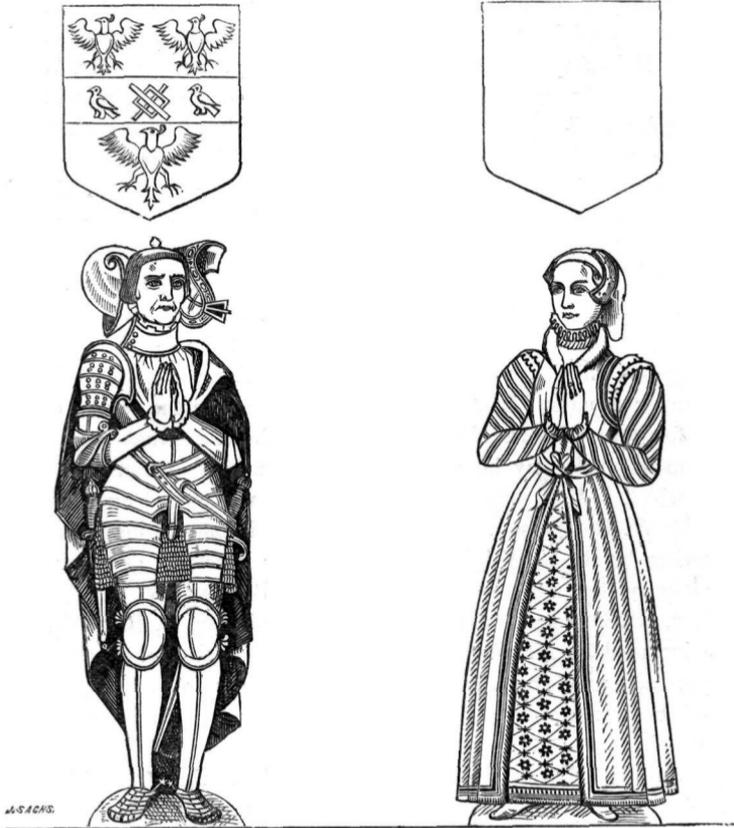
There are, unfortunately, too many facilities for the discovery (or manufacture) of historical portraits; and if an unscrupulous purveyor were encouraged by a credulous committee, no doubt a picture of Sir William Harper would very soon be forthcoming. But, as Mr. Wyatt wrote some years ago, let us hope that the committee he speaks of was not credulous. They may wisely have rested satisfied with such representations of their Founder as had been provided by their predecessors. These we shall presently describe, but let us first dispose of Mr. Wyatt's statements, which are altogether unfounded. There is really no record of any portrait having been painted for the Merchant Taylors' Company, nor hung up in their hall, nor burnt in the great fire of London. The portrait noticed by Granger, engraved by W. Richardson, was copied from one of a series of wood blocks figuring all the Lord Mayors of the reign of Elizabeth (to the year 1601); but many of these heads, as Granger remarks, served over and over again in the course of the book, for several Lord Mayors. How far, therefore, that named Sir William Harper may be genuine is questionable. From this book (upon which I shall append a note) the head was copied on a copperplate by W. Richardson. Richardson's print is the original of a line-engraving by R. L. Wright, prefixed to *An Account of the Public Charities of the town of Bedford*, by R. B. HANKIN, of Bedford, solicitor, 1828, 8vo.; and the last is again copied by R. Baker for the plate included in Mr. Wyatt's book. This is all that can be said on the portrait, with truth, and all that ought ever to be said, unless, beyond every reasonable hope, a genuine picture should really be discovered.

Sir William Harper died, as already stated, on the 27th February, 1573-4, probably at his house in Lombard Street, where he had made his last will (hereafter inserted at length) on the 27th October preceding. In compliance with his testamentary injunctions his body was taken for burial to the parish church of St. Paul in Bedford. I have not found any account of the funeral, but many persons whom he desired to attend are named in the will.

In the north aisle of the chancel of the church a table tomb was erected,\* upon the slab of which were placed figures in brass plates

\* It now stands in the chancel opposite the south door, to which spot it was removed about the year 1828. Hankin's *Bedford School*, p. 36.

(two feet in height) of Sir William Harper and his second wife, of which engravings are now given.\* His figure is remarkable from representing him in armour, as a knight, his alderman's gown being worn



Obijt 27<sup>o</sup> die Februarij 1573. A<sup>o</sup> aetatis suae 77<sup>o</sup>.

Here vnder lieth buried the body of Sir William Harper, Knight, Alderman and late Lord Mayor of the Cittie of London, with the dame Margarett his last wife, w<sup>o</sup> Sir William was borne in this towne of Bedford, and here fouded & gabe lande for the mayntenance of a Grämer schoole,

\* I beg to acknowledge the kindness of Major Heales, F.S.A., a member of the Council of the London and Middlesex Society, in furnishing rubbings of these figures for the use of the engraver. They have been previously published only in the rare work, Fisher's *Bedfordshire Collections*, 4to, 1812.

over the armour. It will be remembered that the effigy of Alderman Sir John Crosby (ob. 1475) in the church of Great St. Helen's is similarly attired, and probably several other examples in effigies\* may be found, but I believe this is unique as a sepulchral brass.



Above the figures were two shields of arms, one over Sir William's head, of Harper only, the other over the lady's head, lost many years since (as appears from T. Fisher's etching) †

These arms, as authorised by the Heralds in the *London Visitation*, ‡ are, Azure, on a fess between three eagles displayed or a fret between two martlets of the first. Crest, upon a crescent or, charged with a fret between two martlets azure, an eagle displayed of the last.

Harper's arms and crest are composed of the same charges and tinctures as the arms of Lord Chancellor Audley, which were, Quarterly or and azure, per pale indented, two eagles or, over all a bend of the second quarter, on the bend a fret between two martlets of the first quarter. (I follow the blason of the original grant 18 March, 1538. See

Lord Braybrooke's *Audley End*, 4to. 1836, p. 23.) There must surely have been some origin for this similarity beyond mere accident. The *fret* came from the simple bearing of the ancient Audleys.

\* As those of Sir Thomas Rowe, Lord Mayor 1567, and Sir Henry Rowe, Lord Mayor 1607 (both kneeling figures), formerly in Hackney church, engraved in Robinson's History of that parish.

† The original slab remains in the pavement of the same chapel: but a new slab having been provided for the tomb, the brasses were reset in it, with the remaining shield in the centre.

‡ Also for Harper of Camberwell in the *Visitation of Surrey*, 1623, but the connection of that family with the Alderman has not yet been ascertained.

Another monument was erected in 1768, in obedience to the Act of Parliament presently mentioned, at the east end of the same aisle. Who the sculptor was I have not learned, but he inserted portrait medallions of Sir William and Lady Harper, for which his only authority, if he cared for any, could be the sepulchral brasses. This monument bears the following inscription:—\*

Sacred to the memory of Sir WILLIAM HARPUR, Knight, a native of this place, and in 1561 was Lord Mayor of London, and of Dame ALICE his wife,

Who, by their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both, acquired an ample fortune, which, joined with a beneficent mind, both disposed and enabled them to communicate their benevolence to mankind in general,

Their peculiar charity and munificence to this town in particular, where in the infancy of the Reformation they, by Royal Charter, erected a Protestant Free School, for the education of youth in Grammar, Learning, and Good Manners, and in the firm and genuine principles of the Reformed Religion.

This pious foundation they originally endowed with land situated in London, which, by many fine and stately buildings since erected on it, is now increased to a large estate, the revenues whereof afford an ample provision for the Master, Usher, and Boys; a large surplus also for other Charitable Exhibitions in this Town.

The Mayor and other gentlemen who are trustees for this estate, and dispensers of this Charity, and who 'tis hoped will ever continue to discharge this sacred trust agreeable to the spirited design of their munificent Benefactors, have in a grateful sense of their benefits caused this Monument to be erected, that the influence of their example may follow the respect done to their memory, and their good name, which the Wise Man compares to precious ointment, may for ever retain and communicate its fragraney after their bodies (here interred) have been long since in noisomness and corruption.

NON SIBI SED BONO PUBLICO.

One hesitates to whose authorship we may attribute this rambling and incoherent effusion, so characteristic in its expressions of the period at which it was written, and yet so badly put together, and so imaginative in its conception. It seems quite unworthy of the master of the grammar school, who was then the Rev. George Bridle, as it would be now of a junior scholar. Unlike the sculptor of the founder's

\* At this period it had become the practice to spell the name *Harpur* instead of Harper, and that spelling is now maintained for Harpur Street, a small street on the Bedford estate. The family of Harpur-Crewe, advanced to a Baronetcy in 1626, and which took the additional name of Crewe in 1808, is of high antiquity in Warwickshire and Derbyshire, and quite unconnected with that of our worthy citizen.

statue (hereafter described), the writer disdained to take the unassuming contemporary memorial as the model either of his diction or his statements. Disregarding the fact there recorded, that Sir William Harpur lay buried with

**Dame Margaret his last wife.**

and the circumstance that his former lady was not even represented on the tomb, as so often was the case in other monuments of the time, it displaces dame Margaret to make room for dame Alice, to whom imaginary virtues are attributed, resting solely, as I have already shown, upon the occurrence of her name in the deed of gift. This eighteenth-century epitaph was evidently the poetic fountain from whence the biographer, whose work we have been examining, first drew his inspiration. The "thirteen acres and one rood," so fortunately seated on the immediate outskirts of the great metropolis as to have become the site of "many fine and stately buildings," have the retrospective effect of endowing the worthy alderman and his wife, not only with "an ample fortune," but with virtue and industry, a beneficent mind, and "peculiar charity and munificence."

A more sober view of the matter leads to these conclusions—that Sir William Harper invested his money fortunately, and that he performed a good deed in devoting his estate to the purposes it has so well fulfilled. In so doing he was merely following the course which was generally taken at the same period by other public benefactors. There was no "peculiar munificence" in this act. The value of his gift owes its extraordinary increase to causes that have arisen since his death, and which could never have entered into his imagination.

With regard to Sir William Harper's foundation, I will only state the purport of its two most important records, referring for further particulars to Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools*, 1818, J. D. Parry's *Illustrations of Bedfordshire*, 1827, and the other works which are devoted to its history.

By indenture dated 22 April, 8th Eliz. 1566, made between the mayor and commonalty of the town of Bedford of the one part, and Sir William Harper and dame Alice, his then wife, of the other part; after reciting letters patent of King Edward VI., dated 15th August, 1552, for founding a free grammar-school at the town of Bedford, in a message there called *the Free School House*, which the said Sir William Harper of late built; the said Sir William and dame Alice

granted to the mayor and commonalty the said school-house with the premises adjoining, and also thirteen acres and one rood of meadow lying in divers parcels in or near the parish of St. Andrew Holborn, in the county of Middlesex.

By an Act of Parliament of 4 George III., reciting that under building leases several new streets were formed on the trust estate, viz., Bedford Street, Bedford Row, Bedford Court, Prince's Street, Theobalds Road, North Street, East Street, Lamb's Conduit Street, Queen's Street, Eagle Street, Boswell Court, and several other streets and courts thereto adjoining in the parishes of St. Andrew Holborn and St. George Queen Square, which were likely to produce a clear rental of £3,000 per annum,\* the Corporation of Bedford were empowered as trustees to manage the estate and to carry into execution the rules for the management of the school, and also to erect in the chancel of St. Paul's church in Bedford a monument of marble to the memory of Sir William Harper, and likewise a statue in front of the grammar-school.

These monuments were both accordingly erected; that in the church has been already noticed. The statue was placed in a niche over the doorway of the school-house, erected in 1767.† It is remarkable as being in the costume of the last century, and not of the founder's own day; exhibiting a full cravat, a long coat with lapells, knee-breeches, and shoes with buckles! The head is bare. The aldermanic gown is worn, but thrown back. Altogether, it would seem as if the sculptor set himself the task to translate the sepulchral effigy of the Elizabethan alderman into one of the Georgian era. On a tablet below the statue is this inscription:—

Ecce Viator ! Corporea Effigies  
GULIELMI HARPUR, Equitis Aurati  
Scholæ istius  
Quam cernis amplam et ornatam  
Munificentissimi Fundatoris.  
Si Animæ picturam spectare velis,  
in Charta Beneficiorum invenias  
delineatam.

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\* At the period of the Fourteenth Report of the Charity Commissioners, 1861-3, the total yearly income of the trustees had risen to £13,211 5s. 3d.

† There is a view of this school-house in J. D. Parry's *Illustrations of Bedfordshire*, 4to. 1827. That author falls into the mistake that the burning of the steeple of St. Paul's Cathedral (June 4, 1561) was during Harper's mayoralty.

## THE WILL OF SIR WILLIAM HARPER.

In the name of God amen. The seaventh and twentie daie of October in the fyftenthe yeare of the reigne of o<sup>r</sup> soveraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of Englonde France and Irelonde defendour of the faithe, &c. I Sir WILLIAM HARPER knighte and alderman of the Citie of London being of perfect mynd and memory, thanckes be geven to almightie God, doe ordeigne and make this my presente laste will and testament in manner and forme followinge: First I bequeathe my soull to almightie God my Creator and to Jesus Christe my saviour and Redeemer, and my body to be decentlie buried by the discrecion of myne Executrix here after named, within the parrishe churche of St. Paull in the towne of Bedford. Item I geve to the worshipfull Company of the Marchant tailors for a remembrance of the good will I bare unto them vj*l*. xiijs. iiij*l*. in ready mony to make a Cuppe w<sup>th</sup>all to remayne to th<sup>e</sup> use of the said Company. Item I geve to my welbelovid ffrindes William Albany, Thomas Riggess, Thomas Muschampe, Humfrey Stephens, Edwarde Thorne, and Richard Lethers my wife's brother, if they will take the paynes to be presente at my buriall at Bedford aforesaid, to every of them a blacke gowne. Item I geve and bequeethe unto my welbelovid frendes Mrs. Muschampe wife of the said Thomas Muschampe and to mistres Ballinger wief to Mr. Gabriell Ballinger to either of them a blacke gowne if they will take the paines to be at my said buriall. Item I geve to Paull Warner, William Malton bedle of the warde of Dowgate, Richard Richardson and to Thomas Addams if they wilbe presente at my buriall at Bedford aforesaide, to either of them a blacke cote. Item I geve to Tenne poore men which shalbe present at my buriall Tenne blacke gownes of vs. iiij*l*. the yard. Item I geve to my servantes Phillippe Cotton and David Bellett yf they happen to be dwellinge w<sup>th</sup> me at the tyme of my decease to either of them a blacke gowne and a cote and to every other man servante that shall happen to be dwellinge w<sup>th</sup> me at the tyme of my decease a blacke cote. Item I geve to every maide servaunte that shall happen to be dwellinge w<sup>th</sup> me at the tyme of my decease a blacke gowne. Item I geve to be distributed by the discrecion of my Executrix the somme of ffortie shillings. Item I geve to the poor people of St<sup>t</sup> Mary Wolnothes parishe in London where I now dwell the somme of Twentie shillings. Item I geve to Elizabeth Peltिंगale widowe the somme of xiijs. iiij*l*. The Residue of all my goodes and cattels, Leases for yeares, plaite, monie, juells and household stuffe, my buriall expenses, lafull debtes and legacies being paid, I geve and bequeathe to my welbeloved wief dame Margarete Harper whom I ordeigne and make hole and full Executrix of this my last will and testament. And my dear frendes William Albany, Thomas Riggess, Thomas Muschamp, and Edward Thorne Overseers of this my last will and testament. In witnes whereof I have to this my last will and testament putt my hand and seall the daye and yeare above written. By me William Harper. Sealed subscribed and delivered in the presens of these witnesses, Thomas Ramsay alderman, William Abraham, Cutberte Buckle, William Softley no<sup>ry</sup>.

Proved at London 6 April 1574 on the oath of Edward Orwell notary public,

proctor for dame Margaret Harper relict and Executrix. (Reg. Prerog. Court, 14 Martyn.)

The present seal of the Bedford charity, of which an engraving is appended, was probably made in 1764, shortly after the passing of the Act of Parliament before mentioned. It bears the arms of Sir William Harper, impaling those of his first wife (*Thomlinson*.)



SEAL OF THE BEDFORD CHARITY.

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*Portraits of Elizabethan Lord Mayors.*

These prints are thus described in Granger's *Biographical History of England*:—

"A set of the Lord Mayors of London, from the first year of Queen Elizabeth to 1601; when the prints, which are cut in wood, were published. Some of them serve for several Mayors. Under the portraits are mentioned their charitable gifts, and places of burial, with a few other particulars. Among them are seven Clothworkers, six Drapers, one Fishmonger, two Goldsmiths, six Grocers, five Haberdashers, four Ironmongers, five Mercers, two Salters, two Skinners, two Merchant Taylors, and one Vintner."

The set therefore is complete; but only one copy is known to be preserved. It was in the valuable collection of Joseph Gulston, esq.; at the sale of which in 1786 it was purchased by Sir John St. Aubyn, Bart. F.R.S. who permitted the heads of Sir William Harper and others to be copied by Richardson the printseller. After Sir John's death the set of portraits was again sold at Phillips's on the 7th April 1840, for 29l. 8s., and acquired by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville. It did not accompany Mr. Grenville's library of books to the British Museum; but, as prints, remained in the possession of his niece, and I am informed that it does so still.

I find it remarked by one who wrote in 1825, that "neither Sir William Musgrave,

Horace Walpole, antiquary Storey, Mr. Towneley, Mr. Bindley, or Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, had a single impression of any one of these portraits." (MS. note in a copy of *Granger* in my possession); and I have made a recent inquiry in the Print Room of the British Museum without discovering any. But I find that as many as six were copied (on copper) by W. Richardson, by favour of Sir John St. Aubyn, although only two of them (Lee and Harper) are mentioned in the 1824 edition of *Granger*. The following is a list of Richardson's copies:—

| Lord Mayor                      | Published |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| 1558 Sir Thomas Lee . . . .     | 179..     |
| 1561 Sir William Harper . . .   | 1793      |
| 1592 Sir William Roe . . . .    | 1796      |
| 1597 Sir Richard Salstonstall . | 1794      |
| 1599 Sir Nicholas Mosley . . .  | 179..     |
| 1600 Sir William Ryder . . . .  | 1797      |

*Woodcocks' Lives of Illustrious Lords Mayors and Aldermen of London. With a Brief History of the City of London. Also a Chronological List of the Lords Mayors and Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, from the earliest period to the present time.* (No date.) This imperfect work forms a small 8vo. volume. The title-page is in chromolithography, as is the frontispiece, a portrait of Henrie Fitz Alwine, Kt. first Lord Mayor of London, and so also thirteen plates of Arms of Companies; besides which there are three (second-hand) steel engravings of the new Royal Exchange. The History of London occupies 79 pages, the lives of Lord Mayors and Aldermen 296, and the lists of Mayors (to 1846) and Sheriffs (to 1844), followed by an account of the Queen's Visit to the City in 1837, fill up to the 322d page; prefatory pages viii. No name of author appears, but the plates are chromolithographed chiefly by W. and R. Woodcock, Warwick Lane. The lives of Lord Mayors are only nineteen in number, including the well-known names of Walworth, Whittington, Philpot, Rockesley (misspelt Rockesby), Spencer, among those of the olden time, and Beckford, Gyll, Wilkes, and Waithman, among those of modern days; of Aldermen Sir John Crosby, Fabyan the chronicler, Sir William FitzWilliam, and a few more; whilst the well-known biographies of Sir Thomas Gresham and of his two relatives Sir Richard and Sir John Gresham occupy nearly one-third of the whole. Altogether the work is one of little value, and scarce any originality: but, as copies will probably be scarce, I have thought it worth while to add this note.

*Postscript.*—My expectation (p. 62) has been entirely confirmed on examining the parish register of St. Mary's Woolnoth, where I have found the following entry:—

"The xvth day of October 1569 was buried Dame Alice Harper, late wife of Sr William Harper knight and Alderman of London, and lyeth in a vault made of brick, the mouthe beinge before his pewe dore in the North Isle of this Church."

## ON SILVER COINS DISCOVERED AT HARMONDS- WORTH, MIDDLESEX.

BY ALFRED WHITE, ESQ. F.S.A. F.L.S.

I am enabled to lay before the Society an account of the discovery of coins in the burial-ground of Harmondsworth Church, Middlesex, from particulars kindly furnished by the vicar, Rev. J. Percy Arnold, B.D. A. Chantler, Esq. and Frederick Hunt, Esq. The churchyard has been recently enlarged by an addition on its north side, and many inequalities in the ground were then reduced. A grave was dug in the spring of 1870 to the north-west of the church close to the boundary of the old churchyard, and at a depth of about three feet (the soil removed from this part would have made the original depth six feet) several coins were found. They appeared as if arranged in fours upon the arm of the skeleton of a full-grown man; some of them were inclosed in what might have been a purse or (as the sexton described it) a sort of leather piping, around which were traces of metal, probably brass. This receptacle was very much decayed, so that no part of it could be preserved. About one half of the skeleton was removed, but no remains of a coffin were visible. The coins are of silver, and are all half-shillings; twenty-two are of Elizabeth, with the rose at the back of her head, and three of James I. with a VI. to indicate its value in pence. The dates range from 1564 to 1604. The body from which these coins were taken was buried in his clothes, and it would appear as if the money was concealed in the sleeve of his coat. Had the body been found in the open fields instead of in a churchyard we could have supposed this person had been robbed and murdered by the highwaymen who infested the adjacent open country at Hounslow and other places on the Windsor Road, and that the victim had been only partially deprived of the valuables about him. This theory seems to be destroyed by the deposit of the body in a churchyard, which would have led to the immediate discovery of the murder. Let us look to the coins for help in our investigation. They belong to a large part of the reign of Elizabeth, and the beginning of James I. They are all

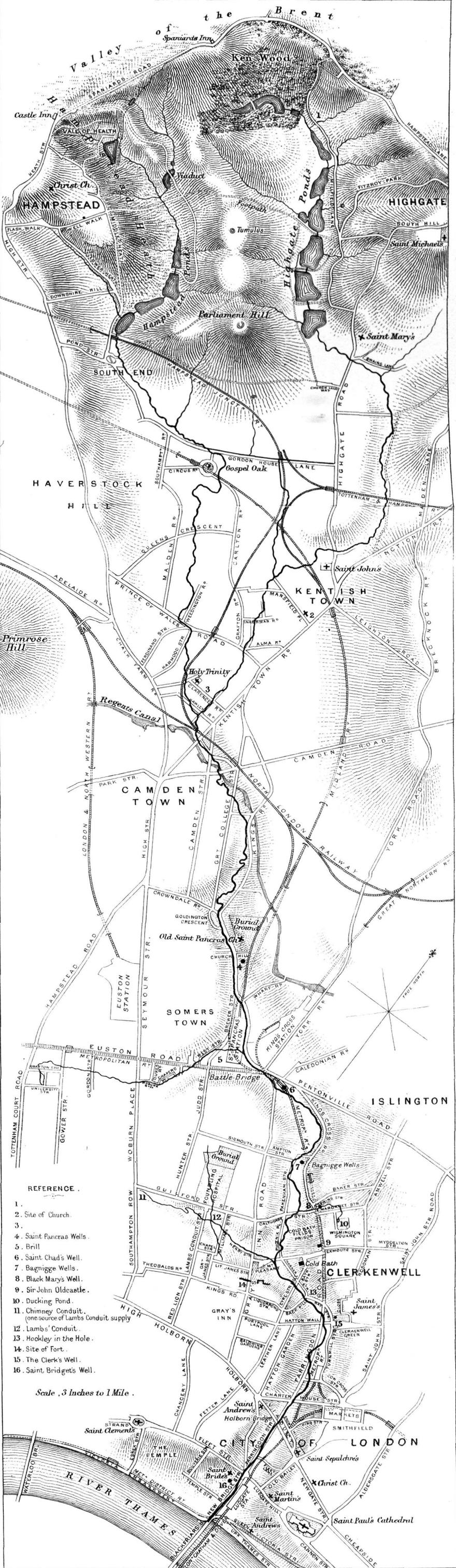
in fair preservation, but have evidently seen much but unequal wear, just such as would have occurred in a circulation of from thirty to sixty years; and history will inform us that about this number of years from the earliest and latest dates on the coins will bring us to a time of great troubles in England. Charles I. and his Parliament were at war, and this neighbourhood was not exempt from the horrors of this conflict. Brentford was the locality of an engagement in 1642, and the fighting was within a mile or two of Harmondsworth. In 1647 the battle was on Hounslow Heath, part of which is in this parish. At either of these encounters a wounded soldier or officer might have fled in this direction and died here, or one of the slain on the field may have been brought here for burial, put into the grave with his clothes, and the money have been overlooked and buried with him. Leaving these conjectures we will proceed to notice some interesting features in the coins. They bear the dates of seventeen different years, and have as many as eleven varieties of mint marks. The marks are represented in the accompanying woodcut, and occur on the coins in the



following order with regard to their dates. 1564 a pheon; 1565 a rose; 1568 and 1569 a crown; 1570 and 1571 a tower; one of 1574 a flower of four petals; another of 1574 and four of 1575 a flower of five petals; 1578 and 1582 a plain cross; 1583 a bell; 1590 and 1591 a hand; 1594 a woolpack; and 1603 a thistle. The mark on the coin of 1604 is obliterated. At all times the process of coinage appears to have been carried out by license given by the sovereign power to bodies, officers, or other individuals. It therefore became necessary to identify each parcel of money produced under the several licences, and to ascertain if any error or fraud in weight or fineness had been committed by the contractor before he received his discharge from liability for the parcel of gold or silver which had been given to him. The earliest mint-mark of the kind described above on English money is believed to be the crown at the beginning of the legend on gold pieces of Edward III. Before that time the cross is very generally found in this place, but it does not appear as a mint-mark; indeed they sometimes occur together on the same coin. Certain parcels of silver are identified at various times to show their origin: thus the silver

produced from the Welsh lead mines in the reign of James I. had the Prince's feathers as a mint mark; and in the reign of George II. the silver taken at Lima and Vigo when coined was stamped with the names of these places. The name of the artist who executed the die is frequently found on the money made by it. The names of Blondeau, Simon, and Roeter in the time of Cromwell and Charles II. and of Pistrucci on the crown pieces of George III. are in full. On most modern coinage we find the initials of the die-sinker, and on the money of Victoria since 1864 each piece has the number of the die with which it was struck. On the coins of many of our kings the name of the place where they were struck is found very conspicuously on the reverse, as "Civitas London," "Civitas Cantor." "Civitas Eboraci," "Villa Calisie," for London, Canterbury, York, and Calais. On the copper money of George III. struck by Bolton and Watt, the name of their works "Soho," near Birmingham, may be seen in small capitals on the reverse.

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REFERENCE .

1. Site of Church.
2. Site of Church.
- 3.
4. Saint Pancras Wells.
5. Brill.
6. Saint Chad's Well.
7. Bagnigge Wells.
8. Black Mary's Well.
9. Sir John Oldcastle.
10. Ducking Pond.
11. Chimney Conduit.  
(one source of Lambs Conduit supply)
12. Lambs' Conduit.
13. Hockley in the Hole.
14. Site of Fort.
15. The Clerk's Well.
16. Saint Bridget's Well.

Scale .3 inches to 1 Mile .

MAP OF THE COURSE OF THE "HOLE BOURN" OR "RIVER FLEET"

## THE "HOLE-BOURNE."

BY JOHN GREEN WALLER, ESQ.

There are three great brooks, rising from the Hampstead and Highgate hills, which pass through London on their way to the Thames, viz. the "Hole-bourne," the "Ty-bourne," and the "West-bourne." It is the first of these which will at present occupy our attention. I use its most ancient name, such as is given to it in old records, and which well describes its physical character. It is strictly, throughout its course, the brook or "bourne" in the "hole" or hollow. But it has other names: John Stow speaks of it as the "River of Wells," this also is a very appropriate appellation. The "River Fleet" is that by which it is best known. But the term "fleet," the affix to so many names on the Thames and Medway and other southern rivers, can only be properly applied where it is influenced by the tidal flow of the Thames. A "fleet," in fact, is a channel covered with shallow water at high tide. Turnmill Brook is another name: this also was local in its application.

It would be but a dry record, were I merely to point out the course of this stream through the miles of houses which now obliterate it. But it passes many spots belonging to our social history. Our city's development and growth, the customs, habits, and amusements of its inhabitants, all that makes up the true history of a people, are exemplified on the banks of this stream. No better gift could have been conferred upon a city than a supply of pure water in abundance, as was here given by Nature's hand, yet never was such a gift so abused. In defiance, or in ignorance of physical laws, it became, in our hands, a "pestilence walking in darkness." We endured it as a nuisance for six centuries, in the heart of London. I shall show you what is said of it in the thirteenth century, and how many fearful scourges of epidemical diseases have we not recorded since? Yet was it, actually, an open, foul, pestilential sewer, after we had had the cholera twice amongst us, within a short distance of the spot whence arose complaints at the time alluded to!

I will now ask you to follow me, in imagination, whilst I perambulate its course. All the springs arise within the semicircle formed

by the heights of Hampstead and Highgate. Walking from the latter place towards Hampstead, we turn on our left by the grounds of Lord Mansfield at Ken Wood.\* Immediately we are in a scene of considerable beauty. On our left the crested hill of Highgate, on the right the grounds of Ken Wood. The landscape slopes from us, and dips in the centre, showing the vast metropolis in the distance, the noble cathedral of St. Paul's crowning the whole. There are plenty of fine trees to form a foreground and frame to the picture; the place is quiet and retired, not a hum to be heard from that largest and busiest of all human hives which lies before us. A path leads by a winding course until you reach where "a willow grows ascant a brook," † and beneath its roots, in the bank, gurgles forth rapidly a limpid stream, which, from the colour of the objects about it, shows it to be in some measure impregnated with iron. It passes across the road into Lord Mansfield's inclosures, and helps to form the first of a series of five ponds, in which it is assisted by another spring within the grounds. These are the first of the sources on the Highgate side. The course of the brooklet is now in the succession of artificial reservoirs, formed one after another, in a line, at descending levels. Continuing down the lane (Milfield Lane), we come to a gap, where, a few years ago, grew a very picturesque ash tree, now gone, leaving only a decaying stump. Here other sources from the fields nearer Highgate are united, and pass under the road to the third pond, and those succeeding receive small rilletts here and there. From the last, the outfall takes a bend and crosses the road of Highgate Rise, and, proceeding parallel to Swain's Lane, it receives a rillet from a field by the cemetery, and turns southwards in a meandering course. A few years ago, a footpath by its side made a pretty rural walk, through undulated fields, and the broken banks of the stream were full of picturesque "bits," some of which I did not fail to record with my pencil. In places it passed through inclosures, and was of avail to make ornamental pieces of water, and it "babbled" over little dams, made here and there to keep it back for the use of cattle. Pursuing this course, it at length bent round again, and re-crossed the high road of Kentish Town, near the three-mile stone. The section of the stream here, above the bridge, at flood was thirteen feet. The

\* See fig. 1 on the Map facing the preceding page. On this plan are references to the more important places mentioned in the text.

† Now gone.

whole of this portion is now dry, and drained off into the main sewer, and the fields, for the greater part, are covered with houses. After passing the road, it makes a sweep around the new chapel of Kentish Town, erected in 1844. The ancient chapel was built in the reign of Elizabeth, not on this site, but a quarter of a mile south of it.

After passing the chapel it proceeds southwards, keeping nearly parallel to Kentish Town, until it reaches a point a little to the north of the Regent's Canal, at the junction of what is now Exeter Street with Hawley Road. And here we must at present leave it, and make our way to Hampstead, to trace the course of that branch which at this point forms a union with that just described.\*

Here the spring arises in the Vale of Health, forming the large square pond south of that spot. Leaving this, it winds along at the base of the heath, receiving another supply from a spring on the east, where a large bridge is erected over a gap between rising ground, and also other rilllets from the heath. It then forms a succession of three ponds, like those previously noticed, artificially constructed for the Hampstead Waterworks.

The overflow from these then passes east of South End, a little green, with a few houses around it, and in a broken course, fringed by very old picturesque willows, which have often found a place in artists' sketch-books, it moved southwards until it effected a junction with the branch from Highgate at Hawley Road. At a short distance, however, from South End, there was a straight cut directly across to Kentish Town, in union with a small arm which bent southwards, and united with the Highgate branch a little to the south of the new chapel. None of this appears in old maps, and it is obviously artificial, probably for the purpose of diverting the stream, as the branch from Hampstead, from the point where it meets this straight cut, has for many years been entirely concealed. Now the whole is dry, drained off into sewers, and at present it is the boundary of London which, in compact streets, reaches up to this point, though only a few years ago there were extensive meadows between Kentish Town and Haverstock Hill.

Near the junction made by this cut, within a space marked out by a bending of the brook, where it forms the boundary of the parishes of

\* None of this course is now visible.

Hampstead and St. Pancras, stood an old oak, known as the "Gospel Oak:" its memory is well maintained in the large district erected about the site, and in a railway station, which one would always desire should be the case; such landmarks are memories of the past. But what is the meaning of "Gospel Oak?" for there are others in different parts of the country—one notably by Birmingham. It has been suggested to me by a friend that Whitfield, the follower of John Wesley, preached beneath it, and it may be that such an origin may apply elsewhere. But the association of this noble tree with religious observances, it is unnecessary to say, is of extreme antiquity, and not confined by any means to one system of worship. Domesday Book gives us a name in Shropshire of Cristes-ache, "Christ's Oak," now Cressage, and one would like to be sure of the origin of such a term as "Gospel Oak." The term sounds modern, but may not the tree have had an earlier veneration in connection with religion?

Before we proceed further on our course, let me direct your attention to the acute angle of land embraced within the space formed by the junction of the two arms of the brook. Remember, Kentish Town is a corruption of "Cantlers," or "Kantloes," the name of the prebend of St. Paul's, and parcel of the parish of St. Pancras. Now, the word "Cantlers" allies itself with roots most familiar to us in our Saxon tongue, such as "Cant," "Cantle," signifying an oblique angle, and the meaning of "Cantlers" probably points to this angle of land, contained within the boundaries of the two streams. Perhaps they form the boundary of the prebendal manor, which contains 210 acres. Comparing the inclosed space with the proportion of land in the parish (2716 acres), it appears to be as nearly as possible of the size stated. But this is a point doubtless quite capable of being set at rest, as the boundaries of the manor must be well known.

Continuing our route, we now encounter a succession of works of engineering of more than Roman magnitude. They have effaced old landmarks, by the alteration of levels, to an extent that must be directly studied to comprehend their vastness, and these works meet us and interfere with us throughout the whole of our way to the Thames. But I must pass them with scarce a mention, except when they serve to point out the way we are pursuing. From the junction of the two arms the course bent again across Kentish Town Road, a little above the Regent's Canal, and here the flow had gained so considerable an

accession of power, that, after it had passed under the bridge, at flood, the section was no less than sixty-five superficial feet.\* It then proceeded a short distance till it approached the canal, *beneath* which it is carried, a test of the vast changes made in the levels. It continued its course nearly parallel to the canal, for some distance, crossing Great College Street, towards Kings' Road, and then, between it and Great College Street, behind the Veterinary College, in many a bend, it found its way to the corner of the road last-named, by St. Pancras Workhouse, and hence to King's Cross it followed the course of the road, on its south side, and for that reason we find its windings controlled to suit the convenience of the public way.

We must now, however, throw ourselves back into earlier times, and forget the vast works of engineering skill about us—the dense neighbourhood—and try and imagine that St. Pancras' mother church, to which we have now arrived, was once a desolate, neglected spot, secluded from and also forgotten by the world, and this, too, not much more than a century ago. Norden, writing at the end of the sixteenth century, thus speaks of it: "P. C. standeth all alone as utterly forsaken, old, and wetherbeaten, which for the antiquitie thereof, it is thought not to yeeld to Paules in London: about this church have bin manie buildings now decayed, leaving poor Pancras without companie or comfort: yet it is now and then visited with Kentish Town and Highgate which are members thereof: but they seldome come there, for that they have chapels of ease within themselves, but when ther is a corps to be interred, they are forced to leave the same in this forsaken church or churchyard, where, no doubt, it resteth as secure against the day of resurrection as if it lain in stately Paules." In this condition, remote from the metropolis, out of the great highways, having only an approach by a miry lane, often deeply flooded, it remained until about 150 years ago, whilst its children of Kentish Town and Highgate became the centres of increasing neighbourhoods. But we must go still further back to understand the state of things. Wherever we find a place known by no other name than that of the patron saint of its church, I think we may conclude that, when the church was first erected, there was neither township nor village, but a sparse and scattered population.† This condition prevailed in the adjoining

\* These facts are taken from a Report on the Bridges of Middlesex. Lond. 4to. 1826.

† Mr. Black disputes this hypothesis, but it is certainly most usual in England,

parish of Marylebone, Saint Mary at the Bourne, built in the fourteenth century. Its antecedent church of St. John the Baptist, which stood near where Stratford Place now is in Oxford Street, was also in a lonely spot far away from habitations, and this isolated condition, exposing it to depredation, caused it to be taken down; yet this, remember, was on the great Roman highway to the West. The proofs of the existence of the great forest round London in which, in early times, ranged wildly the deer, the ox, and those formidable animals the boar, the bear, and the wolf, may be found in many local names in Middlesex, and in the fact that game abounded in the immediate vicinity late in the seventeenth century. It was not until 1218 that disafforestation took place, and in the Visitation of St. Pancras in 1251 there were but forty houses; the parish stretching from Highgate Hill to Clerkenwell, nearly four miles in a direct line, and, most likely, these were mainly the farmsteads with their cottiers, attached to the prebendal manors. We cannot estimate this population beyond 250 souls, yet now it is 200,000! It is clear that, in the thirteenth century, the parish could have had but a small portion under tillage, but consisted chiefly of pastures in the low-lying lands, whilst the upland was entirely covered with wood. In the same Visitation the church is said to have a small tower, and it was doubtless just such a structure that came down to our times, if not the same, having only a nave and chancel, with tower at the west end. Besides the church two *arcæ* are mentioned, the one nearest to it, probably the vicar's house, surrounded by a moat.\* Indications of this moat remained until recent times, and served to delude Dr. Stukeley into the idea of it being the *prætorium* of a Roman camp. The gradual formation of hamlets at Kentish Town and Highgate, with chapels of ease for their convenience, must gradually have conduced to the neglect of the mother church; and the proof of this neglect the old church exemplified in a powerful degree. It seemed to have been patched up so often, as to have lost all its original architectural features; especially as the work appeared to have been done anyhow, and with any materials. The prints of Toms, Chatelaine, and others declare its mongrel character. What, indeed, could be expected, when, as elsewhere, for a town or village to receive its name on account of some local distinction.

\* At the reading of this Paper, one of the members stated that the vicarage-house was in another part of the parish, but he forgot I was speaking of the thirteenth century.—J.G.W.

down to the present century, service was only performed in it once a month?

We can easily imagine, then, that to be Vicar of Pancras was not, formerly, a very coveted ecclesiastical benefice. But, if we are to believe the dramatist Thomas Nabbe, "the parson of Pancrace" must have been in the seventeenth century a sort of "Sir Oliver Martext," as in "As you Like it." Shakespeare, without question, painted from the life, when he makes Touchstone tell Audrey, "I have been with Sir Oliver Martext, the vicar in the next village, who hath promised to meet me in this place of the forest and to couple us." Jaques dissuades him from being so married, much to the disgust, however, of Audrey, who says to him afterwards, "Faith, the priest was good enough for all the old gentleman's saying." Audrey knew "delay is dangerous." A dialogue in Nabbe's play of "Totenham Court," 1633, runs thus:

1. "And yet more plots, I' sure the parson of Pancrace hath been here.
2. Indeed, I have heard he is a notable joyner.
1. And Totenham Court ale pays him store of tithe;  
It causeth questionless much unlawful coupling."

Now Tottenham Court was the old manor-house of Totenhall, a prebend of St. Paul's, standing at the corner of Hampstead Road, in after times, as now, the Adam and Eve public house. Deserted by its former tenants, it had become a place of suburban resort for the citizens of London, and so continued far into the eighteenth century. At this time, the place had many attractions. It was extremely rural; no houses nearer than St. Giles Pound; and the neighbouring dairies afforded, in abundance, the materials for syllabubs, custards, and checsecakes. These were some of the staple commodities of its entertainment. Close at hand, reaching nearly up to it, was Marylebone Park, the site now occupied by Regent's Park, but somewhat larger, and a pathway led across the fields to St. Pancras Church, three-quarters of a mile distant. By the play, we learn that, the park was convenient for flirtations, the parson convenient for the unavoidable consequences, and Tottenham Court for the banquet. It ends, indeed, by "Why then to Pancrace each with his loved consort, and make it holiday at Totenham Court." Those who would, the vicar might marry at the Court, those who would be more precise could walk across the fields to the church.

Seventy years later we find an apt analogy in the adjoining parish of Hampstead, as appears in the following advertisement :

"Sion Chapel, Hampstead, being a private and pleasure place, many persons of the best fashion have lately been married there. Now, as a minister is obliged constantly to attend, this is to give notice, that all persons, upon bringing a licence, and who shall have their wedding dinner in the gardens, may be married in the said chapel without giving any fee or rewards whatsoever, and such as do not keep their wedding dinner at the gardens, only 5s. will be demanded of them for all fees."\* On the subject of irregular or clandestine marriages I must again speak of in another place; it may be well, therefore, here to give an outline of the history of our marriage law and custom, otherwise very erroneous conclusions may be arrived at from the foregoing. Previous to the Council of Trent (sixteenth century) marriage, all over Europe, was a civil obligation, no ecclesiastical sanction being essential. Of this we have, in the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, a most atrocious illustration, not redounding to the credit of that great artist, great braggart, and great scoundrel. The Council decrees that marriage is a sacrament, and whoever says it is not, and that it does not confer grace, "let him be accursed." After that, no one within the pale of Roman Catholic communion could marry without the priest and two witnesses. But previously to the pontificate of Pope Innocent III. in 1198, these matters were conducted in the most simple and patriarchal fashion. The man took the woman, with consent, led her from her own to his house, and it was indissoluble marriage. The words "sponsus," "sponsa," "spouse," meant no more than that each had given the response or answer to each other. Before this time no marriage was solemnized in the churches. Banns were first directed to be published in 1200, and in 1347 we find clandestine marriages, as it were, a natural protest against any restriction on the right of the individual. For they are thus spoken of in the Constitution of William la Zouch: "Some contriving unlawful marriages, and affecting the dark, lest their deeds should be reprov'd, procure every day in a damnable manner marriages to be celebrated, without publication of banns duly and lawfully made, by means of chaplains that have no regard to the fear of God

\* Vide Park's *History of Hampstead*, p. 235.

and the prohibition of the laws." Clandestine marriages, however, continued thence down to our own times. England did not acknowledge the Council of Trent; so, irregular as these unions might be in ceremony, they could not be undone, the law of the land recognised them, and the parties were amenable only to ecclesiastical censure.\* But we will now return to the lonely church of St. Pancras, whose churchyard, in the eighteenth century, had become a favourite place for the interment of Roman Catholics, it is said on account of masses being performed in the south of France, at a church dedicated to the same saint, for the repose of souls therein.

In 1765 there was established, on the north side of the church, a large house, with drinking rooms and gardens, in consequence of the discovery of a mineral spring, and the place became known as St. Pancras Wells. There was a rage for these spas in the eighteenth century, and numbers of them were opened around London, and drinking mineral waters for health's sake soon became one of the established modes, to use a modern advertising phrase, "of spending a happy day." The course observed was, to rise early, drink the waters, then walk about and listen to dulcet music, with songs, often in praise of the wells or springs. It must have been somewhat "tragical mirth" for people to swallow a fluid akin to Glauber's salts, then to walk about and try and make merry; yet, this was what you were enjoined to do, if you would seek health.

One Dr. Soames, who died in 1738, inveighed against the evils of tea-drinking, prophesying, as a consequence, that the next generation may be in stature more like pigmies than men and women, but he specially advised mineral waters. "An hour after you have done drinking," says he, "you may divert yourselves with the diversions of the place," but, he adds, which must have been somewhat depressing to the hypochondriac, that "all who expect to reap any benefit from the use of these waters must be of a merry and cheerful disposition."

An old engraving of the last century exhibits this house and gardens. There was an inclosure, planted with trees, in rows, to form walks, and the view gives us the patients of both sexes solemnly walking up and down. On the other side of the church was the Adam and Eve public-house, also with its garden, which must have been a serious rival. Few other buildings occupied any part of this neigh

\* Vide Burn on Fleet Registers, &c., Lond. 8vo. 1833.

bourhood until the end of the eighteenth century, and these became very squalid and dilapidated before the Great Northern Railway began those vast works which have since effaced so much of the primitive character of the place.

The brook flowed towards Battle Bridge by the south side of the road, receiving an affluent rising from some springs by Tottenham Court Road, on the south side of what is now Euston Road, parallel to which it continued as far as Burton Mews, when it turned in a north-easterly direction and fell into the main stream by the Brill, the position of Stukeley's Roman Camp. The road was often overflowed by it, making what was called "St. Pancras Wash," and was often in this state as far as Battle Bridge, now King's Cross. At times, the inundations were attended with danger, and occasioned much loss to the dwellers around. Indeed, here, the stream had less fall; it was at the foot of hills, and moved sluggishly, spreading itself out as it bent round the end of Gray's Inn Road, which was here carried over the bridge which gave name to the locality. Why the prefix "Battle" was given must, I think, be left unanswered, though imaginative antiquaries have found that it was the scene of the conflict between Suetonius and Boadicea, recorded in the pages of Tacitus. One of the most serious of these inundations occurred at the breaking up of a frost in January, 1809, thus related in Nelson's *Islington*: "At this period, when the snow was lying very deep, a rapid thaw came on, and, the arches not affording a sufficient passage for the increased current, the whole space between Pancras, Somers Town, and the bottom of the hill at Pentonville, was in a short time covered with water. The flood rose to the height of three feet in the middle of the highway, the lower rooms of all the houses within that space were completely inundated, and the inhabitants sustained considerable damage in their goods and furniture, which many of them had not time to remove. Two cart-horses were drowned, and for several days persons were obliged to be conveyed to and from their houses, and receive their provisions in at the windows, by means of carts."

Close to Battle Bridge was another mineral spring of great antiquity, for it was one of the Holy Wells, of which there were many in and about London. This was dedicated to St. Chad, and the name is yet perpetuated in Chad Place, but the well and its establishment has been swept away by the Metropolitan Railway Station of King's Cross. There are many springs or wells dedicated to this saint in different

parts of the country. Shadwell, in the east of London, is but a corruption. He lived in the seventh century, and his life is recorded by the Venerable Bede. Educated in the celebrated monastery of Lindisfarne, he became Bishop of Lichfield, and died of the plague in 673. After his death, his body performed miraculous cures: hence the reason of dedicating to him springs supposed to possess medicinal virtues.

St. Chad's Well had a longer life than most of the other mineral springs that once flourished in the vicinity. It never launched out into dissipation; never, under the guise of drinking the waters, tempted you with tea or brandy and water. It was thoroughly respectable: dull, perhaps, not to say sad. The latter days of its existence reminded you painfully that it had seen better days. The house with its large windows looked faded. The gardens were pining away slowly, but surely, under the influence of London smoke, and decay was visible everywhere. Its waters were drunk hot, being heated in a copper, which certainly did not suggest poetical ideas. You paid 6*d.* a glass—not cheap, but perhaps efficacious. You might compound at £1 1*s.* per annum; but it must have required immense enthusiasm for St. Chad to do that, although, for your money, you had the extra privilege of "circulating" in the gardens. A portrait hung in one of the rooms, which has been thus described: "As of a stout comely personage with a ruddy countenance, in a coat or cloak, supposed scarlet, a laced cravat falling down the breast, and a small red night-cap carelessly placed upon the head, conveying the idea that it was painted for the likeness of some opulent butcher who flourished in the reign of Queen Anne." If you made inquiries, you were answered, "I have heard say it is the portrait of St. Chad." If you mildly expressed a doubt, you were snubbed, of course, and told, "This is the opinion of most people who come here."\*

Leaving St. Chad's Well, the brook passed between Gray's Inn and Bagnigge Wells Roads, but soon approached the latter, when it abutted upon the road-side, making another formidable wash, called "Bagnigge Wash." In 1761 it is recorded that, on "Saturday night the waters were so high at 'Black Mary's Hole,' that the inhabitants of Bagnigge Wells and in the neighbourhood suffered greatly. About seven o'clock a coach, with five gentlemen within, and three on the outside, was overturned by the height of the water in the road just by, and with great difficulty escaped being drowned." It sometimes was

\* See Hone's Every Day Book; vol. i. p. 323.

cost of 1,500*l.* which gave the name to Lamb's Conduit Fields. Some remains of this system of water supply yet exist. Near to Brunswick Row, Queen's Square, is the Chimney Conduit and its stream, continuing eastward from the boundary of the parishes of Saint Pancras and that of Saint George's Bloomsbury. Lamb's Conduit gave the name to the street in which it stood, and it seemed to have been the head of the several springs, for one from a northerly direction here joined in as well as one from the south-east. The fall of this course into the main stream was by the hollow near Mount Pleasant. Up to this point we have been in the parish of Saint Pancras. Hence, until its exit into the Thames, the brook divides the metropolis into two parts, by a deep depression that no one can avoid remarking who passes from east to west, notwithstanding the vast changes made of late years by the Metropolitan Railway, and improvements consequent upon bridging the great chasm of Holborn Hill. But, before we follow it, there are several places to which we have arrived which call for a notice.

At the south-east corner of what is now the prison, removed by its enlargement in 1866, stood a public-house, with the sign of Sir John Oldcastle, having been so called from the seventeenth century, and formerly used as a place of public entertainment and resort, having large gardens attached to it. Tradition (but I do not know if fortified by anything better,) has made this house to have been originally the property of that unfortunate knight Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham in right of his wife, and who suffered so cruel a death at St. Giles in 1413 for heresy. The sign is so remarkable, and probably the only inn so distinguished in England, that it lends some probability to the tradition, and, if it is a fact that he held property in the neighbourhood, it would tend to confirm it. Opposite is another house, with the sign of Lord Cobham's Head, and the name is preserved in a row of houses, Cobham Row. A little to the south-east of this was formerly a large pond, called a "ducking pond," which is seen in maps of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. This at once recalls to us an old but barbarous sport, once much in fashion with the citizens. Ben Jonson, in "Every Man in his Humour," speaks of the citizens who go "a-ducking" to Islington Ponds. Davenant also alludes to it, and Charles II. was particularly fond of it. A brief description is all that it is worth, for it is now happily obsolete.

A large pond was provided, and the sport consisted in hunting a duck with dogs, the duck diving when the dogs came close, to elude

capture. Another mode was to tie an owl upon the duck's back : the duck dives to escape the burden, when, on rising for air, the wretched half-drowned owl shakes itself, and, hooting, frightens the duck ; she of course dives again and replunges the owl into water. The frequent repetition of this action soon deprived the bird of its sensation, and generally ended in its death, if not in that of the duck also.\*

The "Coldbath," which names the prison and locality, is said to have been the first of its kind in England ; it was opened in 1697 ; and attached to it also is a chalybeate spring. Mr. Baynes, previously mentioned, established it and managed it at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as a cure for rheumatism and nervous diseases. The establishment still exists, and has therefore outlived all its competitors. Baynes Row preserves the name of its founder.

The course of the brook now lies through a maze of yards, until it reappears at the bottom of Little Warner Street ; crossing Ray Street at Back Hill, it pursues its way towards Clerkenwell Green. No part of London is more singularly marked in its physical geography than this, to which of old the name of "Hockley in the Hole" was given. This must make us pause once more, for here we have another reminiscence of the past, which bears us back to the amusements of our ancestors.

"Hockley in the Hole" derives at least one part of its designation from the hole or hollow formed by the brook at this place. Its traditions are those of the amphitheatre, viz. bear and bull baiting and gladiatorial combats. Bear-baiting, an old sport, once in favour with kings and princes, and, in the sixteenth century, attended by ladies, patronised by Elizabeth, and also by her sister Mary, as well as by the aristocracy and people in general, was sometimes so madly followed as, like modern horse-racing, to bring ruin on its votaries. Among these latter, who would expect to have found the kind old schoolmaster, Roger Ascham ? The Revolution came, and, with it, proscription of bear-baiting, but, unfortunately, things innocent, genial sports, and equally the drama with its noble teachings. So, when the Restoration came, who can wonder riot, in all forbidden things, came back also, and thus again came bear-baiting. Nevertheless, it had had its prestige taken away, and henceforth it was to decline, and be, at best, the recreation of the low and brutal. Here it was that an amphitheatre was erected

\* See Strutt's Sports and Pastimes of the People of England.

in the seventeenth century, and bear and bull baiting, with prize combats of masters of fence, took place.\* In the early part of the eighteenth century many allusions to it occur in the papers of the day, and *Gay*, in the *Beggars' Opera*, mentions it as a place in which to learn valour. I shall give you an advertisement of the reign of Queen Anne, which will be quite sufficient to show the character of the amusements here provided :

"At the BEAR GARDEN, in Hockley in the Hole, near Clerkenwell Green, this present Monday, there is a match to be fought by two dogs of Smithfield Bars against two dogs of Hampstead, at the Reading Bull, for one guinea, to be spent; five let goes out of hand; which goes farthest and fairest in wins all. The famous bull of fire-works, which pleased the gentry to admiration. Likewise there are two bear-dogs, which jumps highest for ten shillings, to be spent. Also variety of bull-baiting and bear-baiting, it being a day of general sport by all the old gamesters; and a bull-dog to be drawn up with fire-works. Beginning at 3 o'clock."

But, we will now pass on to something to the citizens' greater honour. We have arrived at the boundary of London of the Commonwealth, and stand in front of the fortified lines made by order of Parliament in 1643, when the dashing Rupert had menaced the environs with his squadrons, and an attack on the city by the King's forces seemed imminent. The ordinance was read in the churches of London, Sunday, April 30, and, on the Wednesday following, says the "Diurnall," "many thousands of men and women (good housekeepers), their children, and servants, went out of the several parishes of London with spades, shovels, pickaxes, and baskets, and drums and colours before them, some of the chief men of every parish marching before them, and so went into the fields, and worked hard all day in digging and making of trenches, from fort to fort, wherebie to intrench the citie round from one end to the other, on this side of the Thames, and late at night the company came back in like manner they went out, and the next day a many more went, and so they continued daily, with such cheerfulness that the whole will be finished ere many dayes," &c. Again, on Monday, May 8, with them went a great company of the Common Council, and divers other chief men of the city, with the

\* This spot is marked by a public-house, which must have been close by its side. It rejoices in the sign of the "Pickled Egg," and claims a pedigree to 1663.

greater part of the Trained Bands, with their captains, officers, and cutlers before them, to assist the works, &c. On the following day the good example of the Trained Bands gave such encouragement that many substantial citizens, their wives and families, went to digge. All the porters in and about the city, to the number of 2,000, went together, in their white frocks. Then, Monday, 5 June, went the tailors of the city, to the number of 5,000 or 6,000, and afterwards the patriotic cobblers performed the same duty.

An instance of the value of keeping the old names of streets, or, at least, not lightly altering them, reminds one of the above facts, for I shall show you that Laystall Street, curiously enough, points out the exact situation of the fort which was erected to command Gray's Inn Road. The term "laystall," now nearly obsolete, is applied to heaps of dust and refuse. And here, outside the north of the city, the dust-heaps had for a long time been used to be accumulated, as we shall see by a reference to Ogilby's map, being shifted further and further as the town extended itself. In the King's Library, British Museum, is preserved a map of the fortifications, by Cromwell Mortimer, with MS. additions, made about 1743, when traces of the lines were still visible in many places, and the fort, here called a breastwork, is noted as being then covered by a "laystall." The spot is very remarkable; Mount Pleasant, on its side, leads up to it like a natural scarp, and the hill itself yet preserves an older name, "Tot-hill,"\* the elements of which are of frequent occurrence around London, and which has often exercised the ability of etymologists, but into which subject I here refrain upon entering.

After the stream leaves Hockley in the Hole, it turns towards Clerkenwell Green, following the course of Farringdon Road with few bendings to Holborn Bridge, by Farringdon Street and Bridge Street to the Thames at Blackfriars. The banks are mainly steep on both sides, and in some points must, in early times, have almost given the appearance of a ravine. After it passes Fleet Street and nears its outfall, the sides fall gradually, until it enters the Thames, where, on the western side, we have low-lying ground, which must originally

\* The meaning of this word is not however doubtful. In a vocabulary of the fifteenth century, edited by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. and privately printed 1857, "Hec Specula" is Englished "a totyng hylle." In Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary "*Totehill*" is given from the Cheshire dialect to an "eminence." To "Tote" means to look out, to spy, or to "tont," as we now use the word.

have been a marshy delta; it is now called Whitefriars, from the monastery which formerly stood by.

But our way is full of interest—and, first, on the eastern side, we come upon the grounds of the Convent of St. Mary, then, separated only by Clerkenwell Green, the spacious establishment of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. Now, both these monastic houses had their gardens, orchards, and meadows sloping down to the brook, and, near at hand, their fish-ponds and water-mills. Documents are extant interesting to us as declaring these facts, and also as giving us a positive proof, that the true name of this stream is "Holebourne," and that the etymology "Oldbourne" of John Stowe, and the brook, also, which he makes to run down the present Holborn Street, is nothing more than imaginative. It is time this was definitely settled, when we find one modern writer accusing us of a "cockneyism" for spelling the name with an "H." In the ancient Cartulary\* to which I am referring we find meadows described as lying by the "Holebourne" (*juxta* Holeburne); again, on the bank of the "Holeburne" (*in ripam*); and a ditch which supplied the water for the Nuns' Mill is said to be from the "Holeburne;" so that, it is beyond all question, that this is the oldest and the true name of this brook. In one of these documents, there is an early mention of the Skinners' Well, described as in "a vale with the great fish-pond;" and not far distant is another well, not mentioned by Stowe, called "Gode Well."† These springs were clearly upon the slope or bank of the stream. I shall have occasion again to allude to the former.

It may seem strange now to say, when the "vale" described in these deeds is all but filled up by the vast works that have so altered the face of this part of London, when, for centuries, the gardens and orchards have disappeared, that still there are existing memorials of the past. Yet this is true. Turnmill Street reminds us of the water-mills. Pear-tree Court, perhaps, derived its name from a venerable relic of monastic horticulture: and Vine-yard Gardens seem to declare to us an attempt to cultivate the vine. But, indeed, the culture of the vine is associated with the earliest record in which the name "Holeburn" occurs, viz. Domesday Book; for here a vine-yard is spoken of

\* Vide *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

† Stow speaks of Todwell, which may be the same, for if he took his authority from MSS. the T and G would be easily confounded. On the other hand there is "Goswell," which might easily be corrupted of "Godewell," or God's-well.

as being at Holeburn (*ad* Holeburn). Vine Street, on the western bank, seems to preserve a memory of it. No place could possibly be more favourable: for this street was almost a precipitous slope until recent changes, and its aspect towards the south-east is that of some of the best vineyards.

But we cannot pass from the eastern bank without speaking of the well, or spring, that gave name to the locality from very early times, I mean the Clerks' Well. Of many mentioned by Stowe, in this neighbourhood, the Skinners' Well and the Clerks' Well have a special importance, being connected with the early history of our drama. They have sometimes been confounded with each other, and it is only the latter whose site can be well identified. The religious plays known under the names of "Mysteries," and "Miracles," grew out of an attempt to supersede secular performances in the early ages of the Church. At one time, they were performed in the church itself, and almost constituted a religious service: but this led to abuses, and it was forbidden to the clergy. It was then sought to be popularised in open spaces. The custom of assembling by a well may possibly have arisen from the occasional performance of religious rites at some holy spring, or these wells being places of resort in the open spaces outside the city; \* and Clerkenwell Green was a piece of common land between the two monastic houses. Now, although the Company of Parish Clerks had a speciality for the performance of these plays, yet we know that sometimes the whole of the guilds or trading Companies of a town took part, and had special subjects ascribed to them. So the "Skinners" in London, like those of Chester, may have acted plays, and by the well which bore their name. In London the parish clerks, being more literate, naturally became more efficient actors; and their performances may have obscured, or altogether have rendered obsolete, the acting by the Trade Companies. There was much in this ecclesiastical drama that resembled the religious art of the Church. It dealt in elements of great simplicity, that were calculated to impress an ignorant multitude. It was full of humour, but the dialogue was certainly secondary to the forcible portraying of certain characters and the dramatic situation. Pilate was always given as having a loud authoritative voice: so, to speak in "Pilate's voice" passed into a proverb. Again, Herod (for the "Massacre of the Innocents" was made a sensational piece) was represented as a half-madman, full of extravagance, to the extreme of ridicule; and the rôle was to strike

\* Clement's Well is spoken of by Fitzstephen as a place of resort.

him down in the midst of his blaspheming vaunt. Sometimes Death appears to carry him off, prefacing his dialogue with a howl; at other, the demons make sport with his soul. In the Chester Mysteries, the author has shown that the dramatic art had in his person made a step in advance; for he makes Herod to have had his only son sacrificed in the general slaughter. The moral could not have been given more forcibly by the greatest master of the craft. In the comedy, strange to say, the demons had a large share. They were often gross, sometimes obscene, but they must have brought down "the house" with storms of applause, when they carried off the alewife who sold bad ale, and had given bad measure; \* especially if, as in the Fairford windows, she resented their want of gallantry in a free use of her nails. The ladies, indeed, come in for satire in many places. For instance, Noah's wife in the Chester Mysteries is very difficult to get into the ark; she wants her gossips to go with her, and at length is forcibly carried in by her son Shem. Then Noah, doubtless bowing low, says, "Welcome wiffe into this bote," at which the irate lady replies, striking him: "Have thou that for thy note." But the "*Massacre of the Innocents*" may be taken as a fair sample of the characteristic treatment of these subjects. And, in the various examples extant, we trace a traditional resemblance to each other, and also to the arts of the Church. For instance, in the Coventry and Chester plays, both, two knights are appointed by Herod to slay the children of Bethlehem. The former names them "Sir Grymbald" and "Sir Lanseler." So, in the sculptures which adorn the west front of the cathedral church of St. Trophime, at Arles, in the south of France, (date early in the twelfth century,) the two knights, habited in long hawberks of chain-mail reaching to their feet, holding their huge swords, already drawn, upon their shoulders, with visages of most truculent ferocity, are proceeding to the work of slaughter. In a very brief and early Latin mystery, the knights do not appear, but we get some stage directions, if one may so call them, which are interesting. This Latin mystery, † however, was of course not for the popular out-door performances, but was rather a service held in the church of some large monastic establishment, as it, indeed, tells us. The opening begins by a procession of the "Innocents clothed in white," and praying to the Lord, saying:

Quàm gloriosum est regnum,  
Emitte Agnum Domine.

\* Chester Mysteries.

† Published by T. Wright, M.A. F.S.A.

Then the Lamb appears, bearing a cross, and goes before them ; they follow, singing as before. Here we have the symbolism of the Church, prefiguring, by the slaughter, the sacrifice of the Lamb of God. But this has marked peculiarities from the popular plays. We have the children crying out after they are slain, calling upon heaven for vengeance, and an angel comforting them. The simplicity of the whole conception may be tested from the fact of "Rachel mourning for her children" being literally interpreted as the act of an individual ; and the directions tell us, "Then Rachel is led in, and two consolers, and, standing amongst the children, weeps, sometimes falling down," &c. In fact, in this mystery, there is very little that is in any way dramatic ; it is rather, as I have said, a religious service dramatically treated.

But we must now turn our attention to the site where these popular plays were performed in London. The Clerks' Well is the only one whose position can be now identified, and is on the north-west edge of Clerkenwell Green. Let us take our stand a little above it, and look westwards, and, even now, when the valley in which the stream ran is almost filled up, we can yet see why this situation was chosen for the performance. The steep and high banks of the brook formed a natural theatre. The stage or scaffold would be erected in the hollow below, with covered seats for distinguished personages, but the large and miscellaneous assemblage of citizens, with their wives and families, would stand or sit upon the grassy slopes, one above the other, and a vast number of spectators could thus see, if they could not hear. The performances of most importance are related to have taken place at the "Skinners' Well:" for instance, one in 1391, before Richard II., his Queen, and many of the nobility, which lasted three days. But in 1409 we have recorded a performance of the whole scheme of the Old and New Testament, as in the Chester and Coventry plays ; and, as it lasted eight days, we can imagine the arrangement to have been similar to that of the Chester Plays, and to have consisted of twenty-four pageants or acts, three being performed on each day. The "Skinners' Well" is mentioned in an ancient deed \* specially as being in the valley (*in valle in qua est Skinners Well*), and, having carefully examined the description, I should place its site north of the Clerks' Well, down in the hollow. If I am right, I can see a reason why this was preferred. The banks here bent round in a half circle, which would not only accommodate a larger number of spectators, but

\* Vide *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

enable them to witness the performances at greater convenience. I must not here arrest you longer, but to express my regret that the record of the site of the Clerks' Well has been removed. I trust that means may be made to remedy this at an early date.

Looking across the brook to the western bank, we have the site of the palace and gardens of the Bishop of Ely, of which but the chapel, dedicated to St. Etheldreda, now remains in Ely Place. Aggas' map gives us the whole plan of house and gardens, which were on the slope towards the brook, admirably situated for the cultivation of strawberries, and we can well realize Richard III. being moved to ask for some of the Bishop when at the Council in the Tower, as related by the chronicler and Shakespeare. The whole situation must, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, have been extremely beautiful, looking down upon the green valley, with the brook in the midst, crossed by a rustic bridge, at Cowbridge Street, now Cow Lane, a little higher up the water mills of the two monasteries, and all along, on the opposite bank, gardens, orchards, and meadows belonging to the same. Add to this the churches and other buildings of these religious houses rising above all, and no place on the outskirts of London could have presented a scene so charming, and so full of picturesque beauty.

Ely House was ceded to Sir Christopher Hatton through a notable mandate from Elizabeth, that need not be here repeated. Subsequently the whole estate was made over to the *Hatton family*, whose name in Hatton Garden and Hatton Wall, &c. gives us a rough boundary to the property. Its hall was much used for public entertainments. Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador to the court of James I. was here feasted, and on that occasion, it is said, was performed the last mystery in this country, entitled "Christ's Passion." But we ought to remember that the modern oratorio is essentially on the same general principles as the old mystery.

Leaving the sixteenth century, a great change comes over the scene just described, and not one for the better. London was increasing fast in spite of Acts of Parliament and Royal Edicts. Notwithstanding fines inflicted, of which many records are preserved, it went on; but by these records we can trace its progress in this very valley. In returns, made in obedience to a precept from the Lord Mayor in July 1597, several names occur of persons who had erected houses in Chick Lane, Cow Lane, and the neighbourhood. Four new tenements are spoken of as having been built at Sempringham House, where Stowe tells

us that the prior of Sempringham had formerly his London lodging, and there appears to have been a gradual absorption going on. It was later before the Hatton property underwent this change; but in the reign of Charles II. the proprietor paid fines, and received pardons for his violation of the statutes. Many houses of this date may still be seen on that side of Field Lane now remaining.

We cannot pursue this subject in detail, but must now bring ourselves down nearer to our own times, when the valley constituted a densely-packed assemblage of buildings, in narrow confined ways. They crowded closely upon the stream; many of their foundations rising, as it were out of it, though now a noisome sewer, black with filth, and pregnant with disease. The villainy of London made it a favourite haunt; and the records of the Newgate Calendar tell us what this once pretty vale had become. A house in Chick Lane (West Street) had a terrible notoriety, and it must serve as an illustration. The house was once known as the Red Lion Inn; and it must have been one of those erected at the end of the sixteenth century. It was a rendezvous of highwaymen in the last century, and had extensive ranges of stabling, attached to some buildings in the rear, which went under the name of Chalk Farm. Its later history connects it with the burglars, footpads, and receivers of stolen goods; indeed, all those who preyed upon society made it an occasional hiding-place. It stood alongside the brook, whose rapid torrent was well adapted to convey away everything that might be evidence of crime. Dark closets, trap-doors, sliding-panels, and intricate passages, rendered it a secure place of concealment. On one occasion, the police had surrounded the house to apprehend a burglar, who was known to be there, but he actually escaped in their presence. Once, a sailor was decoyed there, robbed, and thrown naked out of a window into the stream, and was taken out at Blackfriars Bridge a corpse. Field Lane, which ran out from Holborn, was also a notorious place, chiefly from the reception of stolen goods. It was curious to peep down it, and see pocket-handkerchiefs hanging out from the door, all of which, perhaps, claimed another and more lawful owner. But let us thank ourselves that it has now gone, and proceed upon our way.

We are now at Holborn Bridge (not the viaduct), but that which was made across the brook. Here we are again upon one of London's historical boundaries, for the Great Fire of 1666 did not advance further northwards at this spot.

The bridge itself, reconstructed after the Great Fire, was of red brick, with stone dressings, and, being uncovered some years ago, the date 1669 was found upon it.

Here we, perhaps, must now give up the name of *Holebourn* for that of "Fleet," for it is possible that it may in early times have been influenced by the tide nearly as far as this spot. Indeed, we have this asserted in an early record, which Stowe alludes to, and in which his great error of etymology in the name of the brook is so prominently set forth.

In 1307 Henry Lacy Earl of Lincoln presented a petition setting forth "that the water course under *Holbourne* and *Fleete* bridges used to be wide enough to carry ten or twelve ships up to *Fleet* bridge, laden with various articles and merchandise, and some of them passed under that bridge to *Holbourn* bridge, to cleanse and carry off the filth of the said water course, which now, by the influx of tan yards\* and sundry other matters, troubling the said water, and particularly by the raising of the key and turning off the water, which the inhabitants of the *Middle Temple* had made to their mills without *Castle Baynard*, that the said ships cannot get in as they used and ought to do, &c." In consequence, *Roger le Brabazon*, Constable of the *Tower*, together with the *Lord Mayor* and *Sheriffs*, were enjoined to make inquiry by means of honest and discreet men, &c. The mills were then removed and the nuisance was abated. This process of cleansing the *Fleet* was frequently renewed from time to time, at great cost and trouble. In 1502 it was thoroughly scoured out down to the *Thames*. In 1606, in order to be able to control the waters to the same effect, floodgates were erected upon it, and, after the *Great Fire* of 1666, great improvements took place: it was widened, and made sufficiently deep for barges of considerable burden to go up as far as *Holborn* bridge, where, at the lowest tides, it had five feet of water. But all to little purpose; the silting up continued, and, what was worse, it became an easy receptacle for filth of all kinds, every day an increasing nuisance. An ancient nuisance indeed; since in the *Rolls of Parliament*, 1290, the prior and brethren of the *White Friars* complained that the fetid odour arising therefrom had occasioned the deaths of many brethren, and had interrupted divine offices. In this complaint the *Black Friars* and the *Bishop of Salisbury* also concurred.

\* There were still tan-pits by *Holborn Bridge* when the continuation of *Farringdon Street* was first made.

In 1736, by an Act of Parliament, it was arched over as far as Fleet bridge, and a market opened above it in 1737 (Sept. 30), and in 1764 the rest was treated in the same way as far as the Thames.

But I must not pass a spot on the east bank which possessed some most remarkable physical characters, almost indeed of the nature of a precipice. Before the London Dover and Chatham Railway had made such a sweep of the local peculiarities, a person, passing from the Old Bailey through Green Arbour Court, where Goldsmith is said to have once resided, came to a flight of stairs, which appropriately received the name of "Break-neck Stairs," being excessively steep, leading down to the level of the Fleet bank. It was obviously artificial, for there was nothing in the character of the soil that differed from its surroundings which would account for a natural cliff. Many years ago Mr. Roach Smith wrote to me, requesting I would give it a close inspection, he believing it to have been the site of the Roman theatre. I did so, and became convinced of the extreme plausibility of this theory. London, in Roman times, was of such importance that it would be a very singular exception if it were without a theatre. Granting that such existed, where in its vicinity could there be such a convenient spot? There is literally no other place outside, but near the walls, which fulfils the conditions required so completely as this. Taking advantage, as they always did, of the side of a hill, if possible, in which to excavate the seat, such as is observed at Orange, at Arles, and at Autun, this site had precisely the convenience required. In fact, it is remarkably similar in local peculiarities to that last named.

Why should London be without those accompaniments of the Roman city so continually found in even smaller towns? Why not suppose that the amphitheatre also may have been close at hand, as is usual? There is a large cleared site adjoining, once occupied by the Fleet Prison, of ample dimensions for it. It certainly is an interesting question, incapable indeed now of proof, but so probable that I place it before you, not as my own idea, but as that of our friend, whose acuteness and power of observation led him first to this conclusion.

Some few words before we leave the Fleet Prison. It had a painful history, none more so. If ever there was a place that, had it power, could yield us a story of human misery, it was here. For here, we may say, the law itself was attained. It had a long history, going back to the twelfth century, and was burnt by the rebels under

Wat Tyler, in 1381. Here sighed many a victim of the cruel Star Chamber, and down to our own times even many an unhappy wretch passed away his life for a contempt of the Court of Chancery, from which he had no power to purge himself. As a debtors' prison it became notorious for the exactions, and even the cruel practices, of the wardens, until public indignation vindicated the honour of the law, and the malpractices of the officers came under a Committee of the House of Commons in 1728. Concurrent with this were the clandestine marriages, performed by reprobate parsons, in itself forming a marvellously curious history. Before the Act of Parliament of 1754, scarcely more than a century ago, which made these marriages illegal, touters stood about the prison tempting the passers by thus—"Will you please to be married?" Wives and husbands were occasionally provided when there were particular ends to serve. But this was a small affair compared to forcing marriages upon the unwilling. The papers of the day duly advertised the rascally clergy who profited by this traffic, but I have already shown you that they were not, when performing, fairly, the rite of marriage, acting in despite of the law. Their records have been well digested by Mr. Burn, in his excellent work on the *Fleet Registers*, to which I refer those who wish further to examine this question.

The ancient bridge over the Fleet between Fleet Street and Ludgate, must have been, in Stowe's time, a pretty object. He thus describes it:—

"Fleet bridge, a bridge of stone faire coaped on either side with iron pikes, on y<sup>e</sup> which towards the south be also certain lanthornes of stone for lights to be placed in winter evenings for commodity of travellers. On the coping was a device 'Wels embraced by Angels,' it being repaired at the charges of John Wels in 1431. A foot-bridge also crossed the stream between Blackfriars and Bridewell."

The site of the former, after the dissolution, became a favorite residence for some of the nobility, and it was in the precinct of the Blackfriars that a theatre was erected, in which Shakespeare had a share, and where many of his immortal plays were produced.

Bridewell Palace took its name from the well dedicated to St. Bridget, on the east end of the church of the same name. Edward the Sixth ceded the property to the Mayor and Citizens, and it finally became a House of Correction for disorderly people, and has given its name to all places of like character.

As the great brook, now with accumulated waters poured into the Thames, it must in early ages have passed through a small marshy delta on its western side. This, now known as Whitefriars, from the Carmelite Monastery that once occupied it, became in later times a notorious haunt. Also, it was another locality for the performance of the drama, a theatre being erected in Dorset Gardens, called the Duke's Theatre in 1671.

So, you perceive, by a singular coincidence of circumstances, one could really write the history of our drama, of our popular sports and amusements, and much that has influenced our thought and habits, by illustrations taken along the course of this stream. And, although I fear I have occupied too much of your time, I feel that, so wide is the subject, I have been compelled to leave out many details of interest which would have rendered my account more complete.

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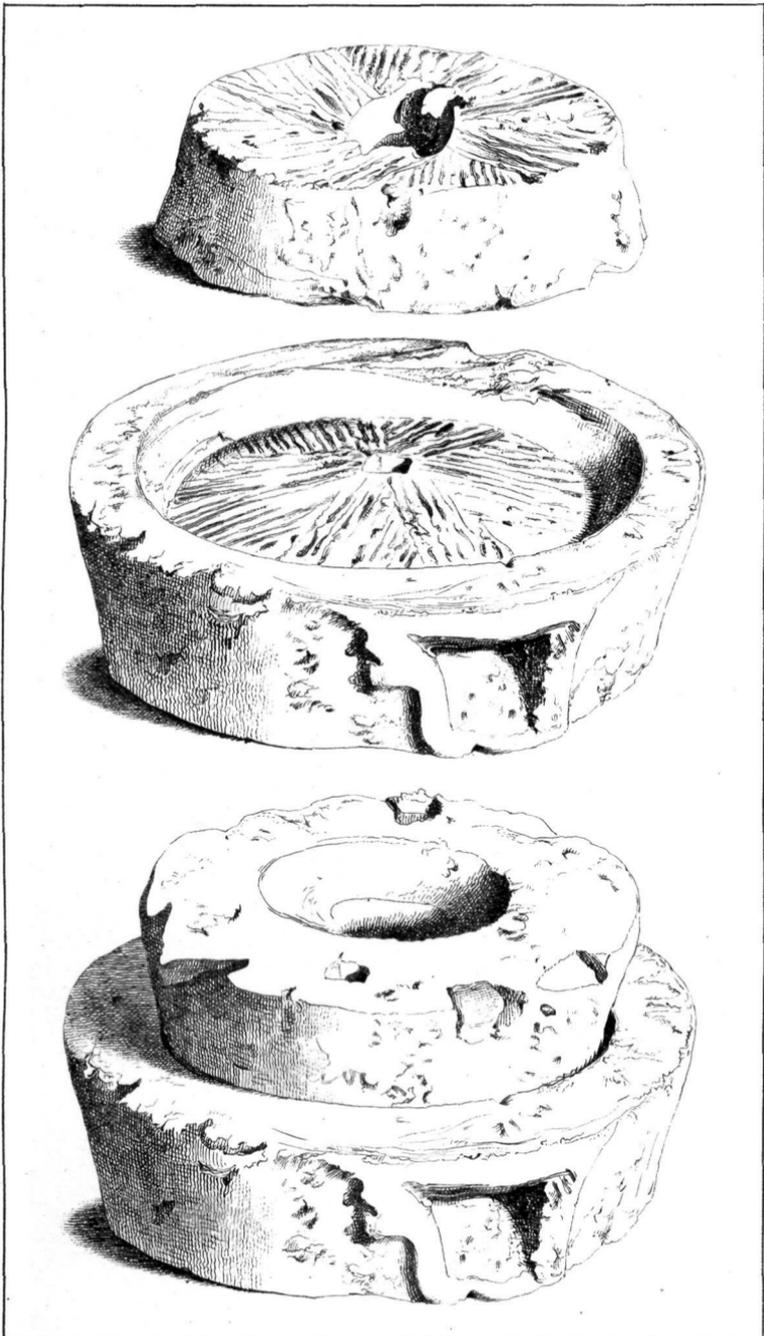
NOTES ON A ROMAN QUERN DISCOVERED IN  
ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND.

By JOHN EDWARD PRICE, Hon. Sec.

A Collection of Roman and Medieval Antiquities discovered in the excavations for the new Post Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand, was exhibited at a meeting of the Society by the kind permission of the First Commissioner of Works. It comprised a large quantity of Samian and Early-English Pottery, together with coins, glass, and other objects, recovered from depths varying from 10 to 20 feet from the surface level. A section of the excavations is shewn by the annexed woodcut. It has been copied from a diagram prepared by Mr. John Gould, clerk of the works, and exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries of London, to whom I am indebted for the loan of the illustration.\* The line marked by black earth and ashes indicates what may be considered as the ground level at the time of the Great Fire.

Amongst the objects found was an example of the ancient Quern or hand-mill, in unusually good preservation. It calls for especial notice, being one of the most perfect specimens yet met with in London excavations, only isolated stones or fragments being generally found. Both stones are perfect, and are formed from lava plentiful in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, where the material is quarried for the fabrication of mill-stones to the present time. In the annexed plate, carefully prepared by Mr. J. P. Emslie, it will be observed that the lower stone, which is about 16 inches in diameter, has a slightly convex surface, and has been hollowed to receive the upper one. The surface shows the usual arrangement of channels found in mill-stones. These also appear on the concave portion of the upper stone. In this there is a central aperture or hopper for the reception of the corn or other farinaceous substance, and in the lower is an outlet in the rim. The thickness of the lower stone, inclusive of the rim, is about 4 inches. In the centre is a square hole, which, from the quantity of rust contained within, marks the remains of an iron pivot which was fitted into a bridge let in the under surface of the upper stone. The

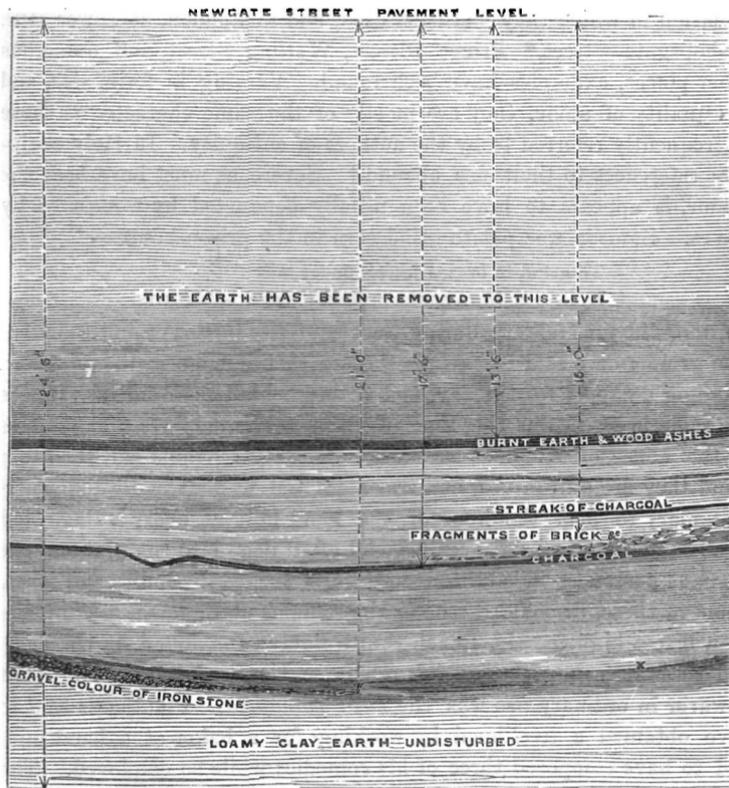
\* See Proc. Soc. Antiquaries of London, Series iv. No. 8, p. 467.



J. P. EMBLIE, DEL.

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ROMAN QUERN  
DISCOVERED IN ST MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND.



mode of working was evidently by the hand, two apertures which held the handles existing in the upper stone; in one of these remained a quantity of the lead by which the handles had been fastened in position. It was usual for two persons to work such mills. They faced each other; both grasped the handles, while the one with the disengaged right hand threw the corn into the hole in the upper stone. From the position in which this quern was discovered, and its association with quantities of the red pottery, glass, coins, &c. it must be viewed as a relic of the Roman household. In discoveries made on Roman sites and stations in this country such hand mills are among the most frequent of the objects found. At the Northern stations Dr. Bruce describes them as most plentiful. At Isurium (Aldborough in Yorkshire), in one of the houses excavated, they were found in the

situation in which they had been used, and in London, at Tower Hill, Bishopsgate Street,\* Prince's Street, Watling Street, and numerous other places, examples have been found. Varying in form, size, and the quality of stone, they are mostly of the same character as those so frequently referred to by the authors of antiquity. In Holy Scripture references to their use abound.† Severe as must have been the labour, it appears to have been usually conducted by women or by slaves. Samson was put to grind corn in the prison-house—

To grind in brazen fetters under task  
 Eyeless at Gaza at the mill with slaves.—MILTON.

So, too, did the Hebrews during their captivity in Egypt and Babylon. The grinders are said to have performed their labour in the morning, grinding a supply for the day, and sitting behind their mills. It was the same in Greece in the time of Homer, who employs fifty females in the house of Alcinous in this service.‡ In Arabia and the Holy Land they are still in use, and travellers tell us that in Philistia it is customary to hear the hum of the hand-mill at every village and Arab camp morning and evening, and often deep into the night. The Romans possessed in addition corn mills turned by mules and asses. Some of these, discovered among the remains at Pompeii, are not less than 6 feet high.§ Mr. Roach Smith figures one found at Orleans,|| and such may be seen on bas-reliefs and other monuments. That however in ordinary use was the *mola manuaris*. Plautus is said to have obtained a livelihood by working for a baker at a hand-mill, and to have composed three of his comedies while so employed. The custom of parching the grain before grinding, which has extended into later times, is mentioned by Virgil in the Georgics, book i. 267.

Nunc torrete igni frangite saxo.

Querns are often met with in this country formed from conglomerate

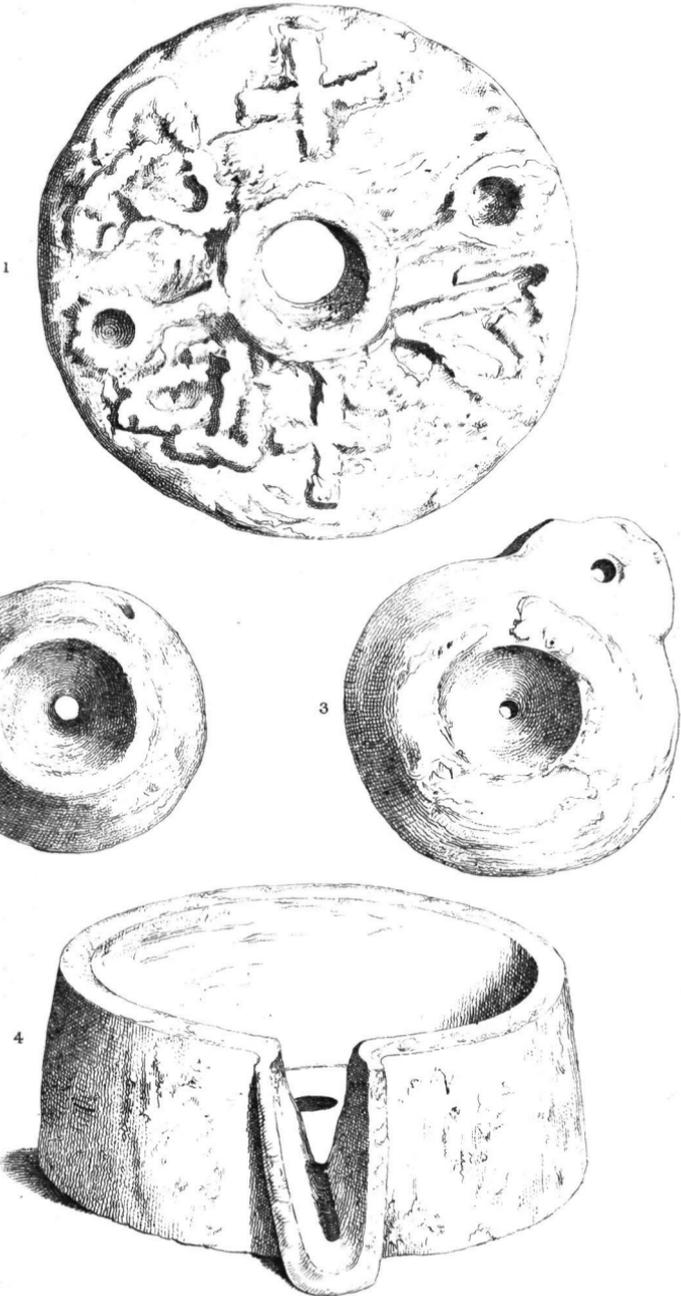
\* There are specimens from this locality preserved in the Museum of Antiquities at Guildhall. They are of volcanic stone, flat, very thin in substance, and resemble two stones in the British Museum, which were found together near the river Breamish, and adjacent to an ancient hill-fort at Prendwick among the Cheviot hills; of this type there is a small one about 8 inches in diameter which was found at Colchester, and the top stone of a quern discovered at Dumno, near St. Andrews, Scotland. This is flat, of schistose stone, and a good deal worn away at the edge.

† Matthew, xxiv. 41; Judges, xvi. 21; Lamentations, v. 13; Exodus, xi. 5; Isaiah, xlvi. 2; Revelations, xviii. 22.

‡ Dyer's Pompeii, p. 357.

§ Dyer's Pompeii, p. 356.

|| Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iv. p. 26.



J. P. EMMSIE, DEL.

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ANCIENT QUERNS  
IN THE MUSEUM OF JOHN WALKER BAILY, ESQ.

and other native stones. Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A., has kindly directed my attention to examples which may be seen in the British Museum; among them are some of the conical or sugar-loaf type, formed from the conglomerate known as the Hertfordshire "pudding-stone." There is a specimen found while ploughing in a field in the neighbourhood of Ipswich, and others from Cambridgeshire, in which county they may be sometimes seen built into old walls. Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A., records the discovery of similar millstones at Springhead, Kent, and formed from the same conglomerate. Sometimes the upper and lower stone were of different material, but in the specimen we have illustrated they are similar. The lower stone was often of a harder and more compact material than the upper one, which was porous, lighter, and consequently easy to turn. This was observed by Dr. Thomson in his travels in the Holy Land,\* and he cites the fact as illustrative of the passage in Job—"Hard as the nether millstone." In his *Mediterranean Sketches*, 1834, the Earl of Ellesmere quotes the passage in Judges ix. 53, which records the death of Abimelech by a portion of a millstone thrown upon his head. And he remarks that some commentators render this as the upper stone of a handmill, observing that no better missile could be devised than the entire stone. Such a stone also would not only serve as a sufficient weight to drown the swimmer, but might be easily attached to his neck for that purpose. In a Dutch illustrated Bible, continues his Lordship, the woman is represented as heaving a millstone of some ten feet diameter at the head of Abimelech.†

A curious quern was discovered some years since on a conical hill called the Biggin near the Watling Street, some three miles from Rugby. An engraving and description is given in the fifth volume of the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*. The aperture for working the handle was at the side, and, though the surface of the lower stone was slightly convex and raised at the margin, it differed from our London specimen in the aperture for the spindle in the lower stone being but an inch in diameter, in this was a wooden plug, with which the stones were kept in place. And, writes Mr. Moultrie, "the spindle only partially filling the cavity in the upper stone, the grain fell gradually through the

\* *The Land and the Book*, p. 528.

† See Willis's *Current Notes*, x. 3, January 1852, p. 60.

passage from the small bason above, and was thrown out in flour at the sides." A quern of this form is also preserved in Mr. Bateman's museum, and illustrated in his *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 127.

Among the Saxon laws of Ethelbert there is one relating to the grinding of corn by female domestics; and in later times various expedients for turning the mills appear to have been in use. In the fourteenth century one of a novel character was adopted. To the ceiling of the room immediately over the quern was affixed a piece of iron having a hole in it. Near the edge of the upper mill-stone was another hole. In these holes was placed a staff, by which a female seated beside the apparatus revolved the mill, the iron ring in the ceiling retaining the staff in a vertical position.\* Wycliffe renders the old version reference in St. Matthew's Gospel as "Two wymmen schulen be grinding in one querne;" and Harison the historian speaks of his wife grinding her malt upon a quern.† Until quite recently they were in use among the peasantry in the outlying districts of Scotland and Northumberland. In his *Tour to the Hebrides*, Boswell records—"We stopped at a little hut where we saw an old woman grinding corn with the quern, an ancient Highland instrument which it is said was used by the Romans, but which being very slow in its operation is almost entirely gone into disuse." He also mentions water-mills in Skye and Raasay, but says, "when they are too far distant the housewives grind their oats with a quern or handmill, which consists of two stones, about a foot and a-half in diameter, the lower is a little convex, to which the concavity of the upper must be fitted." In France they are said to be still in use. Mr. Smith figures one in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, which he observed at Abbeville. It was fixed in a stand, and turned by means of an iron handle, as previously described. Among the Irish peasantry they are still employed. In the Catalogue

\* See *Die Burg Tannenburg und Ihre Ausgrabungen*, Bearbites von Dr. J. Von Hefner and Dr. J. W. Wolf. Frankfort an Main, 1850. *Arch. Institute Journal*, vol. vii. p. 404.

† In the appraisement of the goods and chattels of Stephen le Northerne, among the articles mentioned are two "quernestones," 18*d.* and one pair of "musterd quernes," 6*d.* 30 Edw. III. A.D. 1356. Riley's *Memorials of London Life in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries*, p. 283. Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A., informs me that in Denmark querns are used for grinding mustard to the present day.

of Antiquities belonging to the Royal Irish Academy, by Mr. Wilde, several curious specimens are figured, and the author remarks that the museum possesses no less than 35 specimens (more or less perfect) of these primitive objects. He observes also that their antiquity is very great, and that amongst the causes of their discontinuance are certain prohibitions against them in some localities in Ireland as well as Scotland, in which latter country laws have been long in force which make the peasantry grind the corn at the proprietor's water-mill. During the famine in Ireland many of the hand-mills were employed, particularly in hilly districts, or where the water-mills were inaccessible. Mr. Wilde mentions that in the summer of 1853 he purchased a quern at work in the neighbourhood of Clifden, Connemara. In a paper on the subject of Irish querns, the Rev. J. Graves, Secretary to the Kilkenny Archæological Society, remarks that the diameter of those in use varies from 3 feet 6 inches to 2 feet, and some few are even smaller, and that the principle of working is the same as that adopted in ancient times. One handle only seems to be employed, and that worked by two women, who, seated on the ground, seize the handle and dexterously push round the runner stone from one to the other; the stone thus acquires considerable velocity, receiving a fresh momentum as the handle passes each grinder, and as the work proceeds the mill is continually fed by handfuls of corn, the meal passing out by a notch cut in the rim of the nether stone.\* "One quern (says Mr. Graves,) serves for several families; and, although the owner may chance to be in the poorest circumstances, yet no charge is ever made for the use of the machine, such a procedure being counted unlucky." It is difficult to determine the age of many querns now in actual use, inasmuch as they have been handed down for many generations from mother to daughter. Ill fortune is believed to ensue when the quern is sold; the *Beau-tighe*, or "woman of the house, is extremely reluctant to part with this heir-loom, even though offered for it much more than the intrinsic value." May not these customs be relics of the old Jewish law, which says "No man shall take the nether or upper millstone to pledge"? †

For the purpose of comparison we have illustrated on the second plate four interesting specimens of ancient querns, also exhibited; they

\* See Arch. Institute Journal, vol. viii. p. 394. Also the modern Irish Quern presented by the Archæological Institute to the British Museum.

† Deut. xxiv. v. 6.

are preserved in the valuable collection of John Walker Baily, esq. and are typical of the other forms usually found. Fig. 1 is from the Island of Rathlin off the Irish coast; it is of a hard conglomerate, the upper side appearing to be somewhat softer than the under, which resembles what is termed "plum-pudding" stone. It measures 18 inches in diameter, is 4 inches thick in the centre, slanting off to a width of 3 inches at the side, and has an aperture or grain-hole in the centre of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. There are two handle-holes, and on either side of these are rude decorated carvings of the cross and interlacing knots. It bears some resemblance to an example in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, which is of the same diameter, but less in thickness, and is ornamented with the old Irish cross contained within a circle, the hole for the handle being placed in one of the arms of the cross. It is composed of sandstone; the ornamentation is in high relief; and it is considered to have been a church quern. "It was found in a crannoge in Roughan Lake near Dungannon, county of Tyrone."

Fig. 2 is of the conical or sugar-loaf form, also from the north of Ireland, formed from a hard sharp-cutting stone. It is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, 6 inches in diameter at the top, and 12 inches across at the base, and much resembles in form and size an example, 33 pounds in weight, which was found in position on the nether stone some years since upon a bed of gravel at Garthorpe in Leicestershire.\* It is also similar to a perfect specimen in the British Museum which was found at Iwerne Courtenay, Dorset, and presented to the Collection by the Rev. Frederick Bliss.

Fig. 4 is likewise from Ireland. It is the top stone of a quern measuring 12 inches in diameter, with a projection from its circumference of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches where the handle-hole is placed. It is 6 inches high. The grain-hole is deeply excavated.

Fig. 5 is of late date, but an interesting specimen of a "nether stone." It was found in the course of excavations in Whitecross Street, London; it is of Purbeck stone. Its form is best described by the illustration, which well indicates the side-lip or outlet and the central orifice for the spindle. It measures  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter, and has a thickness of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch.

\* See Gentleman's Magazine, 1815, p. 209.

REMARKS ON THE MERCERS  
AND OTHER TRADING COMPANIES OF LONDON,  
FOLLOWED BY SOME ACCOUNT OF  
THE RECORDS OF THE MERCERS' COMPANY.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A., V.P.

[Read at Mercers' Hall, April 21, 1869.]

WE are now assembled under the roof of one of the oldest of the City companies—indeed of that one which has always taken the precedence of the rest, and may with probability be regarded as the most ancient of all. In the history of these associations it is commonly found that there are three stages; the first that of voluntary membership, the next that regulated by the general authority of the City, and the last that of self-government sanctioned by royal charters of incorporation; and such were certainly the successive gradations in the present instance.

These commercial fraternities were not necessarily confined to one trade. In the smaller towns they more frequently consisted of several associated trades: which is shown by Chaucer telling us that among his companions as pilgrims to Canterbury

An Haburdassher and a Carpenter,  
A Webbe, a Dyer, and a Tapiser  
Were with us eke, clothed in oo (*i.e.* one) livery  
Of a solempne and great Fraternity;

and this continued to be the practice until a comparatively recent date.\*

In London, on the other hand, probably from the multitude of their members, the trade companies were, like teeming hives, continually throwing off swarms, which set up for themselves. In this way the

\* At Gateshead several heterogeneous trades were incorporated together as late as the several years 1557, 1594, 1602, 1671, and 1676. See a paper by W. H. Dyer Longstaffe, esq. F.S.A. in the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1862; also The Herald and Genealogist, i. 128.

Apothecaries originated from the Grocers, and the Haberdashers from the Mercers; and the Haberdashers themselves became divided into two bodies, the fraternity of St. Katharine the Virgin, and that of St. Nicholas, the one being haberdashers of Hats (otherwise called Hurrers and Cappers) and the other the Haberdashers of small wares. In like manner we find there were distinct companies of the artificers in crafts which would seem to be so akin as to be almost one. There were both Carpenters and Joiners, both Masons and Marblers, both Blacksmiths and Farriers, both Bowyers and Fletchers (the latter the makers of arrows), both Tallow Chandlers and Wax Chandlers: at one time two companies of Fishmongers, the dealers in fresh or in salt fish; and two of Bakers, the Brown Bakers and the White Bakers.

By the designation Mercer has been usually understood in modern times a dealer in silk, but that is really an abbreviation of the more distinctive description of silk-mercier.\* A mercier in the earlier sense of the word was a general trader or dealer. The term is derived from *merces*, the plural of *merx*, a word in classical Latin signifying any kind of ware or merchandize, anything in short that was brought to market. We are here in the midst of that part of London which was the heart of its ancient traffic. Here was the Chepe, the old English name for market, but the market-men of each class had their peculiar localities. Many of the neighbouring streets still bear record of their special occupation in ancient times. Near at hand is the Poultry. At the other end of the Cheap was Old Fish Street, and adjoining to it the Friday market, particularly devoted to the food for fast-days, the name of which is preserved in Friday Street. The butchers were principally also at the west end of the Cheap, not very far from the spot which they have only just now quitted (I mean Newgate Market);

\* From the control with which the Mercers were entrusted especially over silk (which will be described hereafter), their business came to be chiefly directed to that commodity. In the middle of the last century the Mercier is humorously described as "the twin-brother of the Draper; only the woollen-draper deals chiefly with the men, and is the graver animal of the two, and the Mercier traffics most with the ladies; the latter dealing in silks, velvets, brocades, and an innumerable train of expensive articles for the ornament of the fair sex. Their business requires a great capital to make a figure." Campbell's *London Tradesman*, 1757. But, as with many other companies, that of the Mercers during the last century ceased to have any connection with the trade from which it derived its name.

for a church at the west end of Cheap was called St. Nicholas by the Shambles. Bread Street and Milk Street are still remaining, marking the places at which those necessary articles of provision were vended; so is Honey Lane, and honey, it will be remembered, was almost as necessary as milk, whilst sugar was as yet only a luxury. On the north side of the Cheap—Cheapside as the name at length became, the Goldsmiths had their line of shops called Goldsmiths' Row, and made their splendid and attractive display in view of the worshippers proceeding to the cathedral church, just as such a row has existed down to our own day near Notre Dame at Paris and in the approaches to other great continental churches. Then, in the immediate neighbourhood of this hall was the Mercery, a locality occupied by the general dealers in small wares, residing for the most part in the parishes of St. Katharine Coleman and St. Mary le Bow.

Stowe, in his *Survey*, gives this very remarkable description of the south side of Cheap ward, that from the Great Conduit westward were many fair and large houses, for the most part possessed by Mercers, up to the corner of Cordwainer Street, corruptly called Bow Lane; "which houses (he adds) in former times were but sheds or shops with solars over them,\* as of late one of them remained at Sopers Lane end,† wherein a woman sold seeds, roots, and herbs; but those sheds or shops, by encroachments on the high street, are now largely builded on both sides outward, and also upward, some three, four, or five stories high."

The Mercery, then, was the mart for miscellaneous articles, chiefly it may be presumed of dress, and the Mercers were those who retailed them. Some of my hearers will perhaps be ready to tell me that they have read that the Mercers were the same as we now understand by merchants, and I am prepared to agree that many of the most enterprising of them were so. But the same may be said of the leading members of the other great Companies. Just so, the Haberdashers were certainly foreign merchants, as their shield of arms still testifies, for it is the only one belonging to the great companies that resembles

\* A solar is merely an upper chamber. In Herbert's *City Companies* the word in this passage is very mistakenly altered to terraces. Even until our own days two such shallow and low houses have remained, on the north side of Cheapside, being in the front of the churchyard of St. Peter, which stood at the corner of Wood Street.

† Soper Lane is now Queen Street, and the approach to Southwark Bridge. Here would reside the traders in soap.

in its devices those which were borne by the Merchant Adventurers and other companies engaged in foreign traffic; and yet, in an inverse direction, we have come to regard the Haberdasher as a dealer in small wares. But in ancient days an ordinary Mercer was the retail dealer in merchandise—merchandise brought, of course, in part from foreign countries; for that such was the original and proper sense of the term we may gather from passages of Pliny, who uses the phrase *invehere mercēs peregrinas*, and writes of importing *Arabia et India mercēs*, the merchandise of Arabia and India.

But that the great body of tradesmen in the Mercery of London were retailers we gather further from the name of another fraternity, the Grocers, who, after having been at first called Pepperers, acquired the name of Grocers from dealing in the gross, or by wholesale as we now term it. They are designated as the community of the *mysterie* (i.e. *mestiere*, or trade) of the Grocerie in the charter granted to them by King Henry VI.; and it was in character with their function that the management of the King's beam and the general superintendence of the public weighing of merchandise was entrusted to them. The Grocers must for a time have eclipsed the Mercers, as in the reign of Richard II. in the year 1383 there were no fewer than sixteen aldermen at once on their muster-roll, and only three years later we read of the jealousy of the Mercers when Sir Nicholas Brembre, an eminent Grocer, was elected mayor for the second time.

To return to the earlier days of the Mercers. The commercial guilds are known to have existed before the Norman Conquest, and many towns had then one general guild, termed in Latin the *gilda mercatoria*. It appears by no means improbable that the Mercers, who have always been regarded as the foremost Company in London, are actually the successors of this merchants' guild of the days of London's earliest commerce.

The Statute of Merchants enacted in 1285 speaks of the community of the Merchants of London: but whether that implied a distinct fraternity or no may be doubtful. Supposing it to have been so, it might be identical with the Mercers' Company.

At a much later date the Company of Merchant Adventurers, which was incorporated in 1505, undoubtedly originated from the Mercers, as is shown by the acts of court of the Mercers, especially from 1561 to 1563, and the statement of the Merchant Adventurers themselves to the House of Commons' Committee in 1638, when the connection had ceased.

It may confidently be asserted that, in order to develop the progress of English commerce, and that of the City of London in particular, with all its busy doings and inner life, no better course could be pursued than to trace the annals of this important Company. I have recently seen enough of its archives and records to be convinced that the materials are abundant; and, indeed, the ground has been already opened to a considerable extent by the industry of a late learned member,\* who has left the result in manuscript in the hands of the Company. Mr. William Palmer appears to have died without preparing his work for the press, and possibly before he had completed it to his satisfaction; but it is much to be desired that it should be resumed and published by some competent successor, who would thus perform the same service for the Mercers which Mr. Heath has so well performed for the Grocers, and Mr. Nicholl for the Ironmongers; and the more so because the account of the Mercers given by Herbert, in his History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies, is especially bad and confused, and full of glaring errors and misconceptions. I cannot in the space that is now afforded me attempt at all to remedy this defect. The history of the Mercers must be left to other hands; but I shall confine myself to offering some account of the charters of the Company and its other most important records.

The Mercers did not seek for a charter from the Crown until late in the fourteenth century. Their first royal charter is dated on the 17th Jan. 17 Richard II. (1394). Its substance is very brief. The preamble favours the idea that they were then engaged in foreign merchandise, for it states that the King's attention was directed to the circumstance that many men of the mystery of the Mercery of the City of London were frequently by mischance at sea, or by other casual misfortunes, brought to such poverty and destitution that they had little or nothing to live upon but the alms of other Christians pitying and assisting them in the way of charity; wherefore they were desirous to establish some certain provision for the maintenance of such poor, and of one chaplain who should celebrate divine offices for ever for the good estate of the King and the men of the aforesaid mystery: whereupon the King granted them to be a perpetual community of themselves, to elect four "masters" for their government, and

\* William Palmer, esq. of the Inner Temple, barrister-at-law, and Professor of Civil Law in Gresham College, a cousin-german of the present Sir Roundell Palmer. He died in 1858, aged 56.

to purchase (or acquire) lands and tenements to the value of 20*l.* per annum. The expenses of procuring this charter are upon record: a fine of one hundred marks (or 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) was paid into the Hana-per; a fee for affixing the great seal, 8*l.* 10*s.*; legal consultations, 5*l.* 12*s.* 0½*d.*; and the Queen's dues, ten marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*): total, 87*l.* 8*s.* 8½*d.*—a great sum when the common stock of the Company was under 400*l.*

This charter was confirmed in 3 Hen. VI. (1425) at the humble supplication of John Coventry, John Carpenter, and William Grove, the executors of the celebrated Richard Whityngton, citizen and mercer of London: with the additional concessions that the said mystery should have a common seal, and should be persons able in law to implead and be impleaded in any courts whatsoever.

There are other letters patent granted to the mystery of the Mercers, bearing date 20 Rich. II. and 12 Hen. IV. (mentioned by Herbert, in his table of charters to the Twelve Companies, vol. i. p. 225). They relate, as I believe, to the acquisition of estates in mortmain, and are not referred to in the subsequent charters of incorporation,\* which I now proceed to describe.

The confirmation charters were passed, not so much for the benefit of the Company, as for the purpose of augmenting the revenues of the Crown.

Towards the end of the reign of Philip and Mary, writs of Quo Warranto were issued to all the London Companies to compel them to apply for confirmation of their privileges. The charter which was consequently granted to the Mercers is dated on the 15th July, 4 and 6 Phil. and Mar. (1558). It has an unfinished initial, inclosing seated figures of the King and Queen, and bears the autograph signature of Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, then Lord Chancellor, *Nico. ebor. Canc.* The fine paid on this occasion was 5*l.*

Four months only elapsed, and there was a new reign. Again the same measure was adopted, and another charter of confirmation was necessary. It was dated on the 20th June, 2 Eliz. (1559), and its cost was 8*l.* This *Inspeximus* is printed at length by Herbert in his vol. i. p. 294, and it includes (as of course) the substance of the three previous royal charters.

\* Another granted by Edward IV., of which the original is No. 643*a* of the Company's charters, relates to the importation of merchandise.

Again, in the following reign, but not until its tenth year, another confirmation was granted by Inspeximus. This charter of the 10 James I. is the last valid charter, upon which the Company now relies. The fine paid for it was 14*l*.

The troubles which the City companies encountered in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. are familiar in history. In 1683, when the City of London had accepted a new charter, whereby the election of its principal officers was made subject to the King's approval, a similar proceeding was adopted towards the Companies. A Quo Warranto having been served on the Master of the Mercers, the matter was considered at two general courts, held on the 26th March and 3rd April, 1684, when it was agreed to petition in order to ascertain the King's pleasure. The answer was that he would grant them a new charter on their surrendering into his hands the governing part of their corporation, so that whenever he thought fit he might dismiss the Master, Wardens, Assistants, or Clerk. In another general court, held on the 10th April, after a warm debate, it was determined, by 68 votes to 51, that these terms should be accepted; and on the 3d October following the common seal of the Company was affixed to the instrument which I now exhibit to my hearers. In terms dictated by the Attorney-General (Sir Robert Sayer) the Company surrendered their power to choose their officers; and an entirely new Charter was granted on the 22nd December following. This cost the Company 200*l*.

King Charles died in less than six weeks after, on the 2d Feb. 1684-5; but his brother and successor very extensively exercised the powers which the Crown had assumed. During the year 1687 James the Second made repeated changes in all the great livery companies. In the Mercers, by an order of Privy Council dated 27 Sept. 1687, two of the Wardens and twenty-eight of the Assistants were removed; on the 6th of the ensuing month sixty-eight of the livery were displaced. In the following February the Prime Warden and seven Assistants were removed, twenty-four liverymen removed and two others restored.

But the threatening storm of the year 1688 at length alarmed the King; and then, when it was too late, he sought to regain the alienated affections of the citizens. In the autumn of that year he restored the City charter, and on the 19th Nov. he issued letters

patent\* empowering the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to reinstate the Companies. From that date the charter of Charles II. to the Mercers became a dead letter, and that of James I. was restored to its validity.

Another important class of documents in the City Companies is that of their Statutes and Ordinances, some examples of which were seen when we visited Vintners' Hall last year.† In the 19th Henry VII. an act was passed "for making of statutes by bodies corporate." It provided that no Master, Wardens, or Companies should make or execute any ordinance in diminution of the King's prerogative, nor against the common profit of the people, nor unless examined by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and two Chief Justices, or any three of them, or before the judges of assize or circuit, under a penalty of 40*l.* for every such offence. Whereupon the Mercers' ordinances were revised and approved on the 20th Nov. 1505 by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) who was then Lord Chancellor and the two Chief Justices: wherewith it is mentioned in the acts of court that the fellowship was right well contented and pleased. The exemplification of these ordinances, which is illuminated with the arms of the Company and City of London, and roses, bears the autograph signatures of the chancellor and chief justices thus—

Wifm<sup>o</sup> Cantuarienf Cancellari<sup>o</sup>

Johes ffyneux.

Thom<sup>as</sup> ffroykyk.

Their seals are lost.

The Mercers' Company possess other archives which go back much further in date than their royal charters. Besides various other charters and deeds (which, as may be supposed from a reference already quoted, are well arranged and calendared,) they have large records of their proceedings and transactions.

Their first great Court Book is a ponderous and magnificent volume of vellum, consisting of ccij leaves (besides others not numbered at either end), rebound in the year 1777. Its earliest entries appear to belong to 1344, and the sequel extends from 1347 to 1464. The first five leaves are filled chiefly with oaths taken on admission to various offices. Then follows a kalendar, one month in each page, very beautifully rubricated.

\* Printed in Nicholl's History of the Ironmongers' Company, 8vo. edit. 1851, p. 364, 4to. edit. 1866, p. 332.

† See our Transactions, vol. iii. p. 438.

On fol. 1 are certain Ordinances in Norman French, made in *une assemblée de tous les bones gentz de la Mercerye de Londres* on the 20th June 1347, for the cherishing of unity and good love among them, and for the common profit of the *Mystere*. It was then agreed that there should be chosen four persons of the said mystery once a year for its rule and governance, and that all of the said mystery should be obedient to them and to their good governance.

It was agreed that every one of the said company should pay twenty shillings, that is to say, 6s. 8d. on entry in the first year, 6s. 8d. in the second year, and 6s. 8d. in the third year; and if any one were pleased to give more the Mystery will be the more beholden to him.

Then follow a variety of ordinances for taking apprentices, and various other matters. That regarding the livery may be translated as follows:—

That all those of the said Mystery shall be clothed of one suit once a year at the feast of Easter, and that no gown be given out of the said mystery within the two years next ensuing,\* and that no charge be put upon the said clothing beyond the first cost, except only for the priest and the common servant.

Another is to this effect:—

That all the good people of the Mercery shall eat together once a year at the appointment of the four Masters, namely, the Sunday next before the feast of St. John the Baptist, every one of the livery to pay on that occasion, whether present or absent, two shillings for themselves, and for his servant, if present, twelve pence.

Another ordinance is remarkable, as referring to foreign merchandise, and as contemplating the same provision which was afterwards sanctioned by the first royal charter, already described:—

Item, if any one of the said Mystery shall be grievously reduced either by adventure of the sea, or by debtors or feebleness of body, so as to be unable to sustain himself, that he shall be aided by the alms of the said Mystery by the common assent of the said Mercery.

The four "Masters" (afterwards designated Wardens) who were chosen on this occasion were William de Tudenham, Symond de Worsted, William de la Panetrie, and Adam Fraunceys.† And the names of

\* This apparently means that there should be no new members admitted until after the expiration of two years.

† Afterwards Sir Adam Fraunceys, Lord Mayor in 1353 and 1354; whose only daughter and heiress was married to John Montacute, Earl of Salis-

105 Mercers follow who paid half a mark each; one only, William Cornwayllis, paying xs.

A copy of the charter of Richard II. is made on the dorse of fol. xv. At the end of the Book are these curious entries, showing the peculiar control which the Company acquired over the silk trade.

M<sup>d</sup>. That Thomas Tikhill, mercier, was chosen be y<sup>e</sup> hole ffelaship' in a Courte hold y<sup>e</sup> xxvij<sup>te</sup> day of Juyn, A<sup>o</sup> xxxvj<sup>to</sup> H. vj<sup>th</sup>, to have and ocupie þoffice of Weyng of Sylke after y<sup>e</sup> deth' and in y<sup>e</sup> place of Will<sup>m</sup> Towland, whom God assoile, and aftir admtyted by Geoffrey Boleyn' þan beyng Meir of London and his Bretheren Aldermen, and toke his ooth' perteyning to þoffice. Wher up on John' Middelton', Thom<sup>s</sup> Steell, Ric' Nedam, and John Warde, þan beyng Ward(ens), delivered to y<sup>e</sup> said Thom<sup>s</sup> Tikhill divers þinges perteyneng to þe said ffelaship and necessarie to þe same office as hit shewith aftir.

First, ij skoles (*i.e.* scales) of laton with ropes and hokes. [And y<sup>e</sup> beme closed in lether.]

Item, viij<sup>te</sup> divers weightes of laton covered in lether for to wey rawe silke aftir xxj unces for y<sup>e</sup> lb. That is to say, viij lb. iiij lb. ij lb. j lb. di.lb. q<sup>teron</sup> di.q<sup>teron</sup> and j unce.

Item, viij<sup>te</sup> divers weightes of leed covered in lether for to wey Paris sylke aftir xvj unces for y<sup>e</sup> lb. That is to say, viij lb. iiij lb. ij lb. j lb. di.lb. q<sup>teron</sup> di.q<sup>teron</sup> and j unce.

[Item a bag of lether for y<sup>e</sup> skoles and weightes.] (*Side-note*) the length of these ij strykes must be the height of the hengyng the scoles from the table when the silk shall be weied.

And xvj lb. with a draught, &c.

M<sup>d</sup>. y<sup>t</sup> the (*date left blank*). For as moche as John Dereham, meter of lynnencloth', is and grete tyme hath' be absente, and of long tyme hath' ocupied by a strange man of by yond y<sup>e</sup> See (contrarie to þordenances of y<sup>e</sup> Felaship), hit is considered, and by y<sup>e</sup> hole Felaship graunted in a Courte holden y<sup>e</sup> said day, That Thom<sup>s</sup> Pery, mercier, shall have, reioyce, and occupye y<sup>e</sup> said office of metyng w<sup>t</sup> all bavails and dutes þ'to be longeng.

On account of the absence of Thomas Tykhill, late Weyer of Sylke, Nicholas Hatton, mercer, was chosen in his place, 19 August, 11 Edw. IV. Other successors to the office were :

Thomas Lymnour, 15 Oct. 1479, on the death of Hatton.

Robert Collet, 7 April, 1492, on the death of Lymnour. (He was not improbably one of the family of the memorable Dean )

Richard Haynes, 20 Feb. 1494, on death of Collet.

Thomas Fisher, 8 April, 1501, on death of Haynes; he died 21 June, 1518.

bury. In 1338, on the City lending 10,000 marks to the King, Adam Fraunceys contributed 200*l.*, but Simon Fraunceys, mercer, who was (perhaps his elder brother, and) mayor in 1343 and 1356, on the same occasion contributed 800*l.*

Avery Rawson, 26 Sept. 1518, on death of Fisher.

John Hewster, 5 July, 15.. on the absence of Rawson.

ARMS OF LORD MAYORS, SHERIFFS, AND WARDENS.

This is a beautifully illuminated folio, measuring 13½ inches by 10 : having on its first leaf the Company's arms, superscribed

*The Armes of the Worshipfull  
Company of the Mercers.*

and below the autograph signature of

*Hen: St George Richmond.*

It commences with the arms of Henry FitzAilwin the first Mayor of London (for twenty-four years, from 1189 until his death in 1213), followed by those of fifty-four other Lord Mayors,\* of whom the last is Sir Henry Rowe 1607 ; followed by the shields of Mr. John Haidon alderman (Sheriff 1582), Mr. William Elkin alderman (Sheriff 1586), Mr. William Walthall alderman (Sheriff 1606), Sir Baptist Hickes, Mr. Richard Barnes, Mr. Bartholome Barnes, and Mr. Edward Barkley.

Then a page of

The 4 Wardeins of the Mercers

Anno 1611.

Mr. Thomas Cordall.

Mr. Thomas Bennett junior.

Mr. John Crowche.

Mr. Thomas Elkin.

The arms of Mr. John Crowche have two quarterings, and, besides his crest, there is another on either side of the shield.† It appears probable that the book may have been made at this gentleman's expense.

On another page :—

The foure Wardeins of the Mercers Ann<sup>o</sup> 1635.

Mr. Ralfe Stinte.

Mr. Thomas Sarocolle.

Mr. Francis Flyer.

Mr. Robert Gardener.

\* Their names will be found in Herbert, i. 246. Several of them are claimed by other companies besides the Mercers.

† Argent, on a pale sable three crosses patée or within a bordure engrailed of the second; 2. Argent, on a chevron sable three helmets or; 3. Gyronny argent and azure, on a chief gules three annulets or : 1st crest, on a mount vert, a lamb sejant argent; 2. on a mount vert, a bear passant argent before a tree of the first; 3. on a cross patée gu. a cock or, combed and wattled of the first. Motto, *Patere et vince.*

There are no more, until after nearly seventy years—

The four Wardens of the Mercers Anno 1701.

S<sup>r</sup> Samu<sup>l</sup> Moyer Bart.

M<sup>r</sup> Tho. Raymond.

M<sup>r</sup> Tho. Serocold.

M<sup>r</sup> Francis Levett.

—where, again, we may attribute to the third Warden a wish to enroll his name where that of his grandfather or another ancestor (Sarocolle) had been previously placed.

Twenty-four leaves of the finest vellum are still left unfilled in this book, and it is to be regretted that the Wardens of no subsequent year have as yet followed the examples of the years 1635 and 1701.

#### STATUTES OF WHITTINGTON'S ALMSHOUSES.

This is a small quarto book of twenty-four leaves of vellum, measuring  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 6. The statutes are in English. The initial letter T incloses the arms of Whittington in a tilting shield, a fess checky and an annulet in chief. They commence, To alle the trewe people of Cryste, &c. (as in Brewer's *Life of Carpenter*, p. 27). Above is a drawing in pen and ink measuring  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 3 inches. Sir Richard Whittington is represented lying on his death-bed,—his body naked, a cloth tied round his head. At his right hand stand his two executors **Cobentre** and **Carpenter** (each designated by name); at his left a priest and the third executor **Grobe**. Behind the last a physician is holding up a urinal for examination. At the foot of the bed is the Tutor of the Almshouses holding a hooked staff and a large rosary, and behind him are the twelve Almsmen.

There is a copy of this curious picture in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. iv. p. 515, and another in Brewer's *Life of Carpenter*, 1856. The former is reversed in the operation of etching; and the latter, though apparently a fac-simile, will be found on comparison with the original to do it very inadequate justice.\* Malcolm has rightly described the drawing as executed with a finely-pointed pen, after the manner of making such drawings in preparation to be covered with colour by the illuminators: but, instead of that expensive process being incurred in this instance, the drawing is only partially heightened in effect by lights in white paint, flesh-tints to the faces, and brown colour to the hair—the head of the Tutor of the

\* The Introduction to the Statutes, printed by Mr. Brewer, p. 27, has also several inaccuracies, which any future Editor would do well to correct.

Almsmen only excepted, which (as Malcolm says,) is grey, though coloured brown in Mr. Brewer's book. The countenances are much better finished than the fac-simile shows, though the copyer has not entirely lost their expression. But his outlines throughout are less decisive than in the original drawing, and some of its details have been overlooked: see particularly the poor men's boots, which open in front, and the curious hooked stick of the Tutor, which in the fac-simile is merely a straight staff.

In Lysons's *Model Merchant* 1860 is unfortunately a still worse copy,—taken at second hand from Brewer's without consulting the original.

At the end of the book are these verses:—

Expliciūt Statuta  
Dom<sup>o</sup> Elemosine.

Go litel boke go litel tregedie  
The lowly submitting to al correccion  
Of theym beyng maistres now of the M<sup>o</sup>cery  
Olney . Feldyng . Boleyne and of Burtoñ  
Hertily theym beseking w<sup>t</sup> humble salutaçõn  
The to accepte and thus to take in gre  
For ever to be a servaunt w<sup>t</sup> In peire coāltie.

The four "maistres" named in these lines were the head officers of the Company, so designated in the charter of incorporation (as already shown in p. 135). Subsequently, the title Masters was exchanged for Wardens, and the Company still has no "Master," but a Prime Warden and three junior Wardens.

A second copy of the same Statutes is in a vellum book of the same size, written on forty-six pages. The initial T in the first page incloses the arms of Whittington impaling Quarterly by fess indented ermine and gules.

A third copy of the Statutes, larger quarto, sixteen leaves of vellum, measuring 10½ inches by 7. The initial T. inclosing the arms of Whittington, ends—Expliciunt Statuta.

THE CARTULARY OF DEAN COLET'S LANDS

is a beautiful folio volume of vellum, measuring 13 inches by 9, of 238 folios, in its table of contents misnumbered 1038. It was rebound

in 1777, when the edges were injudiciously cut. The preface was composed by Colet himself, but copied by a professional scribe. Herbert\* (i. 239, note) absurdly says of the whole book, that it is "supposed (to be) in his own handwriting." St. Paul's School, for the maintenance of which these estates were given, was commenced in 1508 and finished in every point in 1512.

#### THE STATUTES OF SAINT PAUL'S SCHOOL.

This is a quarto volume bound in vellum, measuring  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height by 8 inches in width, tied now with common tape, but originally no doubt by strings of more costly material. The edges are gilt. The whole front surface is covered with a painting in body colours and gold, of which the principal feature is a portrait of Colet. This resembles his other well-known portraits, but is greatly superior in expression to Vertue's engraving prefixed to the Life by Dr. Knight.† It is of half-

\* Some of the other documents of the Company (which I have not found time to examine) will be found enumerated by Herbert in the same note, but his account must be taken only as suggestive.

† The portrait of Colet engraved by Vertue as the frontispiece to Dr. Knight's work was from a painting in the possession of Mr. John Worthington, and for a time of Bishop Stillingfleet. Knight (p. x. of his Introduction) mentions another picture in the possession of Thomas Slater Bacon of Lynton in Cambridgeshire, esq. regarding which I am able to give the following copy of a memorandum by the Rev. William Cole: "This picture I bought at an auction of the goods of Robert King, esq. heir to Mr. Bacon, at Catley near Lynton, July 21, 1749. He is in a scarlet cap and gown, with his neck quite naked, and is like that in Holland's *Heroologia*, and Lupton's *Lives of the Protestant Divines*. W. COLE." There are therefore two originals, or at least variations, of Colet's portrait, one in his scarlet gown as a Doctor, the other in black, which colour Erasmus tells us that he generally preferred. Engravings of Colet's portraiture are very numerous, as will be seen on reference to Granger's *Biographical History of England*, edit. 1824, vol. p. 125; but the account there given of the two prints in Knight's *Life of Colet* is imperfect and inaccurate. The print described occurs in that work at p. 435, and represents the bronze bust then placed over the High Master's seat at St. Paul's School, and now in his private rooms: it was preserved from the ruins at the fire of 1666. It is added:—"There is another octavo print of him by the same hand; both are without the engraver's name." The latter is really the frontispiece to Knight's book above mentioned, and is signed by the engraver *G. Vertue, Sculp.* The head of Colet, which is among Holbein's drawings at Windsor Castle, was probably made from the bust; and the latter has been attributed to Torregiano, the sculptor of the tomb of King Henry VII. On Colet's monument in Old St. Paul's was also a bust, of terra cotta.

length, in his usual black cap and gown, and turning towards the left, his hands folded in front, the right hand holding a pen, the left a gilt-edged book. This portrait is within an oval frame of scroll-work. Immediately below his hands is a scroll inscribed

IO COLET DECA S PAVLI

Below that is a shield of the arms of Colet; and in the upper corners are shields of the Church of St. Paul and the Mercers. The lower portion of the page is occupied by a tomb, upon which a human skeleton is extended:—this addition, and probably the portrait itself, derived from the Dean's monument in St. Paul's. In front of the tomb is this inscription in gold letters upon a black ground

ISTUC RECIDIT GLO-  
RIA CARNIS.

The whole painting is beautifully executed, including the swags of fruit and flowers, and the portrait is evidently the work of a very superior artist. Its production is doubtless to be assigned to the year 1602, at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, when the second portion was added to the contents of the volume.

The contents are of three periods.

I. A paper book of fourteen leaves, of which eleven are occupied with writing: viz. the Statutes of St. Paul's School as edited by Dr. Knight in his *Life of Colet*, 1724, 8vo. Appendix Num. V. pp. 356-369. In three places there are interesting inscriptions in the Dean's own hand. On the fly-leaf opposite the first page this

hūc libellum ego Joannes Colet tradidi manibz magistri lilii xviiij<sup>o</sup>  
die Junij an<sup>o</sup> xi<sup>o</sup> M.ccccxviiij vt eum in scola fuet & obfuet.

(Very imperfectly copied by Knight at the foot of his page 357.)

At the head of the *Prologus* the founder has written

Joannes Colet fundator scole manu sua ppria.

Again at the foot of the last page

Joannes Colettz fundator  
noue scole manu mea  
ppria.

The statutes themselves are written in a sort of black-letter legal hand, but not at all an obscure one. In the margin are some side-

notes in the scholarly hand of the time, which I believe may be assigned to master Lilly the schoolmaster. The first is

De admission[e] pueroꝝ\*

In the chapter directing [~~What shalbe taught~~] is this marginal list of subjects and authors, repeating them as named in the statute itself :

Cathechization. Accidētia. Institutum x<sup>a</sup>[ni] hōis. Copia uerboꝝ Lactātius. Prudentius. Proba. Sedulius. Iuuēcus. Baptist. Mātua.

Two errors of names in p. 368 of Dr. Knight's book are *Rote* for Rote and *Atfeux* for at Fenix (*i.e.* a person named from living at the sign of a Phoenix).

The second document in the book consists of certain new ordinances made on the 24th June 1603, and attested by Mr. Thomas Bennett ald<sup>n</sup>, Mr. William Higgs, Mr. Anthonie Culverwell, Mr. Thomas Horton wardens, Mr. Henry Rowe ald<sup>n</sup>, Mr. Edmond Hogan, Mr. William Lucas, Mr. John Castelin, Mr. Wm. Walthall, Mr. John Gardner, Mr. John Newton, Mr. James Elwick, Mr. William Ferrers, Mr. Henry Peyton, and Mr. Roger Howe.

These alterations of the statutes occupy four pages and a half, and have the autograph signatures of the Queen's Solicitor-general, Thomas Flemynge esquire serjeant at law, and of Thomas Foster esquire councillor at law.

The third record in the book is an ordinance to authorize the letting of the lands of St. Paul's School for building leases not exceeding eighty years. It is dated 6 Feb. 1841, and bears the autograph signatures of the three "good-lettered and learned men," Sir Frederick Pollock, M.A. and M.P., Sir William Webb Follett, M.A. and M.P. two of her Majesty the Queen's Counsel learned in the law, and William Palmer esq. M.A. barrister at law : attested also by the signatures of Ar. Coleman, J. T. Pooley, Robert Sutton jun<sup>r</sup>, Dan<sup>l</sup> Watney, Archdale Palmer, R. Sutton, George Palmer, E. F. Green, W. Newnham, J. Horsley Palmer, C. F. Johnson, Thomas Watney, G. W. Bicknell, Jn<sup>o</sup> Rob<sup>ts</sup> Delafosse, John Day, L. P. Wilson, A. P. Johnson, Robert Bicknell, and Nath<sup>l</sup> Clark.

This precious book is kept in a wooden case covered with leather,

\* The final [e] of *admissione* is cut off by the binder.



"THE LEIGH CUP."

and lined with yellow flannel; and in the same case is a second copy of the Statutes, written on quarto post paper, and stitched in a piece of an old vellum inventory. This copy was made apparently early in the seventeenth century. On its last leaf is preserved the following inscription \* formerly in the vestibule of the School:

In the vestibule the table on the wall hath  
this covered w<sup>t</sup> lyme.

Hoc vestibulo pueri catechizent<sup>r</sup> fide  
moribusq, Christianis neq, non primus gra-  
matices rudimentis † instituunt<sup>r</sup> † priusquam  
ad proximam hujus scholæ classem ad-  
mittantur † limæ tres sunt.

After this follows a list of the Highmasters and Submasters down to the year 1637, and on the last fly-leaf are the names of four subsequent High Masters to the year 1697.

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## PLATE OF THE MERCERS' COMPANY.

By GEORGE RUSSELL FRENCH, ESQ.

The MERCERS' COMPANY possess some interesting articles of plate, of which the "LEIGH CUP" is a good specimen of elaborate workmanship. † It is a grace-cup with cover, 16 inches high, and 6½ inches in diameter, silver-gilt. The foot is supported on three wine flasks, and is surrounded by a band of finely-pierced Gothic tracery, surmounted by a cresting of trefoils; the same enrichment is continued round the lower part of the cover. The body of the cup and cover has a complete network of lozenge panels in raised corded patterns, within which are maiden busts and flagons, with roses at the points of intersection. The busts resemble nuns hooded, wearing crosses on their breasts. On the top of the cover is an hexagonal boss with buttresses, on the dome of which is seated a maid with a unicorn reposing in her lap; the word *Desyr* is written on the animal's side, illustrating the legend that a unicorn could only be captured by a pure virgin. On the six panels of the boss are coats of arms in enamel:—1. The City arms: 2.

\* This will be found also in Knight's Colet, p. 435.

† See p. 577 of the Catalogue of Works of Art and Antiquities exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall, edited by G. R. French, Esq. to whom we are indebted for the loan of the illustration.

Gules, on a cross engrailed between four unicorn's heads erased argent five bezants, for Sir Thomas Leigh: 3. The arms of the Merchant Adventurers: 4. The arms of the Merchants of the Staple: 5. Argent the cross of St. George gules: 6. The arms of the Mercers' Company, Gules, a demi-*virgin*, hair dishevelled, crowned, issuing out of clouds and within an orle of the same. On two bands around the cover and body of the cup the following couplet is inscribed, in small gold capitals, on blue enamel:—

TO ELECT THE MASTER OF THE MERCERIE HITHER AM I SENT,  
AND BY SIR THOMAS LEIGH FOR THE SAME INTENT.

On the inside of the cover is engraved a double-rose with a large seeded centre. The plate-mark is a small black-letter *b* answering to 1499-1500. Sir Thomas Leigh, descended from a family seated at High Leigh, co. Chester, before the *Conquest*, was Lord Mayor in 1558. His lineal descendant, the late Chandos Leigh, was created Lord Leigh, of Stoneleigh, co. Warwick, in 1839, a revived title, which had become extinct in the family in 1786.

A SILVER-GILT CARRIAGE, on four wheels, intended to hold spices or condiments; which moves along the table by means of internal mechanism. At each end over the wheels is a raised platform or stage ornamented with scrolls and circular medallions enamelled with the arms of the City and the Mercers' Company; and in one is a hare seated, with a leaf in its mouth. These stages have flat covers, surmounted by female figures, on enamelled pedestals, of birds and flowers. Between the two stages is a sunk medallion of Judith and Holofernes. In front of the car stands the "Master of the Mercerie," in furred robe and low broad-brimmed hat; and on the first stage is an eagle before a pedestal. This piece of plate is elaborately chased and engraved over its entire surface.

A SILVER-GILT WINE-BARREL (which is sometimes placed on the above-described carriage), resting on a foliated knob upon a lozenge pedestal, with large oval foot, on which are four bosses of blue and green enamel on silver. On the top of the barrel is a raised funnel of silver designs on blue enamel; and above is a square ornament with four projecting dolphins, on which are four female busts and dolphin-head gargoyles; at the summit is an eagle on a globe. This barrel and the carriage may each be ascribed to the time of the sixteenth century.

A round SALT, silver-gilt,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches high,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter; the

gift of Mr. John Dethick, with his arms, and those of the Company; the plate mark is the letter A, which answers to the year 1638. A SALT, similar in pattern to the above, the gift of Mr. Alexander Wright, 1666.

On the Salt presented by John Dethick is a coat belonging to the family of the name, of whom were some famous heralds. Gwillim in his quaint fashion thus gives the coat—"He beareth, Argent, a fesse barry or and argent, between three water bowgets sable, by the name of *Dethick*, of which family is *Sir John Dethick*, Knight, late Lord Mayor, as also those two ingenious gentlemen, *Thomas Dethick*, who hath long resided at *Ligorne*, and *Henry Dethick* of Paylers near London, sons of *Henry Dethick*, son of *Sir William Dethick*, Knight, son of *Sir Gilbert Dethick*, both principall Kings of Armes, by the title of Garter."

TWO SILVER SALTS; each is octagonal in plan, of hour-glass shape in centre,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high. Engraved with the arms of the Company, and inscribed,—"*Ex dono Henrici Sumner, Ar.*" On the top are four volute guards, intended to sustain a napkin to keep the salt clean. The plate mark is a Gothic small text **b** for the year 1679.

The position which the "Saler," or Salt, formerly occupied at the tables of the great, has been explained in the Catalogue of Antiquities exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall.

A plain round SILVER TANKARD, 18 inches high and 6 inches in diameter, on large round foot, 11 inches diameter. The front is engraved with the arms of the Company and with two other shields of arms, emblematical of the donors, with this inscription; "*The Gift of y<sup>e</sup> Corporation of y<sup>e</sup> Mines Royall y<sup>e</sup> Minerall and Battery works Anno Domini 1718.*" Plate marks, figures of Britannia, lion's head erased, and the Roman capital C, for the year 1718.

THREE BEAKERS, silver-gilt, tapering; 8 inches high,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter at top, and 3 inches at bottom, with the Company's arms and crest on each. Their Books describe them as the "Gift of Mr. John Bancks."

TWO SILVER MONTEITHS, with lion handles, scalloped edges; the centres fluted, standing on gadrooned feet. On one side of each bowl the Company's arms, on the other a coat, three rams . . . height 9 inches, diameter 13 inches, weight, 72 oz. and 71 oz. 15 dwts. In the Company's Records they are described as "the gift of William Sydenham," who was probably of the distinguished family of that name, extinct baronets, whose arms were, Argent, three rams sable. The mon-

teiths are inscribed underneath, "*Sir Edm<sup>d</sup> Harrison, Kn<sup>t</sup>. Mas<sup>r</sup>. 1700.*"

A circular SILVER SALVER, 15 inches diameter, with gadrooned edges, on foot ornamented in like manner. In the centre are the arms of the Company; and on a ribbon is inscribed—"The Gift of the English East India Company. Sir Edm<sup>d</sup> Harrison, Kn<sup>t</sup>. Mast<sup>r</sup>. 1700.

Two large LOVING CUPS, silver-gilt, each 15 inches high,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter at brim, on baluster stem, centre of bowl frosted. On each cup is a shield with the figure of Britannia seated, surrounded by heaps of guineas, which was the stamp on Abraham Newland's Bank Notes. On the foot is inscribed—"The Gift of y<sup>e</sup> Governor and Company of the Bank of England to the Worshipfull Company of Mercers. A third cup to match was made by order of the Mercers' Company.

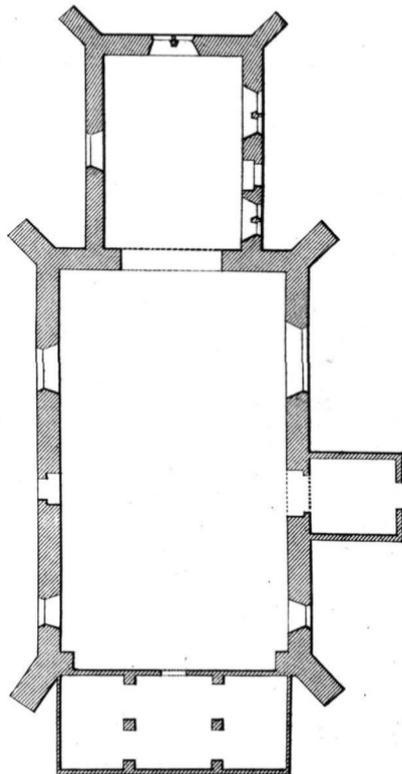
A LOVING CUP, silver, 12 inches high, centre frosted, baluster stem; weight, 27 oz. 15 dwts., inscribed—"The Gift of William Hurt." There are two coats of arms, one of the Company, and another, Sable, a fesse between three cinquefoils or, which Glover ascribes to Hurt of co. Staff and Derby.

A SILVER PLATEAU, oblong, 18 inches wide, 2 feet 7 inches long, standing on four feet; all round is a pierced border of scroll-work. An Epergne stands on it in form of an open temple, of which the dome rests on six slender shafts; on the apex is a figure of Commerce, surrounded by her attributes. The Epergne rests on six legs, which are designed to hold lights or flowers, connected by festoons; and there are small epergnes at the four angles; entire height, 26 inches. This very handsome ornament for the table is inscribed:—"To the Worshipful Master Warden, the Wardens, and Commonalty of the Company of Mercers, London, from the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament for the issue of Exchequer Bills for the Assistance of Commercial Credit, as a testimony of the sense the Commissioners entertain of the liberality and readiness with which the use of Mercers' Hall was granted for the purposes of carrying on the business of the Commissioners. July 2, 1794."

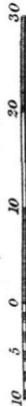
7 Feb. 1871.

G. R. F.

Great Greenford Church



Scale, 20 feet to 1 Inch.

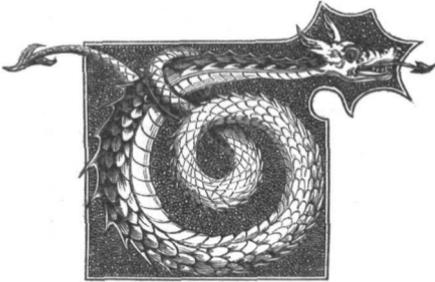


J. Emslie & Sons, lith., London.

J. Emslie & Sons, lith., London.

## GREAT GREENFORD CHURCH.

BY ALFRED HEALES, Esq. F. S. A.



HE origin of the name Greenford rests on conjecture ; but such was the name of the place in Saxon times, and there appears a presumption that it was named from a Green Ford. The river Brent runs

through this fertile parish. There are two adjoining parishes which bear the name of Greenford ; that, only, which is the subject of the present paper, is now usually so called, but is properly Great Greenford, and the other is Little Greenford, though for the last two or three centuries it has been called Perivale, but for what reason is perfectly uncertain. Norden's entry runs thus :\*—"Gernford. A very fertile place of corne standing in the *pure vale*."—Upon this it may be remarked that the locality is now almost entirely devoted to pasture and grass land, to the exclusion of corn crops.

The church is dedicated in honour of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The festival occurs on the 14th September. In accordance with the theory of orientation, the east end of the church should point about 6 degrees north of east ; the actual orientation is 3 degrees north of east.

In order to ascertain the date and history of any particular building we have recourse to two independent sources of information,—first the testimony of historical records, and next what I may term the inductive method, or that information which can be extracted from the structure itself. Where we find these two separate currents of history running side by side, like the blue Rhone and the white Arve, but ultimately blending, we feel assured that their evidence is conclusive ; where we find them, like separate streams, tending in different directions

\* Norden's *Speculum Britannia*, p. 21, (publ. in 1723.)

“ Sir Thomas Wedg sumtyme p’son ther gave unto the seid churche owte of Thomas Hilles landes now in the tenure of Symond Baranger, (amount blank.)

“ Memor’.—Ther is of howselyng people wt’in the seid p’ische the number of . . . . . C.

“ The p’sones benefyces by yere xx li. whose name is Sir Henry Thornton.”

This Record was followed shortly afterwards by “ Particulars of Sales,” which in this case are much obliterated :\*

“ P’och. de Greneford in Com. Midd.—Parcell’ terr’ et possessionu’ fund’ .. in Eccl’ia de Greneford in Com. Midd’. Vall. in ffirm Duar’ ac’ terr, arab. . . . Lancton . . . . p. annu’ . . . xvj d. firm’ de . . . . Rob’ti Collyn . . . . annu’ . . . . p’ annu’ . . . . x d. ij s. ij d. at xxij. yeares p’chas is xlvij s. viij d. thes p’cell of Lande and medowes aforesaid were given by Henry Coole to find v. lights before the Image of the Trinity and our Ladie ther.”

At first sight the transaction appears a very fair one, and the saleable value estimated at twenty-two years purchase of the rental was in fact, in those days, rather high. But when we compare the two estimates of annual value we see that the estimate in the sale returns is 38.8 per cent, or more than one third less than the previously estimated value. This is a tolerable example of the reckless jobbing and robbery which pervaded the disendowment and sale of church property in the time of King Henry the Eighth.

We now turn to the BUILDING itself to see what information it furnishes as to its own date.

It’s plan is one of a type very usual in this part of the county, a mere nave and chancel, with some kind of belfry at the west end of the nave (usually of timber), and a porch at the side (also frequently of wood), and as simple in architecture as in plan. Many of these are no doubt of early date as indicated by some, perhaps a single, feature such as the Norman door at Harlington; yet even this is not conclusive, for we find that in mediæval times it not unfrequently happened that, where a church was rebuilt, a Norman door was

\* Originals in Record Office, Particulars of Sales, fol. 121.

preserved and incorporated in the new structure. On the other hand, we may with good reason believe that a vast number of existing buildings have only been altered, and the detail (such as windows and doors) modernized in mediæval or later times, while the walls or shell of the original building still stand.

The construction of the nave of Greenford Church is of faced flint, but the eastern gable is more modern, of brick; the chancel is all rough-cast.

The internal dimensions are as follows:—

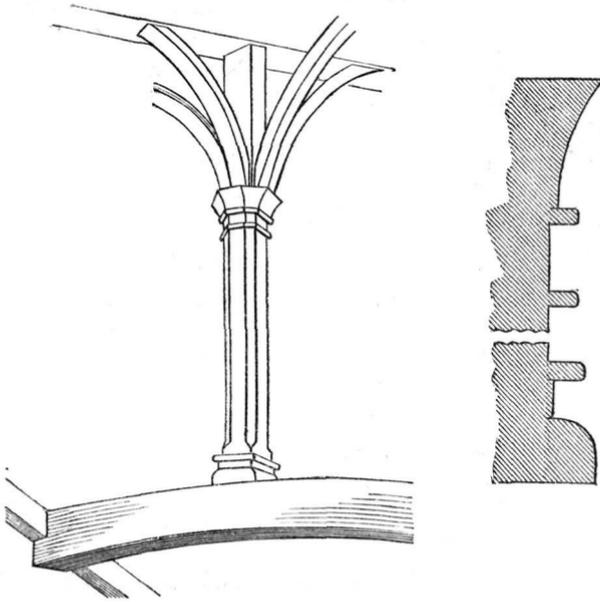
|                     |   |   |              | Ft. | in. |
|---------------------|---|---|--------------|-----|-----|
| Western timber work | - | - | -            | 10  | 3   |
| Nave                | - | - | -            | 42  | 3   |
| Chancel-arch        | - | - | -            | 2   | 3   |
| Chancel             | - | - | -            | 20  | 4   |
|                     |   |   | Total length | 75  | 1   |
| Width of nave       | - | - | -            | 23  | 11  |
| Width of chancel    | - | - | -            | 14  | 8   |

The earliest observable feature is the chancel-arch, a plain, pointed arch, flat soffited, and springing from a simple abacus, with the lower edge chamfered; a form of arch which may have been built at any time in the prevalence of the Early-English style, say from 1190 to 1290, but probably in the early part of the period.

Besides the chancel-arch, there is nothing perceptible to indicate an earlier date than perhaps the second quarter of the fifteenth century; the roof of both nave and chancel can scarcely be later, while the doorway on the south is probably about 1480 or 1490. The windows are all perfectly gutted, and dormers have been introduced into the roof. Lysons\* says the windows were all gothic; and in a collection of views published in 1811,† some windows with geometric tracery are shown, but these views are not altogether reliable; still it would appear as if a barbarous destruction of tracery had taken place at no very distant date. The base of the east window remains unaltered, and we find it to be small and narrow, and of two lights (a rather unusual circumstance in that position); and it is quite possible that the upper part exists beneath the plaster, which appears to have been

\* Lysons' Environs of London, vol. ii. p. 439.

† Ecclesiastical topography. Views of Churches in the Environs of London, 4to. 1811.



• KING-POST OF CHANCEL-ROOF.

applied in the present century. The south door of the nave is a pointed arch under a square head with a kind of rose sculptured in the spandril, not unlike that at Heston, or indeed many others of the period.

The porch, dating about the middle of the sixteenth century, comes next; it is of open woodwork now blocked up. The western termination of the church, including the belfry, was probably erected in the seventeenth century, but there is nothing about it to indicate a specific date. This part of the building claims our attention for a very singular feature, viz., that the church has no west wall, nor is there anything to lead to the idea that any heretofore existed. The side walls are slightly returned at the west end,\* and the rest of the space is filled up with timber framing, (not of a very substantial character,) and its intervals with lath and plaster. Beyond this is a chamber built of timber, not quite so wide as the nave, but of the same height, and from the centre of it rises a timber belfry, with a pyramidal capping.

The jambs of the chancel-arch were cut away in a very dangerous

\* This is seen on the ground plan.

manner, and for no very perceptible object, evidently in 1656, as that date is painted with the motto "THIS DOE AND LIUE" on a huge beam put across, below the impost; and the space above is nearly filled up with boarding, on which the Ten Commandments are inscribed. The east wall above the chancel is painted (rather later) with the Royal arms and lion and unicorn supporters, and rose and oak trees; the arms are, quarterly, I. and IV. quart., 1 and 4 France, 2 and 3 England; II. Scotland; III. Ireland.

A very unusual feature is the level of the chancel floor being lower than that of the nave; perhaps the congregation may have found the original level damp, and therefore raised their part of the building, not caring much about the rest; but the walls and roof also of the chancel are lower in proportion than usual.

There is no piscina visible, though the wall sounds hollow; probably it may have been stopped up in obedience to some injunctions such as that of Bishop Bentham, of Coventry and Lichfield, in 1565,\* "that you dam up all manner of hollow places in your chancel, or church walls."

There is a small priest's door on the south side of the chancel.

A good deal of stained glass exists in the chancel windows, where it was collected and set in a kind of kaleidoscope arrangement by Mr. Betham a former rector. It is of various dates from the middle or latter part of the fifteenth century. In the north window are heads of two angels by no means badly drawn; in the east window parts of a canopy of tabernacle work; and some heads and ornamental work in the southern windows; but chiefly are the Royal arms of various dates and sizes. There are also a good number of quarries, the most frequent pattern being a hart, agreeing (except that it is reversed) with one engraved in Franks' valuable work on the subject from a specimen in his own possession;† also a formal rose identical with one at Milton, Cambridgeshire;‡ several of a peculiar kind of leaf much conventionalized, bearing a considerable resemblance to one at King's College Chapel Cambridge;§ one of later or Elizabethan date, bearing a hunting horn and the initials H. B., and a buck's head caboshed sable.|| There are also two (perhaps foreign) examples, each repre-

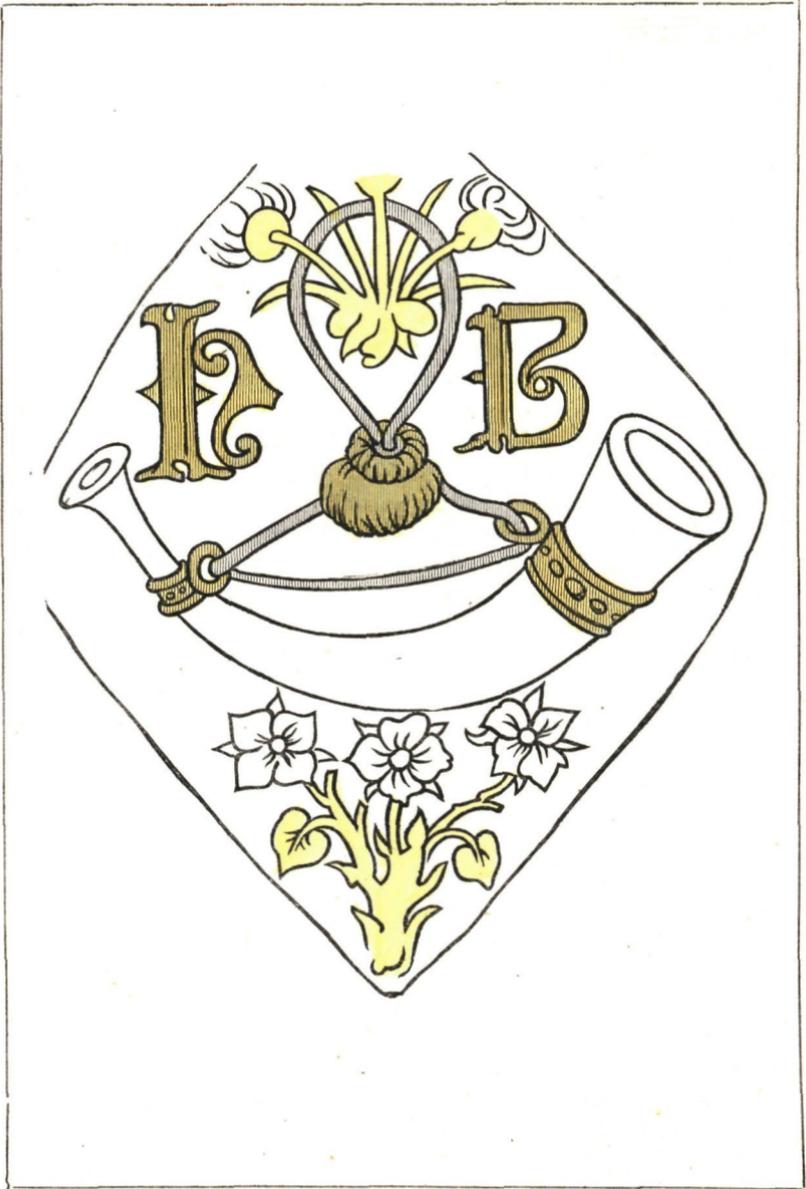
\* Printed in "Church Review," 15th Aug. 1868.

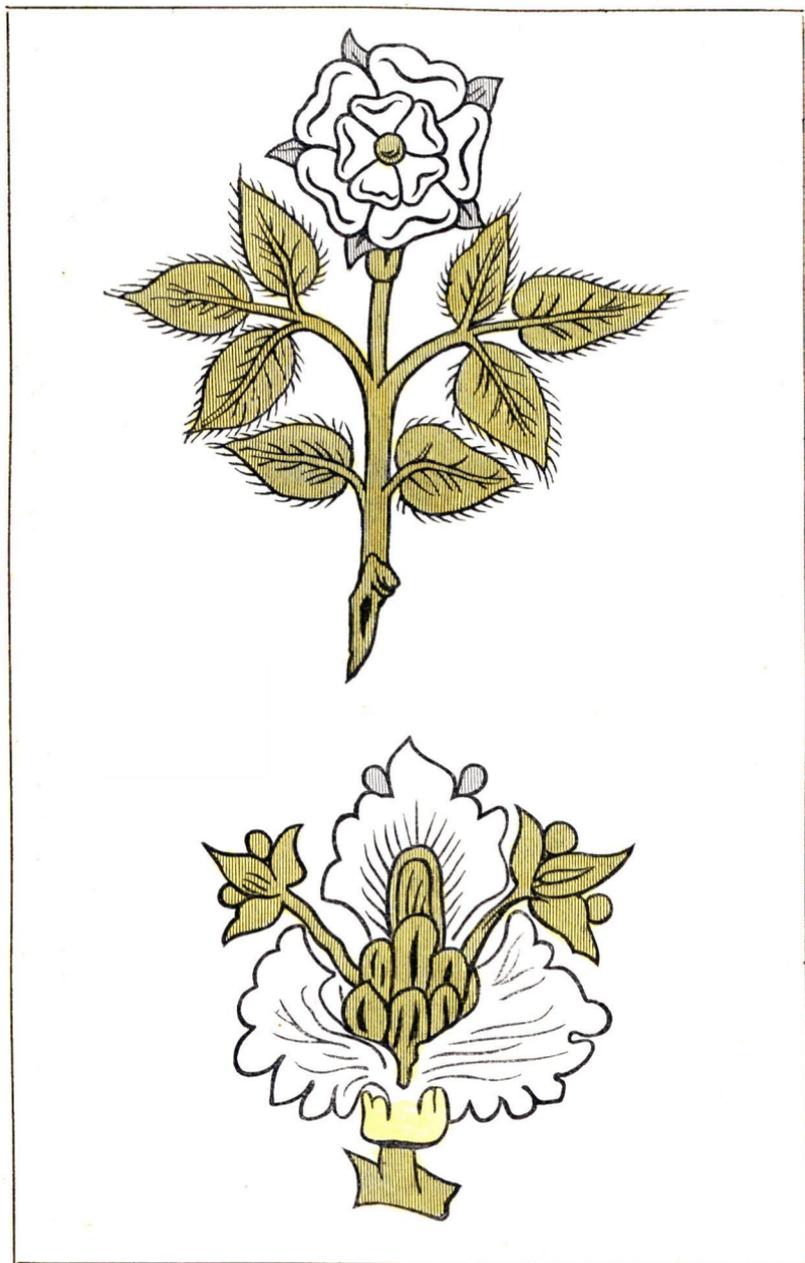
† Franks' Ornamental Glazing Quarries, pl. 82.

‡ Ibid. pl. 74.

§ Ibid. pl. 61.

|| Ibid. pl. 82; it is there, in error, stated to be at Little Greenford.





senting a windmill and the miller coming out of the door with a sack of flour.

The font can scarcely be said to be of any particular style; it bears the inscription:— “ Ex dono dominæ Franciscæ Coston, viduæ, nuper defunctæ, 1638;” probably she may have been the mother of Simon Coston, subsequently referred to in the description of the monuments.

The belfry contains three bells. The largest dates from the fifteenth century, and bears this inscription:—

☒ Sancta Anna Ora Pro Nobis,

also two coins, unfortunately both the reverse, or “cross” side, and consequently not easy to assign to any particular date; and a curious shield-shaped stamp, bearing a bell, with the motto running across it,



“ In dē solū cōfido,” and the rebus “ W. de Cock,” or some other bird; and beneath the clapper is the letter P. I have not been able to ascertain the name of the founder to whom this can be attributed; but there is another example of his work at Brentford;\* it may possibly be a foreign casting. Amongst the limited number of dedication names to be found on English mediæval bells, that of St. Anna is a favourite;

\* Ex rel. J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, Esq. F. S. A.

several examples occur in the counties of Somerset, Wilts, and Cambridge; \* several in Sussex, † and one in Devon. ‡

The next bell merely bears this inscription in Roman letters:—

W · E · FECIT, 1699.

This I think may be fairly ascribed to William Eldridge, one of a family which was settled at Chertsey in Surrey, and supplied bells to a large number of churches in that and the neighbouring counties. There were probably two Williams, the last of whom died in 1731 at West Drayton, very near Greenford. §

No inscription is borne on the third bell, which is evidently of later date.

Lysons mentions that there were, in his time, some ancient seats preserved in the gallery; there are none there, or in the church, now.

THE RECTORS have no doubt been contented to do their duty in the quiet retirement of their parish, for scarcely any (at all events, within the period of archæology) have won a name of distinction.

The earliest to whom it is necessary to refer is Simon Hert, apparently the successor to John Chandler, who was instituted on the 24th June, 1418; Thomas Wegge who was instituted on the 1st November, 1452, upon the death of Hert, held the preferment till about the end of the year 1473.

I have had the good fortune to find the will of Simon Hert, or Herts, as there written. § It commences thus:—

“ In dei nomine, Amen. Primo mens' marcij Anno d'ni M°.CCCC°, quinquagesimo primo, ego D'ne Simon Hert', Rector Eccl'ie exaltacon' Sante Cruc' de Greneford Magna in Com' Midd', languens in extremis, compos q̄ ment' existens, condo test'm meu' in hunc modu' : In primis, lego a'i'am mea' Deo Om'ipote'ti, B'te marie et o'ib' sc'is eius. Corpus q̄ meu' ad sepeliend' in choro eccl'ie p'd'ce. It' lego d'c'e eccl'ie xls.”

He bequeaths to Thomas and Christiana, children of Richard Hillys, to each a cow; and the residue of his property to George

\* Lukis' Church Bells, pp. 64, 96, 102, 121, 129, 130.

† Tyssen's Church Bells of Sussex, pp. 72 and 79.

‡ Ellacombe. Trans. of Exeter Dioc., Arch. Soc., 2d series, vol. 1. part 3.

§ Some interesting notes of the family are given in Tyssen's Church Bells of Sussex, pp. 32 and 33.

|| Commissary Ct. of Lond., fol. lxxxv°.

Haynesworth and the said Richard Hill, to pay debts and legacies, and dispose of the remainder for the testator's benefit as they may think fit. It was proved on the 21st November 1452.

Next is *John de Feckenham*. Being the only distinguished Rector of Great Greenford, as well as a person of considerable eminence, he deserves more than a mere passing notice.\* He was born of poor parents named Howsman, but from their residence in a cottage adjoining the forest of Feckenham in Worcestershire he was afterwards known as John de Feckenham. While young, his great talents were perceived by the priest of his parish, who obtained for him admission to the Benedictine monastery of Evesham. At the age of 18 they sent him to Gloucester College, Oxford; subsequently he returned to the monastery, which was soon after dissolved, and on the 17th November 1535, he received the grant of a pension of 100 florins per annum. Upon this event he returned to college, and a little later became chaplain to John Bell, Bishop of Worcester, and next to Bonner, Bishop of London, till the year 1549 when the bishop was deprived and imprisoned in the Marshalsea, and Feckenham was committed to the Tower. Thence he was temporarily released and pitted in disputation against the Protestants, at various localities, during which he maintained his positions with great vigour and dexterity; when he had served this end he was remanded to the Tower and there confined until Queen Mary came to the throne, when he was treated with merited honour; on the 20th June 1554, he was admitted to the Church of Finchley, and on the 24th September following to Greenford; afterwards appointed Prebendary of Kentish Town, and next made Dean of St. Paul's; followed soon afterwards (in November 1556) by the appointment to be Abbat of Westminster and Chaplain to the Queen. He openly disputed at Oxford with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

All the time of Queen Mary's reign he employed himself in doing good offices for the afflicted Protestants, from the highest to the lowest, and ventured to intercede with the Queen for the Lady Elizabeth (afterwards Queen), whereby he incurred her Majesty's temporary displeasure.

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne and "religion was about to be altered," he spoke in Parliament against her supremacy

\* Anthony à Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, (3rd ed., 1820,) vol. i. p. 506.

over the Church of England. She was, naturally, very greatly displeased, but remembering his former good services on her own behalf and having respect for his learning and reputation, she sent for him, and, it is said, offered him the Archbishoprick of Canterbury as a bribe; but the facts of the interview are not known. In the end he was again committed to the Tower; but in the winter of 1563 was let out, apparently on parole, and with the Bishop of Winchester's guarantee, for the purpose of some public disputations; which being ended he was sent back to the Tower till 1568, and then transferred to Wisbech Castle, where he remained "in great devotion and sanctity of life" until he died. What property he had he left to the Abbey Church at Westminster; but he also left a sum of 40*l.* to the poor of St. Margaret's parish to buy wood, as appears from the Churchwardens' accounts in 1589.\*

He published accounts of conferences between Lady Jane Dudley and himself, and Lady Jane Grey and himself; also a Commentary on the Psalms, besides other works of minor importance.

It may be further observed that he was the last Mitred Abbot who sat in Parliament.

Robert Cosen, Cowsen, or Cowsinne (as the name is variously spelt) † was instituted as Rector of St. Lawrence, Jewry, on 31st March 1545, and made Prebendary of Holborn on 14th September following; the living he resigned in 1549, and the prebend in 1554 upon his appointment to the prebend of Mora, also in St. Paul's Cathedral. On the 16th October 1558 he became Treasurer of St. Paul's, and on the 30th December in the same year, Rector of Great Greenford. Queen Elizabeth's accession changed his prospects, and in 1559 he was deprived of his prebend, and in all likelihood his treasurership and rectory in the same manner. He evidently held the rectory a very short time, for his successor Thomas Thornton died and another was instituted on the second of July 1560.‡

We may pass over the intervening incumbents till we come to Michael Gardiner. He became Rector of Littlebury in Essex on the 4th March 1582, and so continued till the autumn of 1618, when he

\* Nichols' Illustrations of Manners and Expences of Ancient Times, p. 22.

† Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 107.

‡ Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i., p. 615.

resigned.\* Soon after his appointment to Littlebury he was, on the 15th April 1584, instituted Rector of Greenford.† Of his personal history nothing important is recorded. In his Will dated the sixth of December 1629 (in which he describes himself as Rector of Grinford, although it appears by Newcourt that his successor was instituted on the 26th August previously, he recites that he was then “of good health and perfect memory (I praise God for it) and therein myndfull of my mortallitie,” and bequeathes his soul into the hands of his Saviour, and leaves his body to the place of burial at his executors’ discretion, “without any feastinge or banquettinge after it.” He speaks of his lands called Botlymeade and Northamleas near Oxford; and leaves ten shillings each to several poor people; and also legacies to his children, grandchildren, and servants; to his curate his black cloth gowne faced with shankes; and the residue of his goods, cattells, chattells, and houshold stuffe to his son Henry, who proved the will on the 21st September 1630.‡ His burial took place on the 24th August;§ his monument is against the north wall of the chancel at the east end, and represents him and his family kneeling at a prayer desk and sheltered beneath a pediment. A Mrs. Margaret Gardner buried on the 19th March 1622|| may probably have been his wife.

Next we come to Edward Terry,¶ who was educated at the Free School Rochester, entered at Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1607; became a student, and finally took his degrees in Arts in 1614. In the following year he went out to the East Indies and became chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, the Ambassador to the Great Mogul, for two years, and then returned to his college, and soon afterwards (on the 26th August 1629) received his appointment to the Rectory of Great Greenford, of which he held possession for thirty years. He submitted *with good grace to the authorities during the great Rebellion*, and became, if he was not already so, a steady Nonconformist. He died on the 8th October 1660, at the age of seventy years, and was buried on the 10th\*\* in the chancel.

He published several sermons and an account of his abode in the “rich and spacious Empire of the Great Mogul,” a work which he had previously (in 1622), presented in manuscript to Prince Charles. His

\* Ibid. vol. ii. p. 394.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 615.

‡ Prerogative Registry, 75 Scrope.

§ Parish Register.

|| Ibid.

¶ Athenæ Oxon. vol. iii. p. 505.

\*\* Parish Register.



BRASS OF SIMON HERT, IN GREAT GREENFORD CHURCH.

“Relick” Elizabeth, was buried on the 2nd August, 1661.\* Upon his decease his son, also named Edward, was on the 27th February, 1660-1, presented to the living by William Christmas, citizen of London and merchant: he was a Nonconformist, a Master of Arts, and Fellow of University College.† He soon found it necessary to resign the living, and a successor was appointed on the 24th December in the same year.‡

A trace of the puritan feeling inculcated by the Terrys may be seen in the appearance and arrangement of the pews, and the absence of what most people consider reverential care of the building and its fittings.

John Castell, D.D. his successor, died in 1686, and the entry of his burial on the 3rd April, adds “Affid. brought Aprill y<sup>e</sup> 3d.” § This was in obedience to the Act 18th Charles II. cap. 4, for the burying in woollen only.||

Next we turn to the MONUMENTS. The earliest is the brass to the memory of Simon Hert, of whom mention has been already made. It consists of a moderately small demi-figure of a priest in eucharistic vestments, of which the amice and maniple are embroidered throughout. It is well designed, especially the face, and in good preservation. From the mouth proceeds a scroll bearing these words:—

***Credo bider' bona d'ni in terra bibenciu'.***

It lies at the extreme east end of the nave floor. The inscription has been long wanting, but the date of design and execution of the brass is clear: he was the only rector who died about that period, and his will directs his burial in the choir of the church; we may therefore fairly conclude that it is his memorial.

Succeeding this in point of date is a small brass effigy of a lady with a butterfly head-dress, which, taken with the general costume, indicates the date of circa 1475. Her husband has long since disappeared, nor does any inscription remain to indicate who was the person represented. This memorial lies near the centre of the nave floor.

Then we come to another Rector, Thomas Symons. His is a rather

\* Parish Register.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. iii. p. 505.

‡ Newcourt, vol. i. p. 615.

§ Parish Register.

|| See Note on the Acts of Parliament for this purpose and their final repeal, in Paper on Heston Church, in Proceedings of this Society, vol. ii. p. 221 n.

small effigy incised in brass, habited in eucharistic vestments, having the amice and maniple embroidered throughout, and an orphrey round the chasuble; and beneath is the following inscription:—

**Miserere miserator, quia vero sum peccator :**

**Unde precor, licet reus, miserere mei deus.**

**Mag'r Thomas Symons, Rector eccl'ie de Grynforth.**

The date of execution is circa 1500. There is a little true shading. It does not appear at what date Thomas Symons or Symond was instituted to the living, but on the 12th August 1518 Thomas Cotton succeeded to it upon his resignation;\* and there can be little doubt that he had the monument prepared in his lifetime, as was then frequently done. In 1783 it was discovered beneath some pews, a fact which accounts for its remarkably perfect preservation. Mr. Betham, then rector, had it set in a marble slab, and fixed in its present position against the north wall of the chancel (for which brass collectors will not thank him, as it renders the making of a rubbing an inconvenient and fatiguing process), and has his own monumental inscription below it. Some stupid person has cut the letters M.D. in a diamond in a blank space of the brass inscription. Since the visit of the Society an organ has been placed in that part of the chancel, and unfortunately conceals the monument.

A fourth brass exists, bearing the following inscription:—

**“ Of yo' Charite pray for the soules of Rycharde Thorneton and Alys hys wyfe the whyche Rycharde decessed the vij day of Decemb. the yere of our lord M.lv. xliiij. On whos soules Jh'u habe mercy, amen.”**

The effigy of Richard is immediately above this, a clumsy figure, as usual at the period, habited in civil costume, and having round-toed shoes with a strap over the instep. His burial the day after decease, is recorded in the Register† thus—“ Richard Thorneton,—8 Decembris An'o Do'i 1544.” Alys was on his left, but her effigy has evidently been long lost, as also two groups of children, apparently three sons and three daughters. This memorial lies in the floor of the nave, far up westwards.

In 1559 is recorded the burial of Henry Thorneton, parson of Grinford, on 20th of February.‡ Newcourt § inserts the name of a Thomas

\* Newcourt, vol. i p. 615.

† Parish Register.

‡ Ibid.

§ Repertorium, i. 615

(no doubt this Henry) Thorneton between Robert Cosen, who was instituted 30th December 1558, and William Whitlock, who succeeded on the 2nd July 1560, upon the death of Thornton; but gives no other date.

Next we notice the monument to the memory of Bridget Coston and her family beneath a pediment, all carved in stone, and set up against the east wall of the nave, on the south of the chancel-arch. The lady is represented as kneeling at a prayer desk, while behind her kneel her children, Frances, Mary, James, Annie, and Philadelphia; over their heads, in less perfect relief, is her husband, Simon, leaning on his elbow, apparently out of an open window, and looking very sentimental. An inscription beneath is in full accordance, and describes her as "*fœmina superlative bona et optimis quibuscunq' sui seculi mulieribus in omni laude comparanda.*" Beneath is this sentiment: "*Uxorem vivam amare, voluptas est: defunctam religio*" Her death at the age of thirty-four is recorded to have happened on the 2nd July 1637; and she was buried on the following day.\* Simon seems to have been afflicted with classicalism, for besides this inscription is a long string of Latin verses, engraved on a gilt brass plate and set high up, (far above legibility) on the south wall near the monument.

There is also the matrix of another brass later in the same century.

One other monument remains to be noticed, which is that of Michael Gardner, who has been mentioned previously in the list of Rectors; he and his wife, are represented kneeling on either side of a prayer desk, and beneath a classic pediment; the monument is set against the north wall of the chancel at the east end.

We now advert to the REGISTER BOOKS, which, commencing in 1539, hold out a promise of much interesting matter which they do not supply. The date is one of the earliest known, and, although entries dating in 1536 may be found, there is no known authority for keeping a register of this kind prior to an Order of Cromwell as Vicegerent, in 1538 (30th Hen. VIII.) † It seems strange that the incalculable value of such records was not earlier perceived, but when once the idea had been suggested, a series of ordinances enforced the system. In the first year of King Edward the Sixth's reign (1547) were Injunctions, amongst other things directing the Parson, Vicar, or

\* Parish Register.

† Rogers' Ecclesiastical Law, p. 770; Burn's Parish Registers, pp. 6 and 17.

Curate to keep a book or register, and therein to enter the day and year of every wedding and christening\* and the parish was to provide, for the safe keeping of the book, a sure coffer and two locks and keys, one to remain with the parson and the other with the wardens; and every Sunday the parson was to make the week's entries in the presence of one of the wardens, under a penalty of three shillings and four pence to the poor men's box for each omission; then in Cranmer's Visitation Articles in the following year was an enquiry whether the Register Book was safely kept; † in the Articles issued in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, 1559, there is a similar enquiry; ‡ they are also enquired about in various Visitation Articles, as in those of Bishop Bentham of Lichfield and Coventry in 1565; § and in the 39th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign (1597) occurs a Constitution concerning Registers " (quorum permagnus usus est);" ¶ and then the 70th Canon of 1603 required that it should be written on parchment and carefully kept in a box with three locks, the key of one of which to be kept by the Incumbent and each Churchwarden, severally, and that the entries for the week were to be made every Sunday and to be signed by all three.

The earlier part of the Register Book at Great Greenford, down to the year 1602, is evidently a transcript and no doubt was made in obedience to the last mentioned Canon, which directs that they should be copied on parchment so far as practicable, especially since the beginning of the late Queen Elizabeth's reign. ¶

The entries are of the most meagre description, and not very numerous, and they shew that the parishioners comprised scarcely any even of the middle class. The earliest entry in each of the three categories runs thus:—

" Elizabethhe Martin Christened the xvijth of Januarye in ye yere 1539.  
Richard Arendell & alce Lampe were maryed the xxij<sup>o</sup> November  
an<sup>o</sup>. 1539.

*Buryalls.*

" Jhon Deacon j<sup>o</sup> Martii An'o Do'ni 1539."

As usual in early registers, the entries are few and probably incom-

\* Sparrow's Collection, p. 5.

† Ibid. 27.

‡ Ibid. 236.

§ Printed in the Church Review, 1st August, 1868.

¶ Printed in the same year.

¶ Sparrow's Collection, p. 339.

plete. Thus in the year 1608 there is but one entry of marriage, and later (when the troubles were commencing in 1640, 1641, and 1642, there are recorded but one burial in each year, and between 1644 and 1650, there are scarcely any; while the years 1651, 1652, and 1653 are quite blank. There is no entry of a baptism in 1652; but one of marriage in 1659, and none in 1660. Thus, in the utter absence of any reason to suppose that births, marriages, and deaths almost ceased in the parish, we may fairly presume that baptism was much dispensed with, that marriages became merely a civil contract, and burials if accompanied by a religious service were performed by a lay minister. Considering the fact that the rector though a clergyman duly ordained, and duly instituted to the living, conformed to the puritan *regime*, it might reasonably have been expected that such matters would have been left in his hands: or at least that due entries would have been made under his sanction and supervision in the parish books. But there can be little doubt that in the case of marriages they were performed as a civil rite before a magistrate, and the record kept by a civil registrar appointed under the authority of an Act of Parliament (of the Commonwealth) dated 24th August, 1653, in a separate book since lost.

Even in those entries which are duly made, there is no very great amount of precision: for example

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Old wydowe Osmond (buried) 30 Decembris An'o do'                        | 1600 |
| Goodman Butler & goodwyf lano were marryed the third of April           | 1616 |
| Olde Mother ffreeman was buried the twenty of April, An'o               | 1617 |
| Old Mother Hixe, cujus nomen erat Margaret, was buried y <sup>e</sup> 4 |      |
| of May, . . . . .   | 1624 |

Mr. Terry, however, sometimes departs from the practice, and makes a slight addition, such as "a very aged man," "a young and newly married wife;" so an example in 1672, "Jane Smith, an ancient mayd."

There is mention of the plague in 1603, but it seems to have even then been limited to two houses; one comprising five of the Barnard family between the fifth and twenty-eighth of October; and the other, the house of Mr. Bowyer, amongst the residents in which were two children of — Smith "verbi predicatoris;" amounting in all to eight persons. Again in 1643, between the 21st October and 17th January, are the burials of ten persons of whom a marginal note says "supposed, the plague."

Mr. Christopher Bowyer just mentioned was "one of y<sup>e</sup> Kinges Maiesties yeomen of his great chamber in ordinarie," and is mentioned in the register as "yeoman of the gard." He made his will on the 2nd July 1604;\* it is in the form termed *nuncupative*; that is to say, delivered verbally, and afterwards taken down in writing, and proved by the witnesses present at the time.† It describes him as "beinge sicke in bodie but of perfect mynde & memorie," and speaks of Joane his wife, and Isabell Smyth, widow, his daughter; and that "whereas he hath a brother which hath byne unto hym a very unkynde brother, yett we would that his saide brother should have some thinge for a remembrance. And these words (so the will ends) were uttered by him in the p<sup>n</sup>ce & hearinge of the said Joane his wief," & others. His death speedily followed; this will is dated the 2nd, he was buried on the 3rd, ‡ and the will was proved on the 5th July 1604.

His wife only survived about two months. She made a will § on the 5th September 1604, "being sicke in bodie." She bequeathes her soul to the three persons of the Holy Trinity, severally; "most faythfully trusting to be saved in & by the meritts of my saide Savio<sup>r</sup>, and by his death, passion, & glorious resurrection, confidently, assuredly trusting in & by my saide Savio<sup>r</sup> after this my frayle lief ended, to have ev<sup>r</sup>lastinge felycite & the heavenly Joyes; the Joyes whereas noe tonge canne expresse nor harte thincke." Times have changed, and no expressions of other than worldly matters are now permitted to appear in that solemn document which can only take effect when its author has passed from this to another world.

She leaves xls. to the poor of Greenford to be divided at her burial. To her late husband's brother William, x li., and as much of his wearing apparel as may be worth a like sum, or else the same value in money, on condition of not interfering with the executors, heirs, or legatees. She mentions her daughters, Ann, Bestonthe, Dorothy, Allen, and Isabell Smithe,|| and their children, and Robert

\* Commissary Court of London, fol. 58.

† This method was put an end to only as recently as the Wills Act, 1 Victoria, cap. 26.

‡ Parish Register.

§ Commissary Court of London, fol. 69.

|| Probably — Smith, verbi predicator, mentioned in the Register, was the husband of this Isabell Smithe.

Bryan of the Chauncerye, and John Hayell of the King's Majesty's wyneseller, her late husband's friends; Mr. Michael Gardiner (the rector), and her son in law Francis Awsyter, to whom she leaves her black mare, "Cole," with a black face.

She was buried on the following day,\* and the will was proved on the 21st of the same month.

It is noteworthy that in a retired parish such as this, all the old names have dropped out and disappeared, so that out of about fifty of those most frequently mentioned in the earlier entries in the register, not one now remains.†

Besides the usual records of the Register Book, there is an account of the Collections, commencing in 1689, under the authority of briefs. One in that year towards the relief of the poor Irish Protestants produced 2*l.* 8*s.*; in 1699, a brief for the poor distressed Vaudois, and other Protestants beyond the seas, produced 4*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; these clearly testify to the influence of Mr. Terry's teaching. In 1690, 1692-3, and 1700, were collections for the redemption of captives, the last of which produced as much as 13*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*

The same book contains a note of two early parochial charities; the first being under the will, dated the 8th April 1663, of William Millett ‡ of Sudbury in the parish of Harrow on the Hill, of a rent-charge of 5*l.* per annum to be laid out in the buying and making of two frise gownes for two poore widdowes, or other poore woman, of the price of twenty-eight shillings a piece, and two frise coats of twenty-two shillings a piece; and the other a devise, dated 5th October 1649, of the South Field, by George Smith; to be employed in buying two dozen of bread on each first Lord's Day after Easter Day, Whitsunday, and Midsummer Day; and if the rent be improved to more than six shillings, then more bread to be bought.

In connexion with the Church of Great Greenford, it may be worth while just to mention the hitherto unpublished incident that, in August 1595, there occurred a fight in the church between the two churchwardens, in which George Frankline by force turned out

\* Parish Register.

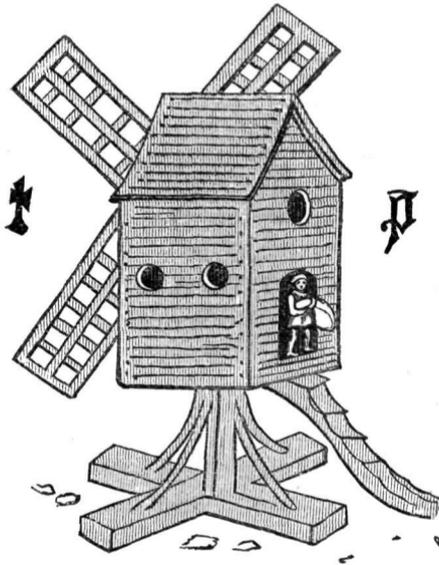
† Ex rel. Mr. Phillips, Master of the Endowed School, and Parish Clerk for many years.

‡ He was buried here in December 1663. Parish Register.

Thomas Lamplowe his co-warden ; for this he was excommunicated by the bishop, but upon his submission and performance of penance in the church, he was absolved and the sentence of excommunication was on the 9th Oct. following formally relaxed by the bishop, who directed the publication of the proceedings by being read on Sunday in time of divine service.\*

This completes a general account of the church, and its rectors and registers ; and, though few ancient buildings at first sight present less of archaeological interest than Great Greenford Church, yet it is hoped that the account here given is not altogether devoid of interest, or unworthy of being placed on record.

\* Vicar General's Books, 6, fol. 228.



## ON THE PILGRIMAGE TO OUR LADY OF WILSDON.

BY JOHN GREEN WALLER, ESQ.

In the church of Willesden, which we have just visited, was formerly an image of the Virgin Mary, to which miraculous powers were ascribed, and which thence became a place of pilgrimage. It was one of some note, as it is mentioned, together with "Our Lady of Walsingham" and "Our Lady of Ipswich," in the third part of the homily "Against Peril of Idolatry," which was issued in the reign of Edward VI. It is also one of the shrines named in the interlude of the four P's, *i. e.* A satirical Dialogue between a Palmer, a Pardoner, a Poticary, and a Pedler, by Thomas Heywood, published in 1549. The palmer is enumerating his visits to various sacred places, and among them says he was :

At Crome, at *Wilsdon*, and at Muswell,  
 At Seynt Rycharde and Saint Roke,  
 And at Our Lady that standeth in the Oke.

Here are mentioned four places in the neighbourhood of the metropolls noted for images of the Virgin Mary of wonder-working power. Crome is Crome's Hill at Greenwich; Wilsdon our present resort; Muswell is near Highgate; and "Our Lady of the Oke" is mentioned in a proclamation of Henry VIII. touching the preservation of game,\* and must have been between Islington and Highgate. So that, you see, we had three places of this description in the North of London. In point of fact, England had a very large number of these shrines; they were quite as numerous here as now upon the continent. Unfortunately, our records of them are exceedingly scanty. Even of Walsingham, the most renowned of all, which had a reputation beyond the seas, we have no complete history, though frequently mentioned in records, and often honoured by the presence of our sovereigns. But the witty colloquy of Erasmus, "The Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake,"† has made up for deficiencies, and has given us a vivid picture of the two most celebrated of our English shrines.

\* Vide Prickett's History of Highgate.

† "Peregrinatio Religionis ergo," Erasmi Colloquia.

It is easy to account for the loss of all historical records of these places. When, in 1538, the images were burnt at Chelsea, such documents as they possessed, which would be vouchers of miracles performed at the shrine, with lists of offerings made by different pilgrims, &c. were doubtless destroyed, at the same time, as monuments of idolatry.

As regards those on the continent, it is a curious fact that there is no published account earlier than the beginning of the Reformation. Indeed, we must regard these histories as a counter-demonstration, for the earliest in date is only 1523, whilst Loretto itself had none until 1575. By far the greater number were written in the seventeenth century, and by members of the Society of Jesus; and now they constitute a literature, of a very curious, but perhaps not of a very valuable description. Nevertheless, they afford us the means of comprehending the nature of the worship of these shrines, as set forth by authority. We can understand their pretensions, and by a comparison of a number of these stories, and seeing how much one is repeated in another, we have no difficulty in imagining what our own might have been in times past. I think, therefore, I cannot do better, in illustrating this subject, than to give you some general information respecting the nature of these places of pilgrimage, as gathered from the works to which I have alluded, and also from my own observations made at some of the shrines themselves.

The most noted shrines of "Our Lady" in Europe, besides that of Walsingham were—Loretto, Italy; Boulogne, France; Montserrat, Spain; Hal, in Belgium; Einsiedlen, Switzerland; Altötting, Bavaria; Maria Eck, Austria; and Czenstochow, Poland. There were many others quite as well known, which makes it difficult to select; but those I have named have an historical importance. Now, some of these places are for their physical characters among the most remarkable spots in Europe; and this leads me to point out to you two features, which have in all time marked places of pilgrimage. The first is, mountains or hill tops, or "high places;" the second, the interior of woods, *i. e.* "groves." The two types present us with two conditions, one of grave solemnity, the other of grandeur or beauty. It is unnecessary for me to say any thing of "groves" and "high places" for religious worship; as profane and sacred writers both allude to them, and many present must be familiar to pages in classical authors which illustrate the question. The most remarkable places of pilgrimage in the

world, are Adam's Peak in Ceylon, devoted to the Buddhist creed, and that of Montserrat in Spain, in connection with Christianity. The ascent of the former often costs a life; and of the latter, Thicknesse, the early patron of Gainsborough, said, that it was not "without some apprehensions that, if there was no better road down, we felt we must have become hermits."\* Now the three shrines, Wilsdon, Muswell, and Our Lady of the Oke present us with three of the common features. Willesden must originally have been encircled by the dense forest of Middlesex, a secluded spot apart from the highways of traffic. On the other hand, "Our Lady of Muswell" was on the eastern ridge of the chain of hills north of London, abutting on the ancient highway to the north, overlooking the valley of the river Lea, and commanding an extensive view of almost unrivalled beauty in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. Although I cannot locate with exactness "Our Lady of the Oke," its character is determined by its name, as there is a noted shrine so called in Italy, one in Belgium, one in France, and many others in different parts of Europe. In the histories of this species the figure is always said to have been discovered in an 'oak,' and classic readers will at once remember how this type also is to be paralleled in heathen antiquity.

The next point to which I shall direct your attention is one of the greatest importance and interest in this enquiry, and demands from us more than usual care and deliberation. It is that all the ancient miraculous images of the Virgin Mary are *black*. Now, travellers and tourists have sometimes endeavoured to account for this by telling us that the colour was produced by the smoke of the numerous tapers, and of the lamps ever burning before the image. They do not tell us, however, whether the chapels have the same hue, or indeed why they have not. It is a curious fact, that precisely the same thing was said by the early Christian writers of the images of the goddess Isis. Arnobius, who lived in the fourth century, and was a convert from heathenism, wrote a treatise against the religion he had forsaken, ridiculing the worship, whose image, he asserts, was blackened by the smoke of burning lamps.† We must reject these hypotheses because facts do not bear them out. The miraculous images of the Virgin are *painted* black; there are also a number of pictures to which the same hue is given; the colour therefore is intentional, and not the result of any

\* Thicknesse's Year's Journey through France and part of Spain.

† Arnobius, l. 6.

accidental circumstances. It is in fact a piece of symbolism, without doubt of the very greatest antiquity, carrying us back into very remote ages, and into oriental forms of religious worship. In the religion of India, Maya, a female divinity, is represented nursing Bouddha. In the ancient religion of Egypt, Isis is nursing Horus; both are represented *black*. This colour also distinguishes other members of their mythology. Now *black* is a natural symbol of profundity, that which is mentally as well as physically obscure. It is the colour of mourning, and we use it constantly as a metaphor when we speak of strong and hidden passion. The religious systems to which I have alluded are full of mysticism, in which ideas were veiled under various symbolic forms, and this colour must without doubt be considered in that light. I am confirmed in this view by the Very Rev. Canon Rock, who recently expressed very nearly the same thoughts, and whose knowledge of ecclesiastical symbolism is very extensive.

I now come to another part of this subject, which is in close connection with what I have just stated, viz. that numbers of these images were ascribed to St. Luke. Now this tradition is of extreme antiquity in the history of Christianity, and its examination helps our inquiry into the origin of the black colour, and its introduction into the Christian church.

Some Italian writers have endeavoured to find a solution of this question in a manner which at first sight commends itself to us as being extremely plausible; and Lanzi, in his History of Italian Painting, has accepted their reasoning. In the twelfth century there was a Florentine artist named Luca, who is known to have painted several pictures of the Virgin Mary, and among them one or two, at least, which are now referred to the Evangelist, as that at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. And this man, from the holiness of his life, received the popular title of *santo* or holy. There is also a vague tradition of a hermit of the name of Luca, who is also said to have painted pictures of this kind.\* This conclusion is one that we would naturally accept as final; but, unfortunately, it must give way to the hard logic of facts, as the tradition can be carried many centuries backward into the earlier ages of the Church. Simcon Metaphrastes, a Greek legendary writer of the tenth century, in his Life of St. Luke, has a remarkable passage † in which he expresses his gratitude to the

\* Lanzi, Storia Pittorica d'Italia, ii. c. 9-10.

† The passage is too interesting not to be given entire, as translated into Latin

Evangelist in having transmitted to us the portraits of Jesus and of Mary his mother. And the passage is yet further curious, as he even speaks of the mode of painting employed, that is with wax, and consequently it is an allusion to the ancient encaustic process at that time generally used. It therefore proves, that in the tenth century there were pictures assigned to St. Luke. But we do not even rest here, for Theodorus, a Greek writer of the sixth century, a reader of Constantinople, says that "Eudocia sent to Pulcheria, from Jerusalem, the picture of the mother of Christ which St. Luke the Evangelist had painted."\*

Eudocia was empress of Theodosius II., and Pulcheria, her sister-in-law, had been regent in the minority of the emperor, and was virtually the ruler of the empire. I cannot here dwell upon the character of these remarkable ladies, but their zeal for relics at least brings us to a fair presumption of the origin of this tradition. The Nestorian controversy had just been determined in the condemnation of the Bishop of Constantinople, in the Council of Ephesus, 431; and in the triumph of Cyril of Alexandria; and an immediate consequence was, that a picture of the Virgin nursing the infant Jesus, not an historical representation, but a symbolic or hieratic type, was, for the first time, elevated above the altar for the veneration of the Christian world. Pulcheria erected a magnificent church in the suburbs of Constantinople, dedicated it to the mother of Christ, and here placed the picture sent to her by Eudocia, the history of which was afterwards very remarkable. Thus we get evidence of this tradition arising in the fifth century, exactly where we might have expected to have found it, taking the circumstances of ecclesiastical history into consideration. Then, considering the character of Cyril, the ruling spirit of that time, an Egyptian bishop; and of Eudocia, a convert from heathenism; she and Pulcheria diligent hunters after sacred relics; the practice acknowledged in the Church of adopting types from the heathen, but altering in Lippomano Sanctorum Historia, Vita S. Lucae. "Hoc autem inter cætera gratissimum est, quod ipsum quoque typum assumptæ humanitatis Christi mei, ac signum eius quæ illum pepererat, et assumptam humanitatem dederat, primus hic cerâ ac lineamenti tingens, ut ad hæc usque tempora in imagine honorarentur, tradidit, tanquam non satis esse existimans, nisi etiam per imaginem ac typum versaretur cum his quos desiderabat, quod ferventissimi amoris signum est."

\* Molanus, De Historia, S. S. Imaginum, &c. lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 47. Lovanii, 1771.

the application; the fact of pictures and images ascribed to St. Luke being *black*,—and can we doubt of the origin? The colour might be justified by an appeal to Solomon's Song, "I am black but comely," and weaker minds might yield to the innovation, when told that St. Luke had been the painter. Thus then, as the *nimbus* became adopted from heathen art, so might an ancient hieratic type, long honoured in the religion of Egypt, be accepted for popular veneration.

Let us now see how far this hypothesis is favoured by the historical narratives of some of the most celebrated images, to many of which an Eastern origin is ascribed. "Our Lady of Loretto" is said to have been brought with the holy house itself from Nazareth, by the ministry of angels. "Our Lady of Atocha," near Madrid, of which we have often heard in connexion with the Ex-Queen of Spain, is said to have been brought from Antioch; Atocha is indeed a corruption of the name. "Our Lady of Liesse," a noted example in France, was brought from Egypt itself, so also was that of "Our Lady of Puy." This latter is so remarkable that it is worth describing, as it strongly corroborates the fact I am here adducing. It is considered to be the most ancient of these images in France, and is a seated figure carved out of cedar, covered all over from the head to the feet with bands of very fine linen, very carefully and closely wound upon the wood after the manner of Egyptian mummies. It is also of a deep black, polished, the face and features extremely long, the eyes small and formed of glass, giving the whole a haggard wild look. I will not weary you by further instances, as these are sufficient to show an existing tradition ascribing many of them to an oriental source.

I have thus endeavoured to give you a brief account of the character and origin of these images, which became so universally adopted in the Christian world; to which "pilgrimages for religion's sake" were made by all ranks of society, accompanied by gifts of such value, that an enumeration of the riches of Mouserrat or Loretto, reads like a page from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Kings and princes vied with each other; and it was no uncommon thing for a hero fresh from the field of his glory to come and prostrate himself before one of these shrines,\* and to dedicate to it banners torn from the enemy, with a good tithe of the spoils of battle. And, amongst them, even his name is found, who was the first to proclaim them relics of idolatry, his

\* Don John of Austria, victor of Lepanto, visited Montserrat.

appetite, doubtless, not a little whetted by the riches which awaited his treasury.

The images themselves are always carved out of wood, and are generally about 3 ft. 6 in. in height, sometimes smaller, but rarely larger. Some are said to have been sent down from heaven; some made by angels; some made by St. Luke, as before stated; some dug out of the earth, and some found in oaks, &c. However, there are others which make no such pretension of miraculous origin. That of "Our Lady of Hal," by Brussels, was presented to the town by Sophia, daughter of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, in 1267, and the style of its execution warrants the date assigned to it. But it is not often easy to give these figures a close examination, as they are always covered up with some rich clothing, which obscures all but the face.

But it is time I told you something of the image and shrine of "Our Lady of Wilsdon." No researches, however, have availed to discover at what time it first became a place of pilgrimage, and but for a few notices of it by our Reformers, and the abjurations some individuals were obliged to make for a disrespectful allusion to it, we should know nothing about it. It was evidently a popular one with the Londoners, as one Father Donald, a Scotch friar, preaching, said, "Ye men of London, gang on yourself with your wives to Wyllesdon, in the devil's name, or else keep them at home with you in with sorrow." Such hints of the evils of such resorts are however common. In England, as early as the fifteenth century, the followers of Wickliffe appear as calling in question the efficacy of pilgrimages,\* and examinations before Archbishop Arundel show us the spirit then alive amongst these sectaries on this subject. From that time, they were pointed out as the weak place in the economy of the Church of Rome, and consequently were first assaulted. Fitzjames, Bishop of London, a man of narrow mind and of virulent disposition, was extremely active in repressing all indications of revolt. Even Dean Colet, the friend of Erasmus, and the companion alluded to in his Colloquy under the name of Gratian, the illustrious founder of St. Paul's School, was in danger from his zeal, and was saved only by the prudence of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. But smaller fry felt the burden of his wrath. One Elizabeth Sampson, the wife of John Sampson, of the parish of Aldermanbury, in the City of London, a few months before the decease of Henry

\* "Lolardi sequaces Johannis Wiclif . . . . . prædicaverunt peregrinationes non debere fieri, et præcipuè apud Walsingham." Thomas Walsingham, p. 340.

VII. was brought under ecclesiastical correction in the Bishop's court, and out of 21 Articles objected against her, on the charge of "heretical pravity," was one of disrespect of pilgrimage in the person of "Our Lady of Wilsdon." The lady certainly used strong language; indeed made use of words to express her thoughts that might have been merely forcible when they were uttered, but now-a-days are not considered fitted for ears polite; I must therefore be excused in leaving out one little word used as an expletive.

"Art. III. *Tu dixisti* that our Lady of Wilsdon was a brent a—elfe, and a brent a—stocke, and yf she myght have holpen men e women which goe to hyr of pylgrymage, she wolde not have suffered her tayle to have ben brent &c."

We find by this, that a fire must have taken place in the church, possibly from lamps or tapers, and the image had been partly injured. The lady had to abjure in the following terms.

"In the name of God, Amen, Before Almighty God, the Fader, the Son, and the Holy Ghoste, the Blessed Virgyn our Ladye, &c., I Elizabeth Sampson doe voluntarily, and hereto not constreyned, knowledge, graunt, recognise, and openly confesse, &c.\*"

The date of this abjuration is March 31, 1509, two years before Erasmus is supposed to have visited Canterbury and Walsingham, and is interesting as showing that opposition to the practice of going on pilgrimages to so-called miraculous images must have been working amongst the mass of the people.

Some years later, when the days of these shrines were fast drawing to a close, we find "Our Lady of Wilsdon" again alluded to. In 1530, one Dr. Crome, being questioned by the bishops of heretical opinions, said, "I wyll saye ageyne, doo your dewtye, and then your devocion. First, I saye, doe those thynges the whyche God hath commaundyd to be doon, the whyche are the dedys of pytye: for those shalbe requyred of thy hande agayne. When thou comyst at the days of judgement, He wyll not say unto thee, 'Why wentest thou not to Wilsdon a pylgrymage?' but he wyl saye unto thee, 'I was an hungred and thou gavest me no meat, I was nakyd and thou gavyst me no clothys,' and soche lyke."

In the following year, 1531, one John Hervis, a draper of London, was made to abjure for saying that he heard the Vicar of Croydon thus preach openly: "There is as much bawdry kept by going in

\* Regist. Fitz James, Epi. Lond.

pilgrimage to Wilsdon or Muswell, as in the Stew-side." But indeed the morality of pilgrims had always been a theme for the satirist. Piers Ploughman, who bitterly upbraids those that went to Walsingham,\* only repeats an often told tale of the evil of indiscriminate assemblages even "for religion's sake."

Seven years later the end had come, and is thus related by Holinshed. "In September, by the special motion of the Lord Cromwell, all the notable images unto the which were made anie especial pilgrimage and offerings were utterlie taken awaie, as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the Ladie of Wilsdon, with many other, and likewise the shrines of counterfeit saints as that of Thomas a Becket, and others, &c. The images of our Lady of Walsingham and Ipswich were brought up to London with all the jewels that hung about them, and divers other images both in England and Wales, whereunto anie common pilgrimage was used, for avoiding of idolatry; all which were burnt at Chelsea by the Lord Privie Seal."

The position of this image in the church is indicated in the will of Master William Lychefeld, whose brass yet remains in the chancel, for he directs his body to be buried in the chancel of the parish church of Wilsdon before the image of the most Blessed Virgin Mary.† It must then have been above the altar, probably resting upon a beam made for the purpose, which likewise would be used for the suspension of rich offerings.

Of pilgrims it may be as well to say a few words, as they have been classed by different terms, which have remained in different languages, but whose origin is forgotten in the daily use of them. We cannot quote a better authority than that of Dante in his "Vita Nuova," where, having seen a procession of pilgrims passing through the streets of Florence, whilst his beloved Beatrice was lying dead, says "They call those 'Palmer's' inasmuch as they go beyond the sea, whence they have many times obtained the palm. They call those 'Pilgrims,'

"Heremytes on an heep,  
With hoked staves,  
Wenten to Walsingham,  
And hire wenches after."

Vision of Piers Ploughman.

There is also a French proverb, "Je connais le pélerin," spoken of a crafty fellow.

† "In cancello ecclesie parochie de Wilsdon, coram imagine beatissime Virginis Marie." Test. Mag'ri Will'i Lychefeld cle'ci Novemb. 2, 1517.

inasmuch as they go to the house of Galicia, because the sepulchre of S. James was further off from his country than that of any other apostle. Those are called 'Romers' \* in so much as they go to Rome, where these that I have called 'pilgrims' were going."

A pilgrim was one to whom considerable reverence was attached. Before setting out upon his journey, he made his will, † confessed himself, and his bourdon or staff, and his scrip received a solemn benediction from the priest. ‡ His person was held sacred and had many immunities. If, in passing through an enemy's country, he was taken prisoner, he was liberated if his true character was proved. Thus it was, that Richard Cœur de Lion, making an attempt to pass through the territories of the Duke of Austria, assumed the guise of a pilgrim. Some shrines especially were efficacious in affording protection to one who could show, by his sign, that he had worshipped there. Such was that of "Our Lady of Roc-Amadour," and there were strict ordinances made as to the manufacture of the "signs," in order to preserve the monopoly to the authorities of the shrine. § So that, they had not only the use of a pious remembrance, but tended to identify the pilgrim, and he

\* Chiamansi *Palmiери*, in quanto vanno oltramare, laonde, molte volte recano la palma. Chiamansi *Pellegrini* in quanto vanno alla casa di Galizia, però che la sepoltura di San Jacopo fu piu lontana dalla sua patria che di alcuno altro Apostolo. Chiamansi *Romei* in quanto vanno à Roma la ove questi che io chiamo pellegrini andavano." Vita Nuova. Fir. 1576. p. 69.

Romeo therefore signifies a pilgrim to Rome, and in Shakespeare's play he appears at the masque as a pilgrim, Act i. Sc. v. Hence the verb "Romear," to go to Rome, or wander about, in English "to roam." One who visited Mont St. Michel, in Normandy, a celebrated place of pilgrimage, was called "a Michelot;" and "Saunterer," corrupted from "Sainte Terre," is said to have been another term.

† "He made his testament als did other Pilgrimes." Langtoft's Chronicle.

‡ Vide Le Grand Fabliaux, &c. 12mo. Paris, 1781, Vol. i. p. 310. "Les Croisés et les *Pèlerins* ne manquait pas, avant leur départ, d'aller faire bénir à l'Eglise leur *escarcelle* avec leur *bourdon*, et Saint Louis fit cette cérémonie à S. Denis."

§ Vide Collectanea Antiqua, C. R. Smith, vol. iv. p. 167, who gives in full an ordinance of Louis or Joan of Provence, 1354, to restrain the making or vending of the signs of the shrine of St. Mary Magdalene to other than ecclesiastical authorities. At p. 170 are also some similar facts relating to Roc-Amadour and its privileges. For much curious matter relating to "signs," see also vol. i. 81, vol. ii. 43, of the work above referred to. Also an article in the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, vol. i. by the same author, who was the first to enter fully into this interesting subject.



N. D. L. beneath signify "Nostra Donna Loreto." Fig. 2 is a later example, with heads of St. Peter and St. Paul on the reverse. Fig. 3 is an ampulla of Our Lady of Boulogne. The Virgin is represented crowned, holding a sceptre, seated in a chair, with the infant Jesus in her arms. The inscription is ✠ SIGNV : SCE : MARIE : DE BOLONIA. It may be as early as the fourteenth century. Many signs of this shrine have been found in London, which may be accounted for, as it is the nearest to England of those beyond sea, and moreover was of great celebrity, and held in the greatest reverence by the maritime neighbours. Fig. 4 is one of copper, of "Our Lady of Hal," belonging to the fifteenth century: it has holes for the purpose



Fig. 4.

of securing it to the dress. The Virgin crowned with the infant Jesus is seated beneath a canopy, on each side of which is an angel kneeling and holding a scroll. Beneath the figure 'v'hal. Of English shrines of the Virgin Mary there are but few signs that can be identified. Walsingham, naturally, being the most celebrated among



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

them, furnishes the largest number. One is here given (fig. 5.) It represents the "Annunciation" and beneath is inscribed "Walsynham." We may infer from this that this subject indicated this special shrine. It is of the fifteenth century. Figure 6 belongs probably to the same place, on account of having the same subject. It is early in the fourteenth century, and of more elegant design. The inscription on the margin above the figure of the Virgin is "ave Maria gratia plena d'ns ..... This has a reverse, which is unusual at this date, having the figure of a bishop or abbot; on the verge are remains of an inscription "s... an mus..... monastero... co.. Nothing satisfactory can be made out of it.

It is very possible that this given in the annexed cut (fig. 7), consisting



Fig. 7.

only of the letter M crowned, apparently intended as a monogram, may be referred to Muswell, as the letter is the initial of both Mary and the name of the place. It is a type of which others have been found in London, as there is one in the Guildhall Museum. None have been found that can be identified as belonging to Wilsdon, and unless we had the name inscribed, we should not know them, because we have lost the distinguishing type which without doubt all signs possessed. Fig. 8 is a remarkable one, inasmuch as it shows the Virgin and Child within a tabernacle borne upon a bird; whether a dove or an eagle is intended cannot be inferred. This, certainly, is a special distinction belonging

to a particular shrine, but which, we have no means of telling. Fig. 9 represents the Virgin and Child within a crescent (moon.) This also



Fig. 8



Fig. 9.

without doubt indicates a particular type, but which is not certain. It has been given to "Our Lady of Boulogne," but with the interpretation of the "crescent as a boat." The annexed cut (fig. 10) represents a *crouch* or pilgrim's staff of rock crystal, mounted with silver, from Loretto. It was doubtless the memorial of pilgrimage to that shrine made by a person of high rank. The *form* is very similar to one a pilgrim to Montserrat is using, whose figure forms the frontispiece to Thicknesse's Tour.



Fig. 9.

I may perhaps, in conclusion, be permitted to give you some idea of what the scene might have been at Wilsdon on a great festival, by offering you a picture drawn from one yet to be seen within twelve hours' journey hence.\* Let us suppose, then, the accessories of a country fair, with booths of all kinds; and, leading to the church, many vendors of memorials of the shrine in tokens of various descriptions. Crowds, moving towards the church, are paying their devotions at the several appointed.

\* Hal near Brussels, on the first Sunday of September; *vide* Gent. Mag. 1852 for an account by the author.

stations. You enter it by the western door, and high over the altar is the miraculous image with its black face, richly attired in silk and lace. Upon its head is a crown of fine gold, further enriched by jewels of price, and chains of gold hang about the figure, suspending medallions of various sizes. Near to it are the votive offerings of gold and silver, or of wax, according to the wealth of the donor, evidences of miracles performed. But the service of the altar is done, and now, issuing from the church, is a procession of clergy and acolytes with crosses and banners, preceding a dignitary under a canopy, bearing the consecrated Host. Then follow a long train of men and women, members of guilds and confraternities, in honour of "Our Lady of Wilsdon;" and, lastly, the sacred image borne upon a highly enriched bier, and all about it a furious struggle of men and women for the honour of having, for one moment, a participation in its support. And thus, with minstrelsy attending, it goes through the parish until again replaced above its altar. Let the day end in gambling with dice and roulette; some drunkenness and noisy mirth; and you have a picture, of what is common enough now, and *must have been common enough* in times past, of a "pilgrimage for religion's sake."

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX  
Archaeological Society.

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VOL. IV.

NOVEMBER, 1872.

Part II.

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THE PARISH OF WILLEDON.

BY FREDERICK A. WOOD, ESQ.

The parish of Willesdon is bounded on the west and north by the river Brent; on the east by the old Roman road to Edgeware; on the south-east by the stream formerly called Kilbourn, now a sewer; on the south by a lane once called Flowerhills, now Kilbourn Lane, thence by the Harrow Road; while the south-western portion stretches out into a tongue of land abutting on the parishes of Hammersmith, Acton, Ealing, and Twyford.

It contains, according to the Ordnance Survey of 1865, 4,382 acres.

The earliest historical notice of this parish is found in the charter by which Athelstane granted to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's, or rather "ad monasterium statutum n Londoniâ civitate ubi diu Sanctus Erkenwaldus episcopatum tenuit," 10 mansas at Neosdune cum Willesdune.

Two ridges, spurs from the high ground of Hampstead, run east and west; the northern ridge forms the southern bank of the Brent,

and on this was the manor of Neasdon; the southern ridge is parallel to it, and on this was situated the manor of Willesdon; between them ran a small brook called the Slade, rising on the eastern boundary of the parish at Cricklewood, and joining the Brent on the western boundary near Stone Bridge, where it spreads out into a large marsh.

Though these charters of Athelstane bear a very doubtful reputation, and Kemble has shown that many of them are forgeries, this particular one is not marked by him as one of the forged charters. These manors, farms, or tons, (the termination "ton," as in Kenton, Acton, and others, points to a Saxon origin,) would not be found in the solitary glades of the forest, but as near as possible to the roads through the district; and, as the great Roman road ran along the eastern side of the parish, it is there that we naturally look for the earliest traces of occupancy; and we find that the manor of Willesdon was situated in the south-east corner of the parish, and constitutes what is now its urban portion, called Kilburn, continuing by the side of the Edgware Road along the southern base of the southern ridge, while the manor-house was situated almost opposite the Priory of St. John the Baptist at Kilburn. The manor of Neasdon, at that time apparently the most important, stretched along the banks of the Brent, and abutted on the Roman road at Brent Bridge.

The next notice of the parish is found in the great survey of the Conqueror. In this survey Neasdon is not mentioned at all. The manor of Willesdon is set down as containing 15 hydes, that of Harlesdon five hydes, and East Twyford two, equal to about 2,640 acres of cultivatable land, of which nine carucates and three virgates and six acres, equal to about 1,131 acres, were cultivated, while there was in the parish woodland sufficient for pannage for 650 hogs, of which 500 were set down to Willesdon. Both Harlesdon and East Twyford are situated at the western end of the southern ridge, one on each side of the road to Harrow, and had been taken out of the old manor of Willesdon since the time of the first charter, and this points to the probable date of the origin of the highway to Harrow; while Neasdon was undoubtedly then included with Willesdon, and formed the forest which afforded so large a supply of acorns for the swine of the manor.

Many documents of the reigns of John, Henry III. and the Edwards show that as early as A.D. 1200 a church existed in the parish. No mention is made of a church in Domesday, and though this omission

does not positively prove that there was no church, it strengthens the inference that the church was of later erection.

In 1200 John the son of Gorman is called parson of Willesdon, and various leases refer to the land now called the Rectory Farm, which is set out at length in a terrier of the 33rd Henry III. (A.D. 1249) as containing one virgate, 12 acres, and one messuage at the gate of the churchyard; this with the great tithes constituted the rectory, always held by the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's as chapter property. The parish was served by a vicar, and in a deed dated 2 Edward I. the dean and chapter grant to Alan de Mortham, a minor canon, the great tythes belonging to the church of the Blessed Mary of Willesdon, saving to themselves the right of presentation to the vicarage.

During this period the prebendal manors of the parish must have been created, for in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Nicholas IV. (A.D. 1291)—

|                                    | £  | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| The parsonage is valued at . . .   | 12 | 0  | 0  |
| The prebend of Willesdon . . .     | 4  | 0  | 0  |
| The prebend of Brundesbur' . . .   | 2  | 0  | 0  |
| The prebend of Mappesbur' . . .    | 3  | 6  | 8  |
| The prebend of Chambleynswod . . . | 2  | 10 | 0  |
| The prebend of Harlesdon . . .     | 3  | 6  | 8  |
| The prebend of Twyford . . .       | 2  | 19 | 0  |
| The prebend of Neasdon . . .       | 3  | 2  | 0  |
| The prebend of Oxgate . . .        | 2  | 8  | 0  |

—the first six having been carved out of the old manor of Willesdon, the two last out of the old manor of Neasdon, and there is a regular succession of Prebendaries in the lists published by Newcourt from the beginning of the twelfth century.

These manors must have increased in value during the next two reigns, for in the Inquisitiones Nonarum, in the reign of Edward III. the ninth is estimated for the prebend of Willesdon at 14*s.* 0*d.* equal to an annual value of 6*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*; those of Bromes at 12*s.* 4*d.* equal to an annual value of 7*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*; of Mapes at 21*s.* equal to an annual value of 9*l.* 9*s.* 0*d.*; and those of Chambers at four shillings, equal to an annual value of 1*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* In these inquisitions no mention is made of Harlesdon or Twyford, nor of Neasdon or Oxgate.

The next notice we have is in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII. where the prebends are valued as follows :

|                                  | £  | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Wylesdon, annual value . . . . . | 12 | 0  | 0  |
| Brundesbury, „ „ . . . . .       | 14 | 6  | 8  |
| Mapysbury „ „ . . . . .          | 12 | 0  | 0  |
| Chamb'leynswode „ „ . . . . .    | 8  | 6  | 8  |
| Harleston „ „ . . . . .          | 10 | 2  | 3  |
| Twyorde „ „ . . . . .            | 5  | 6  | 8  |
| Neesdon „ „ . . . . .            | 7  | 13 | 4  |
| Oxgate „ „ . . . . .             | 7  | 1  | 1  |

During the various Ecclesiastical revolutions many of these possessions have been lost to the church, and the commissioners now hold lands only in the manors of Willesdon, Brondesbury, Mapesbury, and Chamberlaneswood.

An Inquisition in the Court of Wards dated 38 Henry VIII. shows how largely this process of conveying has affected church property. In this inquisition is set out the property of Michael Roberts of Neasdon, who died in 1545 ; he left all he possessed to an expected son, who either was never born or died in infancy, with reversion to his brother Edmund Roberts. The property in Willesdon held of the various prebendaries was 443 acres, of the value of 44*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and at a rental of 1*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* The grandson of this Edmund left every acre of this property as a freehold.

When the land first came into the possession of the church the area of cultivation must have been very small. In *Domesday* only half of the land of the parish is said to have been capable of cultivation, and only half of that was under the plough ; but when the numerous and needy followers of the Norman were thrust into the Church, not necessarily excluding the Saxon clergy, but sharing with them, their better knowledge of agriculture and their greater energy would enable them to make the lands which had only sufficed for the maintenance of the Saxon clergy serve for their own as well. *It was the Normans* who divided the parish into prebends.

Early in the reign of Henry II. the priory of S. John the Baptist was founded, and the conventual buildings rose among the trees on the banks of the Keeleburn. It was built by the Benedictine abbots

\* If a forgery, not fabricated until long after *Domesday*.

of Westminster for three of the maids attendant on the then dead Queen Maud, herself almost a Benedictine nun. Though without doubt the foundation of this priory exercised great influence in the neighbourhood, yet as it is not situated in the parish it scarcely comes within the range of the subject in hand; but one of the duties undertaken by the nuns was the relief of travellers on the Great Roman Road, and, as the priory from the first was a sort of hospice, it must have drawn a population round its walls. Here travellers towards S. Alban's would stop to form parties for the purpose of mutual protection in passing through the dense forest through which ran the road, immediately they had ascended the steep hill in front; here they would stop to ask at the shrine of the Baptist for the saint's protection; here also they would halt, after having passed the dangers, to recruit and to thank the saint for their deliverance. The church of the priory would no doubt be also a place of worship for the neighbours, though it was not in the parish; for though the priory was not founded much, if at all, before the church in the centre of the parish, yet long before the priory was founded an oratory existed in the woods on the banks of the stream, and this would serve the purposes of worship quite as well as the church built in its place.

This period was the golden age of church-building, but this out-of-the-way parish does not appear to have had any church till the middle of the twelfth century. The two round pillars of the nave of the present edifice are all that remain of the church then built, which was most probably a lancet-windowed church with a belfry, and if the font originally belonged to Willesdon, of which there is some doubt, it would I think strengthen this supposition, for the disengaged columns of the central shaft and what is left of the capitals appear to be Early English, but of a rather late period. The situation of the church, close to an extensive marsh, and in the midst of what in those days must have been a dense forest, and at the end of a long lane which even in the last century led nowhere except into the common lands which extended to the Brent, is a riddle that I have not been able to solve. Will the fact that it was the shrine of a miraculous image throw any light upon its loneliness? or would the fact that the rectorial lands (the demesne of the dean and chapter) were situated in this part of the parish help to explain the selection of the site,\* on the supposition

\* See the article *On the Pilgrimage to our Lady of Willesdon*, by John Green Waller, Esq., at p. 173 of the present volume.

that they would build the church as near as they could to their own property, or rather on it, for the rectory-house stood and now stands at the gate of the churchyard.

The changes that have passed over the parish have been very gradual. The church held the land, and was of course an absentee landlord. The tenants reclaimed the woodland and the marsh, which they held at very small quit rents. I find that the predecessor of the Roberts's in the reign of Henry II. held the land at Neasdon for the annual rent of a hen, redeemable for three halfpence. The successful yeoman would try to compound for these rents, and become a freeholder, and though the landlord would not part with the surveyed lands, he could sell the waste that had been reclaimed; or the tenant might gain a freehold by squatting till lapse of time gave him a holding, but these freeholds were very few. The greater part of the land was held on lease of the different prebendaries, who granted their leases as private freeholders; the documents therefore relating to them are not found among the archives of the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's.

After the Reformation the prebendal lands of Oxgate, Neasdon, East Twyford, and Harlesdon, were almost, if not altogether, lost to the church. Those of East Twyford appear to have been dealt with even before that age of spoliation. The other three were absorbed by the Roberts's, who, as bailiffs to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's, had chances of which they availed themselves largely. This family, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were the largest private landowners in Willesdon. The last male heir died in 1700, leaving the property to five sisters, coheiresses; these ladies gradually parted with their shares, and towards the middle of the eighteenth century the greater part of this estate came into the possession of the Nicolls of Colney Hatch, and the Nicolls of Burton Hall, Hendon. The property of the former passed by marriage to the Duke of Chandos, and, again by marriage, to the Dukes of Buckingham. The other branch of the Nicolls retained their share, and, bit by bit, bought up all the rest, and they now hold the bulk of the Neasdon property, in the person of Katharine Nicoll Prout, the cousin of the last of the Nicolls, who died about sixteen years ago.

Another manor, that of Malourees, which embraces a large area along the Slade Brook, and in the central basin, and crosses the parish from Cricklewood to Kensal Green, was bought by Archbishop Chichele for the College of All Souls, and is still held by that corporation.

In 1815 an act was passed for inclosing the common lands: these were all re-arranged, and 500 acres of the waste were sold, thus creating a number of small freeholds. This process of creating freeholds had been going on for some time before. The parish authorities compelled the squatters to pay rates, and the land they occupied became freehold by lapse of time.

A short note on the population of the parish, at various times, may prove interesting, as an introduction to the register.

In Domesday the population of the various manors is reckoned to be 49 villeins, six bordarii, and three cottagers, which, with the reeves, and leaving out any free inhabitants, might give a population of about 200 souls.

The nature of the offences punished at the courts does not give a bad indication of the character of the population, and in a court roll of Henry II., A.D. 1154, I find that Thomas White was fined 3s. 4d. for destroying the lord's wood with his cattle, but the fine was afterwards forgiven.

Agnes the wife of Richard Everard is a common huckster, and sells beer in cups and dishes not sealed with a measure: she was fined 2d.

John Bruen of Neasdon "est communis pandoxator," a common ale-brewer, and breaks assize, and was fined 4d.

In a roll at the Augmentation Office in the reign of Edward VI. it is stated that there are in the parish of houselyng people 240, which would give a population of 400 to 500.

In the 26th Charles II. the number of houses reckoned to the hearth tax was 93, with 277 hearths.

In 1795 the parish contained 130 houses and 715 inhabitants.

This short account of the parish will, I trust, serve as an introduction to the notes that I have made on the old register.

The Act for enforcing the keeping of these parish registers was made in 1530, but for nearly forty years it seems to have been a dead letter in this parish, or the sheets have been lost. The first date in the early register is 1569, and this date is not an original entry; in fact the entire register up to 1614 has been copied at one time from some more ancient volume, and there is no certificate attached to the copy showing that it was a true one.

The register commences in 1569 and ends in 1740, thus extending

over a period of 171 years, or rather 167 years, for, though the first entry is dated 1569, there are but two in that year, two more in 1572, and in 1573 the register seems to have been kept regularly.

In the first complete decade from 1590 to 1599 there are entries of 108 births; in the last complete decade, from 1721 to 1730, there are 205 births, showing that the children born in the parish had nearly doubled. The death register exhibits a remarkable difference; in the first decade there are 57 deaths, in the last 427, but of these 72 are nurse children belonging to other parishes, so that the number really due to the parish ought to be only 355. Thus, while the births were only doubled, the deaths had doubled twice and were bidding fair to double a third time, being six times the number of the first decade, or in other words, in the fresh period, the births are the double of the deaths; in the last the deaths are twice as many as the births. The ratio between the two kept decreasing from 1569 to the middle of the seventeenth century, when the numbers of births and deaths were about equal; the deaths then increased in a greater proportion than the births, till in 1740 they were double the number, which shows that in the sixteenth century the parish could not afford a living for those born in it, and a large number had to emigrate into the outer world, while there was not influx to make up for such emigration; but that in the eighteenth century the state of things which exists now had commenced, the parish had ceased to be exclusively rural, and the movement was being initiated, which will eventually turn our beautiful green fields into streets of houses.

In taking the death rate of the parish at the beginning of the last century, I had to make a large deduction from the number registered: in the ten years between 1721 and 1730 there were 72 nurse children buried; the parish was in reality one huge baby-farm for the pauper children of the urban parishes of Westminster, S. Martin's-in-the-Fields, S. Giles', and S. Anne's, Soho; as they had no workhouses, they farmed out the paupers in the neighbouring country districts, and the deaths of the poor children form a seventh of the whole number registered, and this practice could not but have had an injurious effect upon the morals of the parish.

In the register I have found many curious omissions: there were but two entries in 1569, none in 1570 or 1571, two in 1572. From 1573 to 1585 the entries appear to have been made pretty regularly; in this last year there is a break, and a leaf or two has been torn out,

and in 1586, 1587, and 1588 there are no entries at all. I think these omissions have been owing to a change of vicars: perhaps no one was appointed for some time. After 1588 the register is kept regularly till 1590, but in 1593 there is not a death registered, though 28,000 people died of the plague in London. In 1604 there is but one entry, a birth.

The great plague of 1625, which in London carried off 35,000 people, seems to have had little influence in Willesdon, for in that year the deaths registered were only 12, against 14 in the previous year, but in 1626 there was an increase of seven over the average.

In 1637 three deaths are entered as from "the sickness," showing that the plague which had been raging in London in 1636 was extending itself into the country.

After 1644, when the vicar, R. Clark, died or was promoted, the entries become most irregular. The Dean and Chapter were in difficulties with the House of Commons, and probably no vicar was appointed. In 1648 a man called Parkins was vicar; his brother was chaplain to Sir John Franklyn, a large leaseholder in the parish, and Puritan Member for Middlesex. The register was greatly neglected, for from 1644 to 1652 there are only entries of 16 births and four deaths.

In 1653 Sir William Roberts, the chief lay landlord in the parish, one of Cromwell's lords, performed the marriages himself as a justice of the peace, and kept the register by deputy.

In the year 1665, the year of the great plague, the entries of deaths were 35, while in 1664 and 1666 there were only 16 in each year.

The register unfortunately contains no continuous list of vicars, but it shows us that those mentioned were quiet, pedantic gentlemen, who lived to a good old age, and made themselves comfortable. The first of whom I find any notice is Robert Griffiths: there is an entry of his burial in 1614. He was succeeded by Thomas Gyffard, who signs his name at the bottom of each page of the register as Vicarius de Willesdon; he was therefore a resident, in fact he kept the register himself for seventeen years. He calls a strange pauper woman a "peregrina." There is no entry of his burial.

He was succeeded in 1631 by Richard Clarke, who died in 1644, just before the troubles of the Rebellion; he also kept the register himself, and his fine small hand is a great contrast to the sprawling writing of his predecessor.

For ten years after Clarke's death the register seems to have been kept exclusively for the family of the Roberts, for they and their friends and dependents are the only people of whom it takes any notice. But in 1653, Sir William Roberts started the register afresh as a secular, not an ecclesiastical record. He recites the Act by which Parliament abolished all religious ceremonies connected with marriage, appoints a tailor as registrar, and commences to marry the parishioners most vigorously (I am afraid that as a ratepayer he found that it was necessary). In 1655 he married eight couples, a larger number than had been married in any year for twenty-two years previously. In 1658 he married six couples; but the effort seems to have exhausted the parish. For 1659 and 1660 there are no entries of marriages.

At the Restoration, Sir William's registrar, the tailor, was evidently deposed, for a fresh hand commences to note the christening of the children; during the reign of Sir William children are born only, they are not christened, and though after 1660 the rule is to enter children as being christened, yet in a few cases they are registered only as born; some sturdy Puritan has kept up his hatred of the baptismal cross, and there was really no strict church feeling in the parish to make him ashamed of himself, for Willesdon was a nest of Puritans. Once its church contained a shrine, as well known, and almost as sacred, as that of Walsingham: How came it that the devotees of Mary had become such bitter enemies?

E. Parkins, the vicar during the Rebellion, was spoken of by the Parliamentary Commissioners as a singularly godly preacher of the Gospel, and in 1652 they voted an increase to his salary of 50*l.* per annum, but I do not find that they ever paid it. I have no notice of his death or promotion, nor of the appointment of his successor; but in 1670 there is an entry of the burial of Francis Chamberlain, vicar. He was immediately succeeded by William Hawkins, who was vicar for fifty-nine years, dying in 1730. The mottoes which he wrote in the register in 1694—

“Nisi quietus enim nihil beatus est.” *Epicur. Mor.*

καὶ φιλοτιμῆσθαι ἡσυχάζειν. 1 Thess. iv. 11.

show perhaps the secret of his longevity. He was quiet, therefore he was happy; and he strove to avoid strife. He married Mary Roberts, a sister of the last Roberts of Neasdon, who was buried under a blue slab close to the altar. His curate Thomas Knight married Eleanor, another sister, so that the chief proprietor of the parish, the vicar, and

the curate were brothers-in-law. Hawkins died in 1730, and was succeeded by Thomas Hillman, who was vicar at the close of the register.

In the register there is but one centenarian noticed: William Franklyn, who died in 1627, is said to have been 107 years old.

An interesting subject connected with registers is the scale of fees; there are, however, very few details in this register.

In 1599 James Forth paid 15*s.* to be buried in the church; a large fee, which we shall see was not allowed to be a precedent.

In 1724 there are receipts of Dr. Hawkins for 5*s.* and 7*s.* 6*d.* for marriage fees.

In 1694 I find a memorandum that three people had left their fees unpaid; one of them was a cobbler.

Among other curious items are the notices of collections. In the seventeenth century, before the invention of fire insurance, it seems to have been the custom whenever a farm or house was burnt to send a begging petition, to friendly or neighbouring parishes, for the relief of the sufferers.

In 1659, 1*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* was collected towards a brief granted to S. Bride's, London, for relief of their losses by fire. In the same year 1*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* was collected for loss by a fire in Suffolk.

And in 1660, 13*s.* was collected for the relief of a fire at Loude-water, I presume in Hertfordshire.

The French Protestants appear to have been favourites in Willesdon, for in 1688, 2*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* was collected, and in 1694 2*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* for the relief of the French Protestants then in England. I think there must have been some local cause for this sympathy, for I find a great many French names in the register, such as Rambouillet, Lefabre, Lemayre, Tamberlek, and there are allusions also to some refuge in the parish for poor Frenchmen.

Though the register appears to have been generally kept with considerable care, yet its guardians have permitted great liberties to be taken with its contents; some of its pages have been cut out; between 1587 and 1588 two pages have disappeared; alterations are numerous; there are insertions of names long after the proper date of entry. One of the most flagrant cases of erasure is to be found towards the end of the volume. In 1611 certain parishioners undertook the trusts of the charities, agreeing to render regular accounts, and signing their names to the document, which is a formal authorisation and

undertaking. Whatever they did they were ashamed of, for the objects of the trusts, and the name of the auditor, and the signatures of the more responsible of the trustees, have been carefully erased.

The register also contains the history of another case of gross neglect of public trusts. In 1629 *Francis Roberts gave to the parish the rental of a piece of land, in trust to certain parishioners; these trusts were absolutely neglected, and the bequest lapsed. In 1660 his grandson, Sir William Roberts, resettled the trust, but he altered the conditions and made it of very much less use to the parish. From other sources I know that the trust was allowed to lapse again and again, and at the end of the last century the parish had to bring an action against the then owner of the land to regain it, and they were enabled to do so by the existence in the register of the first bequest and the first resettlement, signed by the original giver and his grandson.*

One of the most curious comments which has been erased is to be found in the handwriting of Thomas Gyffard, the vicar in 1628.

On the burial of a child of Sir William Roberts, Gyffard remarks that "Sir William paid nothing for the child's christening or burying, that he offered but a 1*d.* for his lady's churching, and but 2*d.* for burying in the church." In face of the sum of 15*s.* paid in 1611 for the same privilege, we can understand the indignation of the parson at the meanness of the Lord of Neasdon, who, however, seems to have had the grace to feel the vicar's satire, though his mode of showing it was on a par with the act itself; for, when Sir William had the register in his own hands, he kept it for nearly five years, and the line has been carefully blotted. But the vicar used good ink, while the knight's blotting was made with ink that has almost totally faded, and the original satire shows black through the lines by which the attempt was made to obliterate it.

The register contains also a copy of the judgment in Chancery against the Governors of the *Free School of John Lyon at Harrow*, "for attempting to divert to purposes connected with the school the money that Lyon left to repair the Harrow and Edgeware Roads," and it also contains a copy of the will of Mr. Edward Harvist, Brewer, bequeathing land for the same purpose.

This paper is, I am afraid, already too long, or I had purposed to give some notices of the principal families found in the register. I cannot, however, conclude without a remark on the necessity of this

work of arranging, collating, and analysing all the documents connected with a parish. I am endeavouring to do this for Willesdon, and have succeeded in getting together a mass of details respecting it: the labour grows under my hands, but I hope, with time, to get it into order. Whatever may be the value of such work, it would be incalculably increased if it could be systematically undertaken in all parishes of the county. The work done in one parish is, by itself, comparatively useless, but as part of a larger scheme it would afford valuable materials for a history of Middlesex. It is just suited to an amateur; it gives occupation, while it is not necessarily all-engrossing; and, could such a work be inaugurated under the auspices of our Society, the result would, I believe, be most valuable, and would assuredly greatly redound to its credit.

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## ST. DIONIS BACKCHURCH.

BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A., V.P.

This is one of the few parishes and churches in England which take their name from the Arcopagite, one of the earliest converts made by St. Paul at Athens, and the first Bishop there. France has taken him for her patron saint; and the miracle of his walking two miles after his decapitation, though well refuted, still obtains credence.

In this country, however, he has not been equally popular; only five parishes and one hamlet\* have had him as their saint, viz., one near St. Austin, in Cornwall, one in Lincolnshire, † a hamlet near Waltham, Hants, one, the parish of St. Dennis, Walmgate, in the City of York, and two parishes in the City of London; St. Dionis, Gracechurch Street, now destroyed, and this parish, which contains about three acres.

When the first church was here founded (for there have been three) is not known. It certainly existed temp. Edw. I., since we have the name of the rector, Reginald de Standen, in 1288. That church, or a portion of it, lasted till the reign of Henry VI., when it was wholly

\* There was the Priory of Denny in Cambridgeshire and there is the Manor of that name.

† Alias Kirkeby la Thorpe. *Possessions of the Hospitalers. Camden Society.*

or partially rebuilt, John Bugge being a great benefactor. His arms were cut in stone upon it in the choir.\* It received some additions.

A book of benefactors is kept, and in that it is stated that Alderman John Darby added to the church "a fair Isle or Chappell, and was there buried about 1466." He was sheriff of London, 24 Hen. VI. † (1445-6). This chapel was on the south side. It is not clear that he died so soon as 1466, for in 1478 John Darby, an alderman, having founded a chapel in the church, left property for the maintenance of two chaplains, who continued till the suppression of chantries. Of this church the only existing part is the arch of the vault, let in 1625 as a warehouse, but afterwards used for burials.

The account books preserved begin in 1625, and are perfect, except from 1762 to 1801. In 1628 there is an assessment "towards the repairing both of the middle aisle of the church and chancel, as also of other defects," in the church. In 1632 the steeple was repaired; in 1639 a new turret built, and the whole "beautified." The great fire, however, entirely destroyed the church. In 1666 there is an entry in the registry of the burial of Francis Tryon, merchant, in the ruins of the chancel, and other subsequent similar entries.

**PRESENT CHURCH.** The parishioners soon set to work to rebuild their place of worship. In 1671 we find that Dr Wrenn was consulted. A subscription was entered into; seven principal parishioners ‡ lent gratis £100 each, and in 1674 the church was finished. It consists of a nave and two aisles, sixty-six feet long and about seventy feet wide. The aisles are formed by Ionic columns supporting an ugly entablature, and an arched ceiling, § in which latter, under groined openings, small circular lights are introduced on either side. At the west end is a gallery, built by Thomas Turgis, occupied by the organ. Another subscription in 1675 was made for opening the church. || On

\* Arms. Azure, three water bougets or: Crest, a morion's head.

† Strype's Stow, B. 2, 152, and B. 5, 120, and Newcourt's Repertorium, p. 329.

‡ Sir Edmund Turner; Sir Robert Jeffreys, ob. 1703; Philip Jackson, ob. 1634; Peter Hoet; Jeffry Rowland; Nathaniel Latten, ob. 1682; and John Archer.

§ George Godwin's London Churches.

|| Other gifts were made by Sir Thomas Cullum; Sir Anthony Ingram, ob. 1681; Sir Henry Tulse, ob. 1689; Sir Robert Jeffreys; Dame Elizabeth Clerk, as the gift of her late husband; Dr. Nathaniel Hardy, rector; Phil. Jackson and Elizabeth his wife; Dr. John Castellan, sometime Parson; and James Church.

the 12th October, 1683, Sir Christopher Wren was to be consulted, and a lanthorn was to be put on the tower, then completed. This tower is ninety feet high; it is unadorned and divided into three storeys by moulded strings or bands of stone. The lanthorn has, however, been removed. There are two brass chandeliers, one of which, containing sixteen sockets, was given by Daniel Richardson. On the 31st May, 1694, the sum of £200 was borrowed on mortgage of the property in Lime Street, noticed hereafter, to enable the churchwardens the better to pay moneys owing for repairs, and in 1758 the parish raised £1,000 by the grant of £80 a-year annuities to six ladies for a similar purpose.

In the Public Record Office, Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer, 4—70, London, is a neatly written return of the CHURCH GOODS, made 6 Edw. VI., giving us the full particulars not only of the ornaments then preserved and in use, but of those which had been sold.

The yere of owre lorde God 1552.

Saynte Denys Backe chyrch, John Cossen and Thomas Francke Chyrch wardens.

The andswar of John Cosen and Thomas francke chyrchwardens of the parrysh of Saynte Denys Backechyrch unto the artykylls delyverd unto us by my lorde the mayer and other of the kyngs maiestyes cōmyssyoners the 10<sup>th</sup> day of September in the vj<sup>th</sup> yere of the rayne of owre sofferayne lorde kynge Edwarde the vj<sup>th</sup> (1552).

\* \* \* \* \*

To the second artykyll we andswar nowe beyng chyrch wardens John Cossen and Thomas francke at thys presente theyre remainyng in owre possesyon and costody these parsells under wryten, and bysydes these we knowe of none in any other mans possesyon.

ffyrst as foloyth.

- Item ij coppes of Sylver and gylte ffor the cōmunyon tabyll weynge 61 ownesys.
- Item j sylver pot cleane gylt ffor the cōmunyon tabyll weynge 43 ownesys and halfe.
- Item j challys of silver and gylte wayng 16 ownesys.
- Item ij pattens of sylver and gylte wayng 13 ounses.
- Item j lytyll box of sylver parsell gylt wayng 4 ounses.
- Item j greate bybyll and ij bybylls of the leaste volumes.
- Item j parrafracyes apon the gospells.
- Item j parrafracyes apon the epystylls.
- Item ij bocks ffor the sarvys.
- Item xij sanTERS.
- Item i payer of pewter candyll stycks.

- Item ij basons of pewter to take the offering in.  
 Item j pottell pot and a quart pot of pewter.  
 Item j cope of greane badkyn\* being owlde for y<sup>e</sup> parson.  
 Item j beryall cloth of goulde.  
 Item j beryall cloth of crymson velvet.  
 Item j beryall cloth of gold ffor chyl dren.  
 Item j beryall cloth of sylke for y<sup>e</sup> power (poor) and for sarvants.  
 Item ij tabyll clothes of ryche badkyn frengyd with sylk beying ffor the cōmunyon tabyll.  
 Item v dyaper towelles † ffor the comunyon tabyll.  
 Item iiij auter clouthes of lynnyn.  
 Item xxij owlde sorppelessys.  
 Item xiiij rochetes ‡ ffor lades.  
 Item ij crowes of yeron.  
 Item j owlde bell clapper.  
 Item all the payntyd cloth y<sup>t</sup> was wrytyn the whych honge before the rode lofte.  
 Item serten owled tymber, whych was left of y<sup>e</sup> rode lofte.  
 Item v bells in y<sup>e</sup> stepyll and j saunce § bell.  
 Item j payer of greate organs.  
 Item sarten owlde chestes and j owld presse in y<sup>e</sup> vestre.  
 Item in redy mony in owre handes at thys day remaynyng in the box in the chyrch ffor to pay owre clarke and condocks and ffor the reparacyons of owre chyrche . . . . . xxvj li.  
 To the thyrd we andswar that we know not nor canot fynde that any such inventory of the sayde chyrchys goodes was made and sertefyed to the offysers of the late bysshop of London or to any other, nether can we fynde or heare of any counterpayne of any suche inventory, nether any kynd of boks or rejesters makyng mencyon of any the sayde chyrch goods to be there sertenly mencyoned or exprest.  
 To the fourth we the sayde chyrch wardens do andswer that in y<sup>e</sup> yere of owre lord God 1549 then beying chyrch (wardens) ffor the sayde yere Wyllyam francklyn and renould bloke sould these parsells heare after foloyng, for to repayre the chyrch that was neadefull and to ffornysh necessarys for the new servys.  
 Item soule to Jaspar fysshier j crosse of sylver and parsell gylt, j pax sylver and gylt, j lytyll crosse of wode coverd wyth sylver, ij chalysys of sylver parsell gylt wyth the pattens, wayn all 225 ownneys and halfe at 5s. 5d. the ownce. lxj li. xvj d.  
 Item sould more to John Waterstone iiij ownnesys and di. and iiij d. wayght of base goulde and for serten buttens of base goulde in pearle and crosse stones. xj li. vij s. viij d.

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\* Cloth of gold brocade; two green baudkyns are in the Fabric Roll of York.

† To lay on the altar with the corporal, and for wiping of hands.

‡ Surplices without sleeves for the clerk who assisted the priest at mass, or for the priest at baptisms, that two arms might be free.

§ Bell rung at the Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy).

- Item sould to John Waterstone halfe ownc 3 q<sup>trs</sup> of sylver . . . . . iij s.  
 Item soule to John Clarke and Syr Medcalfe \* ij onlde broken (*sic*) vj s. iiij d.  
 Item sould to Master Heton carvyd crestes gylt and ongylt, and ffor the crosse  
 tres . . . . . xv s. iiij d.  
 Item sould ij chrystall stones in the monster † and ffor a lestowe of an auter  
 tabyll and ffor goulde that wasted of a nemyges. . . . . xij s. iiij d.  
 Item to Thomas hale for chest of a auter and for stone that was the fote of the  
 crosse in ye chyrch yarde . . . . . viij s. iiij d.  
 The sōm of ye mony of the sayde parsell sould by Wm. francklyn and Renowld  
 Bloke ys . . . . . lxxiiij li. xiiij s. iiij d.  
 Heare begynnuyth the charge payde forth by the sayde Wyllyam francklyn and  
 Renowld Bloke then beyng chyrch wardens as foloyth.  
 There are several entries of no great importance and then \* \* \*  
 Item payde for nayles to mend ye pucs and other thyngs . . . . . xij d.  
 Item payde for a payer greate henges for ye chyrch yard gate wayng 20<sup>li</sup> and for  
 nayls and setyng on the lock and ffor ij stapylls for the bybyll parrafracs  
 . . . . . vj s. vj d.  
 Item payde to the organ keper for lys wages kepyng the organes and ffor  
 takyng owte of the pypes and for settyng them in agayne . . . . . v s. v d.  
 Item payde for ye changing of vj salters and for j od salter † and for iiij boks of  
 sternall § salmes . . . . . iiij s.  
 Item payde ffor paper ryall to make songe bokes and ffor gym gaules and coperas  
 for to make yncke and for mendyng the albes and sorppelessys . . . . . iij s.  
 Item payde for vij quyers of paper ryall and for bynding of the same in a boke  
 for the rejester . . . . . viij s.  
 Item payde for ij bokes of the sarvys in the chyrch and ffor ij pynte pots for  
 the chyrch . . . . . xiiij s. ij d.  
 Item payde for paper ffor owre bokes and ffor owre fees and for mony spente at  
 the vycytacyon and upon the synger that helpyth in the quyer . . . . . xiiij s.  
 Item payde to Jasper fyssher ffor ij coppes of sylver and gylt wayng 6l ownceys  
 at 7s. 4d. the ownc ffor the cōmnyon tabyll . . . . . xxij li. vij s. iiij d.  
 Item payde to John Waterstone goldsmyth ffor j pot of sylver and cleane gylte  
 wayng 43 ownceys di. at 7s. 1d. the ownc . . . . . xv li. viij s.  
 Summa xlii. xs. v d.  
 Summa totalis of all the payments payde forth by William franklyn and  
 Reynowld bloke ys . . . . . xlv li. iiij s. xj d.  
 To the foverth we the sayde chyrch wardens do andswar that in ye yeare of  
 owre lord God 1550 then beyng chyrch wardens Renowld Bloke and John  
 Bowle y<sup>t</sup> yeare foloyng and they sould these parsells foloyng:—  
 Item soule to Master Maunsell at bylyngs gate a hole sute of vesments || of  
 checkered velvat . . . . . liij s. iiij d.

\* Sir Nicholas Metcalfe. He was incumbent of the Wrotham Chantry.

† Monstrance.

‡ The Psalms.

§ Sternhold's.

|| This seems to include the cope, the chasuble, or chief sacrificial vestment of the Church, the dalmatic, and the tunic.

|   |   |  |   |                 |
|---|---|--|---|-----------------|
| Item sould to John Heath paynter j owlde vestment of whyght chamlet | ij s. and for j vestment of brygds* satten w <sup>t</sup> a blew crosse | xx d. and for j owlde vestment of blew and yelow w <sup>t</sup> a red crosse | xvj d. all beyng [old] and lytyll worth | v s.            |
| Item soule to John Heath paynter                                    | vj owlde banar staves †   |  |   | xij d.          |
| Item soule to John Heath  | j cope of blak velvat   |  |   | x s.            |
| Item sould to Wyllyam Peterson                                      | j banar staffe  |  |   | iiij d.         |
| Item soule to George Daton  | j banar stafe and j sauns bell  |  |   | iiij s. iiij d. |
| Item soule to George Mason  | j owlde vesment of blak stamell ‡ and ij banner staves                  |  |   | ij s. j d.      |
| Item soule to George Mason  | xv brokyn lynen clothes that wer in the corporas § casys                |  |   | ij s. viij d.   |
| Item soule to Rafe Clarvys  | groser iiij vestements of blak velvat                                   |  |   | xxx s.          |

Summa v li. vij s. viij d.

More soule.

|   |   |  |  |                       |
|---|---|--|--|-----------------------|
| Item soule to Symond Torner             | purse maker xviiij corporas casys of dyvers sorts and j vesment of greane badkyn wyth a crosse of collyn goulde                                 |  |  | ix s. vj d.           |
| Item soule to Wyllyam Lam               | groser ij vestements of blak cloth of goulde and velvat damask worke  |  |  | xliij s. iiij d.      |
| Item soule j lytlyl                     | vestment of bustyam ¶.  |  |  | xvj d.                |
| Item soule to Wyllyam Laud              | j hole sute of vestements of red badkyn wyth egylls and harts of goulde.  |  |  | iiij li. v s. iiij d. |
| Item soule to Robard y <sup>e</sup>     | purse maker j hole sute off vesments of crymson velvet w <sup>t</sup> braunchyd woven gold  |  |  | xii li.               |
| Item soule more to Robard               | j vestment of tynsyn ¶ y <sup>t</sup> was of y <sup>e</sup> gyfe of M <sup>tes</sup> Gayll wyth the apurtynauncys                               |  |  | iiij li.              |
| Item soule to Davyd Vogan               | bedmaker and hys ij felows j hole sute of blak o sylver badkyn damaske of blak and of sylver wyth the apurtynauncys                             |  |  | ix li.                |
| Item soule to y <sup>e</sup> sayd Davyd | j cope ffor a chyld eallyd <i>Saynte Nycolas</i> cope.  |  |  | xiiij s.              |
| Item soule to the sane ( <i>sic</i> )   | Vagam j vestement inbrodred callyd the <i>players</i> cote  |  |  | iiij s.               |
| Item soule more to Vagam                | ij alter clothes and y <sup>e</sup> curtens of connterfet cloth of goulde wyth ij ryche paynes of <i>Mary and John</i> in them                  |  |  | xxxiiij s. iiij d.    |
| Item soule more to hym                  | ij aulter clothes of brydges satten ij curtaynens j vesment of yelow and red sarsenet w <sup>t</sup> <i>stars and halfe mones</i> in the crosse |  |  | ix s.                 |
| Item soule to Vagam                     | j lytlyl vestment of greane satten ffor v s. iiij d. j vesment  |  |  |                       |

\* Made at Bruges in Flanders.

† Banners were in general use in all processions, and in all weddings and funerals however humble, and especially on Rogation days.

‡ A kind of fine worsted.

§ A linen cloth used in the Mass.

¶ A kind of tissue, most probably fustian.

¶ A kind of satin.

- of red badkyn damask w<sup>t</sup> a *blake rosse and stachers* in yt iiij s. j lyttyl vesment of blu badkyn and *red crosse with lylys* in yt at . . . . . xxj d.
- Item soulede more to hym ij lytill auter clothes of black badkyn w<sup>t</sup> *grayhoundes* of goulde and j corten of the same sute ij copes of red badkyn w<sup>t</sup> *blacke affrayes* and flower of goulde . . . . . xlvij s. iiij d.
- Item soule to Gresythen y<sup>e</sup> taylor in howe lane j cope of red badkyn with *greate brokyn lyons* in the border and the flowers goulde . . . . . xxxiiij s.
- Item soulede more to Vagan j cope of oulde crymson velvat and flowers of goulde and greane sylke and y<sup>e</sup> ofarys of greane sylk iiij vestments of red badkyn wyth small *flouers* of goulde and the appurtenaueys . . . . . iij li. vj s. viij d.
- Item soulede more to Vagum iiij vestements of greane badkyn bysshyps myters made in them and j cope of greane badkyn cut in y<sup>e</sup> skyrts iiij vestementes of greane badkyn w<sup>t</sup> *harts and dragons hedes* . . . . . xxxviiij s. viij d.
- Item soulede to John Waterskot goldsmyth iiij ounceys iij q<sup>rs</sup> sylver y<sup>t</sup> cam of a vesmet y<sup>t</sup> was burnte . . . . . xx s. viij d.
- Item soulede to M<sup>r</sup> Donkyns in Cornhell \* the ij best sutes of vestements y<sup>e</sup> one cloth of goulde and red velvat the other ryche whyght badkyn havyng iiij copes and iij vesments in every sute . . . . . xl li.
- Item soulede to Vagan j peace of cloth of goulde that was cut of y<sup>e</sup> tabyll cloth y<sup>t</sup> servys for the cōmuniō tabyll . . . . . vj s. viij d.
- Item soulede to M<sup>rs</sup> Loueles j cosshen of oulde greane velvat and ij owlde whyghte cosshens inbroderyd that was of the gyfte of Mysterys Dygbe . . . . . xv s.
- Item soulede to Rojer Tyndale j vestement of whyght damaske w<sup>t</sup> ryche sters and w<sup>t</sup> flouers of goulde and w<sup>t</sup> seyntveyon theyre on and iiij curtayns of whyght sarsenet fyne and newe y<sup>t</sup> perteynyd unto the alters, ij auter clothes of whyghte sarsenet w<sup>t</sup> red demy crossys . . . . . xlviiij s. iiij d.
- Item soulede to Davyd Vaghan iiij auter clothes of whyght badkyn w<sup>t</sup> ij rychet paynes of cloth of golde iiij of them and for ij payer of oulde brokyn curtens of sarsnet . . . . . iij li. ij s. iiij d.
- Item soulede to M<sup>rs</sup> Eaton j cope of greane badkyn w<sup>t</sup> blew floers of goulde and the flowers of goulde j vestement of crymsyn velvat w<sup>t</sup> a blew crosse yn yt and greate flouers of goulde and j vestement of blew damaske at v s. and j vesment of greane badkyn wyth *popyn jayes and doges* in the crosse . . . . . xxxiiij s.
- Item soulede to Thomas Sharpe bed maker ij of the beste auter clothes of goulde conteynyng x yardes and halfe at xv s. viij d. the yarde. Summa viij li. iiij s. vj d.
- Item soulede to M<sup>r</sup> Donkyns in Cornhell the cloth of badkyn callyd a care-cloth † . . . . . xl s.
- Item soulede rotten bannars ffor . . . . . v s. iiij d.
- Item soulede to John Heath payntyd cloths as the vale cloth of *Saynt John avangelyste* and y<sup>e</sup> cortens of payntyd cloth and auter clothes and peacys of

\* Robert Donkin bought Waterbearers' Hall and gave it to St. Michael's, Cornhill.

† Held over the bride and bridegroom's heads at marriage.

oulde staynyd clothes y<sup>t</sup> coverd images conteynyng lxxxvj yardes at ij d. the  
 yarde . . . . . xiiij s. iiij d.  
 Item soule to John Heath j tabyll of wayneskot that imagys wer payntyd  
 in . . . . . xx d.  
 Item soule to Thomas Unkyll j oulde lynen tabyll cloth . . . . . ix d.  
 Item soule to Thomas Staynyngs j tabell cloth of lynen . . . . . viij d.  
 Item soule to Harry the paynter xx yardes of payntyd clothes at ij d. the  
 yarde . . . . . iiij s. iiij d.  
 Item soule staynd peacys of lynnen cloth as brokyn napkyns and other lynen  
 clothes . . . . . xij d.  
 Item soule to Davyd Waghan serten apparylles y<sup>t</sup> wer appon y<sup>e</sup> aubes and ffor y<sup>e</sup>  
 stole and fanylls\* and also ffor serten peacys that was cut off the cannype  
 cloth in convertyng yt to a beryall cloth . . . . . xs. iiij d.  
 Summa j<sup>e</sup> v li. xi jd.

## More soulde.

Item soule to Davyd Waghan j vestment of raged damask xij d. j chyldes cope  
 of broken sarsenet xij d. j vestment of rotten red velvat w<sup>t</sup> rosys in y<sup>e</sup>  
 crosse xij d. . . . . iiij s.  
 Item soule more to Davyd Waghan j vestement of owlde red velvat w<sup>t</sup> a crosse  
 of greane sarsenet sore brokyn ij alter clothes of whyght damask w<sup>t</sup> *thasomayon*  
 (assumption) imbrothred and ij payer oulde cortens of sarsnet . xliij s. viij d.  
 Item soule mor to Waghan j short polpet cloth of blew badkyn beyng callyd  
*erard* cloth, j cloth of greane badkyn w<sup>t</sup> letters theyrein wroughte, iiij veste-  
 ments of corse greane badkyn with sytyng lyons in yt . . . . . xvij s. iiij d.  
 Item soule to Thomas Sharpe j peace of ryghte cloth of golde yt wente abowte  
 y<sup>e</sup> sepoulter † conteynyng ij yardes q<sup>tr</sup> and halfe at xj s. iiij d. yarde sore  
 dropyd w<sup>t</sup> wex . . . . . xxvj s. viij d.  
 Item soule to a sadler in bysshope gate streate ij copes off blak velvat . . . . . xx s.  
 Item soule ij<sup>e</sup> q<sup>r</sup> and halfe of marbelers mettall that was upon the graves and  
 upon y<sup>e</sup> tombs ‡ sould in lad lane at xxvj s. viij d. the c. . . . . iiij li. iiij s. iiij d.  
 Item soule j payer of small orgaynes wyth thappurtynancys to a portyn-  
 gale § . . . . . xxix s.  
 Item soule to John Dymock y<sup>e</sup> beame of y<sup>e</sup> rode lofte y<sup>e</sup> rode beme xiiij s. iiij d.  
 Item soule to Rychard Kele stasyoner y<sup>e</sup> owld latten boks . . . . . xl s.  
 Item soule ij steps of stone marbeler at Powles . . . . . iiij s. vj d.  
 Item sould to George Smyth j stone wyth a mortys . . . . . xvj d.  
 Item soule to Thomas Unckyll j cheaste that dyd louge to the *morornas*  
 alter . . . . . iiij s.  
 Item soule to George Eaton xlvj fote of owlde glasse || at j d. the fote iiij s. x d.

\* The fanon or maniple.

† The Easter sepulchre.

‡ The brasses thus destroyed must have been numerous.

§ A Portuguese.

|| Most probably the painted glass of the windows. The whole sold measured 162 feet.

|  |           |                            |
|--|-----------|----------------------------|
| Item sould to John Reade paynter xliij fote ould glass                                     | . . . . . | iiij s. iiij d.            |
| Item sould to John Hale Smyth xx fote owld glasse  | . . . . . | . . . . . xx d.            |
| Item sould to John Stanton xx fote of ould glasse  | . . . . . | iiij s. iiij d.            |
| Item sould to Reynould Bloke xxxiiij fote ould glasse                                      | . . . . . | ij s. x d.                 |
| Item sould to Wyllyam Hetherley j owld streme and j ould banor stole for to syt in iiij d. | . . . . . | ij s. iiij d.              |
| Item sould ij sanctus bell *   | . . . . . | . . . . . iiij s.          |
| Item sold to John Methryngam j torche  | . . . . . | . . . . . xvj d.           |
| Item sould to George Mason j torch   | . . . . . | . . . . . xvij d.          |
| Item sould to M <sup>r</sup> George Eaton j torche   | . . . . . | . . . . . xx d.            |
| Item sould to Master Asshely ij torches  | . . . . . | ij s. viij d.              |
| Item sould to Thomas Smyth j torch   | . . . . . | . . . . . xvij d.          |
| Item sould to John Heath j torche  | . . . . . | . . . . . xvij d.          |
| Item sould to Water Browne j torche  | . . . . . | . . . . . xv d.            |
| Item sould to Wyllyam Hayles j torche  | . . . . . | . . . . . ix d.            |
| Item sould to Reynould Bloke j torche  | . . . . . | . . . . . vj d.            |
| Item sould to Pattryke Cewe j tortche  | . . . . . | . . . . . n <sup>l</sup> . |
| Item sould to Harry May j tortche  | . . . . . | . . . . . ix d.            |
| Item sould to John Methryngam j tortche  | . . . . . | . . . . . x d.             |
| Item sould to John Cossen j tortche  | . . . . . | . . . . . vj d.            |
| Item sould to the Parson j tortche   | . . . . . | . . . . . n <sup>l</sup> . |
| Item sould to John Bowle j tortche †   | . . . . . | . . . . . ix d.            |

Summa xv li. v s. ix d.

The totall summa of the money that the parsells sould by Reynoulde Blowke and John Bowell then beyng chyrchwardens ys . . . . . I c. xxv li. xiiij s. v d.

Hereafter foloyth the payments payde forth as by Reynould Bloke and John Bowell beyng then chyrch wardens in y<sup>e</sup> yeare of oure lord God 1550. Among them are these.

\* \* \* \* \*

Nessary reparacyons.

|   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| Item payde ffor xij hassocks and ffor mates ffor the commnyon tabyll  | iiij s. ij d.             |
| Item payde to Hennington for seuyng y <sup>e</sup> fryngs upon the tabyll cloth that servyth for the commnyon table | . . . . . viij d.         |
| Item payde ffor j greate testament and for j boke of the omyleys (Homilies)   | . . . . . iiij s. viij d. |
| Item payde for ij bybylls of the smaler sorte and for the parafracs upon the epystylls †.                           | . . . . . xx s.           |
| Item payde ffor wrytyng the inventory of the chyrch goodes in to the greate boke                                    | . . . . . ij s. iiij d.   |

Making the summa xj li. xv s. xj d.

\* \* \* \* \*

Heare foloyth the raparacyons and charge upon the chyrch the xv<sup>th</sup> day of March in alteryng of the same. Among the payments are these.

\* The bells rung at the elevation of the Host. They were outside the church.

† Making together 16 torches. ‡ Most probably Erasmus'.

Item payde j to Wyllyam Chease for garnyssyng of the breall cloth that was made of the canypy cloth xvij s. iiij d. and to John Sharp ffor the lynyng of the beryall cloth that was made of ye canype cloth and ffor (fur) on the frenge . . . . . iij s. iiij d.

Summa of bothe ys xxj s. viij d.

Item payde for makyng of xiiij sorplessys of ould allbes yt longegyde to the chyrch xvij s. and ffor makyng of viij rochets of the same albes . . . . . viij s.

Summa of bothe xxvj s.

Item payde ffor bokes of Tedeum of v partes and for ye mayers offyser for warnyng of George Smyth before ye mayer . . . . . xvij d.

Item payde to Kettyll goldsmyth for myltyng of sylver yt cam of a vestment that was burnt . . . . . xij d.

\* . . . \* . . . \* . . . \* . . . \*

Summa totalis of the paymentes layde oute by us John Bowlle and Renould Blowke j<sup>c</sup> li. xj s. vj d. ob.

To the fonerth we the sayde chyrch wardens do andswer in the yeare of owre lord God 1551 then beyng chyrchwardens Thomas Unkull and John Cossen for ye yeare folounge they soule these parsells foloyng.

Item sould to Wyllyam Harrys and Thomas Taylor ij ould copes of sarsenet red and greane wt garters on y<sup>m</sup>; iij ould vestments of sarsenet red and greane wt garters on ym; j ould vestement of greane badkyn wt *orate pro anima*; j ould vestement of greane badkyn wt *dogs* in *the crosse*; j ould vestement of greane badkyn wt *lyons and popynges*; j ould vestement of wyth *rosys* and *salutacyons*, ij ould satten auter clothes and ij curtens of sarsenet . . . . . xxv s.

\* . . . \* . . . \* . . . \* . . . \*

Summa of the mony of these parsells soulede by Thomas Unkell and John Cozen then beyng Churchwardens . . . . . lj s. viij d.

Paymentes of the sayde Thomas Unckyll and John Cosen beyng then Chyrchwardens in ye yere of owre lorde God 1551.

\* . . . \* . . . \* . . . \* . . . \*

Item payde ffor a bell rope ffor the saunce bell . . . . . xij d.

Item payde to Master Hewe for tewnyng of ye orgaynes . . . . . xx d.

Item payde to John Phylep carpenter ffor a borde ffor workmanshype and for mendyng ye pulpit . . . . . viij d.

Item p<sup>d</sup> for ij bell ropes for ij of ye greate bells xliij yards . . . . . iiij s.

\* . . . \* . . . \* . . . \* . . . \*

Ffor alteryng and mendyng of serten new pues to make them for women that wer fformes ye x of June two sums amonntyng to 51s. 2d.

By another paper\* it appears that there were 63 oz. of plate, of which 59½ oz. were gilt and 4 oz. in silver, and that there were no ornaments delivered, but were sold for 6s. 8d. and the ready money found was £17 16s.

\* Land revenue. Church goods. Bundle 445, No. 13.

In the 1st Elizabeth the zeal of the people in the destruction of images ran to excess. Not only images, but rood-lofts, relics, sepulchres, books, banners, copes, vestments, and altar-cloths not already disposed of were committed to the fire, and that with such shouting and applause of the vulgar sort as if it had been the sacking of some hostile city.\* “Not many dayes after this fying of images and church ornaments in London (5th September, 1559), a mightie tempest did rise, which continued about three houres; in the end whereof a thunder clapp and flash of lightening brake foorth more feareful than any that wer before; and at the very same instant one of the south doors and alsoe the vestric doore of Saint Dionyse Church, in Fanchurch Streete, wer beaten thorough and broken. Likewise the spire of All-hallow Church, in Breed Streete, being then of stone, was smitten aboute ten foote beneath the topp, from which place a stone was strucke that slew a dogg, and overthrew a man, with whom the dogg played. The accident was at that time esteemed prodigious by some whose affections rann with a bias, onely because it ensued soe greate actiones of change.”†

The following is a list of the PLATE as it now exists:—

1. A flagon (39 oz.) inscribed “The gift of Edward Cooke, apothecarie, to S. Dionis Backchurch, A.D. 1632.”

2. A flagon (37 oz.) inscribed “the gift of y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup>. father in God John Warner,‡ l. Bp. of Rochester, late parson of the parish of S. Dionis Backchurch.” 1642.

3. A large chalice (17 oz.), paten, and spoon (4 oz.) the chalice inscribed “This chalice, with a paten and spoon, is dedicated to be used for the service of the Lord’s Supper, in S. Dionis Backchurch. 1671.”

The register of benefactors states that Mr. Philip Jackson, on the behalf of a friend (1671) of his, whose name was not to be made known, gave this.

4. A large chalice (16 oz. 15 dwt.) and paten,§ the chalice inscribed “The gift of Mr. Petar Hoet y<sup>e</sup> elder to the parish of S. Dionys Backchurch London the 6th day of June 1674.”

5. An offertory bason (35 oz.) with a like inscription.

6. Two chalices (26 oz.) with patens (9 oz.), the chalices inscribed “The gift of Mrs. Frances Gay to the parish of S. Dionis Backchurch, daughter of Miles Whistler, late parish clerk to this parish. 1767.”

\* *Machyn’s Diary*. *Camd. Soc.* 1847, p. 209.

† *Hayward’s Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, Camden Society’s Publications, 1840, p. 29.

‡ He was Rector from 26th September, 1625, till he was made Bishop 14th January, 1637.

§ The two weigh 12 oz. 12 dwts.

7. A large paten (11 oz.), a bread plate without inscription, but with the hall mark , in old English, which is 1762.

The register of benefactors records that, in 1635, John Clarke, Doctor in Physick, gave one silver cup only marked with the touch, but this is not now in the possession of the parish.

THE ORGAN.—The first steps for erecting this after the Reformation or Fire seem to have been taken in the year 1722, when a subscription was set on foot and a committee appointed by the vestry for that purpose, the Rev. John Smith, D.D., being rector. In the same year the committee were empowered to enter into a contract with Mr. Renatus Harris,\* an organ builder, and to obtain a faculty from the ecclesiastical authorities.

The sum raised by voluntary subscription for the erection of the organ, and for every expense connected with it, amounted to £741 9s., Mr. Deputy Hankey (afterwards Sir Henry Hankey, Knight and Alderman,) taking charge of the several contributions, a detailed list of which is preserved in the parish ledger.

During the year 1723 the only entries relative to the organ are three payments in advance to Mr. Renatus Harris, who, when in the following year he was paid the balance due to him, appears to have received from beginning to end the sum of £525 for the instrument.†

In 1724 the organ was ordered to be opened on the second Sunday in June, and Mr. Philip Hart was chosen the first organist. There is an entry in the parish ledger, June 15th, that £10 10s. was paid for singing two anthems. The organ continued nearly in its original state till 1867, when Messrs. Gray and Davison were instructed to rebuild it at a cost not exceeding £200. It was reopened on 7th February, 1868, by Mr. George Cooper, the organist of H.M. Chapel Royal, St. James's.

BELLS.—In 1727 a sum of £479 10s. was raised by subscription for bells, Robert Williams, mercer, having given £25 for one. They have inscriptions. The bell is rung at 8 o'clock A.M. from Lady-day

\* Dr. Rimbault, in his *History of the Organ* (pp. 100-1), is, therefore, in error in ascribing the building of this organ to the firm of Messrs. Byfield, Jordan, and Bridge.

† The parish ledger mentions that on September 18th, 1724, the sum of £52 10s. was paid to "Jno. Harris for some additions and to take care of it for five years."

to Michaelmas, and at 9 A.M. the rest of the year, except on Wednesdays and Fridays, when 11 o'clock is the time.\*

Four small SYRINGES, to put out fires, are kept in the vestry. They are of the form used before the hand-engines now in use. They are 20 feet in length.

CHARITIES, &c.—On 28th April, 1349, John Wrotham, fishmonger and citizen, gave by will tenements in Balle Alley, in St. Stephen's Coleman Street and St. Margaret's Lothbury for the finding of two priests in this church; and Maude Bromeholme, in 1461, gave lands and tenements in St. Botolph's Bishopsgate Street, to find a priest and keep an obit. The will of John Derby, alderman and citizen and clothworker of London, and a freeman, † dated 17th February, 1478 (18th Edward IV.) gives a house, garden, and premises, which form the boundaries and abuttals, as described in the will, and appear to have been on the west side of St. Andrew Hubbard, otherwise Philpot Lane, and other tenements, after the death of his wife, to the rector and churchwardens for the time being, to provide two chaplains for the chapel which he had founded in the parish church, to say masses for the soul of himself and other uses, viz., to keep the obit or anniversary of his death and of the deaths of his late wife and his then present wife, and to distribute 13s. 4d. on such obits between the rector, chaplains, clerk, and poor attending such services as are particularly mentioned. Thomas Bonauntie, Thomas Hodson, and John Hudson gave rents for an obit, and Giles de Kelseye, in 1477, also a tenement for a lamp.

This property came within the statutes of 37 Henry VIII. cap. 4, and 1st Edward VI. cap. 14, vesting all existing foundations and endowments for the maintenance of chaplains to say masses for the souls of the dead and for lights or lamps absolutely in the Crown. We thus find it returned in the Certificates of Colleges, Chantries, &c. ‡ made 9th January, 1 Edward VI. (1548):—

The parochie of St. Dennes Backchurche.

*John Darby* sumtymes Alderman of London by his laste will gave unto the

\* *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, vol. vi. p. 182.

There used to be chimnes within memory, but the machinery and all have disappeared.

† Inrolled Roll 210, m. 3. *Notes and Queries*, 3 Series, vol. vi. p. 114.

‡ Exchequer Augmentation Office. Certificate 34. No. 114.

parson and wardens ther to fynde two priests and to kepe an obite for his soule for ever landes and teñts (tenements) amountyng to xiiij li.

|  |         |                 |
|--|---------|-----------------|
| Whereof to James Sewcaunt Prieste *          | vij li. | vj s. viij d.   |
| „ Spent upon thobite . . . . .               |         | xxx s. iiij d.  |
| „ to the wardens at the same obite . . . . . |         | xvj s. viij d.  |
| „ to the Lady Ferres for quitrent . . . . .  |         | xxvj s. viij d. |

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xl li.      iiij d.

And there remayneth clere . . . . . xxxix s. viij d.

*Mande Broincheholme* gave to the same parson and wardens to fynde a priest and kepe an obite for ever landes and teñts amountyng to cvij s. iiij d.

Whereof spent upon thobite . . . . . xij d.

And there remayneth clere . . . . . cvj s. iiij d.

*John Wrotham* gave for the ffyndyng of two priestes to the parson and wardens before mencyoned landes and teñts amountyng to . xv li. vij s. iiij d.

Whereof to Nicholas Metcalffe priest . . . . . viij li. xiiij s. iiij d.

„ spent upon thobite . . . . . xxiiij d.

„ to the kyng for quitrent . . . . . x s.

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ix li.      vj s.      iiij d.

And there remayneth clere . . . . . vj li.      xiiij d.

*Thomas Bonauntic* gave unto the parson and wardens to kepe an obite for ever one annuall rent goyng oute of a teñt in the same parische called *Starre over the hope* by yere . . . . . x s.

*Thomas Hodson* and *John Hudson* gave to the parson and wardens before named to kepe an obite for ther soules for ever one annuall rent by yere

xvj s. viij d.

To the kyngs Majestey for quitrent . . . . . ij s.

And there remayneth clere . . . . . xiiij s. viij d.

*Giles Kelsey* gave unto the parson and wardens to fynde a lampe for ever one teñt by yere . . . . . xl s.

Memor.

Ther is of howselyng people † w<sup>th</sup>in the seid parische the number of cccc persones.‡

Thomas Barfore prieste § is parson of the seid Church and therly value of the same parsonage is xxv li. and the same parson attendyng the cure hymself fyndeth no other priest hym but in tyme of necessite.

\* He had a yearly pension of 100s., and was alive at Cardinal Pole's Pension-list Return 24th February, 1555-6.

† Capable of taking the Sacrament.

‡ In 1732 there were 120 houses. In 1800 there were 138 with 418 males and 449 females. In 1831 there were 124 houses inhabited by 173 families, of whom 400 were males and 410 females. In 1861 they had fallen to 109 houses, occupied by 534 persons, of whom 217 were males and 317 females.

§ He was L. B. and rector from 22 December, 1530, but died in the year 1548.

We find the following entries of the sales of these lands :—

Parcel of the lands and possessions \* founded in the parish of St. Dionis Backechurche in ffanchurche strete in the city of London.

In the parish of St. Stephen in Colman Strete in the city of London of the gyft of John Wrotham fishmonger and citizen of London.

The rent and farm of one Angiport called Balle Alley in the parish of St. Stephen in Colman Strete London, and nine cotages or tenements with their appurtenances in the said Angiport called Balle Alley videlt. one tenement or cottage with the shop and other the appurtenances in the tenure of John Wright xxx s. j cottage in the tenure of Richard Hochonson viij s. another cottage in the tenure of the same Richard Hochonson vj s. viij d. another cottage in the tenure of the same Richard Hochonson vj s. viij d. one cottage lately in the tenure of the widow Herring v s. one cottage in the tenure of Walter Tupp viij s. one cottage in the tenure of Richard Lichefelde viij s. one cottage in the tenure of the aforesaid Richard Hochonson viij s. and one cottage in the tenure of John Pilton viij s. which said several tenements and cottages were given and bequeathed to the said church of St. Dionis Backechurche among others to the rector there and the churchwardens of the same parish by a certain John Wrotham under the name of a Brewhouse and with all utensils and all its appurtenances with the land in the said parish of St. Stephen Colmanstreet London, situate between the tenement of John King on the south now or lately in the tenure or occupation of Sir — Long and the tenements of Thomas Graphigg on the north in the tenure of Richard Hochonson : To hold the said tenements and rent with the utensils and all the appurtenances to the aforesaid Rector and churchwardens of the said church of St. Dionis and their successors freely fully quietly and peacefully to sustain for ever sufficiently all the houses and the aforesaid tenements or cottages and to find two fit chaplains to celebrate divine service in the said church of St. Dionis for the said John Wrotham and for the souls of his father and mother brothers and sisters and all the faithful dead for ever according to the last testament or will of the said John made on Wednesday after the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist (20th April) and in the year of our Lord 1349 to be held at the will of the King, and paying yearly at the four usual principal days of payment £4 8s. 4d.

Memorandum “there is a former particular of the premysses made to Sr Wymounde Carewe emongest other possessions perteyning to the saide churche of Saynte Dennes, and the saide londes and tenements were gyve and graunted for the fynding of twooe chapellaynes emongst other to praye for the soules of the founder his father and mother brytherne and sesterne and for all christian soules as above is declared and as may also appeare in the foundation of the saide churche.”

On 6th June, 1548, these were valued for Richard Hochonson, of London, gentleman :—

The cler yearly value of the premisses iiij li. viij s. iiij d. which rated at xvj years purchas amounteth to . . . . lxx li. xiiij s. iiij d.

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\* Particulars for Grants, 2 Edw. VI., Sir Thomas Bell and Richard Duke grantees.

To be paid all in hand.

The King's Majestic to discharge the purchaser of all incumbrances except leases and the covenants in the same.

The tenure in socage or free burgage.

The purchaser to have thissues from Easter last.

In the parish of St. Margarete, Lothebury, London.\*

The rent of one tenement there with all its appurtenances in the tenure of William Vryne from year to year . . . . . lxxvj s. viij d.

The rent of one other tenement there with all its appurtenances in the tenure of Christopher Stubbes from year to year . . . . . xxxix s.

Total cv s. viij d.

Memor<sup>d</sup> these tenements amongst other were given by John Wrotham to finde two prests to singe for ever.

On 20th July, 1548, the tenements were thus valued to Henry Coddendam, of London, gentleman, and William Pendred, of London, haberdassher and Founder, who applied for a grant of them.

The clere yerelic value of the premisses . . . . . cv s. viij d.  
which rated at xv yeres purchase amountethe . . . . . lxxxix li. v s.

To be paide all in hande.

The Kings Majestic to discharge the purchaser of all incumbrances except leases and the covenants in the same.

The tenure in socage or free burgage.

The purchaser to have thissues from Easter laste.

Parish of St. Botolph without Bishop's Gate, London.†

The farm of one tenement with the appurtenances situate and being in the said parish in the tenure of Peter Crowch from year to year yielding for same per annum . . . . . liij s. iiij d.

M<sup>d</sup> this tenement amongst other was gyven by Mande Bromhole towards the fynding of a prest and for an yerely anymadversary for ever, whiche said tenement is verely muche in decaye.

On 13th April, 1549, it was valued for Edward Walshe,‡ but was granted, on application made 26th June, 1549, by John Hulson of London, scrivener, and the before named William Pendred.

The clere yerlye value of the premiss is . . . . . liij s. iiij d.  
which rated at xiiij yeres purchase amounteth to . . . . . xxxvij li. vj s. viij d.

To be paide all in hand.

The Kings Majestic to discharge the purchaser of all incumbrances except leases and the covenants in the same.

The tenure in socage or freeburgage.

The purchaser to have thissues from our Laidy day last.

The rent of one tenement there with all its appurtenances in the parish of St.

\* Particulars for Grants, 2 Edw. VI. Henry Coddendam, William Pendred, grantees.

† Ibid. 3 Edw. VI. John Hulson, William Pendred, grantees (section 2).

‡ He was, I believe, a servant of Sir Edward (then Mr.) Osborne.

Botolph without Bishopsgate in the tenure of the widow Rycrofte from year to year paying for same \* . . . . . xiiij s.

xij yeres purchase viij li. viij s.

Memorandum thys tenement amongst other was geven by Mawde Bromholm to fynd a prest and to kepe an obit for her soul for ever.

Valued 23rd July, 1549, for Robert Bull.

The Kings Majestie to discharge the purchaser of all incombraunces except leasses and the covenantes in the same, and except the rents above allowed.

The tenure in socage.

The purchaser to have thissues from the feast of Thammunciacon of our Lady last paste.

In the parish of St. Dionis Backechurch.† The farm of all that messuage or tenement, with all cellars and houses called warehouses, gardens, with the backeyarde and backegate, and all their appurtenances lying in the parish aforesaid, in which tenement George Heton then dwelt, and let to Benjamin Digby, in as ample form and manner as *John Darby gave the same tenement with the appurtenances to the church of St. Dionis Backechurche.*

Let by Indenture, dated 10th February, 20 Henry VII., 1505, for 90 years, from the feast of the Nativity then last past, fully to be complete and ended, the sum payable quarterly being £8.

The value of the stock.

Memorandum.—This tenement was geven amongst other by John Darby, sumtymes alderman of London, to sing for his sole for ever.

Item I have made a partyculer of the premisses to Sir Wymond Carewe by vertue of a former letter to me directed.

Item ther is belonging to the same tenement a stocke which in parcelles followeithe—

furste in the hall a fyre panne of yron of vj quarters and iiij wheles preased at . . . . . iii s. iiij d.

Item in the chamber called *Jerusalem Chamber* a standyng bedde and a senyng bedde ‡ preased at . . . . . xij d.

Item in the kytchyn entery a standyng lator of pewter wt iiij spowtes preased at . . . . . iiij s.

Item a sesterne of leadde wt a cocke of latten into the kytchyn, preased at . . . . . iiij s. iiij d.

Item two dressers preased at . . . . . ij d.

Item the sheffes in the larder howse and a bredde bynne in the buttery with iiij romes in the same preased at . . . . . iiij d.

Item in the seller a candell chest and two ale giftes preased at . . . . . ij d.

Item in the fore cowrte a sesterne of leadde preased . . . . . v s.

Item in thest yarde a latten cocke standyng in the wall preased at . . . . . viij d.

\* Particulars for Grants, 4 Edw. VI. sec. 2, Thomas Reve and Henry Herdson grantees.

† Ibid. 2 Edw. VI. George Heton, grantee.

‡ A folding bed?

Item in the meynes chamber over the gate a standyng presse and iij powles standyng in the drying lofte clasped with yron into peeces of tymber preased at . . . . . vij d.

Making a total of xvij s. vij d.

Memorandum that the tenaunte haith by vertue of his lease all the ymplements aforesaid duryng the tyme in the seid lease mencyoned, and in thende of the seid time to redelyver the same (alweys resonable were and wast of the same to be allowed).

On 9th May, 1548, the premises were valued and granted to George Heton, of London, merchaunt tayllor.

The clere yerlie value of the premisses vij li. which rated at xxi yeris purchas amounteth to . . . . . clxvij li.

Add ther unto the said stocke being . . . . . xvij s. vij d.

And there is the somme to be paid . . . . . clxvij li. xvij s. vij d.

To be paid all in hand.

The Kings Majestic to discharge the purchaser of all incumbrances except leasses and the covenants in the same.

The tenure in socage or free burgage.

The purchaser to have the issues from Easter last.

Parish of St. Dionis Backchurch.\*

The rent of one tenement there let to Edward Scysson, by indenture, per annum . . . . . xls.

The rent of another tenement there let to William Brown, by indenture, per annum . . . . . xls.

Total iij li.

Memorandum, these tenements were gyven for the fynding of obitts, lights, and lampes, and there is a former particler delyvered of the tenement in the tenure of William Browne to Thomas Chamberleyn.

There are five sums or entries for other churches, and at the foot the following is appended—29th January, 1549, valued for Charles Belfeld:—

The clere yerely valewe of the premysses is . . . . . xxij li. vj s. vij d.  
which rated at xiiij yeris purchas amounteth to . . . . . ccxxv li. xiiij s. iij d.

To be paid all in hande.

The Kings Majestic to discharge the purchaser of all incombrances except leases and the covenants in the same. The tenure in socage or free burgage. The purchaser to have the issues from Mighelmas last.

There were also in this parish one tenement given for an obit at St. Margaret Moyses, and four tenements in Lime Street—partly in St. Andrew's Undershaft—belonging to Walden Chantry in St. Paul's, and one tenement to Dean Moore's chantry there.†

\* Particulars for Grants, 3 Edw. VI. (section 2). Richard Were, Bartholomew Gibbs, grantees.

† These were sold 14th January, 1615, to Edmund Duffield and John Babington, Esquires, and a fee farm rent of 80s. was sold by the Commis-

The following is the property still belonging to the parish:—

By the will of Giles de Kelseye, dated 18th February, 1377,\* (1st Richard II.), he bequeaths to the rector of St. Dionis, for tithes and oblations forgotten, 13s. 4d., and he goes on to say:—"I devise to my executors all my tenements with the appurtenances situate in Lime Street, in London, between the tenement of Richard Preston on the one part and the tenement late of John de Stodey on the other part, and the said street of Lime Street on the east part, and the place called Leadenhall on the west part, to have and to hold to my said executors, from the time of my decease unto the end of ten years then next following fully to be complete, to find thereout and sustain a lamp burning every day and night before the high altar in the aforesaid church of St. Dionis, which said tenement with the appurtenances, after the said ten years fully completed, I devise to remain to the rector and parishioners of the aforesaid church of St. Dionis and their successors, rectors, and parishioners for the time being, to find thereout and sustain the lamp aforesaid burning every day and night before the aforesaid high altar for ever, and the whole of the profits arising from the aforesaid tenement beyond the sustentation of the lamp aforesaid, and the reparation and sustentation of the tenement aforesaid, I leave for the amending and sustentation of the books, vestments, and ornaments of the aforesaid church."

The use of this property (except so far as it found a lamp) did not come within the statutes for preventing superstitious uses,† and it is still enjoyed by the parish; it is Nos. 9, 10, and 11, Lime Street, and warehouse and stable in Leadenhall Place, and is let to Mr. Charles White for £540 a-year, and a small part of Leadenhall Place, sold January 15th, 1857, to the Corporation for £540, and the Rectory House behind the Church, now used as an infant school.

The citizens of London by their custom, confirmed by the Charter of Edward III., had liberty to devise their lands in mortmain or otherwise as they were wont in former times, and by special custom the

sioners, 24th March, 1650, to Bryan Bromeley, of Barnard's Inn, Gentleman.—Augmentation office; counterparts of deeds of sale of fee farm rents, B. 2, No. 11, Bromeley.

\* Court of Hustings. The abstract of these wills is printed in *Notes and Queries*, 3 Ser. vol. vi. p. 104.

† Report of Edward B. Hook, Esq., Vestry Clerk, 19th March, 1857.

parson and churchwardens are a corporation to purchase and demise their lands.\*

It was stated in an old Table of benefactors that in 1490 William Bacon, Alderman, gave the houses in Lime Street to the use of the poor for ever; but no will can be found.

There is however a house, No. 25, Philpot Lane (formerly two houses), devised by the will of John Haddocke, glazier, dated 27th May, 1500.

And, in 1703, when there was a great revival of religion in London, Sir Robert Geffery, Knt., left £400 to the Ironmongers' Company to purchase land and pay a sum to the rector or curate for performing service twice daily, and £2 10s. to the clerk.† The premises were in the Strand, and pulled down in 1838.

REGISTERS.—These commence in October, 1538, immediately on the order, and are perfect; for during the Commonwealth, on 25th September, 1653, the parish clerk, John Bedford, was chosen registrar, and he kept all the entries in the original books. During the whole of the Commonwealth also the church was largely resorted to by persons from a distance for MARRIAGES. Thus we find, 12 Feb. 165 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the marriage of Charles Lord St. John and Lady Mary Leppington; on 8th April, 1657, Sir Thomas Chamberleyn of Oxfordshire and Mrs. Margaret Prideaux, daughter of the Attorney-General;‡ on 18th February, 165 $\frac{1}{3}$ , Francis Warner of St. Giles, and Anne Pettas of Covent Garden, baronetess; on 16th May, 1660, Sir George Blundell, of Cardington Manor, Beds, and Mrs. Elizabeth Yardley, daughter of Christopher Yardley of Greenwich, Kent; on 6th April, 1665, Charles Pelham of Brocklesby and Elizabeth Pelham of Covent Gar-

\* Bohn's *Privilegia Londini*, pp. 12-90.

† *Notes and Queries*, 3 Series, vol. vi. p. 182. There had been a lecturer chosen under the authority of George Hume, rector, dated 25th August, 1642, to lecture in the afternoons of Sundays and Fast days for one year from Michaelmas, but they were renewable, provided that he read divine service according to the rubric of the Common Prayer Book on the first Sunday of his teaching, and the first Sunday of every quarter, but he was not without consent to depute any one to preach in his stead nor perform any other ministerial act within the parish. Addl. MSS. No. 5489, fol. 69.

‡ Edmond Prideaux was Attorney-General from the death of the King till his own death in 1659.

den;\* and also a marriage of Mr. Molyneux † of Surrey to Miss More; whilst, in 1690, we find that John Loudon of St. Martin-in-the-fields followed most strictly the rubric by having his banns published “on three several Sundays or holydays,” viz., Whit-Sunday, 12th, Whit-Monday the 13th, and Whit-Tuesday the 14th May, and was quickly married by the Rector on the Thursday following, the 16th.

The first book ends in 1736. The register of BAPTISMS contains nothing of importance. There are several entries of foundlings called after the parish Dionis, and, about 1690, is a notice of the ceremony having taken place at the font.

The BURIALS contain notices of the large number of deaths in the years of plague. In 1563 there are recorded 33 burials in August, 64 in September, 41 in October, and some up to 8th November. In 1593 they occur from July to November; in 1625, in the months of July, August, September, and October, and in 1665, from 8th September till the end of October. The last burial was of the well-known surgeon, Astley Cooper Key, in the large vault, in 1851.

The living did belong to the prior and canons of Canterbury, but at the Reformation, 1540, it came to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, the present patrons. It is one of the thirteen peculiars of the Archbishop in London.

A list is given in Newcourt of twenty-seven Rectors between 1288 and 1680, and the following are those subsequent:—

- 22nd May, 1680 to 1715, Lionel Gatford, D.D., when he died.  
 1715 to 1717, John Grandoge, D.D.  
 1717 to 1756, John Smith, D.D., President of Queen’s College, Oxon, Prebendary of St. Paul’s.
- 24th Dec. 1756 to 1775, Thomas Curteis, when he died.  
 September, 1775 to 1782, William Tatton, D.D., when he died.
- 23rd July, 1782 to 1803, John Lynch, D.C.L., Archdeacon and Prebendary of Canterbury. He died in 1803.
- May 1803 to 1804, William Girningham, M.A.  
 1804 to 1815, E. Walsby.

\* Fourth daughter of Sir Thomas Pelham of Laughton, Sussex, by his first wife.

† Of the family long settled at Loseley.

1815 to 1828, The Hon. Henry Lewis Hobart, D.D., Dean of Windsor. He died 1846.

1828 to 1852, The Hon. George Pellew, D.D., Dean of Norwich and Prebendary of York, who died 1866.

1853 William Harle Lyall, M.A.,\*

to whom I am indebted for several of the particulars relating to the registers, organ, church-plate, property, &c. of the parish.

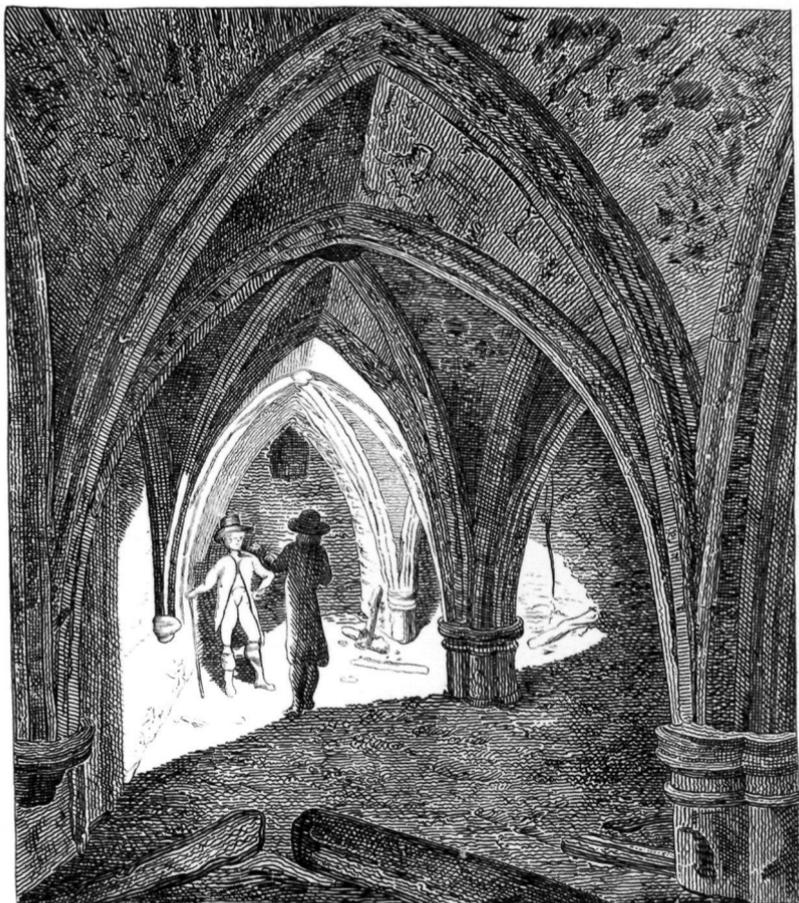
FAMILIES.—In early times Fenchurch Street had several good houses. At Denmark House the Russian ambassador was lodged and magnificently entertained in the reign of Mary. In the old church were monuments to *John Paget*, Merchant Taylor and Sheriff in 1536; to *Sir James Harvey*, Lord Mayor, whose wife left a sum still distributed on Maundy Thursday; and *Sir Edward Osborne*, who had been Lord Mayor in 1596, and was the ancestor of the Earls of Danby, subsequently created Dukes of Leeds. On the 6th December, in 1559, Henry Machyn in his Diary † says, “there was bered in Sant Dennys parryche in Fanchurche Stret, the chyrche and the quire hangyd with blake and armes, and the plasse and the strett, *Ser Thomas Cortes* (Curteis) Knyght, and latt Mare of London, and Fysmonger and Puterer. There was iij. haroldes of armes, and ther had my lord mare, and the sword-bayrer, and dyvers althermen had blake, and the residew in vyolett; and there was a c. in blake gownes and cottes; and he had a standard and a v. penon of armes, and a x. dozen skochyons; and ther dyd pryche Master Recherdson the skott:‡ and after to the plasse and the mare and the althermen to dener, for ther was a grett dener, and pore men in gownes and the clarkes of London syngyng; a grett denner for all men that wold come.”

In the church are monuments on the west side to *Thomas Rawlinson* and his family, some of whom were distinguished bibliopoles and anti-quaries, and to *Dr. Oyley Michel* and his wife Ann; on the north wall an elaborate monument with bust to *Dr. Edward Tyson* the Carus of Garth's Dispensary, who died 1st August, 1708, and whose

\* The foregoing are from *Malcolm's Lond. Redivivum*, vol. iii. p. 439, with some corrections.

† *Camden Soc.* 1847, p. 217, quoted by *Strype* in his edition of *Stow*.

‡ He was of St. Peter's in Cornhill, and Reader of Whittington College, afterwards Parson of St. Matthew's and a frequent and popular preacher.



*North view in the inside of an ancient building, under a house adjoining the pumps at Aldgate.*

*Sketched 1784, Engraved & Pub<sup>d</sup> Jan. 1. 1789, by J. Carter  
Hamilton s<sup>r</sup>. Hyde Park Corner.*

J. ENSLIE & SONS, LONDON

\* Enlarged fac-simile of an original impression,  
in the possession of John E. Price, F.S.A.

portrait is at the College of Physicians;\* and near it one to *Sir Robert Geffery*, Knt. Alderman, and sometime Lord Mayor, who died senior Alderman in 1703, æt. 91 years, which is kept in repair by the Iron-mongers' Company. On the north side of the Communion-table is a panel monument to *Sir Arthur Ingram*, an eminent Spanish merchant, who resided in New Ingram Court, in this parish, and died 1681; and on the south one to *Lionel Gatford*, rector, who died in 1715, and his two wives; and on two pillars are monuments to members of the family of *Hankey*, one on the west of the nave being to Thomas Hankey, who died in 1733.

The INNS in the parish (besides the *Star over the Hoop*) have been, *The Ram's Head*, *The Ipswich Arms*, once a good hostelry in Cullum Street, named after Sir Thomas; and the *Mitre*, where the parish feastings were wont to be held.

The PEWTERERS' COMPANY, who received their first charter 26th January, 13 Edward IV. (1474), had their Hall in Lime Street in this parish.

## NOTES ON AN ANCIENT CRYPT WITHIN ALDGATE.

BY ALFRED WHITE, ESQ., F.L.S., F.S.A.

Recent improvements have rendered necessary the destruction of an interesting crypt, situate at the junction of Leadenhall Street and Fenchurch Street, a little west of the well where afterwards was erected Aldgate Pump.

This crypt does not appear to have been known to the historian John Stowe, although there is reason to suppose that he occupied the house immediately above it. He says that, During some commotions of the commons in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and other shires, in the reign of Edw<sup>d</sup> VI. divers persons were apprehended and executed by the martial laws, amongst the which the Baylif of Romford, in Essex,

\* Munk's *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*, vol. i. p. 399.

was one. He was brought by the Sheriffs of London and the Knight Marshall to the well within Aldgate, there to be executed on a gibet set up that morning. He was executed upon the pavement of my door, where I then kept house." The existence of this crypt is noticed in Maitland's "London," and in "London and its Environs," printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1761, vol. iv. p. 325, as, "St. Michael's, an ancient parochial chapel which stood at the end of Leadenhall Street, and the remains of this chapel are still to be seen under the corner house. They extend 36 feet from north to south, and 16 from east to west. There is still standing the Gothic arched roof, which is supported by handsome pillars, the whole built with square brick, chalk, and stone." Much the same notice appears in "History of London," &c., by Rev. John Entick, 1766, vol. i. p. 94, and in Maitland's "London," 1772, vol. ii. p. 780, where the crypt is said to be under the house of Mr. Gilpin, chemist. In "The Gentleman's Magazine" for April, 1789, page 293, is a communication on "The Chapel of St. Michael, near Aldgate." It is described as beneath the house of Mr. Relf, and is said to prove that the level of this part of the city has been greatly raised "since the foundation of this structure, the floor of which was evidently on a level with the common way." The writer has considered this to be the chapel instead of a crypt, the floor of which was always about ten feet below the street. At this time the building was filled with earth, "within two feet of the capitals of the pillars," and a view of the crypt is given in this condition. The length is said to be 48 feet, which shows that the south bay had been cleared since 1761. Its direction, north and south, is likewise noticed as "contrary to our mode of building sacred edifices." The writer (Investigator) has fallen into a great error in supposing 16 feet of the shafts to be buried. Another paper appears on this structure in the June number of "The Gentleman's Magazine" for 1789, page 495, in which "Palæophilus Londinensis" gives a good digest of what had been written on this building and the monastery of the Trinity, but supposes it was part of the buildings erected by Prior Norman in the 12th century. In this year (1789) a description was published by John Carter, with a very good view of the crypt, and this, enlarged, is given in Plate I., and shows the condition to be the same, so far as the partial filling with earth is concerned, as it was a few years since. In "The History and Survey of London," &c. by B. Lambert, 1806, vol. ii. p. 393, is the plate from "The Gentleman's Magazine" re-

peated, but no new matter is introduced. In "London and Middlesex, by Brayley, Nightingale, and Brewer, 1815, vol. iii. p. 248," the crypt is mentioned as a discovery of 1789, and the house above it is said to be occupied by Tipper and Fry, No. 71. In "The History and Antiquities of London," &c., by Thomas Allen, 1828, vol. iii. pp. 88-90, a view of the crypt is given, and we read that "the engraving shows the building in a restored state," but as this view has been drawn supposing that ten feet of earth (instead of two feet six inches) covered the floor of the building, it has given it too lofty a character. There is likewise a very correct plan, and a representation of one of the bosses at the intersection of the vaulting ribs. In the description of the building the position of the sills of the windows, with regard to the vault, is mentioned as a proof that it was always considerably underground, and the steps which formed the approach are likewise described. From the "absence of any religious or sacerdotal emblem appearing in the carvings, as well as the circumstance of the structure standing, in its longest proportions, north and south, it is not at all probable that it ever was a church, or the crypt of one," and the architectural knowledge of our author leads him to suggest that "it is probable that these remains are the workmanship of the latter part of the thirteenth century." "Londinia Illustrata," Robt. Wilkinson, 1822, vol. ii. contains a well executed engraving of this crypt, from a drawing by Mr. Shepherd, now in the possession of J. E. Gardner, Esq. This would lead us to suppose that the entire height of the structure was more than 20 feet, and this even is strengthened, so far as the drawing is concerned, by the introduction of the figures of two men, and in the description of the plate is, "but as the capitals of the pillars are at present only 4 feet above the floor, the altitude of the arches at first might have amounted to 18 feet."

In these several accounts of the crypt it is generally described as the remains of St. Michael's Church, and the only circumstances which are suggested against this view are, that the longest dimensions of the building is north and south, unlike ecclesiastical buildings, and that it is without any Christian emblem or device. These would be good reasons for doubt, but it will be more conclusive to show that St. Michael's Church stood at a considerable distance from this crypt at the western extremity of Aldgate Ward. There is in "Liber Dunthorn," which is a collection of copies of ancient deeds and other writings preserved in the Guildhall of London, an account in Latin of

the boundaries of the soke of the monastery of the Trinity, of which the following translation will be found in Strype's *Stowe* and other histories of London, and is a very fair rendering of the original: "We must know therefore how great the soke is, which hath such bounds. From the gate of Aldgate, as far as the gate of the Bailey of the Tower, called Cungate, and all Cheken Lane, towards Barking Church, as far as the churchyard, except one house nearer than the churchyard, and the journey is returned the same way, as far as the church of St. Olave; and then we come back by the street which goes to Coleman Church; then it goes forth towards Fenchurch, and so there is on this side our houses a lane, through which we went unto the house of Theobald FitzIvo, Alderman, which lane now is stopped because it had been suspected for thieves in the night: therefore, because a way was not open there, we come back again by a lane towards the church of St. Michael, and as far as Lime Street to the house of Richard Cavel. This, therefore, is our Inward Soke, and these are the bounds of it. This the Queen-Mother gave to us, with the gate of Aldgate. From Lime Street we go through the street by the church of St. Andrew's, as far as the chapel of St. Augustine upon the Wall; then as far as the gate of the churchyard. This is the circuit of our Inner Soke."

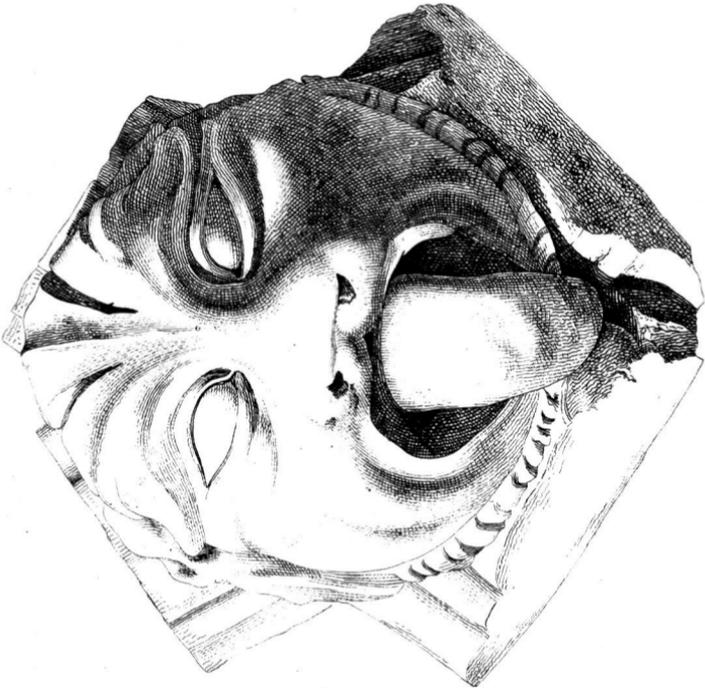
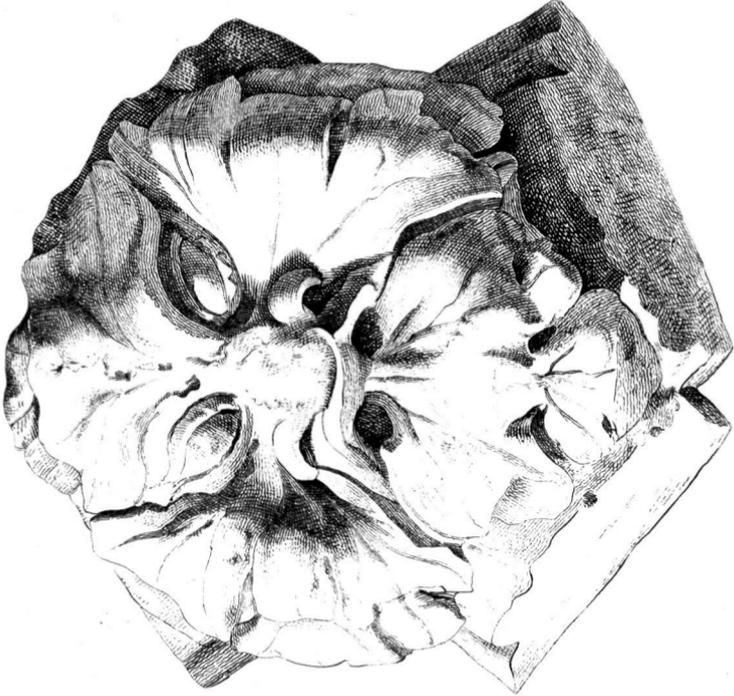
It will be seen that the bounds of this soke are nearly those of the ward of Aldgate at the present time. To clearly understand the position of the church of St. Michael, it will be well to follow the boundary, and give, where necessary, the present names of the places mentioned. It commences at Aldgate, and goes south along the course of London Wall (the wall now destroyed) until we come to one of the towers thereon, called then Cungate, and here it appears to go within one house of the great cemetery which was once attached to Allhallows, Barking. It then proceeds in a north-westerly course to the north end of Seething Lane by St. Olave's Church, and passes somewhat east to the church of St. Katherine-Coleman, and then along Fenchurch Street towards the church of St. Gabriel, which stood before the fire of 1666 in the middle of the street between Mark Lane and Mincing Lane just in the adjoining ward of Langbourne. From this point the route goes north by a lane towards Theobald FitzIvo's house, which lane must therefore have been situate on the west side of Ironmongers' Hall, and so towards that part of Lime Street which runs northward near the north end of Cullum Street: but, as this way

had been stopped, they return by a lane towards the church of St. Michael, and as far as Lime Street to the house of Richard Cavel. Thus the site of St. Michael's Church is brought within a very limited space, viz.: to the north of Fenchurch Street, to the east of Lime Street, and to the west of the present Ironmongers' Hall, or between Billiter Square and Lime Street Square. In Aggas's map of 1560, just at this point, an inclosure is shown with a cross in its centre; this is probably the yard of the church. It is of course quite useless to search in any existing history of London for mention of this church, as the churches of the parishes of St. Michael and the Holy Trinity were probably destroyed when Norman erected the priory of the Trinity in 1107, or by the Great Fire of 1135, which burned the priory. The date of the perambulation which we have used *must be* about the middle of the thirteenth century, as Theobald FitzIvo was alderman of the ward in 1264, or more than 300 years before the date of Stowe's history. These old churches may have existed as ruins in the thirteenth century. The church of St. Michael being thus placed in the west part of Aldgate Ward, instead of at the junction of Fenchurch Street and Leadenhall Street, over this crypt, we will proceed with the boundary of the soke, which is described as going along the northern portion of Lime Street, through the street (St. Mary Axe), by the church of St. Andrew (Undershaft), to St. Augustine's (Papey) which stood near London Wall at the end of St. Mary Axe, and then by the course of London Wall to the churchyard (of the Priory), which stood just west of Aldgate, from which point we started.

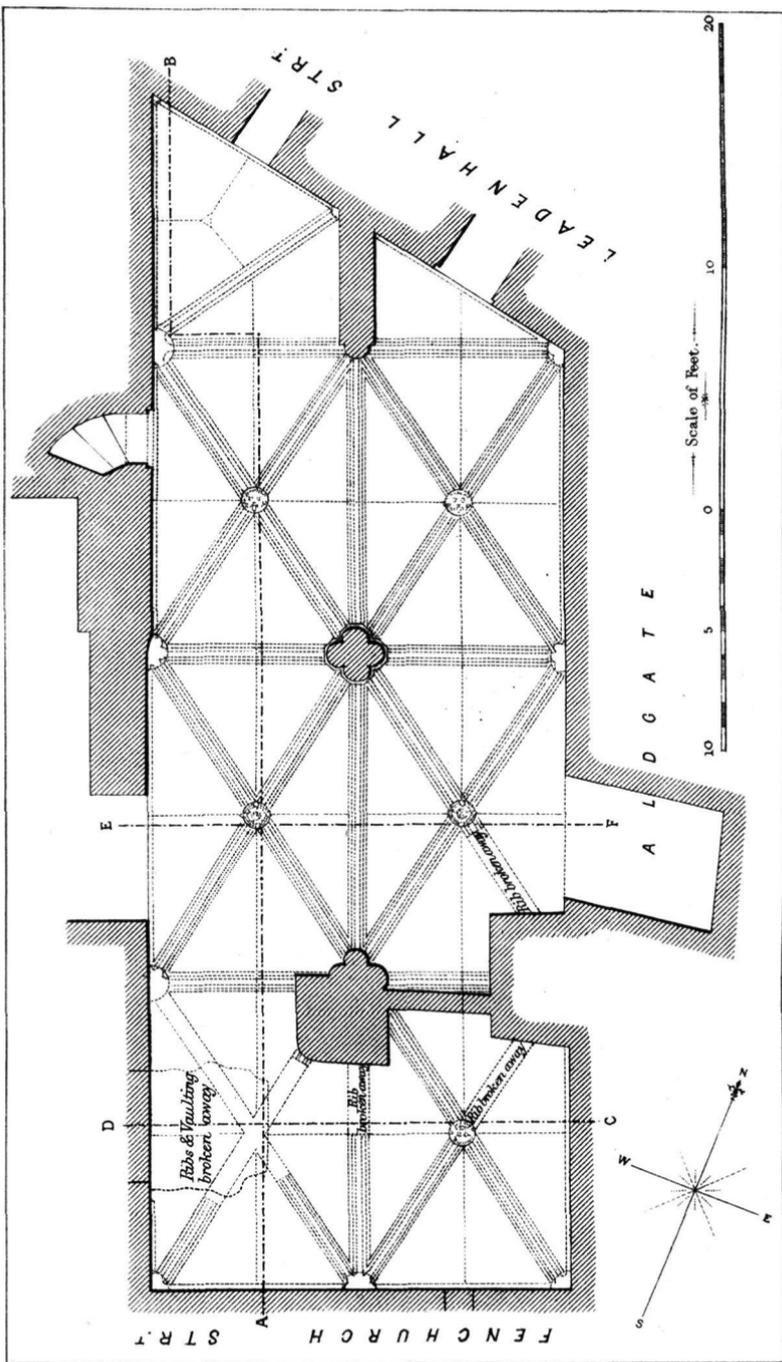
If this crypt is not any part of St. Michael's Church, for what purpose was it built? This is not readily determined. Such crypts have not frequently occurred in London, and it is unlike the usual basement of a private house of the middle ages. These are generally semi-cylindrical in form and were strengthened by broad ribs with bold chamfers. Such vaults of all periods are often found in London. In Cannon Street and Garlick Hill they existed of very large dimensions. It is not unlikely that some public building, either of the ward or the city, existed at this spot. The junction of these two important streets must at all times have been a place of great traffic, and one therefore well suited for the carrying out public acts. Such a view is supported by the execution mentioned by Stowe. Whatever was the superstructure it must have been irregular in form and not very large. The south part of the crypt consisted of two vaults separated

by columns, and in each vault were three bays with the diagonal and transverse vaulting-ribs, supported by two central columns with well-executed caps, and against the walls on corbels with grotesque carved heads. These three bays together were 36 feet 6 inches in length, with a breadth of 16 feet 6 inches (the part described previous to 1789), but the western wall was prolonged 12 feet, making the total length of this wall 48 feet 6 inches. Two irregular bays were thus formed at the north end, which were divided by a wall terminated by a semi-shaft and cap, which received the vaulting-ribs. At the meeting of the upper parts of the vaulting-ribs were six well-carved bosses, consisting of heads and foliage arranged about them in an uncommon manner. Two of these are illustrated in Plate II. The ribs were boldly moulded, as shown in the longitudinal and transverse sections. The central columns were formed of a cluster of four shafts, which together measured 2 feet 5 inches in diameter, and were 4 feet 2 inches long. The total height of the cap, column, and base was 5 feet 4 inches. The height from the level of the base of the columns to the bosses at the junction of the vaulting-ribs was 12 feet. The light appears to have been supplied by three windows, two being placed at the north end, and one in the east bay at the south end. They were about 2 feet across; the internal sill was about 8 feet 6 inches from the floor, and the external sill would be about level with the top of the inner part of the vaulting. The entrance was by a flight of steps on the west side in the most northern of the regular bays, and it entered the crypt under a pointed arch. Openings also existed in the next bays towards the south, but their character is uncertain.

The diameter of the central columns appears to have been the cause of much error formerly as to their height, for we see they were estimated at 10 feet and even more than that elevation. If we compare them with columns in similar positions it will not appear an extraordinary conclusion. The columns of Gerard's Hall crypt were but 1 foot in diameter, and the shaft alone was nearly six feet in height. It would, therefore, not be unreasonable to suppose that these columns of 2 feet 5 inches in diameter were much more than 5 feet 4 inches in height, including the caps and bases. It will now be necessary to compare this crypt with similar structures. Independent of its greatest length running from north to south, unlike most ecclesiastical structures, we have the division into two vaults. This is especially secular or domestic; indeed such an arrangement does not

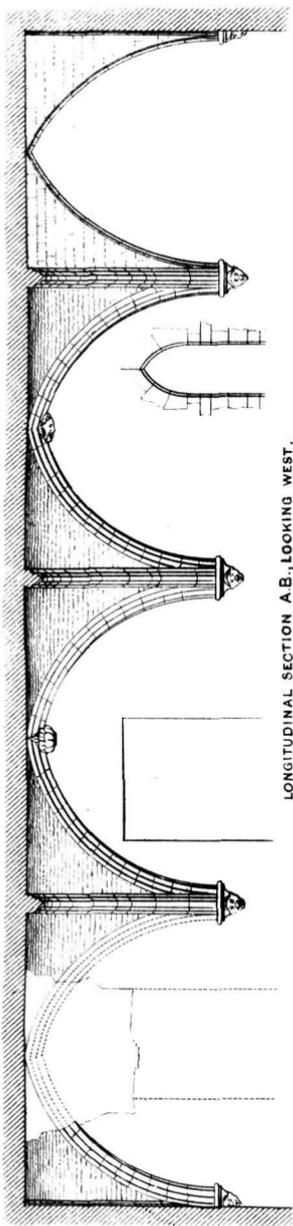


STONE BOSSES, CRYPT, ALDGATE.

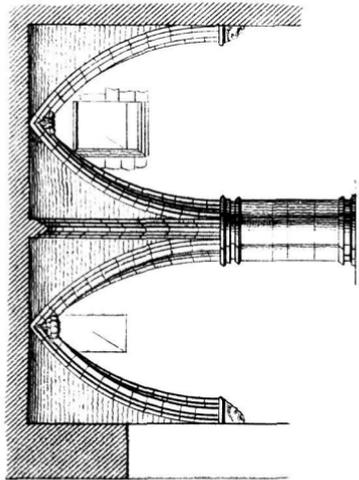


J. Emme & Sons, 11th, London.

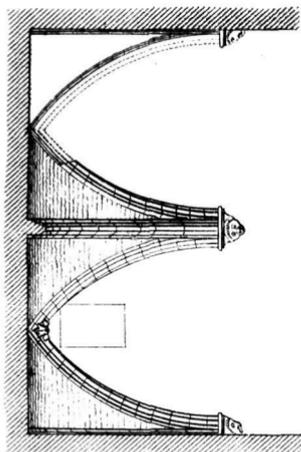
CRYPT, ALD GATE,  
AT JUNCTION OF LEADENHALL STREET AND FENCHURCH STREET.



LONGITUDINAL SECTION A.B., LOOKING WEST.



TRANSVERSE SECTION E.F., LOOKING NORTH



TRANSVERSE SECTION C.D., LOOKING SOUTH.

0 10 20 30 Feet

J. Emble & Sons 19, ...

**CRYPT, ALDGATE,**  
 AT JUNCTION OF LEADENHALL STREET AND FENCHURCH STREET.

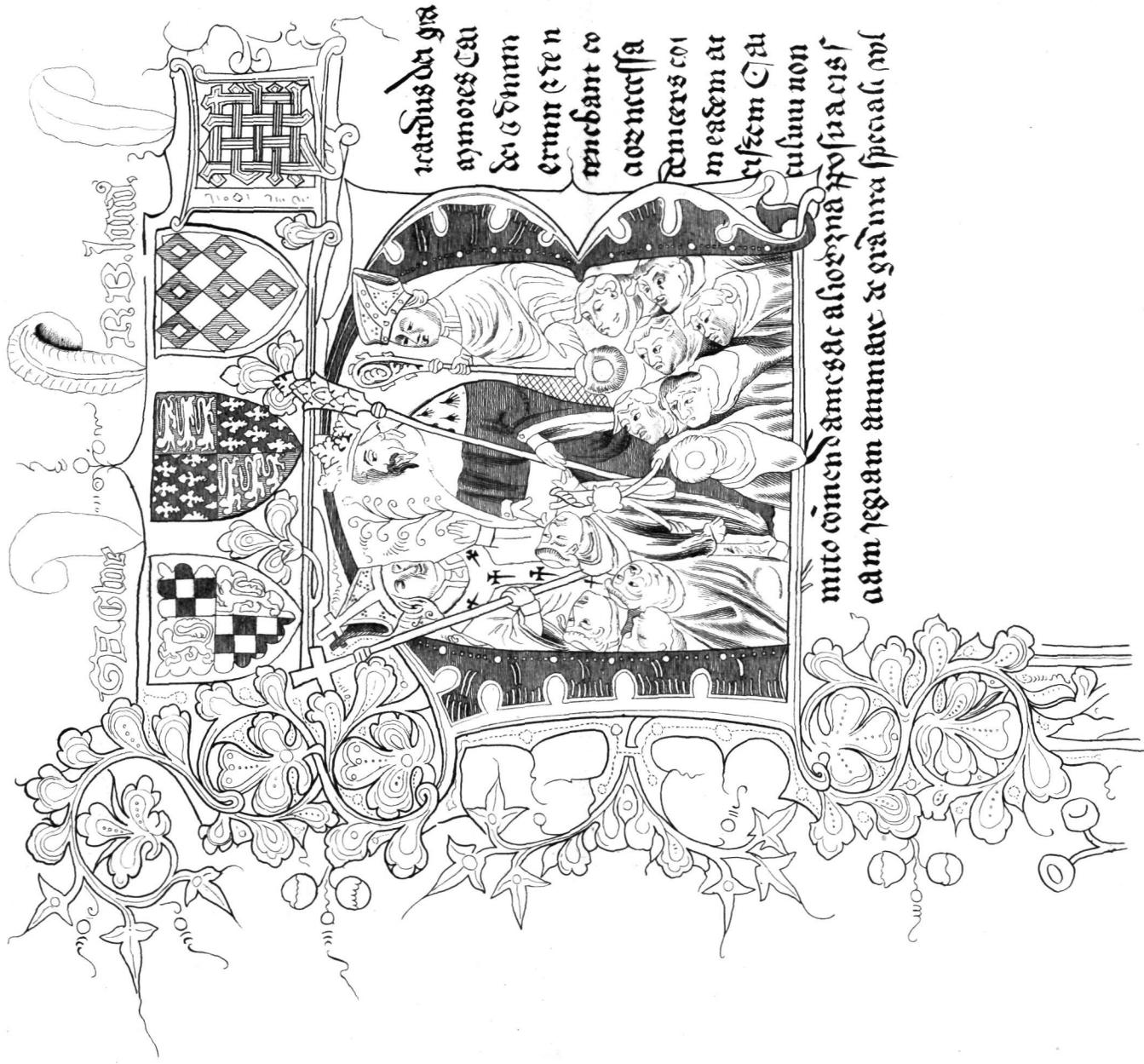
usually occur in churches for more than four combined bays, but for other buildings this is the rule. Such was the plan of Gerard's Hall crypt, and Mr. C. Baily told you that two such crypts existed in Guildford, seven in Chester, and several at York, Bristol, and other places. Such was the plan at the Strangers' Hall at Canterbury, and of halls at Norwich, also of the crypt of South Wingfield Manor-house in Derbyshire, and in numerous other cases of domestic buildings. There are exceptions to this rule, and the most easy of access is the crypt under the east end of the Guildhall of London. Here are three vaults similar so far to the undererofts of churches, but differing in having the vaults of equal span. This departure from the usual civil arrangement may have been determined by extent of span of the arch, for we find in South Wingfield Manor-house that an undercroft of about 36 feet is divided into two vaults of 18 feet span, but the 50 feet of Guildhall may have required three vaults. Mr. C. Baily has placed the period of the building of this crypt to the time of Richard the Second, and also remarked that the direction of the north and south walls proves that both Fenchurch Street and Leadenhall Street have since that time retained their present course.

It may be well to offer a few remarks on the parishes which existed at the erection of the priory of Christ Church or Trinity. This priory is said to have been built in the same place where Siredus sometime began to erect a church in honour of the Cross and of St. Mary Magdalen. This ancient church contributed 30 shillings to the dean and chapter of Waltham. The abbey church here is also dedicated to the Holy Cross, and when Matilda founded Christ Church or Trinity she gave to the church of Waltham a mill instead of this payment. But little is known of the building of Siredus, but Matilda's Priory is said to have occupied parts of the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen, St. Michael, St. Katherine, and the Blessed Trinity, which now was made but one parish of the Holy Trinity, and was in old time of the Holy Cross or Holy Rood parish. At this time, therefore, (1108,) the old parish of the Holy Rood had disappeared, and four parishes appear on its site. In the perambulation of the old soke of the priory we find the parishes of Coleman Church (St. Katherine), St. Michael, St. Andrew (Under-shaft), and of The Trinity (now St. James's, Duke's Place), but St. Mary Magdalen and Holy Rood are not mentioned. This loss of St. Mary Magdalen is not easily explained. Could the church of St. Andrew have been dedicated formerly to St. Mary Magdalen? Such

changes in dedication are known, and, even in this ward or soke, Stowe tells us that St. Katherine Coleman was called St. Katherine and All Saints.

This would make up all the parishes which are given at the several periods in this locality. The existence of St. Katherine Coleman and St. Katherine Cree as two distinct parishes adjoining is remarkable. The parish of St. Katherine Coleman belonged to the ancient establishment of St. Martin-le-Grand, and so remained until the Dissolution. Was it a part of this parish which was taken into the precinct of the Trinity? The inhabitants of the inclosed parish of St. Katherine at first used the priory church, but it was agreed afterwards that they should have a church erected, and use the priory church only at certain times. This would be what we might expect of a part of a parish detached at the establishment of the priory, but which desired to be released from the control of the prior, and to be a parish of itself, with its own church. We must not confound the parish of St. Mary Magdalen with a small parish of St. Mary the Virgin, St. Ursula, and the 11,000 Virgins. This was on the west side of St. Mary Axe, and belonged to the priory of St. Helen. The church was destroyed, and the parish united, by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, to St. Andrew Undershaft in the year 1561.

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STATUTES OF THE COLLEGE OF THE MINOR  
CANONS IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A., V.P.  
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The College of the twelve Minor Canons in S. Paul's Cathedral owes its foundation to the pious care of Richard II. The original charter, richly emblazoned, is still preserved amongst the archives of the body, and has been printed *in extenso* in a recent volume of the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries.\* The effect of the charter was to incorporate and form into a college a body of men already in existence—a body, indeed, so old, that the researches in which I have been for some time engaged fail to throw any light upon the exact period of its origin. One of the Harleian manuscripts † speaks of the two cardinals in S. Paul's Cathedral, officers chosen by the Dean and Chapter out of the number of the Minor Canons, as having existed “before the time of the Conqueror.” There can, I think, be little doubt that, although the Minor Canons were not incorporated into a college until 18 Richard II., the body itself has existed from the very earliest times, probably from the period of the foundation of the Cathedral.

The charter, after the usual formal words of salutation, refers to the fact that there was in the Cathedral a body of twelve men commonly called Minor Canons, whose dress was a surplice, with an almuce of fur, and with black capes, ‡ and proceeds to state that two of their number were called cardinals, § that they had not suitable residences within the close, nor at first a common hall. ¶ It then incorporates them into

\* *Archæologia*, xliiii. pp. 183-185.

† Harleian MSS. No. 980, fo. 179A.

‡ “Superpellicia cum almuciis de calabre et capis nigris.”

§ The name is still retained.

¶ Dugdale prints (Appendix, art. xxxv. edit. Sir H. Ellis), “Carta Decani et Capituli concessa pro nova aula Minorum Canonicorum,” dated 2nd August, 1353.

a college, under the style and title of "Collegium Duodecim Minorum Canonicorum Ecclesie Sancti Pauli Londinensis;" ordains that one of their number shall be the warden of the said college; and grants to them a common seal and other privileges. The King further gives them certain properties in the City of London, "videlicet, unum messuagium cum pertinenciis in parochia Sancte Fidis in criptis Sancti Pauli Londinensis;" "quatuor shopas cum solariis superedificatis," in the parish of S. Nicholas "de Flesshamelis," that is, S. Nicholas in the Flesh Shambles; "decem solidatas" from tenements in the same parish; and another messuage in the parish of S. Faith. The college is especially enjoined to pray for the good estate of the founder so long as he lived, and for his soul's health after his decease; for the soul of Anne his Queen, who died at her favourite palace of Sheen on the seventh of June, 1394 (the charter is dated on the first of August in the same year), and for the souls of his parents and predecessors, as well as of all the faithful departed. John de Lyntone, one of the Minor Canons, is named by the King himself as the first warden of the body. The charter, it will be seen, supplies additional evidence of the loving affection of the King for his late consort, Anne of Bohemia—an affection so strong, that he is said to have ordered the palace of Sheen, in which she died, to be levelled to the ground—an affection still indicated upon the tomb beneath which the royal pair repose, for it is surmounted by their effigies, that of the King still holding in his grasp the hand of the beloved Queen.

The initial illuminated letter of the charter, which forms an illustration to this paper, represents the King between the Archbishop of York (Thomas Arundel, translated from Ely to York in 1388), and the Bishop of London (Robert Braybrook, consecrated 1381), presenting the document itself to the twelve Minor Canons. Over the head of each of the three dignitaries is his coat of arms.\* The letters T. A. Ebor., and R. B. Lond., indicate with sufficient clearness the prelates

\* The arms are these :

I. France and England, quarterly. For the King.

Over the head of the Archbishop—

II. Quarterly, 1st and 4th, Gules, a lion rampant or, *Arundel*.

2nd and 3rd, Chequy, or and azure, *Warren*.

III. Argent, 7 macesules gules, for Braybrook—over Bishop Braybrook.

The King is vested in a purple robe with an ermine cape; the Archbishop and Bishop in crimson chasubles.

over whose heads they stand. The Charter itself, beautifully written upon one skin in thirty-eight lines, is preserved as one of the greatest treasures in the archives of the College. The head line of the Charter is surmounted by richly illuminated devices, ensigned with ostrich feathers, and contains seven large monograms (if such they may be called) based upon the letters L, D, C, R, R, H, and H, each letter being the initial of the surname of one of the following persons mentioned in the body of the document, and containing within itself the remaining letters of the name curiously interwoven. The persons thus commemorated are Johannes de Lynton (the first Warden), Robertus Dokesworth, Ricardus Cotell, Willielmus Ryffyn, Willielmus Rode, Thomas Huute, and Henricus Hasshe (or Asshe, as the name is spelt in the Charter). The illumination is very delicately wrought out, and although the silver sparingly employed in the decoration has turned black, the gold and colour retain much of their original splendour.

The Latin original of the Statutes has been lately printed in the *Archæologia*,\* from a copy in the possession of the Minor Canons, written about the year 1521. I present in this paper an English version of those statutes,† written at about the same period, and now for the first time published. As I have given a somewhat full account of the original Latin, and of this English translation, in the paper in the *Archæologia*, and as the version now printed is in the vulgar tongue, it seems hardly necessary to introduce it by any lengthened comments. I will rather say a few words as to the constitution of the College itself.

The College consists of twelve members. Every year, on S. Barnabas' Day, the brethren are to meet in common hall, then and there to elect one of their number to be warden for the year ensuing. Lest the duties of his office should prove too heavy and laborious, a pitarciary was to be appointed, who should assist the warden in making the payments to the common servants, in the procuring of fuel for the common use, and in other matters. He should also distribute funeral fees, "stagiaries," and "other parseles" due unto the body.

The second and third Minor Canons were "Cardinales chori," or,

\* *Archæologia*, xliii. pp. 185-199.

† A MS. on paper, in small quarto (11 inches high, 8½ inches wide), consisting of twenty leaves, preserved amongst the archives of the Minor Canons.

other ordinary Priests, knowing that he is in the Cathedral of S. Paul, that so he may exhibit a pattern of more holy life to all the Priests that are in the city."

May the Minor Canons in S. Paul's Cathedral ever be mindful of this injunction, and so be worthy successors of those who have left them counsels so wise and good !

*The Statutes of the petie canons colledge of the churche of St. Paul in london.*

1. Where there are ij or three gathered together in my name, sayth the lorde, there am I in the midst of them.

1396.

Therefore all we the twelve petie canons and prebendaries in the Cathedrall church of St. Paule in london, beinge perpetually established and gathered together into oon societie and felowshipe, yea evē by the kyngs auctoritie, and others, who as towching this matter appeare most sertynly to be lycensed. We, I say, being thus gathered together in oʳ com'on hauld the eyghtenth day of marche in the yeare of owʳ lorde a thowsande three hundred nyntie and syx, amongst whome there ys, as there ought to be, but oon hart and oon mynde in god, haue wth oon vniforme consent and agreement ordayne to be kepte and obserued of vs all, for euʳ, and that willingly, because dutie so byndeth us, thes holsome rules, and invyolable decres, to the honor of the most high trinitie, and the Vndeuyded Vnitie of the father, the soune, and the holy goust. By the means of wch statutes that inordinate desyre of offendinge or hurtinge oon an other amonge us and oʳ successors might of ryght be restrayned, the deuyne servis to almightie god devoutly rendred, and brotherly charitie as reasen wolde sholde be obserued. This protestacion beinge had before oʳ eyes, wch we wolde sholde be accountd of in the makinge of all owʳ statutes, that we meane not by any statute of lyke condicion to owʳs, before mentioned, ether by the othes heare by vs geuen, or by thes wch heareafter shalbe geuen by oʳ successors, to resist or hinder the deane and chapter by any means or any way of there obedience due vnto them, but to serve god and the church e aforsaide as men ought and are wonte to doo, at due owʳs, accordinge to the man'er and forme of the statutes of the aforsaide church, made for a long tyme past to this effecte, vnto wch we are bounde by solemne othe.

*Of the man'er of electinge or chusinge the lesser prebendaries.*

2. Seinge that it ys recevede by a landable custome tyme owte of mynde, we ordayne and decree that when any lesser prebende amonge the peticannons ys voyde, ether by death, resignacion, or any other way, by an by the rest of the lesser prebendaries havinge had before deliberate consultation amonge themselves as towching this matter, shall chuse ij sufficient and fitt men to serve in that peticannonshepe or prebende, and thes shall nominate and p'sent vnto the

deane and chapter. And then the aforsaide deane and chapter shall admitt oon of thos ij persons so presented, and shall institute and inducte hy' into that peticanonship or prebende then voyde. But lest that suche a nominacion or presentacion sholde at any tyme be made ether for favor, carnall affection, or for luker and gayne, (w<sup>ch</sup> god forbid) we will and ordayne that at the death or departure of any petican'on, the rest of the peticannons shall take there othes before the master or warden of the saide colledge that they shall not nominate or present to the deane and chapter any other persons then suche as are worthy, sufficient, and mete men; not only in readinge, and singinge, but also and especially in honesty of lyfe, and godlynes of conversacion. And morover it ys required that they be sownde of body, and of power and abilitie to serve god and the church aforsaide both day and night accordinge to the statutes and ordinances of the said church, and as also there office and dutie requireth, the conscience of every oon of the said peticannons calinge for at there handes the p'formans of thes thinges, when they shall consider there saide consciences to be burdened w<sup>h</sup> an oth as ys aforsaide.

 This is to be noted well.

*Of the oth w<sup>ch</sup> ys geven to the petie cannons in there colledge.*

3. And because that the most excellent prince Richarde the Seconde somtyme Kinge of England by a godly aspecte of charitie consideringe and beholdinge vs heartfore to be devyded, and as it were scattered abroade every man to his severall howse at the howrs of refection: he hath graunted vnto vs libertie, and power, at the instante and earnest suplication of the reverende fathers and lordes, Thomas Arundell sumtyme Archbishope of Canterbury and Robert Braybrooke bishope of london, to erecte a haule and dwellinge places for a societie or company of equale power and auctoritie, w<sup>ch</sup> haule and edifices we tearme a colledge, to the w<sup>ch</sup>, as also vnto vs, the said prince hath geven many revenues, and willingly hath bestowed sundry privileges: to the ende that we takinge ovr repast together might thus by a more often and honest cōmunicatiō, or impartinge of o<sup>r</sup> selves oon to an other, be burned as it were w<sup>h</sup> a more fervent flame of love and charitie emonge ovr selves. Heare hence ys it therefore that we for vs and all ovr successors doo for ever determyn and decree w<sup>h</sup> oon vniforme consent and agrement that all and every of vs and ovr successors will swear and so shall that we wilbe obedient to the master or warden of the said colledge whosoe' he be for his tyme, in all lawfullniss and honest causes. And that we will obserue and kepe inviolably for eu', all and every of the statutes, ordinances, and customes of the said colledge, beinge lawfull and honest, by vs don or to be don, allowed of vs or to be allowed, upon y<sup>e</sup> payne and forfayt limited or to be limited in thos statutes and ordinances. In lyke maner we ordayne and decree that of thos profites and comodities wherw<sup>h</sup> we have byn indowed in comō they only are made partakers w<sup>ch</sup> have byn lawfully admitted into the degree of a peticanonship by ovr election, nomination, and p'sentation to the deane and chapter as ys aforsaide. And they w<sup>ch</sup> have dwelt heare w<sup>h</sup> us quietly, takinge there repast in o<sup>r</sup> co'mon haule, and havinge also tasted of the holy word of god, they I say have corporally geven this same oth, and have byn admitted into

owr colledge aforesaid accordinge to the manner and forme heare vnder written. Which forme of admissioun we doo will and ordayne to be kept and observed of vs for eu' hereafter, that ys to say, that the petycanon now nuly to be receaved into o' colledge takinge vnto hym selfe ether the clerke of the chapter or els some other notary, doo appeare before the master or warden, and his felowes, in the porche belonginge to the haulc of the forsaide colledge, whcare the selfe same peticanon now nuly to be admitted shall hymselfe in his owne person playnly reade this forme of wordes folowinge, and shall layinge his hande vpon the holy evangelistes take his oth that he will faythfully obserue and kepe all and eu' particuler thinge contayned in that forme, as longe as he contynueth peticanon. Then shall he, at his owne proper costes and charges, cause an instrument or note to be made for a perpetuall memory of the thinge, to remayne vpon recorde in the colledge aforesaide, lest that peradventure in tyme to come som' oon or other might falsly and maliciously accuse ether vs or owr successors of periurie or of neglectinge the aforesaid oth.

*The forme or maner of the wordes.*

4. In the name of god amen. Before you discrete men N. N. master or warden of the colledge of the petic can'ons in the cathedrall churchke of Sainet Paule in london, and you the petica'ions of the same colledge, morover I, beinge a credible p'son also, and we all heare witnesses to thes presentes. I, I say by name R. B. now elected to the aforesaid colledge, howbeit not as yet admitted to the participation or com'union of the profittes and commodities of the said colledge, layinge myn hande vpon the holy evangelistes doo wth a pure and not compelled will, swcare, that I wilbe obedient to the master or warden whosoea' he be for the tyme, in all honest, lawfull, and canonicall causis.

In lyke maner I doo protest that I will faythfully obserue and kepe all and singuler statutes, ordinances, and customes of this colledge beinge lawfull and honest, and will dutifully obey the same.

Also I doo take myn oth that I will kepe and mayntayne as farr forth as I am able the rightes and comodities of the said colledge, and will procure, and so earnestly p'ferr the same, as I may possibly any way.

Morcovere I doo swcare that as muche as lyeth in me, ye wth all possible diligence, I will cause and effectually procure that whatsoeu' petican'on ys to be admitted into the said colledg in my tyme, shall performe this same oth in his own person before he be receved into the societie and com'union of the profittes and emolumentes of the said colledge, and also that he shall cause whatsoeu' petican'on ys so to be receved or admitted in his tyme to doo the lyke in all respectes, and to geue this same oth, and so from thensforth for eu' as god shall helpe me and this holy testament. This protestation beinge presupposed, and adioyned alwayes vnto all the premissis, that I will and entende in all thinges and by all means to be ruled by o' masters the deane and chapter of the aforesaid churchke, and them obey, accordinge to the obseruances, statutes, and customes of the said churchke, touchinge, or concerninge the petic cannons any way.

*The admission of a nue felowe to be donn by the warden.*

5. We doo admitt thee to be a fellowe of this howse, and make thee a partaker of all the profittes and com'odities of the same howse with the wich we in com'ou haue byn enriched.

*Of the payment w<sup>ch</sup> a petican'on ys charged w<sup>ch</sup> at his entrance, and of thears that are benefited.*

6. In lyke man'er it ys set downe to be obserued that eury oon admitted aright into the degree of a petie can'on, at his first entræce shall pay to the said colledge towarde the mayntenance of the napry, and other thinges of necessary vse in the howse, xj s. viij d. And yf any man shall leave his peticanonship and afterwards retorne, he shall pay agayne for his entrance, and be accounted as a nue comer, yea, even as he was at the tyme of his first admission. In lyke sorte also ys it decreed that every peticanon being beneficed ether with parsonage, vicarige, free chappell, or prebende, or any other benefice, of whatsoeu' value it be, ether more or lesse, shall pay to the aforementioned colledge xxvj s. viij d., whether he be beneficed ether afore the tyme of his admission or after, wiche payment beinge oonce discharged, although he goo away and afterwarde come agayne beneficed, he shall no more be charged with the obseruacion of this statute. And we will that the payment of suche sum'es as are above-named, especially that for the ingresse or entra'ce of a peticanon, be made within the yeare, accordinge to the discrecion of the warden, yt thereof he may make a reckninge in his accounte. furthermore it ys ordayned that eury peticanon oonce in his lyfe tyme by hymselfe, when it shall please hym, or else after his death by his executors, shall gene to this colledge oon silver spoone to the value of fyve shillings, or more, for to increase the treasure and publicke vtilitie of the said college for eu'.

xj s. viij d.

Note this well.

xxvj s. viij d.

Within the yere.

A silver spoone.

*Of the devyne seruisse due vnto god, and vnto hym to be rendred.*

7. Moreouer we do ordayne and decree that all and every of the petie canons do w<sup>ch</sup> greate indeuor and a most vigilant care, studie to kepe the devyne sernyse of almightie god, and heare in to render vnto hym his deuynne prayses, even as the proper office and dutie of every oon of vs requireth and that w<sup>ch</sup> humilite and deuocion: for as sone as there ys a signe genen, all the peticanons ought to come together vnto the church, beinge more decently arayed or adorned, and with a more modeste or convenient gate or pase then other; into the wich they shall not come statly,\* vnonestly, or with a disioyned pace, but with greate reuerence and in the feare of god. And because that, accordinge to the infalible iudgement of god, his howse ys an house of prayer, we will that hauinge entred into the quyer, w<sup>ch</sup> all feare and reuerence, standinge before god religiously, they doo

\* statly, in the original Latiu it is *pompaticoe*.

chasten or refrayne there tonges and eares, from ether spekinge ydlyly, or hearinge ydle and v'profitable talke, that w'howt any kynde of withdrawinge or alienation of the mynde, they might ether pray, singe, reade, or heare, even as euery mans dutie in the quiyer beinge done of hym as his cowrse cometh requireth, whether it be in prayinge, singinge, readinge or hearinge. And this they shall not only doo with voyce but also in there mynde and from the harte, accordinge to the mynd of the apostle, when he saith, I will pray in spirit and will pray in mynde, I will singe in spirit and will singe also in mynde. Nether shall they bringe forth or once haue in there mouthes ether filthy or vnsemy wordes tendenge to sedition or contention in so holy a place, nether yet shall suffer others to vse the lyke, as farr forth as they be able, but rather to render vnto god in comon his prayyses, w'th deuoute prayers, most earnestly intreatinge him as well for there owne offences as the peoples.

*Of the apparell and gesture of the petican'ons.*

8. In lyke sorte it ys ordayned that yf the said petican'ons entringe into the quyere be found in there apparell vnsemy and in there gesture not comly, and that of custome, except they beinge once warned do within short space after declare them selues to be reformed as men tractable, they shall in no wise escape vnpunished, but be sharply restrayned, of what degree, office, or dignitic soeu' they be.

*How the peticanons ought to behaue themselves at the table.*

9. Also it ys set downe as a statute to be kept that the said peticanons do come together every day in the yeare to diner in the comon haule, but to supper at fyve of the cloke, there comō bell beinge before ronge, who com'ynge to the table shall sitt honestly downe together, not preferringe oon seate aboue an other, except it be that whiche ys only appoy'ted for the warden, but accordinge as every man cometh first or last to the table so shall he take to hym selfe the first or last place, havinge alwayes a godly and brotherly compassion of thos wch are molested with sicknes, and oppressed with age. Then the stuarde for his weke or some other at the table at his request, shall say grace and geue thankes as well afore diner and supper, as after. And nō of them that sitt at the table shall departe thence untill thankes be dutifully rendred vnto god, without a reasonable cause, vpon payne of losinge a halpeny. Nether shall any man despysse or esteme of lesse value thos meates and drinckes which are sett vpon the table, ether without a notoriousse cause why, or in respecte of any hatred or displeasure consued agaynst the stuarde, wherby the rest may abhorre thes meates and drinckes as noysom vnto them, vnder the payne of forfaytinge a halpeny. And because that this word frater, for a brother, hath his begininge of sufferinge or bearinge with an other, we will and ordayne that ovr bretherne eatinge, drinckinge, or talkinge together shall behaue them selues honestly oon towarde an other, and shall gently and patiently beare oon with another, supportinge oon an other in love, beinge carefull to kepe the vnitie of the spirit in the bonde of

The stuard  
is bounde to  
say grace.

ob.

peace, goinge oon before an other in geuinge honor, as saith the apostle. And they shall refreshe them selues w<sup>th</sup> suche meates as are serued to the table, cherfully, soberly, and as it becometh men of modestie, so takinge of the best and fynest of the meate as that eu'y oon at the table may haue parte. Nether shall any man at the table speake any thinge maliciosly at any tyme ether vnder the p<sup>r</sup>tense of mirth or any other coloure, that may be offensive to an other any way. Howbeit yf it shall happen at any tyme that any contencion or stryfe shalbe stirred vp amonge the bretherne ether at the table or els w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> (which god forbid) straight way the warden shall com'aunde silence, vnto whome whosoer' will not be obedient shall for the first tyme be punished in ij pence, for the seconde in three pence, and so as the falt doth encrease, so shall the punishment.

Silence com  
manded bi  
the warden.  
ij d. and ij s.

*Of the readinge of the byble.*

10. Furthermore it ys decreed that the afore namede peticcans shall haue dayly at dinner tyme as often as they may co'ueniently, oon lesson of the holy byble redd distinctly and playnly amonge them, vnto the whiche all and euery of them shall geue hede and harken diligently, that whylest the externall bodie ys filled, the internall soule might be refreshed, for because that man liveth not by breade only, but by euery worde that proceedeth out of the mouth of god, whosoer' therfore shall maliciosly ether w<sup>th</sup> sediciose wordes or vayne brablings disturbe or hinder the readinge of the holy scripture, or the geuinge of thankes before mentioned, shalbe punished in ij pence as often as he ys taken offendinge in this poynt.

ij d.

*Of the stuarde and his office.*

11. In lyke man'er we ordayne and decree that euery peticanon be stuard as his course com'eth, begininge at the seniors and so by degrees descendinge to the iunior, and that in his owne p'son, except he can fynd owt oon of his fellows to supply his rowme for his weke, vnder the payne of forfeitinge xij<sup>d</sup>. And this stuarde duringe the tyme of his weke shall so diligently and profitably ordayne and dispose the victualles for the whole comōs, and w<sup>th</sup> suche discreccion, that they nether fare so sparingly nor yet feade over dayntely, but accordinge to the ordinary and accostomed rate of the comons he shall honestly provyde to his power. But nowe yf it doo happen at any tyme that the stuard ether by his negligence or by his owne sensualitie or voluptuosnes without a reasonable cause doo so farr excede the accostomed rate in expences that the reste of the bretherne by means therof be greued: then shall he hym selfe pay for any such excesse, accordinge to the discreccion of the warden and the greater part of the comons of the said colledge what semeth good vnto them. And the said stuard for his weke shall carfully and diligently prouyde and foresee, that of thos meates w<sup>ch</sup> he hath preyded there be as equale distribution made at the table as ys possible, the election or choyse of euery messe alway reserued for the warden, or in his absence for hym that ys senior, and there present. In lyke maner we will that eu'y man be contented w<sup>th</sup> his provision that ys made by the stuard for the tyme, w<sup>ch</sup> whosoer' ys not, but ether desyreth to eate els where

xij d.

or to mende his fare, let hym cause thos thinges wch shall please hym to be sought for and prepared at his owne proper costes and charges, lest that by hym the reste of the petie canons might be greued, and the comon vtilitie impayred. But yf any man shall before ether warne the stuard or comon seruant that he can'ot eate of suche and suche meates, then let there be bought for hym som other meat more convenient and agreable for his appetite, so that it exceede not the said dyet of his.

*Of the com'iners and halfe com'yners.*

12. It ys also ordayned that every peticanon shall still be whole com'iner, except he be sicke, or gon farre owt of towne, then yf he will he may be oute of com'ons, but he shall paye for this his absence by occasion of sicknes and busines abrode wikly iij d. toward the repaste of there comon seruantes and the curate of St. Gregories. And yet notwithstandinge in thes three feastes, that ys to say, Christmas, Easter, and Whitson weke, and also as often as he ys stuard in his owne course, enery peticanon shall alwayes be whole cominer no cause to the contrary admitted as lawfull, vnder the payne of three shillinges fower pence to be applyed to the vse of the comons: and althoughge any of the said lesser prebendaries (cauled thervnto of god) shalbe admitted to any office, that ys to say ether to be Amner, keper of holy thinges, or chaberlayne of the back house, or any other office whatsoen', by the means whereof he may eate els wheare, yet all thes thinges notwithstandinge he shalbe still whole cominer in this owr colledge, except that thoroughe some lawfull cause allowed of by the warden and the greater parte of the company he be other wise dispensed w'hall. And farther yf that any man be disposed to goo abroade, let hym warne the stuard or comon seruant of his departure ouernight yf he wilbe oute of comons. And whosoer shall continue at the table in o' comon haule by the space of fyve dayes in any oon weke shall in so doinge be alwayes whole cominer. And he that shall remayne fower dayes shalbe halfe cominer for thre of them, and shall pay for the fourth as the maner and custome ys.

Halfe  
cominer.

*Of strangers that are brought vnto o' table.*

13. Morouer it ys enacted that no stranger of what degree state or order soen' he be, shalbe at comons wth vs in the aforesaid haule as owr equale, but shall pay more then we doo, enen as muche as shalbe agreed vpon, betwene the warden and his fellowes. Nether may any foriner heare of the some of o' comons, or be made privie to the account thereof, but shall gene place untill it be ended, and let hym that brought in this stranger discharge the comons for hym. In lyke sorte yf any of the forsaid comoners shall bringe in any stranger into owr comon haule, ether by the weke or by the day, or for to dine and supe with vs, let hym pay for his repaste even as shalbe thought expedient by the warden and his fellowes, the consideration of the tyme causinge them to take ether more or lesse, as the darth or plentie of victualles then requireth. And yf by this or the lyke invitinge or biddinge the expenses shall increase or growe greater then the accostomed rate of the comons, he of the company that so inviteth or biddeth shall hym seelf

pay the overplus, so that the profit and comoditie of the comons shall alwayes increase rather than decrease. In lyke sort it ys decreed for oʒ seruātes, even them of oʒ speciall howscholde and others of that inferior degre sittinge with them at the seconde table, that they shall paye accordinge to there degree, a consideration beinge hadd of the tyme, as ys aforesaid: And whosoen' of the said societie shall bringe in or cause to be brought in upon the soden any stranger to the table ether at diner or supper tyme not forewarninge the stuarde therof shalbe punished in ij pence. Nether shall any man bringe in, or cause to be brought in, any stranger into oʒr comon kitchin or buttree w<sup>h</sup>owt a reasonable cause and the same manifeste, vnder payne of losinge a halfe peny, yf he be a fellowe, but yf he be a seruānt, a peny. In lyke sort it ys agreed vpon that nō of the aforesaid peticanons haue a comon supper w<sup>h</sup>in the tyme of lent except it be vpon the sondayes only,\* or upon any other dayes in the yeare in whiche we are bound ether by lawe or custome to faste.

ij d.

*Of lockinge the forsaid colledge gates, and of silence to be kept after a certayne howre.*

14. Furthermore we orlayne that euery day thorought the yeare, when we dyne or suppe in oʒ comon haule, oon of oʒr comon seruāntes shall shutt faste both the gates of oʒ colledge. And whosoen' of vs cominge in shutteth not shurly after hym thos gates, especially in the winter tyme at supper, shalbe punished by the losse of a peny. In lyke maner it ys decreed that no man ether by hym selfe or by any other shall raise any braule, tumult, or noyse within the gates of the said colledge at any tyme frome the feaste of Easter vntill the feaste of St. Michaell, but eu'y man to be come in by nyne of the cloke at night, and from the feaste of St. Michael vntill the feaste of Easter also, nō to offende as ys aboue said, but to be come in by eyght of the clocke, wherby the said petie canons might be hindred of there naturall reste, or become vnapt to serue god, vnder the payne of the losse of ij pence.

The gates are  
to be shut at  
meales.  
j d.

ij d.

*Of honestie and clenlines to be kept w<sup>h</sup>in the gates of the said colledge.*

15. Morouer it ys ordayned that nō of the said peticanons ether by hymselfe or by any other, do caste filth or any vyle and vn honest thinge, nether may make water w<sup>h</sup>in the gates of the said colledge, except it be in the place appoy'ted for that purpose, vnder the payne of losinge a halfe peny as often as he shalbe taken doinge the contrary. And yf it do happen any of the said co'mons to haue there ether stones, mortar, sand, tyles, or timber, for rep'acions to be done, imediatly vpon the finishinge of any suche woорke, he that hath made suche rep'acion shall remoue out the said comon place that w<sup>ch</sup> remayneth of the mortar, tyles, and the reste, as ys aforesaid. And yf a tyme be limited vnto hym by the war-

ob.

\* Here is a blank left in the English translation. In the Latin original the clause runs "nisi in dominicis tantum, nec etiam in sextis feriis, aut aliis diebus per annum."

ij d.  


den, within the whiche he shall neglecte this to doo, let hym be punished for the breeche of his firste limit aforsaid, ij<sup>d</sup>, and so as the falt increseth, in lyke sorte let the punishmente.

*Of suspecte women, and of vnhonest playes and sightes to be shunned.*

iiij d.

16. In lyke maner it ys decreed that nō of the aforesaid peticanons shall haue any talke or comunication in the churche or churche yarde in his habit or without it w<sup>th</sup> any suspecte woman, whereby any offence or suspicion of evell may aryse to the churche, to hymselfe, or to his company, vnder the payne of fower pence losse. In lyke maner it ys ordayned that non of the aforesaid colledge shall wittingly bringe in, or cause to be brought in, or suffer to come in, ether by day or by night, any wemen vehemently suspected, or notorios for euell lyfe, into o<sup>r</sup> howses, or w<sup>th</sup>in the compase of the colledge aforsaide, or into any other howse in w<sup>ch</sup> he shall make his abode, as longe as he shalbe petie canon, vpon payne of losing three shillings fower pence as often as it shalbe proved agaynst hym for the first tyme; yf he shaibe taken in the same falt the seconde tyme, he shalbe punished in six shillings eight pence, yf the third tyme let hym be expelled owt of the comone haule and excluded from all profittes and comodities of the said colledge vntill he may be reconciled. In lyke sorte it ys also concluded, that as often as any of the said petie canons doo frequent or haunt the stues or fauerns publickly with harlottes, or any other vnhoneste playes and spectacles prohibited to clerkes, whereby an offence may growe of the state of the peticanons, and of o<sup>r</sup> said colledge, except they, beinge oonce warned, do shewe them selues to be reclaymed, they shall incurr the lyke punishment as hath byn before declared.

iiij s. iiij d.

vj s. viij d.

*That no man backbyte or speake euell of another, nether yet reuele wordes unaduysedly spoken to any man.*

17. furthermore it ys ordayned that no' of the forsaid peticanons shall backbyte his fellowe in any howse of his masters or in any other place, nether shall speake any sinister thinge of hym maliciosly, wherby the same felowe sholde be hindered or disadvantaged any way, w<sup>ch</sup> thinge yf any shall doo notwithstandinge, and therof shalbe convicte (wiche god forbid) let hym be punished the first tyme in six pence, the seconde tyme in twelue pence, and even as the falt doth increase, so let the punishmente. Euen after the same maner ys it ordayned, that yf any sinister or odious wordes shall at any tyme passe any mans mouth vndescretly in o<sup>r</sup> brotherly societie, or vnwysly escape from hym ether at the table or els whcare, nō of vs, to the sowinge of further discorde, shall presume to reuale the same to any man vpon payne of the same punishment mentioned before in this chapter.

vj d.  
xij d.  
Odious  
wordes.

*Of concealinge or keepinge to o<sup>r</sup>selues the counccelles and secretes of the colledge.*

18. furthermore it ys decreed that non of the said peticanons shall presume to detecte or disclose the aforesaid secretes of the colledge in the howses of there masters the greater canons or of any other ether priuily, or openly, wherby any

This is to be  
noted well.

offence may arrise, or wherby ether oon or other of the peticanons or all of them may incurre the displeasure of there masters aforsaide or any of them. But yf any so doo (w<sup>h</sup> god forbide) and that it be manifeste thoroughe sufficient profe made therof, he shalbe punishede for the first tyme in six shillinges viij<sup>d</sup>, for the seconde tyme so offendinge in xiiij<sup>s</sup> iijij<sup>d</sup>, for the thirde tyme in xx<sup>s</sup>, and then let hy' be prohibited from cominge into the haule, or beinge a partaker of the goodes and profittes of the said colledge or of thos thinges therunto appertayninge, vntill he be reconciled to his said bretherne of the aforenamed colledge.

vj s. viij d.  
xiiij s.  
xx s.  


*Of anger, braulinge, and contention, and howe to shonne euery of them, and there occation.*

19. In lyke maner it ys ordayned and appoynted that non of the said felowshipe do speake vntowardly or maliciosly of any of his bretherne, the partie beinge present or absent, nether shall stir vp or vse ether braules, contentions, or discordes amonge his fellowes, nether p'voke any of them ether to anger or discorde, nor yet by any means to gene occation of displeasure to any man, vpon payne of losinge iijij<sup>d</sup> for the first tyme, and ener as the falt increasith so let the punishment. And farther yf any dissention do arise amonge the bretherne, (which god forbid) owt of hande ether by the warden, or in his absense by the senior then p'sent, w<sup>h</sup> the rest of his company shall pease be procured, and to thos then at discorde, sylence commaunded, vnto whom immediatly yf any obay not, but shall obstinatly persist and continue in his malice and contentiō, he shalbe punished the first tyme in ij<sup>d</sup> the second tyme in iijij<sup>d</sup> and so dublinge the punishment vntill he humbly submit hymself, and obediently desiste or leave of from farther contention, and especially from comparisons w<sup>h</sup> are odiose, and oftentimes the causes and occasions of many incomodities: nether that any man at any tyme be fownde to be an enemy to the comon vtilitie of owr colledge to the detriment or impoverishinge therof vpon the payne aboue specified in the chapter. And yf any man at any tyme ether by the warden, the senior, or fellowes shalbe condemned and punished in any some by the reason and occation of any offence, and shall say that he ys falsely adiudged and uniuistly punished, or affirme that they are uniuiste in dealinge, he shalbe punishede in ij<sup>s</sup> as often as he shalbe taken offendinge in this poynte.

Forfaytes.



Silence commaunded.

ij d.  
iijij d.



Co'parisones are odious.

Note this.

ij s. as oft.

*Of violent layinge on of handes.*

20. After the same sorte it ys decreed and ordayned that yf any of the said peticanons shall maliciosly threten to beate or to stryke his fellowe, he shall for so doinge be punished in xii<sup>d</sup>. But yf any man by the instigation of Satan shall lay violent hande vpon his fellowe, althoughe he doo not stryke hym, yet he shalbe punished in iij<sup>s</sup> iijij<sup>d</sup>, and whosoeu' but with his hand only shall stryke an other, shalbe punished in vj<sup>s</sup> viijij<sup>d</sup>, and whosoeu' shall drawe owt ether sword or knyfe, or shall take into his hand any other wepon to invade w<sup>h</sup> althoughe he stryke not, he shall be punished in vj<sup>s</sup> viijij<sup>d</sup>. But yf he shall wounde or stryke any man w<sup>h</sup> ether of thos wepons, he shalbe punished in xx<sup>s</sup>, and for that facte he be excluded and expelled the haule and all comodities thereof, and yet notw<sup>h</sup>-

Forfaytes.

ij s. iijij d.  
vj s. viijij d.

vj s. viijij d.  
Forfaytes.



xx s.

standinge shall make sufficient recompence to the partie by hym hurte, evē accordinge to the discrecion of the warden and his fellowes. Morouer yf any do bringe in, or cause to be brought in his seruant or any other stranger to threten, beate, or stryke, or els to threten to be beaten any of his fellowes, although he doo not stryke that ys brought in, yet he that brought hym shalbe punished in vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> and yf any suche seruant, or stranger, or euen the fellowe hymselfe shall happen to stryke any other, or drawe wepon vpon any of the said colledge to stryke, although he bringe not to passe this his wicked enterprise, yet he shalbe punished in xx<sup>s</sup> and neu' the lesse be expelled the haule and the entranse therinto foren'.

vij d.

xx s.

*Of brotherly reconsiliacion and mutuall amitie and peace to be had amonge vs.*

21. And for as muche as it ys apparant, that

By concorde and peace

Smale thinges doo encrease ;

as also by dissention and discorde greate thinges come to ruin, we will and ordayne that about all things (as it ys written) we haue continually amonge ow<sup>r</sup>selues mutuall love and amitie, not in woord and in tonge only, but indede and in veritie, lovinge oon an other, and as muche as lyeth in vs (as saith the apostle) hauinge peace with all men ; by the meanes wherof anger or wrath might not engender hate, but that concorde mighte norishe peace and mutuall loue emonge vs, we ordayne and decree ioynntly, that whensoc<sup>r</sup> any malice or envye of mynde, procedinge of any cause, ys declared to be sprunge vp amonge any of o<sup>r</sup> bretheren, straight way the master or warden of o<sup>r</sup> colledge w<sup>h</sup> ij or iij of the seniors or wyser sorte of the whole company vnto hy<sup>r</sup> associat shall labor as muche as lyeth in them to reconsyle thos bretherne at variance emonge them selues, to the concorde and vnitie of peace, accordinge to that sayinge of the apostle, let not the sonn goo downe vpon yo<sup>r</sup> wrath. And straight-way they wh<sup>ch</sup> are to be reconsyled, w<sup>h</sup>out any tedious disputation, shall m<sup>r</sup>cyfully forgeue that mutuall offence comitted amonge th<sup>r</sup> forgeuinge oon an other even as Christ hath forgeuen vs. And yf nether of them both wilbe brought to agrement, but will proudly stand against it, or yf oon of them doo stobbornly and insolently resiste, then that parte in wh<sup>ch</sup> the cause, and occasion of the discorde ys fownde, shalbe punished for the firste tyme in ij<sup>d</sup>, for the seconde in iiiij<sup>d</sup>, for the third in viij<sup>d</sup>, and so to duple the punishment vntill the parties be pacified.

nota.

forfaytes  
ij d. iiiij d.  
vij d.

*Off the master or wardens eleccion, and of his office.*

22. In lyke sorte it ys ordayned and decreed that euery yeare vpon S Barnabes day in the mōth of June, yf it may be conueniently, and also as often as the office of the warden of the said colledge shall happen to be voyde, whether it be by his departure, or by the reson that he ys discharged vpon occasion, or by death, the reste of the peticanons beinge admonished by the pitensary or some

other appoynted by the warden or senior, for this purpose, shall come together into there comon haule, at a certayne day and howre assigned vnto them there, and they shall procede to the eleccion of a nue master or warden of the said colledge. And by vertue of there oth shall choose a fitte man for them selues to be warden, and suche an oon as shalbe meete, bothe in respecte of spirituall and temporall thinges. And the choyce of proceedinge to this elecciō, to be by any of thes wayes, as namly, ether by the way of scrutini, or by the way of compromissary, or by the way of the holy goaste, shall belonge to the greater and wyser sort of the company. And yf they will procede accordinge to a scrutini, then shall there be ij. or iij. of the fellowes appoynted, w<sup>ch</sup> first of all shall searche and take there owne voyces, then orderly and separatly the others voyces, the whiche beinge published, he whiche hath both the wiser and greater number shall forthwith be made master or warden of the said colledge w<sup>thout</sup> havinge any other solemnitie in the matter, and thē the said master or warden shall effectually be vnited or knit to the said office, and shall beare the burthen therof, any excuse of his to the contrary beinge obiected, excepte it be suche an oon as shall apere to the fellowes to be both lawfull and manifeste. The w<sup>ch</sup> warden beinge so elected, and hauinge God before his eyes, shall diligently endeuer to ordayne, provyde, and performe all and eu'y of those thinges that pertaine to the co'mō vtilitite and co'modite of the sayd colledge. Yet notw<sup>th</sup>-standinge imediatly after his election he shall geue his faith to his said bretherne being then and there present, that he will for his tyme thoroughly kepe and cause to be kept the approved statutes and laudable customes of the said colledge, and he shall take an accounte publicly and playnly of all and eu'ry thinge receued and to be receued, founde, geuen, and bequethed to the said colledge, and shall faythfully and withoute gyle make his accounte to the afor-saide colledge of those thinges so receued, begininge the same accounte the next day after S<sup>t</sup> John the Baptistes day, or with three dayes next and imediatly folowinge, and so w<sup>thout</sup> any delayinge of his account to cōtinne it cuen vnto the ende : accordinge to the comon consent of his brethren, or the greater and discreter parte of them. And he shall receue yearly for his labor of the said colledge vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

The Warden  
or Senior.



Scrutini.

The greater  
and wyser  
sorte.

ij to iij of the  
fellowes  
a'poynted.

bothe ye  
wiser and  
greater nom-  
ber.



his fayth.



*Of the election of the pitansary, and of his office.*

23. Morouer it ys ordayned that oon of the said colledge beinge a peticanon shalbe elected by the warden and the wiser sorte of his bretherne to be pitansary, w<sup>ch</sup> shall geue a corporall othe to the said colledge of his faythfull distribution to be made of his thinges to be distributed, and in other thinges belonginge to his office, that ys to say, funerals, stagiaries, and in other parseles due vnto vs, as farr forth as he may possibly. And also that he shall iustly distribute those portions to eu'y man accordinge to equitie and right. He shall also be a helpe vnto o' warden in lokinge to the paymentes to owr comon seruantes made by the said warden, for the procuringe of fuell to the comon vse of o' howse, and for the discharginge of all other paymentes to the workmen brought in and hyred for the reparinge of owr tenementes. And he shall fayth-



tym as the warden shall appoynt to heare the statutes and ordinances redd in the comon haule of there said colledge, lest that they excuse them selues by the ignorance of the statutes aforsaide : and there they shall be redd distinctly and playnly by som' oon of the said colledge appoynted they unto by the warden, vnto the w<sup>ch</sup> statutes en'ry mā shall geue diligent heede, abstayninge them selues from dissolutnes in behaviour, as shoffinge with there feete, vpon payne of the losse of ij<sup>d</sup>.

ij<sup>d</sup>.  


*Of the lending of bookes to the said brethren.*

28. In lyke maner it ys agreed vpon that yf any of the saide peticanous will borowe any oon booke owt of the com'on librarie, the said borower shall come vnto the master or warden of the said peticanous, and deliu' unto hym a bill sealed w<sup>th</sup> his owne seale, contayninge both the proper name of the booke, and his name also that boroweth it, with the tyme therein of the lone therof limited by the warden, for a testimony of the receipt of this booke or bookes in such sorte. And yf he neglecte this to doo, and will refuse the obseruation of this statute in this forme, he shalbe punished for the firste bretteh of tyme in iiij<sup>d</sup>, and as the falte increseth euen so let the punishment.

Not Reade.

*That no man do take any necessary implemente of our howse to his vse, w<sup>th</sup> out leaue.*

29. Morouer it ys ordāyned that nō of the aforementioned peticanons of his owne auctoritie, and w<sup>th</sup>out leaue of the warden or of hym that occupieth his place, may take into his chamber, or into any other place, for what cause soeu' it be, any siluer cuppe, maser, sponc, napkins, towelles, nor any other of the monables, or may alienate and take them to his owne vse, vnder payne of losinge a peny. In lyke sorte it ys appoynted, that the said warden shall assigne vnto the borower a tyme to bringe againe the thinge or thinges borowed, whiche tym yf he shall not obserue, let hym be punished in iiij<sup>d</sup>. furthermore it ys also provided, that no vessel of necessary use be deliu'ed by the warden to any of the said societie, or receued of any of them, but vnder a certayne signe or pledge had betwene the warden or comone seruant and hym that hath borowed the thinge, because of forgettinge or losinge the same, vnder the payne of forgettinge the value of them euen in that case as yf they were lost.

iiij<sup>d</sup>.

*Of the restoringe of priuat mens fuell to the comon kitchen.*

30. Also it ys agreed vpon that yf any of the aforementioned colledge will haue ether fleshe, fishe, or any other meates to be sodd, roasted, or baked, in or comon kitchen for hym selfe or his frendes besydes the comon course or vsuall seruice into our haule, whether the same be brought into his house, or elswhere : he shall fynd fuell of his owne coste, or els pay the same weke to the said warden for suche fuell after this sorte employed, accordinge to the good and discrete estimation of the warden and colledge seruante aforsaid.

*Of o<sup>r</sup> comon seruantes.*

31. further it ys sett donne to be obserued, that nō of the said peticanons do p<sup>r</sup>sume ether to stryke or to beate the comon seruantes, nether to raise vp agaynst them often and vniust thretninges, or iniurious wordes tendinge to stryfe and contention wherby they or any of them might be caused to leaue his office of s'vinge, and so by this meanes o<sup>r</sup> commons to be lefte destitute of s'vitors, vnder payne of losinge xij<sup>d</sup>: but let hym complayne of them to the warden of the said colledge, yf they shall happen to displease hym any way.

xij d.

*Of the faithfulness and charge of our owr comon seruantes.*

32. In lyke sorte it ys decreed that o<sup>r</sup> comon seruantes in ther first admision by the warden of our colledge, be straightly bownde and charged, and do promise vpon there fidelitie that before all other seruice to be rendered to any other man, they will faithfully serue our societie, and shall profitably and faithfully kepe and p<sup>r</sup>serue o<sup>r</sup> goods that are in there custodie to our comon profit and vtilitie,\* they shall also at no tyme reuele our secrettes to any man, they shall procure as muche as lyeth in them the profit and commoditie of vs all in com'on, and of eu'y man pryvatly; and whatsoeu' euell or perrill they shall knowe to drawe neare vs all, or any oon, they shall owt of hande forwarne vs thereof: nether shall they violently ryse agaynst any of o<sup>r</sup> fellowes, nor lay hande on weapon to any such end. No, they shall not shute forth any vncumly or vnseemly word agaynst any of vs, vnder the payne of losinge there seruice, and there wagis then due vnto them, as often as they shalbe fownde culpable hearin.

forfaytes ser-  
vice and  
wages.*Of the tresure howse, the chest, and the box for y<sup>e</sup> two seales, and the keyes therof and to whome they are to be deliuered.*

33. Morou' it ys determined that that chamber next adioyninge to the west ende of o<sup>r</sup> comon haule be taken and accounted for the tresure house of the said colledge, the kay of w<sup>ch</sup> the master of the said colledge (whosoen' he be for the tyme) shall kepe; and in the same chamber there shalbe oon chest, locked with three kayes, wherein the tresure of the said colledge whatsoeu' shalbe layed vpe, and oon box in whiche the comon seale of the said colledge shalbe kepte; and of this chest the pitansiarie shall haue oon kay, and ij other of greater credit and longer continuance in this fellowship beinge hearunto apoynted by the warden, shall kepe ij other kayes; and also to this boxe there shall be three kayes of the w<sup>ch</sup> the warden shall kepe oon, and ij other peticanons of trust, chosen hearvnto by the warden, shall kepe the other ij, nether shall any man of them geue or delin' his kay to an other without greate cause, but shall faithfully kepe the same hym selfe, nether shall the chest or box be opened at any tyme but in the p<sup>r</sup>sence of all the said company.

note this.



\* Sic, i.e. vtilitie.

*Of doubts nuly arysinge.*

34. furthermore it ys to be obserued that when any sinister or doubtfull thinge shall arise, whereof no mention ys made in the statutes, then shall that be determined and ended alway by the warden, and by the greater and wiser sorte of the company, as often as it shalbe nedfull in this matter.

*Of the iunior cardinale.*

35. Note that it ys and hath byn a custome alway, yea, euen tyme oute of mynde, that the iunior cardinale in the cathedrale churche of St. Paule in london for that tyme beinge doo continually visit the sicke as the maner ys, and minister the sacramentes vnto them, as often as shalbe nedfull, whether it be in his weke or no.

*Of the dispensacion w<sup>th</sup> the Amner.*

36. In lyke maner it ys to be noted that in the yeare of o<sup>r</sup> lorde 1521 John' Palmer m<sup>r</sup> or warden, and all the reste of the fellowes of this colledge then beinge, w<sup>th</sup> oon consente for them selues and there successors haue dispensed w<sup>th</sup> Thomas Hikeman peticanon and amner,\* that he beinge heare whole cominer, shall haue oon honest prest although a stranger (beinge allowed, or approued of the warden, and greater part of the company) heare emouge the peticanons daily at ther table as a cominer, in his absence, and that for eu', euen as longe as he shalbe Amner, and to his comoditie as muche as may be agreed vpon emouge them. And it ys graunted and concluded in the same councell, that all and euery peticanon w<sup>th</sup> shalbe Amneur hereafter, shall haue and enjoy the same privilege and dispensacion, no statutes and ordinances of this colledge, whatsoeu' they be, made to the contrary hinderinge.

*Of rentes, or reuenues geue' vnto vs by Mr. Goth'm.*

37. Also it ys to be remembred, and noted, that in the yeare of our lord 1519 John' Gotham somtyme peticanon and senior cardinale gane to this colledge ij yearly rentes, to be quietly enioyed for eu', the oon of xxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> to be payed yearly by the master and wardens of the crafte of pewterers in london at iiij tearmes of the yeare; and an other of xx\*† payed yearly by the master and wardens of the crafte of habberdasshers at ij feastes of the yeare, as apereth more largely in ij rowles made for the same purpose, and sealed with the comon seales of thos craftes or artes, and morouer layed vp and kept in the tresury of this colledge; and many other good giftes hath he godly bestowed vpon this colledge as apereth in a certayne table hanging in the buttery made therefore.

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\* Amner, *i.e.* Almoner.

† Originally, xxj s. viij d. had been inserted here, as in the Latin, but this is altered in the English translation to xx s.

*Of new furniture for the haule.*

38. In lyke sort it ys to be noted that in the yeare of our lord 1520 Roberte Aslyn peticanon and subdeane, at his owne proper costes and charges, hath bought and geuen to this colledge that new furniture whiche hange and shold hange for the somer tyme in our comon haule, beinge wouen and made of tapistry worke distinguished with spaces of redd and whyte,\* with flowers, beastes, and birdes.

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\* The Latin is, "intexta et facta de opere tapstrio intersticiis et spaciis rubris et albis distincta cum floribus et bestiis et avibus."

FINIS.

## NOTES ON THE CHURCH AND PARISH OF MONKEN HADLEY.\*

BY THE REV. FREDERICK CHARLES CASS, M.A. RECTOR.

Hadley, or Monken Hadley, says Lysons, derives its name from the Saxon *Head leagh*, or high place, and its title to this designation must be apparent at first sight. It formed originally a narrow strip of land on the confines of the Royal Chace of Enfield, running nearly east and west, and converging almost into a point at Cockfosters, with its greatest breadth at the opposite, or western, extremity. Prior to the inclosure of the Chace in 1777, it contained, according to the same authority, about 340 acres, to which were added 240 acres of Chace land, at the period of that inclosure, making together 580. The recent Ordnance Survey, however, gives rather over 641 acres for the area of the parish.

Geoffrey de Mandeville, or Magnaville, a companion in arms of the Conqueror, was enriched with divers fair lordships in several counties, having seven in Middlesex, whereof Enfield was one. In the grant made by his grandson Geoffrey, first Earl of Essex, in 1136, to the Abbey of Walden, Hadley is included under the name of the Hermitage of Hadley. In the charter of foundation to the Benedictine monks of that house, it runs :

“Gaufridus de Magnavilla comes Essexiæ. . . . Ad universitatis vestre noticiam volo pervenire me fundasse quoddam monasterium in usus monachorum apud Waldenam ; in honore Dei, et sanctæ Mariæ, et beati Jacobi apostoli, quibus devotè contuli . . . . scilicet ecclesiam de Enefelda, ecclesiam de Edelmetona, ecclesiam de MYMMES, ecclesiam de Senleya. . . . Concedo autem eis et confirmo heremitagium de Hadleya cum omnibus ad eundem locum pertinentibus, introitum, et exitum, et communem pasturam pecoribus eorum in parco meo, in quo heremitagium illud situm est, &c.”†

It would appear, therefore, that, at this early date, the hermitage was within the limits of the park or chace of Enfield. Newcourt (*Repertorium*, i. p. 621) thus remarks upon the passage :

“So that probably this Church of Hadley was at first but a Chappel to that Hermitage ; or, if it was in those times a Parish Church, yet it was in the Donation of the Abbot and Monks of Walden.”

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\* In arranging these notes, I have endeavoured to confine them, as much as possible, to matter not contained in Lysons' *Environs of London*. This will explain their imperfect and fragmentary character. In Lysons will be found a connected account of Hadley.—F.C.C. † *Mon. Angl.* vol. iv. p. 133.

imperfect. In the absence of institution and induction their appointments find no place in episcopal records, whilst, owing perhaps to the vicinity of London, property so frequently changed owners, that the lay, no less than the ecclesiastical, history of the parish is somewhat meagre.\*

At the Dissolution, the manor was granted in 1540 to Thomas, Lord Audley, who four years later surrendered it to the King. In 1557 Queen Mary granted it to Sir Thomas Pope. In 1574 it was alienated by Robert Staunford or Stamford to William Kympton. This Robert Stamford was son and heir of Sir William Stamford, knt. and Alice his wife, who in 1553 and 1558 were † successively patrons of South Myms. On Aug. 5, 1580, William Kympton (described, in a grant of arms made ‡ to him April 3, 1574, as "Lorde of Monken Hadley, and now alderman of the Citie of London,") "gave this Church, by the name of a Free Chappel, and *pleno jure* of his Donation, to Bernard Carrier, clerk, during the life of him the said William, if he the said Bernard should live so long, upon these Conditions, viz. that he should bear Fealty to him the said William; that he should demean himself well in his Life and Conversation; that he should perform Divine Offices and administer the Sacraments as he ought; that he should keep the Chancel in Repair and pay xxvj s. viij d. to the said William and his Heirs according to Custom, out of which the said William was to pay back vj s. viij d. for his Tyths according to like Custom." † In 1582 we find the above William Kympton disposing of the manor to Ralph Woodcock and Simon Hayes, in the family of which latter it is said to have continued down to 1684.§

Perhaps the oldest site of a residence in this parish is the house now called Ludgrove, formerly the manor or manor-farm of Ludgraves.

\* The patronage of the living was annexed to the manor till the year 1786 (Lysons), when the advowson was purchased (September 14) by William Baker, Esq. of Bayfordbury, Herts, of John Pinney, Esq. of Blackdown, in the parish of Broadwindsor, Dorsetshire. It passed in the year 1827 to the Rev. J. R. Thackeray, then rector, and afterwards in 1846 to the Rev. G. Proctor, D.D. by whom it was sold Nov. 26, 1857 to Frederick Cass, Esq. of Little Grove, East Barnet, Hertfordshire, from whom it descended, at his death in 1861 to the Rev. Frederick Charles Cass, the present rector.

† Newcourt.

‡ By Robert Cooke, Clarenceux. Azure, a pelican between three fleurs-de-lis or. Crest: A demi-goat ermine, horned and hooped or, collared and chained sable.

§ Lysons.

It stands upon the rise of the hill, on the further side of the valley, in ascending to Cockfosters, and probably derived its name from William Lyghtgrave—according to a very usual process of Hertfordshire nomenclature—who, in 1423, conveyed to William Somercotes, Thomas Frowyke, and others a messuage, 120 acres of land, 80 of meadow, and 80 of wood in Hadley.\* Norden, writing in 1598, describes Ludgraves as “a very faire house seytuate in a valley neere Enfelyde Chace, belonging unto . . .” On a small brass, upon the south transept wall—the oldest memorial in the church—is inscribed,

Hic jacēt Philippus Grene filius Walteri Grene armigeri et Elizabeth' ux'is ei' et Margarita soror eiusdē Philippi ac Margarita Somercotes q' obierūt xvi<sup>o</sup> die mens' Septembris A<sup>o</sup> d'ni M<sup>o</sup>,cccc<sup>o</sup>,xlii<sup>o</sup> quor' anima's ppiciet' de' amē.

In a list of the gentry of Middlesex nine years † previously, 12 Hen. VI. occur the names of Thomas Frowyk and Walter Grene. ‡ It is likely that very few of the brasses inserted in the pavement of the church occupy their original positions. When the church was restored in 1848, under Mr. Street's superintendence, several of them, which had been preserved in a closet at the rectory, were replaced in the church as they appear now.

The Church, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, was formerly on the extreme verge of the parish, the Chace fence having skirted the present rectory garden, even if it did not come up to the churchyard itself. It is built in the form of a Latin cross, and consists of a square embattled tower, with a turret at the south-west angle, of a nave with two side aisles, north and south transepts, and a chancel. The area of the building was extended laterally in 1848 by throwing back the north and south walls of the aisles about eighteen inches in either direction. A vestry was added at the same time. The south porch was rebuilt in 1855 by the Rev. George Proctor, D.D., then rector, in memory of his only son, the Rev. George Henry Proctor, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, one of the chaplains in the Crimea, who died at Scutari, March 10 of that year.

\* Cl. 1 Hen. VI. m. 15, 16.

† Robinson's Hist. of Enfield, pp. 174-5.

‡ At the east end of the north aisle, against the north wall, is a table-tomb to the memory of Walter Grene, esq. who died anno 14—. On the top is a figure of the deceased in armour, with a griffin at his feet. I suppose the east end of this aisle to have been a chapel founded by Walter Grene, whose family were proprietors of Hayes Park, to which estate this part of the aisle still belongs. Arms: A chevron between three bucks. Lysons, ii. p. 594, art. Hayes.

Concerning the cresset or beacon upon the tower-turret, which is regarded by the parishioners much as the crane on their cathedral by the good people of Cologne, Lord Lytton remarked at the British Archæological Association's Congress held in 1869 at St. Alban's, when he was President :

“On the summit of St. Mary's tower at Hadley was still to be seen the lantern which, according to tradition, lighted the forces of Edward IV. through the dense fog, which the superstition of the time believed to have been raised by the incantation of Friar Bungay, and through the veil of that fog was fought the battle of Barnet, where the power of the great feudal barons expired with Warwick.”

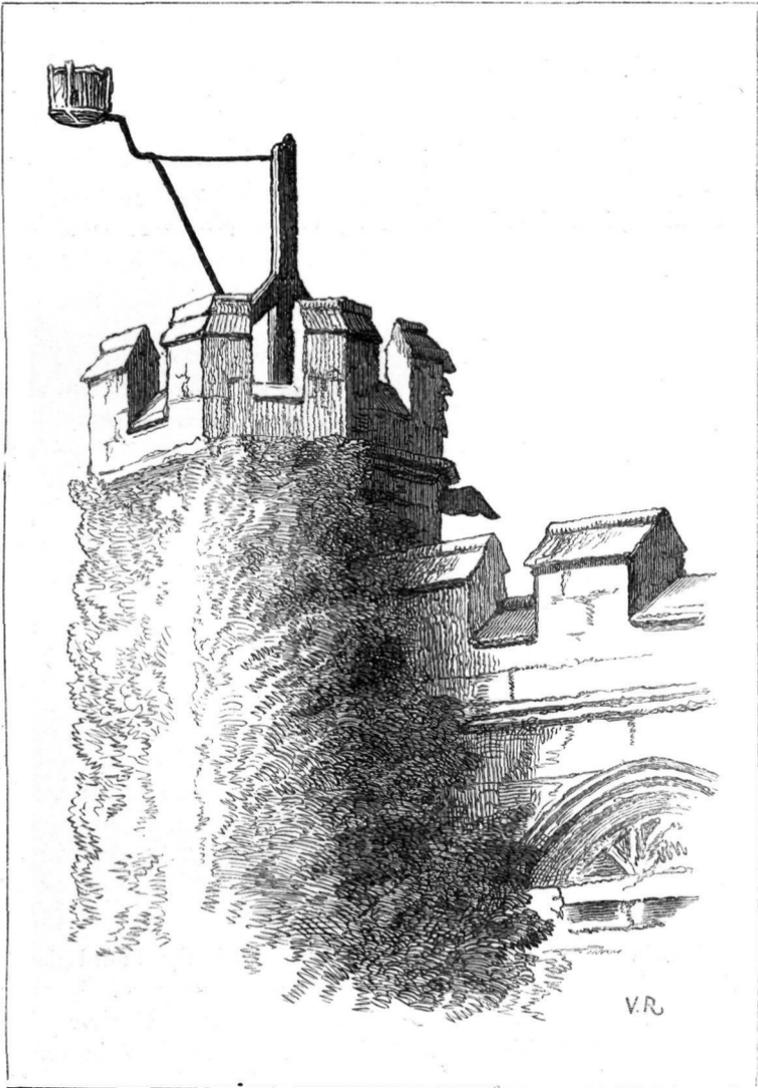
The battle of Barnet was fought on April 14, 1471, being Easter-day, whereas, on the western face of the tower, we have the date 1494,\* with the device of a rose and a wing. The same device is met with over the arches of the nave at Enfield church, and is conjectured to have been a rebus upon the name of one of the abbots of Walden, to whom that church, as well as Hadley, belonged. Camden † assumes that Hadley Church was the chapel erected, where the hermitage stood, by Edward IV., to pray for the souls of the slain, and builds his supposition upon the aforesaid date. This, however, is manifestly erroneous, both on account of the evidences of a church existing here previously, and also because we have the testimony of John Stowe, ‡ towards the close of the following century, that the slain “were buried on the same plaine, halfe a mile from Barnet, where after a chappell was builded in memory of them, but it is now a dwelling house, the top quarters remain yet.” Stowe, moreover, refers, as to an authority, to John Rastall, whose ‘Pastime of People’ was published in 1529, that is to say, within sixty years after the great battle. The tower may accordingly have been either rebuilt or repaired at that period. The beacon was blown down by a high wind on Jan. 1, 1779, § and on Monday the 11th of the same month a Vestry meeting was convened to consider about the repairs of the roof of the church; but there is no special mention of the beacon. From the Life of Crabbe, the poet, it seems that on this same 1st of Jan. 1779 there was a violent spring tide at Aldeburgh in Suffolk,

\* See woodcut at the end.

† Gough's Camden, I. p. 350.

‡ The Annals of John Stowe, p. 423, ed. 1615. Weever, Fun. Mon. p. 704.

§ Lysons.



THE OLD BEACON ON THE TOWER OF MONKEN HADLEY CHURCH.\*  
(South face of Tower.)

\* This woodcut with the other illustrations to the paper has been prepared from drawings recently made by Miss Vignette Rowe.

when eleven houses were at once demolished by the waves.\* The beacon was last lighted on the night of the Prince of Wales' marriage, March 10, 1863, when it was picturesquely illuminated with coloured lights.

The family of Goodere or Goodyer† appears to have occupied a position of great importance in Hadley and its neighbourhood for several generations. Their crest, a partridge, holding in the beak an ear of wheat, is still visible at the top of the piers supporting the



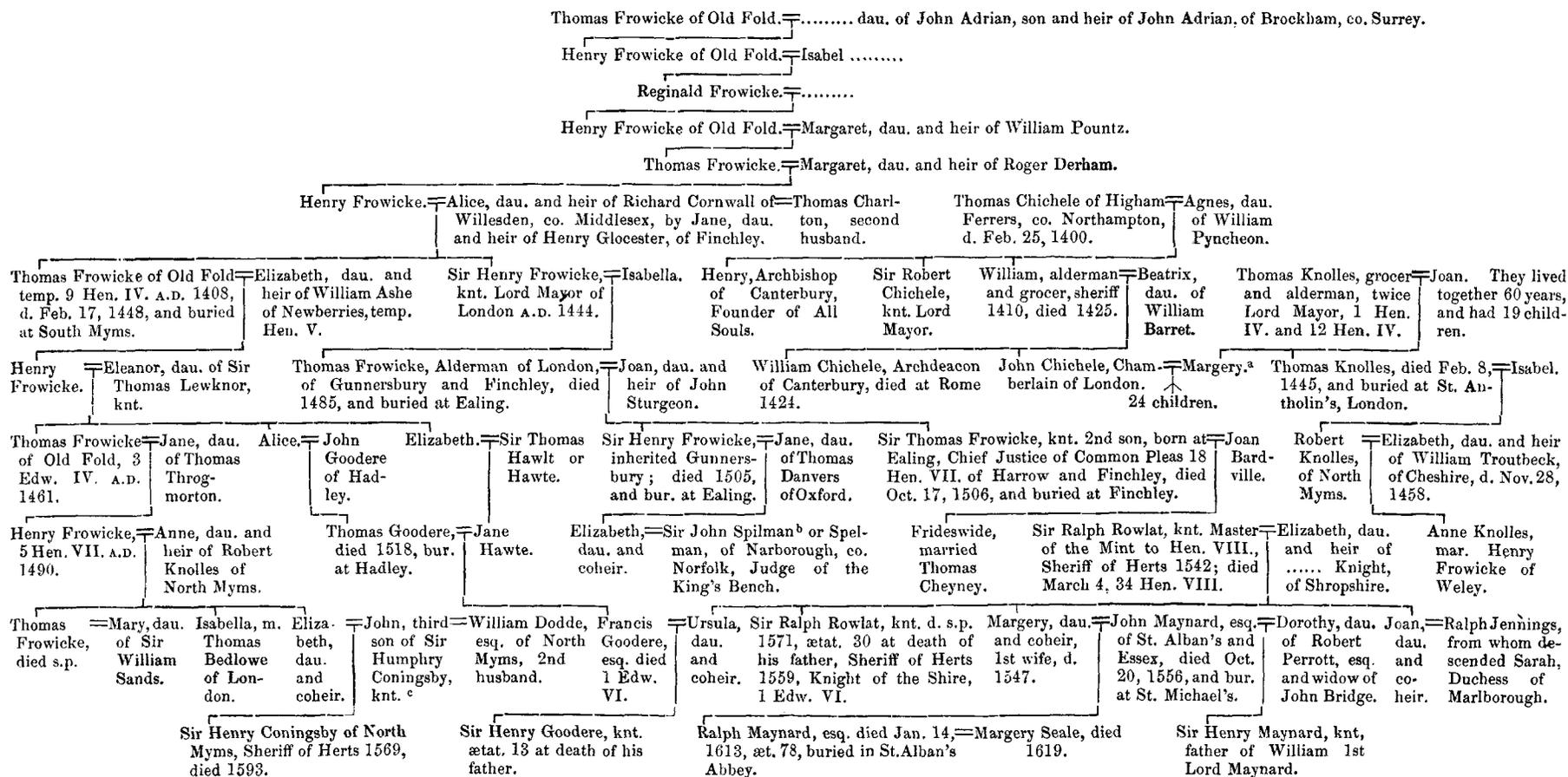
chancel arch. The same cognizance is observed in the stained glass of the north transept window, which is likewise remarkable for the interlaced ears of wheat, interspersed with the name of Goodere. It is most likely that this family took a prominent share in some restoration of the church during their connection with the parish,—even if the existing structure, of which the sculpture on the tower records the date, does not owe its origin to their munificence. An

\* Crabbe's Life, by his son, ed. 1855, p. 9.

† See PEDIGREE, p. 262.

## PEDIGREE OF FROWYKE OR FROWICKE, AND OTHER ALLIED FAMILIES.

(Compiled from Chauncy's Hertfordshire, ii. 312, 438, &c.; Clutterbuck's History of Herts, i. 133, 217, 476; ii. 368, &c.; Norden's Spec. Brit. p. 20; Lysons' Environs of London, p. 225; Fuller's Worthies, Middlesex; Weever's Fun. Mon.; B. Buckler's Stemmata Chicheleana; Harl. MS. 1110, f. 130; Harl. MS. 1154, f. 176, 177; Harl. MS. 6072, f. 12.)



<sup>a</sup> According to Chauncy and Clutterbuck Thomas Knolles married Margery, widow of John Chichele, Chamberlain of London.

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Spelman was grandfather of Sir Henry, the antiquary.

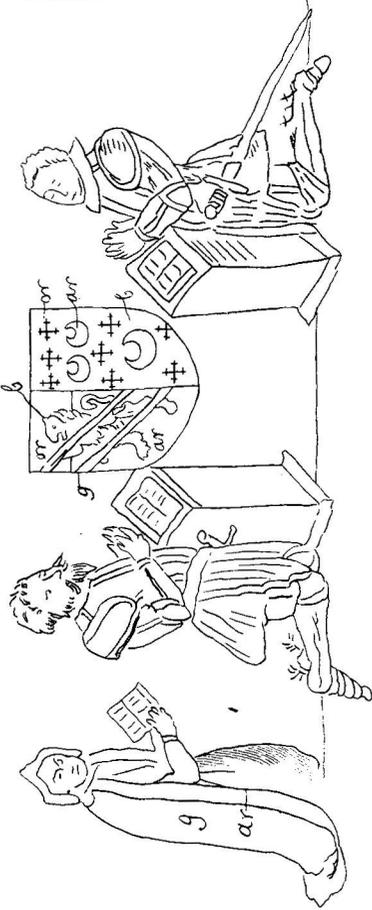
<sup>c</sup> Sir Humphry Coningsby, who died 1551, was one of the Judges of the King's Bench.

# In the parish Church of Hadley in the Countie of middesex

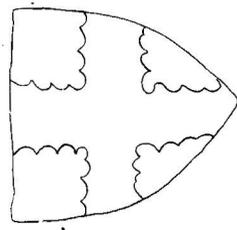
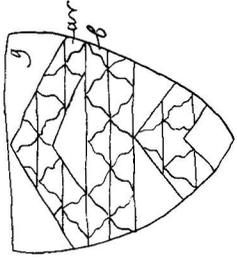
36

on the north side

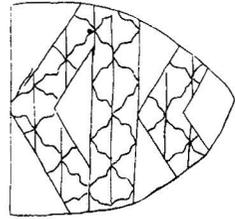
In a window on the north side of the Church



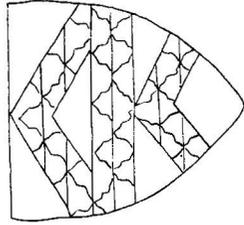
John Woodger died 1518.



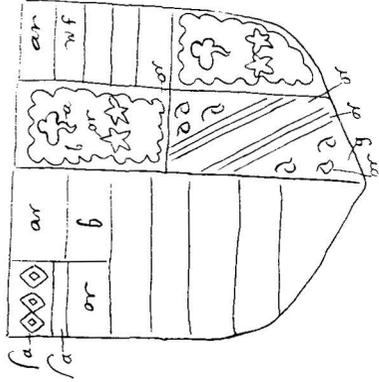
John Woodger  
died 1513



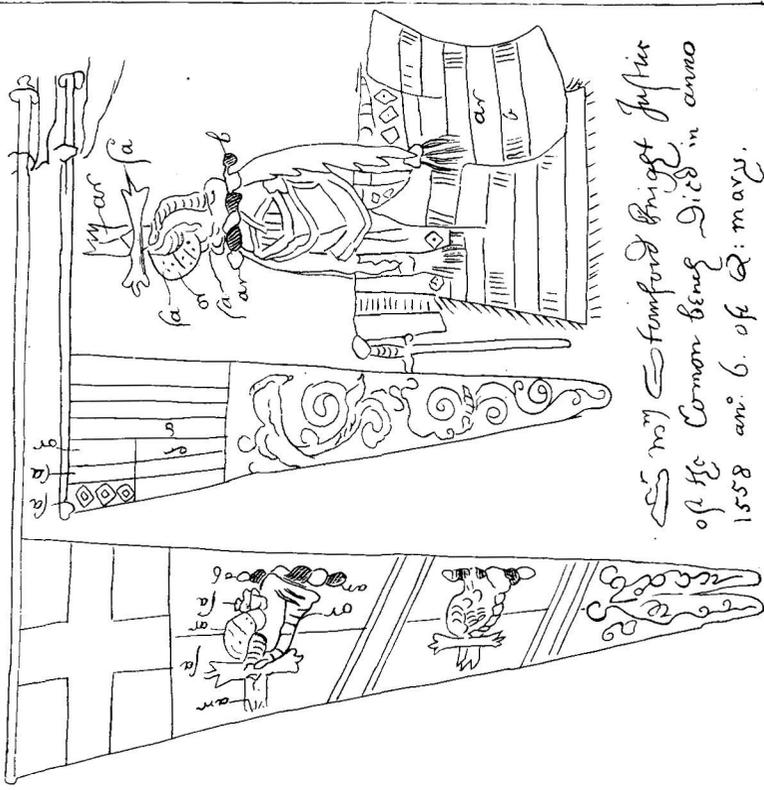
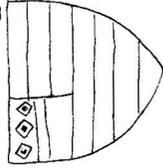
John Woodger  
died 1507.



Same Alice Stanford  
wiffe m<sup>o</sup> to William  
Stanford S. to John  
Palmer of middesex.  
who died in an<sup>o</sup> 1573

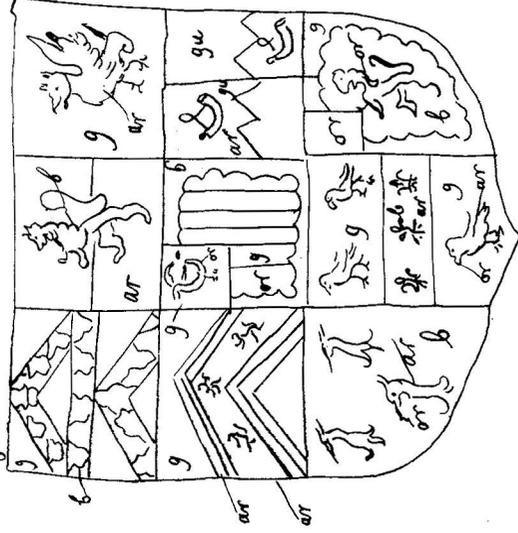


Anne Stanford  
d<sup>o</sup> to William  
Stanford died young



Same Thomas Stamford Knight Justice  
of the Common bench died in anno  
1558 an<sup>o</sup> 6. of Q: mary.

Goodere of Albanies



INSIGNIA OF JUDGE STAMFORD, KNIGHT.

From an Original Drawing in the British Museum,  
Lansdowne MSS., 874, f. 56.

By Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, 1608.

ARMS OF GOODERE OF ST. ALBANS,  
Lansdowne MSS., 874, f. 100.

inscription upon a brass on the floor of the north transept runs thus :

Hic jacēt Johēs Goodyere, gentilman, et Johanna uxor eius, qui quidem Johēs obiit v<sup>o</sup> die August', A<sup>o</sup> Dni M<sup>o</sup>. ccccc<sup>o</sup>III. quor aiabs ppiciet' den'. Amen.

Over the inscription are two escutcheons, one of which, Gu. a fesse between two chev. vairé, is that of the Goodyers. The other is, . . . . a fesse . . . . between three lions passant . . . . Weever says that in his time\* there was an inscription, partially erased, "Of your . . . . pray . . . . soul of John Goodyere, esquier and Jone his wyff, which . . . . died . . . . 1504, whos sowls . . . .;" but these are the same names and date as the preceding. A John Goodere of Hadley married, probably about the middle of the fifteenth century, Alice, daughter of Henry Frowick. The Frowicks were a family of great repute, and lived at the Old Fold, on the edge of Hadley Green,—a moated manor-house in the parish of South Myms. The Frowick chantry and some brasses of that family are among the most interesting memorials in the church of South Myms. When Nicholas Charles, Lancaster † herald, visited Hadley church in 1610, he found the armorial bearings of John Goodyer, died 1507, John Goodyer, died 1513, and Thomas ‡ Goodyer died 1518. A brass on the wall of the north transept is likewise in memory of a member of the Goodyer family. The inscription is to Anne Walkeden, whose maiden name apparently was Goodyer, and who died in 1575, but the escutcheons have dis-

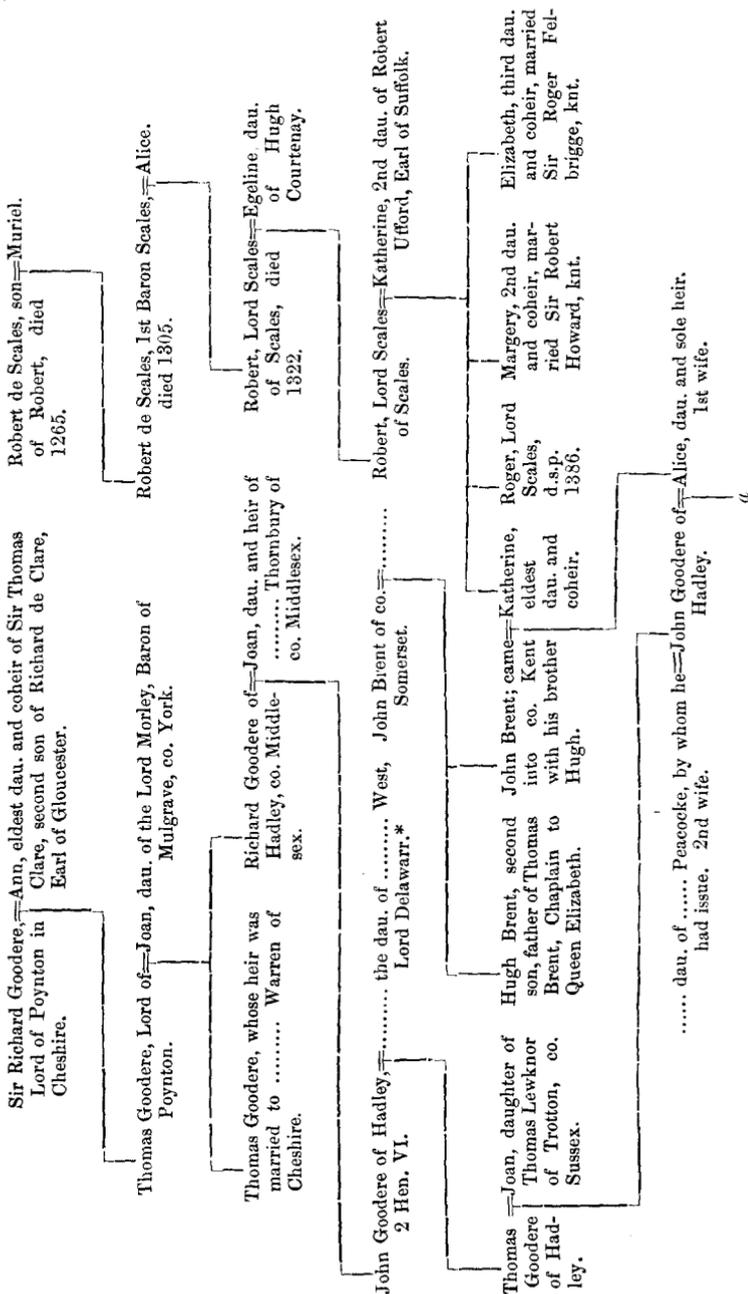
\* Weever Fun. Mon. p. 533, published 1631.

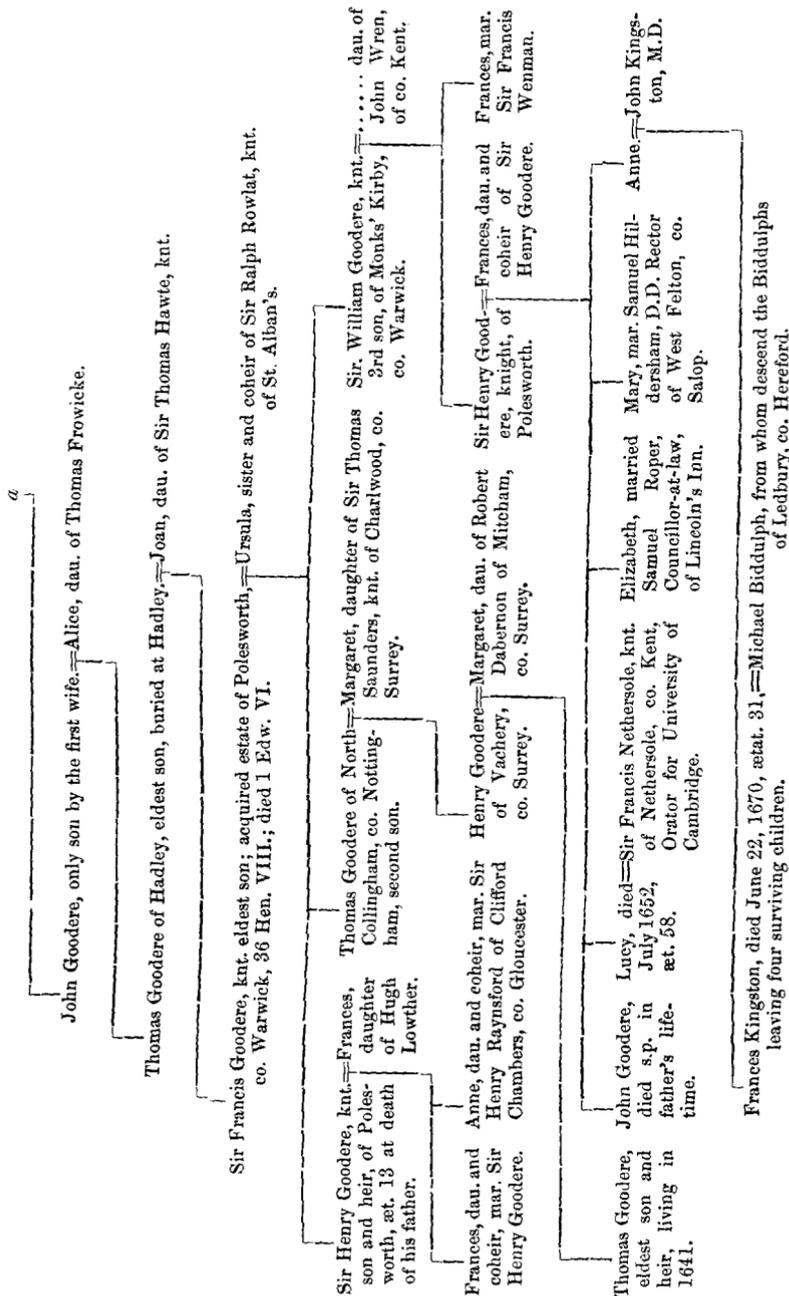
† In Lansdowne MS. 874, f. 100, he gives the arms of "Goodere of St. Alban's," a shield of nine quarterings: 1. *Goodere*, Gules, a fesse betw. two chev. vairé; 2. (?) *Thornbury*, Per fesse or and arg. a lion ramp. az.; 3. *Brent*, Gu. a fesse betw. two chev. vairé; 4. *Rowlat*, Gu. on a chev. betw. two chevronels arg. three; 5. *Knigh*t, Or, three pales gu. within a bordure engr. gu. on a canton of the second a spur of the first; 6. *Forster*, Quarterly per fesse indented or and gu. in first and fourth quarters a bugle-horn stringed of the last; 7. (?) *Peacock*, Az. three peacock's heads cras. arg. beaked or; 8. *Gouldsmith*, Gu. on a fesse betw. three goldfinches or as many fleurs-de-lis az.; 9. *Jaye*, Az. a lion ramp. and a canton or, within a bordure engr. gu. Nich. Charles was appointed Lancaster Herald in 1608, and died in 1613.

‡ The armorial bearings of Thomas Goodyer were two shields, the first having the arms of Goodyer and the second those of Hawlt or Hawte, in virtue of his wife Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Hawlt, Or, a cross engr. gu. Lansdowne MS. 874.

## PEDIGREE OF GOODERE OR GOODYER.

(Harl. MS. 1196, f. 225; Harl. MS. 1110, f. 130; Dugdale's Warwickshire.)





\* This was probably Reginald West, Lord Delawarr and West, of Bushey, co. Herts, who died 27 Aug. 1451. Clutterbuck's Herts, i. p. 338.

appeared.\* One Geoffrey Walkeden held lands in Tottenham between 1581—94 :

Loo here the sexe of wemenkynd,  
 A perfitt patterne you may vewe,  
 Of one that was (whilst that she was)  
 A matrone mild, a mirroure trewe:  
 ANNE WALKEDEN, a faythful wife,  
 descend of GOODERE'S auneyent race,  
 Who hath so ronne her earthlye course,  
 That she hath wonne her goole of grace.  
 One lovde of all, but loved best  
 Of God, w<sup>th</sup> whom her soule doth rest.  
 Buried the x of december, M.CCC.CC.LXXV.

There are two pedigrees of the Goodere family in the British Museum, the more † complete of which fully justifies the foregoing allusion to the antiquity of the race. The shorter ‡—and it is very short—only differs from the other in supplying the name of Frances, daughter of Hugh Lowther, as the wife of Sir Henry Goodere. They together establish the close connection of the Gooderes with Hadley, during at least six descents; that is to say, from Richard (living *presumably* temp. Rich. II. and Henry IV.), who married Joan Thornbury, to Francis, whose wife was one of the sisters and coheirresses of the younger Sir Ralph Rowlat of St. Alban's.

About the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century there is evidence that the family had become separated into two or three distinct branches. Letters written by some of its members are preserved in the British Museum; § and one of these, || addressed by Sir H. Goodere to Mr. Serjeant Puckering, (afterwards Lord Keeper, who died suddenly ¶ in 1596,) contains such excellent advice that it seems worthy of being recorded :

Mr. Seriante:

I am gladd of yo<sup>r</sup> good agreemente w<sup>th</sup> poore Richarde Brooke ; and I will willingly attende yo<sup>u</sup> to my Lo: Thresorer, whensoever hys Lo: helthe

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\* Since the visit of the Archaeological Society to Hadley, I have recovered one of these escutcheons, bearing the Goodyer arms. The other, which doubtless bore the Walkeden coat, is, I fear, hopelessly lost. This coat I find to have been (Harl. MSS. 6072) Arg. a chev. engr. between three griffin's heads erased az. on a chief of the last an anchor or, between two bezants.

† Harl. MS. 1196, f. 225.

‡ Harl. MS. 1110, f. 130.

§ Harl. MS. 6995. Harl. MS. 7002. Cotton MS. Cal. C. i. f. 387. Cotton MS. Galba, C. viii. f. 43. Cotton MS. Jul. C. iii. f. 178, f. 179.

|| Harl. MS. 6995.

¶ Lodge's Portraits, vol. ii. art. Thomas Egerton, Viscount Brackley.

and yo<sup>r</sup> Leysure may beste serve. I wolde willinglye also; that yo<sup>n</sup> and Mr. Dabridgecourte weare good frendes; as you are neighbours and Coontrymen: The worste peace; almoste, y<sup>t</sup> might be amongeste gentyllmen of yo<sup>r</sup> condicoñ: wolde be better for yo<sup>n</sup> bothe; then the beste warre; yo<sup>n</sup> cañ make: (in my poore indgmente:) If thear be any<sup>e</sup> matter of offence eyther gyven; or taken betwene yo<sup>n</sup> refer it to some of yo<sup>r</sup> good frendes; and so stoppe the beginniges of ill neighbourhed. I thancke yo<sup>n</sup> for my selfe; I am gladd to heare, y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> eldeste daughter shall cooñ into my kynred, younge Mr. Poole is my nere kynsemañ, by his mother. God sende yo<sup>n</sup> all good coomforte of ye matche; and so save you hartelye well; w<sup>th</sup> my frendlyest coñendacons (good Mr. Seriante).

From my lodginge; in ye Strande this iith of Februarye 1590.

Yo<sup>r</sup> lovinge and assured frende,



To the righte woorshipfull and my verye good  
frende; Mr. Seriante Puckeringe.

It would likewise appear that there were three members of the family at this period who bore the Christian name of Henry. Not only does the pedigree show this, but an undated letter \* is likewise extant from Henry Goodere to Sir Henry Goodere, in a postscript to which mention is made of another Sir Henry Goodere. The last-named is described as of Newgate Street; and it may be a question whether this refers to the thoroughfare so designated in the City of London, or to Newgate Street in Hertfordshire, between Northaw and Hatfield. Independently of its family allusions, the letter is an interesting one :

Sir,

I intreated S<sup>r</sup> Henry Ransfowrth † to intreate yo<sup>n</sup> to desire doctor Goodere for yo<sup>r</sup> sake (whome I knowe hee much esteemes) to doe mee the kyndnes to setle mee in sum place nere unto him, because the place where hee doth reside by reason of the far remotenes frō London is very cheape, and to bring upp won

\* Cotton MS. Cal. C. 1. f. 387. Transacta inter Angliam et Scotiam, A.D. 1567—1569.

† See Goodere Pedigree.

of my suns (for the lord hath blessed mee w<sup>th</sup> three, w<sup>ch</sup> I hope will all prove learned) and theyre godly and virtuose educatiō is my greatest earthlye care. I meane I woulde have my sun wayt uppō him in his chamber that hee may reade unto him, for I knowe him to bee a great scholler, and I harde him doe sum of his exercises at his comencement w<sup>th</sup> a generall and great applause (S<sup>r</sup>) I assure myself that for God's cause and for o<sup>r</sup> name and bloodsake yo<sup>u</sup> will never be unwilling to furder the p<sup>r</sup>ferment of my poore boyes w<sup>ch</sup>, by God's gratiose assistance, may live to emulate, if not equall, those three worthy and learned gentlemen, theyre granfather and great-uncles, whose excellent worth and desert hath justly obtayned a perpetuall memorye to o<sup>r</sup> poore house and name, thus beseeching the giver of all goodnes to blesse yo<sup>u</sup> both in y<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>esent sute, and all other y<sup>r</sup> indevors w<sup>th</sup> my service to yo<sup>r</sup>self and devot respects to all yo<sup>r</sup>s I ever remayne yo<sup>r</sup> poore kinsman but most assured frynd,

I was boolde to wryte unto yō because I have been often at yo<sup>r</sup> lodging and never founde yo<sup>u</sup> w<sup>h</sup>in but wonce, when I had noe opportunitye to speake w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> I beseech yo<sup>u</sup> wryte y<sup>e</sup> letter to Dr. Goodere w<sup>th</sup> all possible speede, and leave it at yo<sup>r</sup> lodging that I may have it there although I misse of yo<sup>u</sup>, for (God willing) I meane to goe unto him very shortelye. I met Sir Henry Goodere of Newgate Streete on Wednesday last wch desired mee to remember his kyndest love to yo<sup>u</sup> and yo<sup>r</sup>s, for hee had noe tyme to cum and see yo<sup>u</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> hee was very desirose to have dun.

To the Ryght wor<sup>ll</sup> and his worthy kinsman S<sup>r</sup> Henry  
Goodere deliver this w<sup>th</sup> speede.

The signatures to the foregoing letters are apparently in the same handwriting, as also the subscription to another,\* dated Feb. 25, 1585, (about money for the payment of troops,) and written "To his excellencie the Earle of Leycester, Generall of her Mat<sup>s</sup> army and gov<sup>r</sup>nor of all the United Provinces. At his courte." Sir Henry Goodere, the elder, of Polesworth, was knighted before Zutphen 5 Oct. 1586. He is mentioned in 1587 as "Capteyn in command of 150 men forming one of the companies of extraordinary footbandes sent for

\* Cotton MS. Galba, C. viii. f. 43. Acta inter Angliam et Belgium 1585.

the reliefe of Sluce." He had previously undergone imprisonment on account of Mary Queen of Scots.

Besides these are three short letters,\* in a different hand, and addressed all of them to Sir Robert Cotton.† Two of them have the day of the month, but not the year. The writer is the younger Sir Henry Goodere of Polesworth, who was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to James I. He was the friend and correspondent of Dr. Donne, whom he predeceased. (Dr. Donne died in 1631.) From him the Polesworth estate descended to the Nethersoles, and from them passed to the Biddulphs. There is extant a letter from him to King Charles I. dated May 13, 1626.‡

There was formerly an inscription in the church at Hatfield, Hertfordshire, to a Sir Henry Goodere, but it is difficult, on account of his marriage, to identify him with either of those mentioned in the pedigree. §

Here lyeth the body of Sir Henry Goodere, descended of an antient and worthy family in the County of Middlesex, with Dame Mary his wife, daughter and heir of John Rumball, Gent. who lived together in chaste wedlock 53 years, by whom he had issue 7 sons and 7 daughters, whereof 2 sons, Francis and Thomas, and 4 daughters, Ann, Judith, Ursula, and Lucy, survived him. He deceased the 12th day of June, anno D'ni 1629, in the 78th year of his age. Shee deceased the 9th of Aprill, anno D'ni 1628, in the            year of her age.

Weever,|| under the head of Hadley, and following immediately upon John Goodyer's epitaph already given (p. 10), quotes a *Tetrastich* made in honour of Sir Henry Goodyer, of Polesworth, by

\* Cotton MS. Jul. C. III. f. 178, 179. Harl. MS. 7002, f. 117.

† The letters are addressed "To my very noble friend Sir Ro: Cotton, kt. and barronet." Sir R. Cotton was made a baronet June 29, 1611, and died May 6, 1631, in his 62nd year, thus fixing the date of the letters within this interval.

‡ State Papers, Domestic, vol. xxxiii. No. 100.

§ Clutterbuck, ii. p. 368, Chauncy, ii. 18. No trace of this memorial remains.

|| Fun. Mon. p. 533.

“an affectionate friend,” but inserts no date, and leaves the place of burial uncertain :

“ An ill yeare of a Goodyer vs bereft  
Who gon to God, much lacke of him here left,  
Full of good gifts, of body and of minde,  
Wise, comely, learned, eloquent, and kinde.”

Edward Goodere, Esq. of Burhope in Herefordshire (son of John Goodere of Burhope, and grandson of Francis Goodere of Hereford, whose father was Thomas Goodere of Leyntall Stocks, co. Hereford) was created a Baronet in 1707. The history of this baronetcy is a tragical one. It expired in 1776 with Sir John Dinely Goodere, the fifth baronet. I have been unable to learn whether any, or what, connection existed between this family and the Gooderes of Hadley.

An ancient brass in the south transept bears the inscription:

Hic jacēt Walterus Tornor et Agnes uxor eius qui quidā Walterus obiit xiii.  
die mensis Januarii anno domini millio CCCCLXXXIII quorum animabus ppici-  
etur deus. Amē.

And beneath the effigies :

Hic jacent Willm̄s Turnour et Joh̄na uxor eius qui quidam Willm̄s obiit iii<sup>o</sup>  
die mensis Novembris a<sup>o</sup> dñi m<sup>o</sup> et p̄dicta Joh̄na obiit die a<sup>o</sup>  
dñi m<sup>o</sup> quom̄ aiābs ppiciet' de'.

The spaces left in blank have never been filled up with the dates, and the hiatus reminds one of the comment made by Horace Walpole \* upon a memorial to a lady of the Frowick family :

I do not wish ..... to have an opportunity of expressing myself like a tender husband, of whom I have just been reading in Lysons, † who set up a tomb for his wife with this epitaph: ‘Joan le Feme Thomas de Frowicke gist icy, et le dit Thomas pense de giser avecque luy.’

The two remaining brasses in the church, on either side of the Communion-table, relate to a family of the name of Gale:

1. Here lyeth the bodye of William Gale, Citizen and Barber Chyrurgion of London, who dyed the xix. daye of November, 1610, then being ye second tyme Master of his Company. He had two wives, Elizabeth and Suzan, and had issue by Elizabeth, v. sones and 8 daughters, and was lx. and x. yeares of age or thereabout at the time of his death.

Blessed are they y<sup>t</sup> conce-  
dereth the poore and needie.

\* Horace Walpole to Miss Berry, Sept. 21, 1794.

† In Finchley church. Lysons quotes Norden, Spec. Brit. Lysons, iii. p. 220.

2. Here lyeth the bodye of William Gale, gent., sometime Mr of Arts in Oxford, who had to wife Anne Gale, the daughter of Roger Bragge, gent., and had issue by her 2 sonnes, William and Nicholas; y<sup>e</sup> said Nicholas deceased before his father; the above sayd William Gale dyed the xxx. daye of March An<sup>o</sup> D'ni 1614, beinge about the age of fortye yeares.

ARMS: Azure, on a fesse between three saltires argent, as many lion's heads erased of the field, langued gules. Impaling Bragge, .....a chevron .....between three bulls passant.....

Before proceeding to the other monuments, it may be as well to observe that the Gothic font is octangular, with its side panels ornamented with quatrefoils, probably of the Perpendicular period. Squints, sometimes called hagioscopes, are pierced through the buttresses between the eastern extremity of the church and the transepts, in which the piscinæ still remain. Previous to the late restoration these squints were completely bricked up and their existence scarcely conjectured. Galleries likewise disfigured the church in every direction, one being built across the east window. They seem, for the most part, to have been erected at the cost of individuals for their own accommodation, and that of their dependents. The old vestry books contain a record of several permissions given to this effect.

The two most interesting monuments in the church are a tablet to the memory of Dame Alice Stamford and her son Henry Carew, on the east wall of the chancel, and the monument of Sir Roger Wilbraham at the extremity of the south aisle.

The former is surmounted by the Carew arms and crest :

ARMS : Or, three lioncels pass. in pale sa. armed and langued gu.

CREST : A mainmast, the round top set off with palisadoes or, a lion issuing thereout sa.

Above the portrait of Henry Carew are the lines :

In this parish I was borne,  
And a single race did run,  
Neare to the age of 66,  
And then I did returne.  
Let all men learn by me  
The thinge they are sure to knowe;  
As I in to my Mother's grave,  
So all to earth shall goe.

Beneath is the inscription :

Heer vnder within the bricks lyeth buried  
The bodye of Dame Alice Stamford whoes

Fyrste husband was Sir Wm. Stamford, knight,  
 One of the justices of the Comon Pleas,  
 And her second husband was Roger Carew of  
 This parish, esquire. She was buryed the 3<sup>d</sup>  
 November 1573. And upon her lyeth buryed  
 Henrye Carew,\* gent. her onely son by the  
 Said Roger Carew, esquire, wh<sup>b</sup> said Henrye,  
 Beinge neare 66 yeares of age, directed by  
 His will a remembraunc<sup>e</sup> to be heare set upp,  
 Declaringe his mother and himselfe buryed heare,  
 And gave by his will x<sup>l</sup> to the poore of this parish,  
 v<sup>l</sup> to Barnet, v<sup>l</sup> to Shenlye, and v<sup>l</sup> to Sowth Myme<sup>e</sup>.  
 He departed this mortal lyfe y<sup>e</sup> xii<sup>th</sup> Decemb<sup>r</sup>  
 1626, and was buried heere the xxi<sup>th</sup> of the same.

Dame Alice Stamford, who was the daughter of John Palmer, esq. of Middlesex, and widow of Sir William Stamford, knt. married, secondly, Roger Carew, esq. perhaps the same who was one of the burgesses of St. Alban's † from the 5 to the 13 of Queen Elizabeth.

A Roger Carew was one of the original governors of the Grammar School founded at Highgate in 1562 by Sir Roger Cholmeley, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. There are several pedigrees of the Carew family in the British Museum, but the Christian name of Roger is met with only in one of them (Harl. MS. 1154, f. 178), which is undoubtedly erroneous in *some particulars*. It may be concluded, notwithstanding, that, if Roger Carew of Hadley belonged to either branch of the great West of England family (and his armorial bearings in Hadley Church are identical with theirs), he must have been a younger son of Sir Wymond Carew by Martha, daughter of Edmund Denny, of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, and sister of Sir Anthony Denny. Sir Wymond's eldest son and heir, Thomas, of East Anthony, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Edgecombe, knt. and was father of Richard Carew, the historian of Cornwall (born in 1555, served as Sheriff of Cornwall 1586, and died in 1620), whose wife was Julia or Julian, daughter of John Arundel of Trevice by his wife Catherine Cosewarth.

Richard, of East Anthony, the historian, whose Survey of Cornwall was first published in 1602 and dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, in describing his ancestry, makes no allusion to any uncle named Roger,

\* The entry in the Hadley register is that on Dec. 21, 1626, Mr. Henry Carey was buried.

† Clutterbuck, Hist. of Herts, I. p. 53.

but then he only traces the descent from eldest son to eldest son. He does not even mention his relationship to Sir George Carew, whom he accompanied to Poland when the latter was sent thither as ambassador in 1598. This Sir George Carew is said by the author of the preface to a later edition of the Survey to have been the uncle of Richard, but the *Biographie Universelle* distinctly declares him to have been his brother (which agrees with the pedigree above referred to), and gives the year of his death, 1613. The pedigree in question states that Roger married the daughter of — Askewe, who might have been his first wife, and likewise records two other sons and five daughters, of whom Elizabeth married George Dacres,\* esq. of Cheshunt, son of Robert Dacres by his wife Elizabeth, whose first husband was Thomas Denny, most probably the brother of Sir Anthony and Martha. The period at which Roger of Hadley must have been living is entirely consistent with the inferences to be drawn from this connection.†

Her first husband, by whom she had a numerous family,‡ was of Staffordshire origin, his grandfather, Robert, having resided at Rowley in that county. His father, William Stamford or Staunford, of London, mercer,§ purchased lands at Hadley, where the future judge was born Aug. 22, 1509.¶ The son became eminent in his profession, and wrote several law treatises held in considerable estimation. On the 17 of Oct. 1552, he was advanced to the dignity of a “serjeant of the coyffe,”¶ and “upon Sunday the xxvij<sup>th</sup> of January in an. 1554,” was among “the knyghtes mayde by king Philip in his chambre.”\*\* Sir William was a zealous Roman Catholic, and perhaps owed his promotion in Mary’s reign to this circumstance. He had issue six sons and four daughters, and died on the 28 of Aug. 1558, having just completed his forty-ninth year. Directions had been given in his will, a copy of which had been seen †† by Anthony à Wood, that

\* George Dacres was buried at Cheshunt Oct. 13, 1580, and Elizabeth his wife March 11, 1578-9.

† Clutterbuck’s History of Hertfordshire, ii. 101, 107, 113. Survey of Cornwall, by Richard Carew, esq. with a Life of the Author. London: 1769, pp. 101, 102, 103. *Biographie Universelle*, tome vii. art. Sir Richard Carew, Sir George Carew.

‡ Fuller’s Worthies, Middlesex.

§ Wood’s Ath. Oxon. i. p. 262.

¶ Lyson’s. Fuller’s Worthies.

¶ Machyn’s Diary, Camd. Soc. 1848, p. 27.

\*\* MS. Harl. 6064, f. 806. Machyn, p. 342.

†† Wood’s Ath. Oxon. i. p. 262.

his body should be interred in the parish church of Islington, Hadley, or Houndsworth. He was buried at Hadley on the 1st of Sept. and the funeral solemnities are thus described by Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant taylor of London, in his Diary from 1550 to 1563 :

“The same day was bered beyond Barnet ..... [ju]ge Stamford, knyght, with standard, cotte armour, penon of arms, elmett, targett, sword, and the mantyles; and iiij dozen of skachyons, and ij dosen of torchys, and tapurs; and Master Somerset the harold of armes.”\*

His insignia were remaining in Hadley church when visited by Nicholas Charles, and will be found drawn in the Lansd. MS. 874, f. 56. Arms: Arg. three bars az. on a canton or a fesse sa. in chief three mascles of the last; impaling, 1st and 4th, Sa. a trefoil slipped in chief arg. above two mullets or, a bordure engr. of the last; 2nd, Arg. two bars . . . . .; 3rd, Gules, a bend voided or, between three . . . . . The armorial bearings of Stamford of Hadley appear to have been granted May 2, 1542.† Sir William had purchased lands in Staffordshire, where his eldest son and heir Robert settled again. We find, however, that in 1575 the manor of Williotts in South Mymys was conveyed by William Dodde and Katherine his wife to Robert Stamford of Pury Hall, co. Stafford, who again conveyed it to Robert Taylor and Elizabeth his wife in 1594.

On Monday, Feb. 12, 1553-4, the day appointed for the execution of Lady Jane Grey, the Princess Elizabeth, then at Ashridge, set out for London in a litter sent for her by Queen Mary. She reached Redburn the first night, Sir Ralph Rowlat's ‡ house at St. Alban's the second, Mr. Dod's § at Mimmes the third, Mr. Cholmeley's at Highgate the fourth. For some cause or other she deviated from “The order of my Lady Elizabeth's grace's voyage to the Court,” which had been prescribed :

\* There was likewise existing in the church at the same time the escutcheon of Anne, a daughter of Sir William Stamford, who died young, with the inscription: “Here lyeth Anne Stamford, daughter of William Stamford and of Alice his wife, which deceased int he moneth of February, 1551.” Lansd. MS. 874, f. 56. Harl. MS. 6072.

† Burke's General Armoury.

‡ Sir Ralph Rowlat, who died s. p. in his father's lifetime, was the son of Ralph Rowlat, who received a large grant of St. Alban's Abbey Estate May 12, 1541. His sister and coheirress Mary married John Maynard, esq. of St. Alban's. Another sister Ursula married Francis Goodyer, see Pedigree *supra*.

§ William Dodde of North Mymys married Elizabeth, daughter and coheirress

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| Monday.    | Imprimis, to Mr. Cooke's, vj miles.                  |
| Tuesday.   | Item, to Mr. Pope's, viij miles.                     |
| Wednesday. | Item, to Mr. Stamford's, vij miles.                  |
| Thursday.  | Item, to Highgate, Mr. Cholmeley's house, vij miles. |
| Friday.    | Item, to Westminster, v miles.*                      |

It is conceivable that the names found in connection with the prescribed halting-places would be those of persons in the interest of, or well affected towards, the Court. "Mr. Pope's" was Tyttenhanger, the residence of Sir Thomas Pope,† under whose charge Elizabeth was placed at Hatfield in 1555, when removed thither at the time of Wyatt's rebellion. "Mr. Stamford's" we may conclude to have been that of Mr., afterwards Sir William, Stamford, at Hadley. Here again it is not improbable that she may have rested on a later, and not less memorable, occasion. Her sister died on Thursday 17th Nov. 1558, and Henry Machyn, already quoted, writes in his diary :

"The xxiiij day of November the Quen Elisabeth('s) grace toke here gorney from Hadley beyond Barnett toward London, unto my Lord North(s) plase (the Charterhouse), with a m and mor of lordes, knyghtes, and gentyllmens lades and gentyllwomen ; and ther lay v days."

Queen Mary dying on the 17th, on the 18th Sir Thomas Gresham and Cecil proceeded to Hatfield :

"By Saturday night the Privy Council with every statesman of any side or party of name or note had collected at Hatfield. On Sunday, the 20th, Elizabeth gave her first reception in the Hall. Two days later the Court removed to London."‡

This must have been on Tuesday the 22nd, on which night we may assume that the Queen slept at Hadley, perhaps at the residence of Sir W. Stamford's widow or son :

"The last time that Elizabeth had travelled that road she was carried in a litter as a prisoner, could her sister's lawyers so compass it, to die upon the

---

of Henry Frowick of Old Fold, and widow of John, third son of Sir Humphry Coningsby. The name of William Dodde, esq. occurs in the charter of foundation of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School at Chipping Barnet as one of the original Governors, March 24, 1573. He was Sheriff of Herts in 1570. John Coningsby, esq. of North Myms was Sheriff in 1547, and Sir Henry Coningsby, knt. his eldest son, Sheriff in 1569, died 1593.

\* Strickland's Lives, iv. 74, 75.

† Sir Thomas Pope was Sheriff of Herts in 1552 and 1557.

‡ Froude's Hist.

scaffold. Times had changed. Her sister's bishops came to meet her at Highgate. They were admitted to kiss hands—all except one: but from Bonner's lips she shrank."\*

In speaking of Sir R. Wilbraham's monument we must return once more to Ludgraves. In 1543 John Marsh † gave Ludgrave Farm to the King in exchange for other lands, and Edward VI. granted it to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Norden,‡ in 1598, mentions no owner; on which Lysons remarks, "I suppose it to have been at this time the property of Roger Townsend, who appears to have had lands of greater value than his contemporary William Kympton, who was lord of the manor. In 1609 Cornelius Fyshe and others alienated Ludgraves and 20 acres of land, 40 of meadow, 90 of pasture, and 10 of wood in Hadley and Edmonton to Sir Roger Wilbraham and his heirs; whilst in a survey of Enfield Chace in 1636, temp. Charles I. he is spoken of as having lately owned Ludgraves, subsequently better known as Blue-house Farm. Sir Roger's monument was by Nicholas Stone (d. 1647). The history of his works is fully recorded by himself in a pocket-book which fell into the hands of Vertue, from which it appears that this of Sir Roger cost 80l.§ Spenser the poet's monument in Westminster Abbey was by this sculptor. The monument stood formerly against the south wall in the chancel, and helped to block up the hagioscope and south window. Sir Roger was for 14 years Solicitor-General for Ireland in Elizabeth's reign, and in the year 1600 was sworn Master of Requests in Ordinary. He died July 29, 1616, having on Dec. 3, 1611 (9 James I.) founded the almshouses which still bear his name at the corner of Hadley Green, "for a perpetuall maintenance for a poore almshouse for six poore women." He is described in the indenture as a parishioner of Hadley, "by reason of his capitall messuage of Ludgraves within the said parish." Above the busts of Sir R. and Lady Wilbraham is the inscription:

\* Froude's Hist.

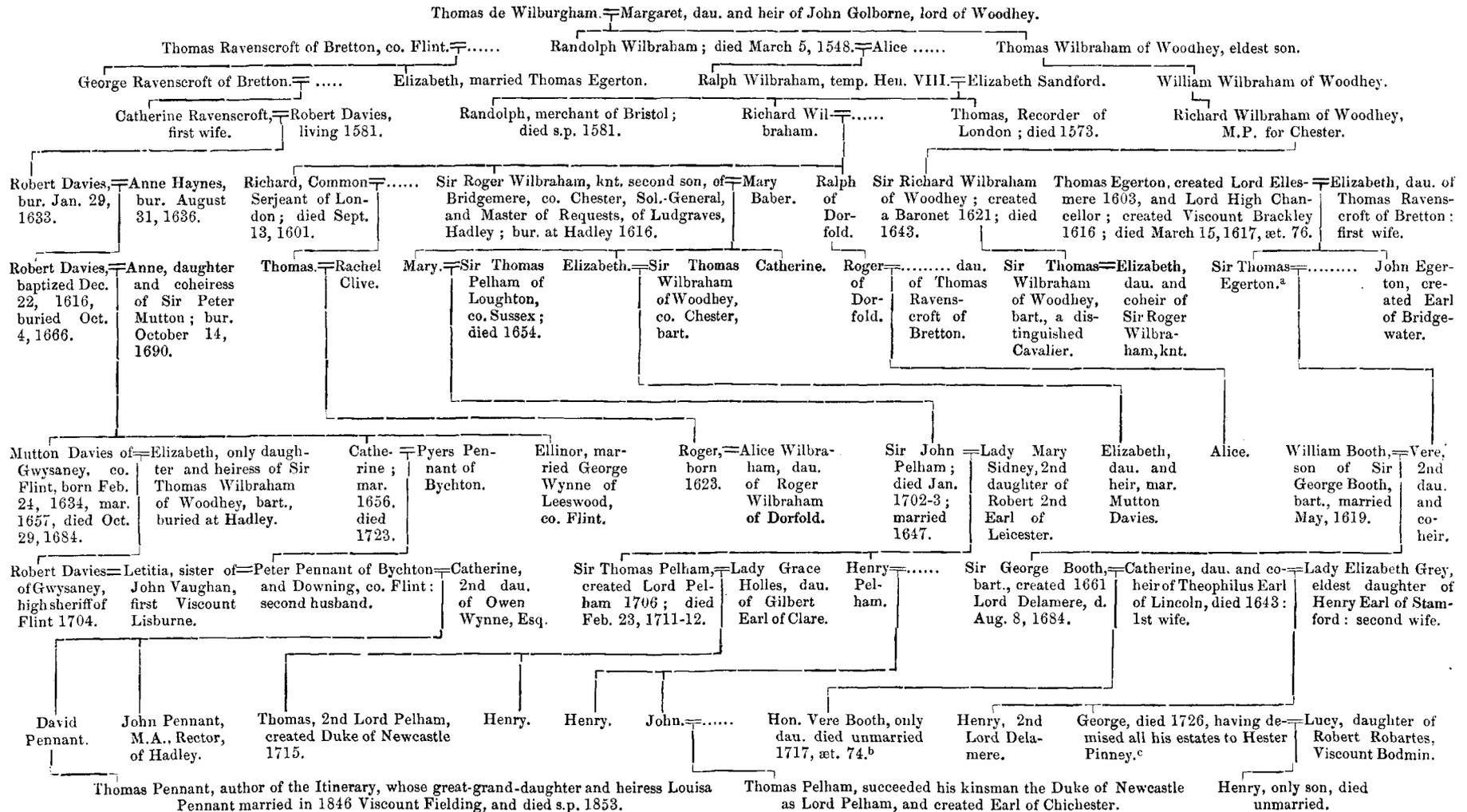
† In 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, among lands sold in Hertfordshire belonging to the Abbey of St. Alban's, there was an orchard and a pool in Wood Street, Barnet, in the occupation of John Marsh. John Marsh was one of the original governors of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School at Chipping Barnet.—Newcome's Hist. of St. Alban's, p. 449.

‡ Spec. Brit. p. 499.

§ Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, i. p. 238, &c.

PEDIGREE OF THE WILBRAHAM FAMILY, OF LUDGRAVES, HADLEY.

(Compiled chiefly from Burke's Landed Gentry.)



<sup>a</sup> Lodge says he died unmarried.

<sup>b</sup> Purchased manor of Monken Hadley in 1684 from the family of Hayes, and bequeathed it to her brother George. Lysons, Environs of London, Hadley.

<sup>c</sup> Lysons, Hadley, and see note on the patronage of the living, p. 4.

This is y<sup>e</sup> monument of Sir Roger Wilbraham, knt. descended of y<sup>e</sup> auncient familie of y<sup>e</sup> Wilbrahams of Woodhey in y<sup>e</sup> countye of Chester, who after he had served Queene Elizabeth as her Sollicitor Generall in Irelande y<sup>e</sup> space of xiiij yeares was in y<sup>e</sup> yeare 1600 sworne M<sup>r</sup> of Requestes to her Majestye in Ordinarie, and afterwards Surveyor of y<sup>e</sup> Liveryes to Kinge James in his Majesties Courte of Wardes and Liveries, and Chauncellor unto Queene Ann. He had to wife Marye y<sup>e</sup> daughter of Edward Baber, esquier, serjeant at lawe. He slept in Christ Jesus y<sup>e</sup> xxixth of Julie, in y<sup>e</sup> yeare of our Lord 1616, attendinge y<sup>e</sup> joyfull day of his resurrection.

Below the kneeling effigies of his three daughters it is recorded that "his welbeloved wife, by whom he had three daughters, Marye, Elizabeth, and Katherine, in memory of his vertues and testimonye of her love erected this monument."

There are three shields of arms.

At top :

Wilbraham. Arg. two bars az. on a canton sa. a wolf's head erased of the field.

CREST: A wolf's head eras. arg.

MOTTO: *Communis quo minus.*

On each side of busts :

1. Baber. Arg. on a fesse gu. three hawk's heads erased of the first.
2. Wilbraham impaling Baber.

Mary the eldest daughter and coheiress of Sir Roger Wilbraham, married Sir Thomas Pelham of Laughton (in com. Sussex) bart. and had issue.\*

The second daughter Elizabeth married her kinsman Sir Thomas Wilbraham of Woodhey in Cheshire, bart. distinguished as a cavalier, who died soon after the Restoration. Their only daughter, Elizabeth, who was buried here at her particular request, and whose memorial tablet hangs beside the east window, married Mutton Davies, a Flintshire gentleman, whose great-grandmother was Catherine Ravenscroft, daughter of George Ravenscroft of Bretton in that county, and of a family, who, during the 17th century, were large benefactors to Barnet church and town. The aforesaid Mutton Davies was also great-uncle to the Rev. John Pennant, for may years Rector of this parish, and chaplain to the Princess Dowager of Wales, mother of George III.

\* Harl. MSS. 6164, p. 45. From this marriage descended Thomas second Lord Pelham, created Duke of Newcastle 1715, and Thomas third Lord Pelham, created Earl of Chichester.

The succession of incumbents, as has been observed already, is somewhat difficult to trace, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the living. The list, as given in Newcourt's Repertorium, pub. in 1710, is as follows :

Bernard Carrier, cl. licentiat. 25 Aug. 1580.

Ely Turner, A.B., 2 April, 1619.

Will. Sclater, cl. 5 Jul. 1662.

——— Thompson, cl.

Will. Dillingham, cl. 1669.

Robert Tayler, A.M. licentiat. 29, Sep. 1697.

Of Bernard Carrier's appointment by Alderman Kympton, mention has been already made. In Ely Turner's own handwriting we find "Incipit Ely Tournor (Deo auspicante) decimo tertio die mensis Martii Anno Dni 1618." The Commissioners who took the survey in 1650 presented that Hadley was a donative in the patronage of — Aston, Esq., that the tithes were worth about 30*l.* per annum, a fifth of which was allowed to the two daughters of Elye Turner, from whom the benefice had been sequestered, and that, at that time, there was no incumbent. His name, however, occurs in the South Mym's Register as performing a baptism on June 16, 1653, and in the Hadley Register is the entry :

June y<sup>e</sup> 18 day was buried Mr. Elie Turnour, late minister and vicar of Hadley, in y<sup>e</sup> yeare 1654.

Of William Sclater's\* incumbency there seems to be no trace : but William Tompson's name occurs between 1663 and 1666. On July 2, 1672, was buried Mr. Samuel (not William) Dillingham, "rector and minister of God's word," having died June 30. He had been, probably, rector of St. Pancras, Soper Lane (appointed 10 June, 1662),† a church destroyed in the Great Fire of London and never rebuilt. Mr. Dillingham was succeeded by Robert Tayler, who was rector in 1673. There appear, however, to have been sundry

\* A Mr. William Sclater, M.A. of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was appointed master of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School at Barnet, March 19, 1654, in succession to Mr. Thomas Broughton, deceased. He resigned the office March 25, 1663. 17 Sept. 1666, Will. Sclater, A.M., was licensed to the curacy of St. James', Clerkenwell. His successor was licensed Dec. 5, 1691. Newcourt's Repertorium.

† Newcourt's Repertorium.

disagreements between him and his parishioners, and he would seem \* to have resigned the living in 1693, when Mr. Richard Lee was appointed. As Mr. Tayler was unquestionably rector at the beginning of the next century it is possible that the date in Newcourt has reference to his re-appointment. He was a prebendary of Lincoln and rector of East and Chipping Barnet.† He died Feb. 18, 1718, and was buried in the churchyard of East Barnet, behind the east window. Since his decease the rectors of Hadley have been :

Walter Morgan, M.A., Jesus College, Oxford, 1719.

John Pennant, ‡ M.A., Jesus College, Oxford, 1732, died Oct. 28, 1770, and was buried at Hadley.

John Burrows, § LL.B. Trinity College, Cambridge, Nov. 29, 1770, died July 1, 1786, and was buried at Hadley.

Charles Jeffryes Cottrell, || M.A., Sept. 1, 1786, died Jan. 25, 1819, and was buried at Hadley

Robert George Baker, ¶ M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Jan. 29, 1819, resigned the same year.

John Richard Thackeray, \*\* M.A., Pembroke College, Cambridge, June 29, 1819, died Aug. 19, 1846, and was buried at Hadley.

\* In an old minute book of the Hadley Vestry under date Feb. 6, 1693-4, occurs the following :

“Memorand. that at a full vestry this day held the Lady Mary Turnor did declare her consent that Mr. Richard Lee should be inducted in the room of Mr. Robert Tayler, who before had resigned the same, and, accordingly, the said Lady Turnor sent her servant for the key of the said parish church, which he tooke in the presence of the parishioners then present and caryed it to the Mansion House of the said Lady, and she gave it to the said Mr. Lee, who immediately tooke possession thereupon.

† Mr. Tayler was appointed Rector of East and Chipping Barnet July 13, 1681.

‡ Mr. Pennant was also Rector of Compton Martin, Somersetshire, and Chaplain to Princess Dowager of Wales. He was uncle of Thomas Pennant of Downing, the naturalist. “At a small distance stands Hadley Church, and pleasant village, on the edge of Enfield Chace, where, in my boyish age, I passed many happy days with my uncle the Rev. John Pennant; who, during forty years, was the worthy minister of the place.”—*Journey from Chester to London*, 1782, pp. 283-4-5.

§ Mr. Burrows was Rector of St. Clement Danes, and Christ Church, Southwark.

|| Mr. Cottrell was appointed Vicar of Harmondsworth 1772, and relinquished the same 1786. Woodburn Eccl. Top. Harmondsworth. He became Vicar of Sarret, Herts, 6 March, 1807.

¶ Mr. Baker was appointed Vicar of Fulham 1834, and resigned the same 1871.

\*\* Mr. Thackeray was likewise Rector of Downham Market, Norfolk.

George Proctor, D.D., Worcester College, Oxford, 1846, resigned June 7, 1860.

Frederick Charles Cass, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford, June 29, 1860.

In the year of the Great Plague of London, 1665, when the South Mymys Register, after an entry of seven burials in the usual form, adds, "besides above 100 more which died of the Plague in the same year," there is no marked increase of interments at Hadley. 26 burials are recorded, 13 of which occurred in the three months of September, October, and November. In 1664 and 1665, the years preceding and following, there are respectively 22 and 32 entries, the year of course terminating with March. Under date October the 2nd, 1666, we find "gathered for the poore inhabyttants of London, who had great losses by fyer, the sume of 02*l.* 05*s.* 11*d.* by Joseph Sharwood, churchwarden."

The population of Monken Hadley, according to the Census of 1871, amounted to 978. Males 433, females 545, being a decrease upon that of 1861, when the number were, males 441, females 612; making a total of 1,053. The number of houses at the earlier date was 204.

The date of the earliest register is 1619, when a book was given for the purpose by Thomas Emerson, or Emersom, esq., then lord of the manor, who became a great benefactor to the church in this same year. He died June 18, 1624.

The book contains the following entry in the handwriting of Mr. Ely Turner then rector :

Incipit Ely Tournor (Deo auspicante) decimo tertio die mensis Martii Anno doi 1618.

In the same handwriting there is likewise a list of the benefactions of Thomas Emersom, Esq.

This booke was the free gift of Thomas Emersom, Esq. sometimes L<sup>d</sup> of the Mannor of this parish of Hadly, and this booke was given in the yeare of o<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup> 1619.

Itē in the same yeare he gave to the use of the poore of this parish of Hadly the some of thirty pounds of lawfull english mony, the pitts thereof yearly to be given to the poore.

Itē in the same yeare at his owne pp coste he beawtified the Chancell and both the Isles, and the whole body of the Church with wancscott pews, and sieled the church with wancscott.

Itē in the same yeare he sieled the Chancell.

Itē in the same yeare he built the screene betwixt the Chancell and the Church.

Itē he built the pulpitt, and the cover for the font the same yeare, and all this at his owne pp coste.

Itē in the same yeare he gave the Clock and Clockhouse and sett it up at his own pp coste.

Itē in the same yeare the said Thomas Emerson gave three pieces of plate, that is to say one faire guilt spout pott, one Coūmunion Cupp with a Cover all guilt, one guilt plate for the bread at the Comunion, with a Cover to putt the said plate into.

Itē at the same time the said Thomas Emerson gave a faire greene Carpett with silke frindg for the Comunion table.

Itē he gave a faire damaske table Cloth for the Coūmunion table and also a damaske napkin.

Itē a faire greene velvet Coishon for the pulpitt, with a greene Cover.

Itē he gave a faire trunk to put these ornaments into.

Itē he gave the Comunion table.

The said Thomas Emerson, Esq. departed this mortall life the 18th day of June 1623, and lieth buried in the north Isle of this parish church of Hadly under the north window of the said Isle.

By the Register itself, however, it would appear that Mr. Emerson's death did not occur until the following year, 1624.

1624, June 20. Thomas Emerson armig. dominus huius manerii et donator huius libri, est sepultus.

All the other entries are in English, but to the lord of the manor Mr. Ely Turner concedes the distinction of Latin.

The three pieces of plate given by Mr. Emerson still bear the family arms upon them. Az. on a bend argent three torteaux.

It was the custom subsequently to deliver the church plate annually into the custody of the churchwardens for the time being, who took a receipt for the same from those who succeeded them in the office. Amongst the notices of this the following may be recorded.

Under date the 29th May 1667.

It is ordered and agreed by us whose names are underwriten parish<sup>rs</sup> of Monken Hadly that the parish plate, being one silver Ewer single guilt, one silver Chalice with a Cover single guilt, one other silver Chalice with a Cover, one Plate or Dish of silver single guilt, be del<sup>d</sup> to John Howland and Mr. Elston Wallis now Churchwardens of this parish.

There consequently belonged to the church at this period, besides the Emerson gifts, "one other silver chalice with a cover," and this

was doubtless the oldest piece of plate in our possession, which had probably been the property of Hadley Church for long previously.

On 24th of May, 1670 we have it recorded :

Received of the said John Howkins one of the late Churchwardens of the pish of Muncken Hadley in the county of Midds, the pish plate, beinge one silver Ewer single guilte, one silver Challice single guilte, with a Cover to it, one other silver Challice with a Cover, one plate or silver Dish silver guilte, one table Cloath for the Communion Table, one Napkin diaper, one Cushion for the pulpit, and a greene Carpett for the Communion table and one blacke whood. By me Will Dry now Church Warden.

On May the 5th, 1712, a receipt is given by John Deane, the incoming churchwarden, for precisely the same articles of plate, but a little later we find an addition :

I do hereby acknowledge to have received this 3rd day of May 1715 of Mr. Edward Chandler late Churchwarden one spout Pot, three Cups with covers, and one little Plate, being all that belongs to y<sup>e</sup> Church of Monken Hadley.

Witness my hand,

Sam<sup>l</sup> Hickes.

Between May 1712 and May 1715 the church received, therefore, a fresh gift of a cup and cover, and these, it would appear, were the donation of Mrs. Cecil Walker, widow of John Walker, Esq. daughter and eventual heiress of Sir Michael Heneage, knt.

This lady was the ancestress of the family of Walker-Heneage, now, according to Burke's Landed Gentry, of Compton Bassot, Wilts. The cup given by her would seem by the weights to have been the lesser of the two long-stemmed cups.

An inventory of the Communion Plate taken the 15th day of May, 1733, gives the following result :

|   | oz.             | dwt.        |
|---|-----------------|-------------|
| A Guilt Cup and Cover Mrs. Walker       | w <sup>to</sup> | 15 06       |
| A Guilt Flaggon . . . . .               | w <sup>to</sup> | 32 12       |
| Another Guilt Cup and Cover . . . . .   | w <sup>to</sup> | 20 13       |
| Another Cup and Cover, Silver . . . . . | w <sup>t</sup>  | 15 09       |
| Mr. Chandler's Plate . . . . .          | w <sup>to</sup> | 14 00       |
| Another Plate . . . . .                 | w <sup>to</sup> | 10 15       |
|   |                 | <hr/>       |
| The weight of all the Plate . . . . .   | .               | 108 15      |
|   |                 | <hr/> <hr/> |

A similar inventory, taken April 12th, 1737, has, in addition to the above :

A gilt Cup and Cover the gift of James Quilter, Esq. or Mrs. Quilter.

Mr. Edward Chandler, who was mentioned as churchwarden in 1714-5, consequently gave a silver alms plate between that year and 1733, whilst between 1733 and 1737, Mrs. Quilter gave a fourth cup and cover. These with a plain silver alms plate, exactly matching Mr. Chandler's, given by Mrs. Godley, mother of Dr. Proctor, the late rector, constitute the whole of the plate belonging to the church of Monken Hadley.

The Bells are four in number, and are thus inscribed :

1. (3 ft. 4 in. diameter.) ED. CHANDLER . RICH. HILL . C. W. WAYLETT MADE ME, 1714.
2. (2 ft. 10 in. diameter.) GOD BLESS QVEEN ANN. 1711. CHRIS. COOPER: ED. CHANDLER: CHVRCHWARDENS.
3. (2 ft. 7 in. diameter.) SCIANT OMNES ME FASAM AD OPVS ET VSVM VILLE DE HADLEY 1702.
4. (2 ft. 4 in. in diameter.) IAMES BARTLET MADE ME, 1681.

There is a fifth and much smaller bell without any inscription, which in size corresponds with the Saunce bell mentioned below. According to the following inventory it would seem that the bells in the time of Edward VI. were the same in number and nearly agree in dimensions with those we have now :

Public Records, Augmentation Office, Church Goods: Middx. 1 vol. Miscell. Book, No. 498.

Hundred de Ossulstone.

The certificate and presentment of the jury of all the goodes, playte, ornaentes, juelles, and belles belonging and app'teyning to the church of Hadley w<sup>th</sup>in the countie of Midd. as were conteyned w<sup>th</sup>in the inventory taken of the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> comysson<sup>ers</sup>, as also other goodes belonginge to the same churche at this present third day of August, in the sixth yere of the reigne of our soveraigne lord King Edward the VI<sup>th</sup>, by the grace of God Kinge of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendor of the faithe, and in earth of the churche of England and also of Irelande the supreme heade.

Hadley.

|   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| Imprimis a gilt crosse weying . . . . .   | xxx ounces q <sup>o</sup> |
| It'm, one gilt challys weying . . . . .   | xiii ounces               |
| It'm, iiij belles whereof the greate bell in foote wydnes in the mouth from the owtsyde of the skeartes . . . . . | iii foote iiij ynches     |
| It'm, the next bell unto the sayd greate bell broken in wydnes as is aforesayd . . . . .                          | ij foote xi ynches        |
| And in depth . . . . .  | ij foote ij ynches        |
| It'm, the greteste bell unto the sayd ij belles in widnes as is aforesayd . . . . .                               | ij foote vij ynches       |
| And in depth . . . . .  | ij foote                  |

- It'm, the least of the sayd belles in wydnes . . . . . ij foote iiij ynces  
 And in depth . . . . . i foote ix ynces  
 It'm, one saunce bell in wydnes . . . . . i foote iiij ynces  
 And in depth . . . . . x ynces  
 It'm, ii lytle hand bells.  
 It'm, one lytle sackering bell.  
 It'm one crosse of lattyn.\*  
 It'm, one pixe of lattyn.  
 It'm, coopes the one of whyte branched damaske a lytle imbroderyd w<sup>t</sup> golde, the  
 other of dornixe † old and sore worne.  
 It'm, one vestymnt of sylke dornixe blew and white w<sup>th</sup> a crosse of blewe velvet  
 inbrodered w<sup>th</sup> golde and an albe p'teyning to the same.  
 It'm, ij other vestymnt of satten of Bridges ‡ color blewe w<sup>th</sup> a redde crosse of the  
 same satten embrodered w<sup>th</sup> flower de luces w<sup>th</sup> golde, and two aubes ij  
 amyses one stole and ij phannelles app'teyning to the same.  
 It'm one other vestymnt color blacke of old saye crossed w<sup>th</sup> fustian an aps  
 color blewe w<sup>th</sup> an albe an amis stole phannell § app'teyning to the same.  
 It'm, one other vestyme't of olde whyte fustyan crossed w<sup>th</sup> blewe and embrodered  
 an albe an amis and one stole w<sup>th</sup> a phannell app'teyning to the same.  
 It'm, one other vestymnt of olde whyte fustyan crossed w<sup>th</sup> blewe and imbrodered,  
 and an aube an amis one stole a phannell app'teyning to the same.  
 It'm, ij other olde vestimentes the one color redde of saye crossed w<sup>th</sup> grene saye  
 thother color grene of dornixe crossed w<sup>th</sup> the same.  
 It'm, iiij olde vestimentes worne and torne of dornixe crossed with the same.  
 It'm, one croseclothe of sarcenet.  
 It'm, one dyshe of lattyn.  
 It'm, one basen and an ewer of latten.  
 It'm, ij cruettes of tynne.  
 It'm, one christmatorye of lattyn.  
 It'm, ij clothes hanging before thalther of satten of Bridges color white.  
 It'm, iiij alter clothes, whereof iiij is of lynen and thother of curse diep'.  
 It'm, ij diep' towells.  
 It'm, vj towells of lynen.

\* Lattyn (Latten, Fr. Leton), a finer kind of brass, of which a large proportion of the candlesticks, &c. used in parochial churches were made. These were mostly sold in the reign of Edw. VI. Pugin's Glossary, p. 152.

† Dornixe (Dornick), from Doornick, Fr. Tournay, in Flanders, a species of linen cloth, so called from the place where first made, as Diaper from Yperen (Ypres).

‡ Bridges. "Dukes' daughters then (temp. Edw. VI.) wore gownnes of satten of Bridges (Bruges) upon solemn dayes." Stowe, as quoted by Disraeli, Curiosities of Literature, i. p. 416.

§ Phannell (Fannel or Fanon), a maniple, a sort of scarf worn about the left arm of a mass priest. Fanon, when occurring in the English inventories, signifies a maniple. Pugin's Glossary, p. 120.

- It'm, one olde clothe that hangith before the high alter.  
 It'm, v olde paynted clothes that hangeth about the high alter and other alters  
 that were in the sayd church.  
 It'm, iij old stremers of sarcenet.  
 It'm, ij surplices for the prest and one for the clerke.  
 It'm, one hearse cloth of blacke say crossed with whyte.

COATS OF ARMS NOW EXISTING IN MONKEN HADLEY CHURCH AND NOT  
 MENTIONED ELSEWHERE IN THE PAPER.

*South Transept Window.*

- Proctor.* Or, three nails sa. impaling *Collier*, Sa. a cross pattée fitchée  
 arg.  
*Green.* Az. three stags trippant or.  
*Barnes.* Az. two lions pass. guard. arg.  
*Quilter.* Arg. a bend sa. betw. three Cornish choughs ppr.  
*Cotton.* Az. a chev. betw. three cotton hanks arg. in chief an annulet  
 of the last.  
*Cottrell.* Arg. a bend betw. three escallops sa.  
*Dart.* Gu. a fesse and canton erm.  
*Hopegood.* Az. a chev. erm. between three anchors arg.  
*Dickens.* Erm. on a cross flory a leopard's face or.

*South Transept.*

On a mural tablet :

JOSEPH HENRY GREEN, Esq. d. Dec. 13, 1863.

Az. three stags trippant or, impaling *Hammond*, Az. a lion ramp. arg. Crest :  
 A stag's head.

On a mural tablet :

SIR CULLING SMITH, d. Oct. 19, 1812.

Quarterly: 1st and 4th, Vert, three acorns slipped or; 2nd and 3rd, Arg. on a  
 chev. gu. betw. three bugles stringed sa. as many mullets of the field. Crest: a  
 falcon, wings endorsed ppr. belled or, in the beak an acorn slipped and leaved,  
 also ppr.

*South Aisle.*

On a brass :

FRANCES BURROWS, daughter of Rev. John Burrows, formerly Rector, who  
 d. May 11, 1860, aged 87.

Az. three fleurs-de-lis erm.

On a mural tablet:

SARAH, daughter of David PENNANT, Esq. of Downing.

Arg. on a fesse betw. two barrulets wavy az. three martlets of the field.

This coat, which seems to have existed in Lysons' time, is now  
 wholly obliterated.

*On West Wall of Nave.*

On a mural tablet :

ANN, wife of Richard WYNNE, Serjeant-at-law, and daughter of Henry Hitch, of Leathley, Yorks. d. Feb. 6, 1727-8, aged 51.

Or, three eagles displayed in fesse sa. for *Wynne*, impaling Or, a bend vairé betw. two cotises indented sa. for *Hitch*.

*On Floor of Nave.*

JOHN WALKER, Esq. Hereditary Usher of the Exchequer, d. March 1, 1703, aged 63.

Az. a chev. engr. erm. betw. three bezants, on each a trefoil slipped vert ; impaling *Heneage*, Or, a greyhound courant sa. betw. three leopard's heads az. and a bordure engr. gu. (in right of his wife Cecil, daughter of Sir Michael Heneage, Knt.) Crest : A demi-tiger per pale indented arg. and sa. holding a branch of roses or, slipped vert.

*In the Chancel.\**

On a mural tablet :

Rev. CHARLES JEFFRYES COTTRELL, Rector, d. Jan. 25, 1819.

Arg. a bend betw. three escallops sa. impaling *Smith*, Vert, three acorns slipped or. Crest : A talbot's head sa. collared and lined or, the collar charged with three escallops.

On a brass :

FREDERICK CASS, Esq. of Little Grove, East Barnet, Patron of Monken Hadley, d. May 17, 1861, aged 73. High Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1844-5.

Per chev. or. and erm. on a chev. sa. betw. two eagle's heads erased gu. in chief and a garb of the first in base, a harrow of the first betw. two fountains ; impaling *Potter*, Sa. a chev. erm. betw. three cinquefoils arg. Crest : An eagle's head erased gu. charged on the neck with a fountain, in the beak three ears of wheat or.

On a mural tablet :

ELIZABETH, wife of Mutton DAVIES, Esq. and daughter of Thomas Wilbraham, Esq.

Gu. on a bend arg. a lion pass. sa. impaling *Wilbraham*, Arg. three bends wavy az.

*In the North Transept.*

On a mural tablet :

JOHN BONUS CHILD, Esq. d. July 10, 1832. Lord of the Manor of Hadley.

Az. a fesse embattled erm. betw. three eagles close or. Crest : An eagle with wings expanded erm. holding in the beak a trefoil slipped vert.

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\* Before the restoration of the church there was a brass in the chancel to the memory of Mr. Richard Tufnell, with his arms. He was buried April 16, 1636. It is now concealed.

On a mural tablet :

THOMAS WINDUS, Esq. nephew of Peter Moore, Esq.

Quarterly: 1st and 4th ..... a fesse dancettée gu. in chief three crescents ..... ; 2nd and 3rd, *Moore*, ..... a chev. engr. betw. three moor-cocks sa. Crest: A winged griffin statant.

On a mural tablet:

RICHMOND WEBB MOORE, d. Oct. 14, 1796, aged 20, eldest son of Peter Moore, Esq. Lord of the Manor.

..... a chev. engr. betw. three moor-cocks sa. Crest: A moor's head.

In the window :

GEORGIANA COTTRELL, d. April 27, 1855, widow of Rev. Clement Cottrell, third son of Rev. Charles Jeffreyes Cottrell, and Rector of North Waltham, Hants. He died July 26, 1814, leaving issue.

Arg. a bend betw. three escallops sa. impaling *Adams*. Quarterly: 1st, Arg. a martlet sa.; 2nd, Arg. a chev. gu. betw. three cross-crosslets sa.; 3rd, Arg. a chev. betw. three martlets sa.; 4th, Arg. a chev. gu. betw. three towers sa. Crest: A talbot's head sa. collared and lined or, the collar charged with three escallops.

*In the North Aisle.*

On a mural tablet :

PIGGOT INCE, Esq. d. Nov. 5, 1765, aged 44.

Quarterly: 1st and 4th, Arg. three torteaux in bend betw. two cotises sa. 2nd and 3rd, ..... three bows unbent. On an escutcheon of pretence Quarterly for *Johnson* of Bedford, 1st, Arg. on a pile three ounce's heads erased of the first. 2nd, *Minsnull*, Az. a mullet issuant out of a crescent in base; 3rd, ..... a leopard's face jessant-de-lis; 4th, Barry of six ..... Crest: A rabbit sejant.

On a mural tablet:

JAMES BERKELEY, Esq. d. Jan. 6. 1767, aged 60.

..... A fesse betw. ten crosses pattée, six in chief and four in base, impaling *Ince*, Arg. three torteaux in bend betw. two cotises sa. Crest: A bear's head coupé ..... muzzled .....

On a mural tablet:

JAMES PIGGOTT INCE, Esq. d. Oct. 19, 1829, aged 79.

Arms of *Ince* impaling Az. a chev. erm. betw. three garbs.

#### MEMORIAL WINDOWS.

##### *East Window.*

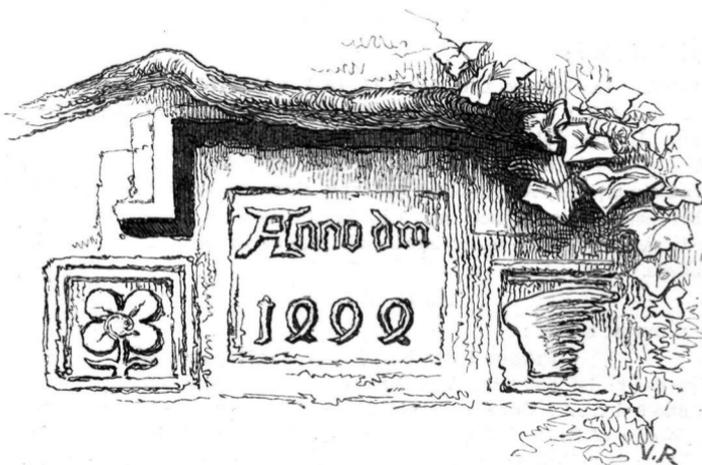
ELIZABETH FRANCES, wife of Joseph DART, Esq. d. Dec. 22, 1845, aged 58. Arms beneath, on a brass :

Gu. a fesse and canton erm. impaling *Fenton*, Arg. a cross betw. four fleurs-de-lis sa. Crest: On a wreath a fire ppr.

*In North Aisle.*

MARTHA, widow of Frederick CASS, Esq. of Little Grove, East Barnet, d. June 29, 1870, aged 75.

ELIZABETH, widow of Francis BARONNEAU, Esq. of New Lodge, d April 3, 1846, aged 78.



NOTES ON TWO MONUMENTAL BRASSES IN THE  
CHURCH OF SAINT ANDREW-UNDER-SHAFT,  
LEADENHALL STREET.

BY W. H. OVERALL, ESQ., LIBRARIAN TO THE CORPO-  
RATION OF LONDON.

---

NICHOLAS LEVESON.

The family of Leveson settled at Stafford in the thirteenth century, and we find Richard Leveson possessing an estate at Willenhall in the year 1298.\* William Leveson succeeded to this property in 1377, and it subsequently passed to Roger † who held it in 1397. From him it descended to Richard Leveson, esq. who married the heiress of Prestwood and Wolverhampton Underhill, and had three sons, John, who died without issue, Nicholas, the subject of this inquiry, and James. ‡

James Leveson became a Merchant of the Staple at Wolverhampton and Lilleshall. By his first wife he had a daughter, Mary, who became his heir and married Sir George Curzon of Croxhall; from this union descended the Duke of Dorset and the Earl of Thanet. By a second wife he had issue two daughters: Elizabeth, married to Sir Walter Aston, and Joyce, to Sir John Giffard, knt., of Chillington.

John possessed the manor of Norton, Staffordshire; he sold it, and it was subsequently purchased in 1552 by his kinsman John Leveson, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of ——— Fowke of Brewood, and their son sold it to Roger Fowke of the same place.

In the church of St. Mary, Wolverhampton, there is a monument erected to the memory of John Leveson, who died in 1575. The figure is in armour. In the chancel is a statue of brass placed there in honour of Admiral Richard Leveson, who served under Sir Francis Drake at the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588. In the same parish one Clement Lusun founded a hospital in 1394. Several members of the

\* Inquisit. post Mortem, vol. ii. p. 361.

† Vol. iii. p. 111.

‡ Erdeswicke's Staffordshire, p. 26.

family had the honour of serving their sovereign in the office of High Sheriff of the county: Sir Richard Leveson in 1556, John Leveson 1560-1, Thomas Leveson 1590-1, and Sir Edward in 1598.

Nicholas, the subject of this notice, came to London in early life to seek his fortune. He was bound apprentice to one William Browne,\* a member of the Mercers' Company, to which guild he was afterwards admitted by servitude. From his connection with this body it is probable that he traded abroad, for he became a merchant of the staple at Calais, and through his possessions a wealthy citizen. He married Dionysia Bodley, daughter of Thomas and Joan Bodley of Black Notley, Essex; her mother married a second time Thomas Bradbury, who became Lord Mayor of London in 1509.† The estates of Black Notley came to Dionysia on the death of her brother James. The issue of her marriage with Nicholas Leveson were eight sons and ten daughters, many of whom died young.

Their town residence was situate in Lime Street in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, then a fashionable part of the city. The mansion was, according to the description in Mr. Leveson's will, large, and had a garden attached. Their principal country house was situated at Horne Place,‡ Halling, in Kent. They also possessed property in Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Trentham Hall,§ Staffordshire, &c. He was chosen Sheriff of London on the 2nd September, 1534.¶ His three sons¶ Thomas, Nicholas, and William, became members of the Mercers' Company by patrimony. His son John married the daughter and heir of ———— Baron, but died without issue, and before his father. His daughter Dorothy married William Streete; Elizabeth, Sir William Hewet, knt.;\*\* and Mary, Edmund Calthorpe, esq. He

\* Records of the Mercers' Company.

† He was chosen Sheriff in 1498, Alderman of Aldersgate Ward 13 Dec. 1502, and Lord Mayor on 13 Oct. 1509. He died during his mayoralty.

‡ Horne Place, the ancient residence of Sir William Horn, Lord Mayor of London in 1447, who was knighted for his bravery on the field by Edward IV. his name being then *Littlesbury*; but, from his proficiency as a performer on the horn, the King called him *Horn*.

§ See Hasted's "Kent," 1797, vol. iii. p. 383.

¶ Corporation Records.

¶ His son William was admitted into the Mercers' Company by patrimony 1583; Thomas, the son of William, in 1614; James, his younger brother, in 1633. Record of Mercers' Company.

\*\* Sir William Hewet, knt. clothworker, Master of the Company 1543-4, elected Alderman of the ward of Vintry 16th Sept. 1550. He was committed to



BRASS OF NYCOLAS LEVESON, IN THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW-UNDER-SHAFT,  
LEADENHALL STREET.

died on the 20th August 1539, and was buried according to the directions contained in his will made the 7th day of November, 1536, viz.: "In the tomb made before the upper pillar of the north side of the church between the high altar and the altar of the north aisle."

By this instrument, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 13 October 1539, he bequeaths to the high altar of St. Andrew's for tithes forgotten vj s. viij d. To the brotherhood of our Lady and St. Anne, within the church of St. Andrew, vj s. viij d. He leaves for his funeral expenses 100*l.* "or more as shall be thought convenient by the discrecion of myn executors;" to his wife Denys her full parte and porcion to her belonging by the lawe and custome of the citie of London of all my said goods, catalles, and debts, and the thirde parte of the same he leaves equally to his children living and unmarried at the time of his decease; to his wife for a remembrance to pray for his soul "a hundred pounds sterling;" to his brother James Leveson 100*l.* and a ring of gold; in remembrance to his sister the wife of the said James "a lyke ring of gold of the value of xls." To the making and repairing the highways of the City of London he leaves 100 marks. For exhibitions at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge the sum of twenty pounds respectively. To the parish church of Halling to pray for his soul xls. To the parish church of "Cokston" to buy any ornament needed by the church xls. and to the parson Sir John Buttill a black gown, and in money xx s.; to Sir Thomas Snyder vicar of Halling, ten shillings; to his wife Denys two standing potts and six bowls with covers of parcel gilt "and six bowls with a cover cleane gilt which ware sometye her mother's;" to his daughter Gresell a gilt cup of the price of vj l. xiiij s. iiij d. with his arms to be "sett upon the same cup for a token of remembrance, and the same cup to be bought by his executors." To his daughter Jane Davenell he also

Newgate for refusing to take the office, but subsequently accepted it. He was chosen Sheriff in 1552, translated to the ward of Candlewick in July 1555, elected Lord Mayor 29th Sept. 1559, and then honoured by knighthood. He was a wealthy and prosperous merchant, and dwelt on the east side of old London Bridge. See "Chronicles of Old London Bridge," by Rich. Thompson, 1827, pp. 303-4, with the interesting story of the saving of Anne, only daughter of Sir William Hewet, who fell into the river and was rescued by his apprentice, Edward Osborn, afterwards Alderman for Baynard's Castle Ward 1573, Sheriff 1575, removed to Candlewick Ward, July 10, 1576, Lord Mayor 1583-4, knighted and Member of Parliament for the City of London in 1586; ancestor of the Duke of Leeds in a direct line.

bequeaths a like silver cup. He next proceeds to the disposal of his lands and tenements, leaving to his son John Leveson the property in Stafford, inherited from his father Richard, possessions in the parishes of Eastham and Westham in Essex, also in Middlesex, Huntingdon, and Hartford, "and one parcell lying in the pishe of Chetehm (Chatham) in the countie of Kent," all to be held in trust by his executors until coming of age of his son John.

To his wife the dwelling house and garden in Lime Street, in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, his property in Halling, Coxton, Byrling, Snodland, Luddesdonne, Gillingham, in the countie of Kent, and Westthorok, Essex, for her use until such time as his sons Thomas \* and Nicholas arrive at full age; then, each to receive a moiety of the said possessions for their own benefit and that of their heirs lawfully begotten; in default of issue, the daughters Grysell, Johane, Alice, Mary, and Denys to receive the same, their heirs and assigns for ever. The will then concludes with a provision that at the decease of his wife Denys the house in Lime Street should descend to their son John Leveson.

His wife Denys or Dionysia survived him for some years, and continued to take great interest in the poor of the parish of St. Andrew. In the account of the sale of the church vestments and furniture in the reign of King Edward VI. she is mentioned as a purchaser:

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| Item, solde to Mysteris Leveson two aluter frutes of Dornyke, and res. (received) therefore . . . . .                   | v s. viij d.  |
| Item, solde to the saide Mysteris Leveson an aluter clothe frunte of white Brydges satten, and res. therefore . . . . . | ix s.         |
| Item, solde to the foresaid Mysteris Leveson a suder to bere the crysmatory, and res. therefore . . . . .               | ij s. viij d. |
| Item, solde to the saide Mysteris Leveson a clothe to hang at the high aluter, and res. therefore . . . . .             | vj s. viij d. |
| Item, solde to the saide Mysteris Leveson one other clothe for the same purpose, and res. therefore . . . . .           | vj s. viij d. |
| Item, solde to the forsaide Mysteris Leveson ij ffrutes of Dornix, and res. therefore . . . . .                         | v s. viij d.  |

She was possessed of the manor of Black Notley and of 10 messuages, † 400 acres of arable land, 100 acres of meadow, and 500 acres of pasture land, 200 acres of wood, and a rental of 10*l.* in the parish;

\* From whom has descended the present Duke of Sutherland.

† Morant's History of Essex, vol. ii. p. 124.

also White Notley and other messuages comprising large possessions in land: Great and Little Leighs, Fayested, holden from the Queen; also the manor of Pleshil, parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, in free socage, value 140*l.* per annum. Thomas her second son became her heir, and died possessed of this manor 21 April, 1576. She died the 2nd December, 1560, and in accordance with her will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 20th of the same month, was buried in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, in the middle aisle, and at the end of the pew which she had been accustomed to use. She directed that her body should not be "seared," "but inclosed after a convenient manner within a coffin of boordes," and that she should be borne to the church by four of her tenants. The funeral is thus graphically described in Machyn's Diary, page 245:

The ix day of Desember was bered in Sant Andrews Undershaft Mistores Lusun, wedow, the wyff of Master Lusun, merser and stapoler, and late Shreyff of London, with a lx men in blake gownes, and her plase and the chyrche hangyd with blake and armes, and a xxiiij clarkes syngyng; and she gayff xl gownes to men and women of brodcloth, and every woman had new raylles, and ther was a sermon and a iiij dosen of skochyons of armes, and after a gret dole, and after a grett dener.

Sir William Hewitt, knight, Edward Leveson, and John Southcote,\* were the executors to her will, which bears date 1 August, 1560. It is of great length and contains some curious particulars. Her executors were, within two days after her burial, to invite all the parishioners of St. Andrew Undershaft to the dwelling-house in Lime Street, and

\* The eldest son of William, a younger son of Nicholas Southcote of Chudleigh, Devonshire. He was born in the year 1511, and, being designed for the Bar, was sent to the Middle Temple, of which Society he rose to be Reader in 1556, and was again complimented with the same duty in 1559, on the occasion of his being called upon to take the degree of the coif, which he assumed on April 19 in that year. Previously to this, however, he is mentioned in Plowden as under-sheriff, and one of the judges in the Sheriffs' Court in London in 1553, and his arguments, after he became serjeant, are reported both by that author and Dyer. On the resignation of William Rastall, Southcote was nominated to fill his place as a judge of the Queen's Bench on Feb. 10, 1563. He performed his judicial duties with high reputation for the space of twenty-one years, when he retired, and his place was supplied by Baron Clench on May 29, 1584. Within a year afterwards, on 18 April, 1585, he died, at the age of seventy-four, and was buried under a stately monument in the parish church of Witham in Essex, in which county he had purchased the manors of Bacrus or Abbots and Petworths. See Foss's "Judges of England," vol. v. p. 541.

“there make to them a convenient dynner.” This is probably the banquet referred to by Machyn. To “poor scholars” in the University of Cambridge, where her sons received their education, she bequeathed  $vj^{\text{ij}}$   $xij^{\text{s}}$   $iiij^{\text{d}}$ , and a similar sum to the students at Oxford, both amounts to be distributed within a year after her decease, according to the discretion of her executors. To the reparation and amending of “the highe wayes at Islington and here aboute London” the sum of  $xx^{\text{li}}$ ; to the discharging of poore prysoners whiche shall then remaine in Newgate and in the two counters in London only for their fees  $vj^{\text{ij}}$   $xij^{\text{s}}$   $iiij^{\text{d}}$ ; to the poor people of St. Bartholomew’s Spittle a similar amount, to be paid over “to the Governors of the same house;” to the poor in the parishes of Halling and Coxton in Kent, twenty shillings for each parish; to certain “wyves dwellinge in Cokeston,” whose names are given, “each an ell of lynnen clothe price  $iiij^{\text{s}}$   $iiij^{\text{d}}$  the ell to make everie of them a kerchief;” next a provision that all her servants shall be retained in London for one month after her decease, at her cost and charge, or until they are enabled to provide for themselves; to her executors and their wives and numerous members of her own family she leaves a black gounne of cloth, the price of which to be “ $xvij^{\text{s}}$  the yearde or there about,” and to her household servants a similar gown but of  $ix^{\text{s}}$  price the yard; “and two cote clothes of the same clothe, the one to Thomas Shepparde and the other to John Alday,” and a small sum of money to pray for her soul; to John Fallowfelde her apprentice  $xx^{\text{li}}$  to be employed for his benefit, and to her cousin Anne Butler the sum of  $x^{\text{li}}$  to be paid on her marriage day; to Thomas Hewet, clothworker, Edward Osburne, and Lewes the taylor dwelling within Aldersgate, “each a gowne clothe;” she bequeaths to “Dionys the girle of my kitchin  $x^{\text{li}}$  to be paid to her the daye of her marriage yf she keepe herself honeste and true;” to a number “of lovinge frends hereafter written” she leaves a ring of gold to each, which are to be made “lyke flate hoopes,” and in each is to be engraved “See ye forget not me;” similar rings are left to all her sons and daughters; to her god-daughter Ann Hewet a legacy of “one hundred marks” on her marriage day; to one of her servants, Walter Dawnks,  $x^{\text{li}}$  and a cloth cote with a release of “five pounds that he oweth me by byll.”

All her household stuff and brewing vessels at Halling in Kent, &c. with some exception, she leaves to Thomas Leveson her son; the

silver plate given her by her mother Dame Joan Bradbury is bequeathed to Alice Hewet, also a silver cup gilt, with "xiiij perles and wrought with flowers uppon hit, and my chaine of golde with wreathes." She leaves to her daughter Mary Calthorpp all the furniture in the "tower chamber" of the howse in Lime Street, with that of her own room in the same mansion, and to her son Thomas the hanging curtains, "seelinge and portalls" in the parlour and hall, also four tables, and the fittings of the "greate chamber where the chappell ys," and those "in the chamber called Mrs. Roper's Chamber." To the Company of Mercers is a bequest to give them a breakfast or other banquet, and to each of her executors for their trouble twenty pounds of "currante monney," followed by a warning to her children that should they attempt to break through the provisions of either their father's will or her own testament, the saide "same child so offending shall take no legacie, benefit, or proffit."

The testatrix then proceeds to the disposition of her property in lands and tenements: that situate at Stampfeeld (Stamford) Hill in the parish of Tottenham is ordered to be sold and the proceeds devoted to the carrying out of the provisions in her will. The property at West Court, Gillingham, Chatham, and "Horsenden in the countie of Kent," she leaves to her son William Leveson and his heirs; also the house in Lime Street, occupied by one Henry Edys, with all its appurtenances, provided that the said William suffer her daughter Mary Calthropp either to reside there if inclined, free of all rent or charge, or to receive such yearly revenue as the premises may produce for her life-time only. With kind consideration for Henry Edys she directs that "he shall not be put oute of y<sup>e</sup> saide tenemente under one yeres warninge." To her grandson Thomas Leveson she bequeaths household property at Limehouse in Middlesex, and concludes by leaving to her own son Thomas "all the cite of the late Chappell of Saint Lawrence in Hallinge in the countie of Kent," and a large quantity of other property in Halling and Snodland adjoining.

The brass, which represents Nicholas and Dionysia Leveson surrounded by a numerous family, was repaired in 1764. It is stated that there was a figure above symbolical of the Almighty. The shield on the left illustrates the arms of Leveson, viz. A canting coat—Gules, a fess nebulé argent between three leaves slipped or. It is quartered with those of Prestwood: Argent, a chevron gules between three cinquefoils vert. On the left of his wife are her family arms, viz.

those of Bodley: Argent, five martlets\* in saltire sable, on a chief azure three ducal crowns or.† Over the figures are both arms impaled.

### SIMON BURTON.

Simon Burton, Citizen and Waxchandler. He resided in Leadenhall Street, where he carried on his business. His melting houses were situated in Woolsack Alley, Houndsditch, and the inscription on his monument indicates the importance of the position which he enjoyed among his fellow-citizens. He was three times Master of the Company of Waxchandlers, served as member of the Court of Common Council for the Ward of Lime Street for the term of twenty-nine years, and was one of the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital. In the earliest record of the Company which has been preserved, viz. A Book of Accounts extending from 1529 to 1601, he is first mentioned as paying quarterage in 1531, and was at this time evidently following his trade as waxchandler, for in the same record (to which access has been kindly granted by Mr. Gregory, clerk to the Company,) there appears the following entries in connection with two of his apprentices:

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1531, 1533. Res. of Symon Burton for dressing of a torche with parchment . . . . . | xij d.      |
| Res. of hym for amyttng of his prentis, Thomas Rokely . . . . .                    | ij s. vj d. |
| Res. of hym for amyttng of his prentis . . . . .                                   | ij s. vj d. |

Under date 1554, we read:

Mr. Kendall, Master; Mr. Foorde and Simon Burton, Wardens.

1558. Walter Meers, Master Symon Burton, and Harry Blower, Wardens.

And in 1564 there occurs the entry of another receipt from him of ij s. vj d. for binding an apprentice. The record from which these extracts are made is in a very dilapidated condition, but two entries are preserved which mention him as serving the office of Master of

\* Martlets in Heraldry should be represented without beaks or feet. In the illustration they are erroneously seen with both. They are, however, thus engraved on the original brass.

† The arms represented in the illustration are those used by Sir Thomas Bodley, Founder of the New Library, Oxford. Branches of the family of Bodley also bear Argent, five martlets, 2, 2, and 1, sable, a chief azure. Another, Gules five martlets argent, on a chief indented or three crowns azure. The arms of Underhill are, A chevron sable between three trefoils slipped vert, and do not appear on the brass.



NEERE TO HIS PLACE LYETH BVRIED THE BODY  
 OF SIMON BVRTON, CITIZEN AND WAXCHÄDLER  
 OF LONDON, A GOOD BENIFACTOR TO Y POORE  
 OF THIS PARISHE; WHO WAS 3 Tymes MASTER OF  
 HIS COMPANY; AND ONE OF THE GOVERNORS  
 OF S<sup>t</sup> THOMAS HOSPITALL. AND OF THE COMON  
 COVNSSELL OF THIS WARD XXIX YERES, HE HAD  
 2 WYVES, ELIZABETH AND ANN, AND HAD ISSVE  
 BY ELIZABETH, I SONN AND III DAUGHTERS; HE  
 DECEASED Y 23 OF MAY 1593. BEING OF Y AGE  
 OF 85 YERES. IN WHOSE REMEBRANCE HIS LOVEING  
 DAVGHER ALYCE COLDOCK ERECTED HIS MONVMENT

BRASS OF SIMON BURTON IN THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW-UNDER-SHAFT,  
 LEADENHALL STREET.

the Company, viz. 1572: "Simon Burton, Master; John Cressey and Jeram Burton, Wardens." Also 1585: "Symon Burton, Master; Richard Sharpe and James Skelton, Wardens."

At the sale of the vestments, &c. for the reparation of the church, 6 Edw. VI. he appears as a purchaser:

Item, solde to Symonde Burton the olde wax iiij<sup>xx</sup> xij<sup>ij</sup> at v d. li.  
and res. therefore . . . . . xxxviij s. iiij d.

He had two wives, Elizabeth and Ann, both of whom are represented in the brass, as are also his children, viz. one son and three daughters by his wife Elizabeth; two daughters alone survived him. He died the 23rd May, 1593, at the good old age of 85 years, and was buried in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft. His will, dated the 17 May in the same year, was proved in the following March by Francis Caldocke, executor, and contains some curious particulars. After the usual formula and provision for his lawful debts, he directs that all his goods, chattels, plate, money, and household stuff should be divided into two equal parts, one to be given to his daughters, Alice, wife of Francis Caldocke, citizen and stationer, and Dennis Thompson, widow, in equal shares; the other part he reserves for various bequests. To a preacher for a sermon at his burial, ten shillings; to twelve poor men to attend his corpse, a like number of black gowns; to the Company of Waxchandlers, forty shillings; to both the Livery and Yeomanry of the Company of Tallowchandlers, ten shillings each; to the poor in St. Thomas's Hospital, three pounds; "to the poore children harbored in Christes Hospital in London, fowertye shillings;" to his brother, Jerom Burton, a goblet of silver parcel guilte to match one he had previously given him, and to the said Jerom all the melting houses and tenements in Woolsack Alley, Honndsditch, held from the Company of Cutlers; to the poor of St. Andrew's Eastcheap, St. Andrew Undershaft, and St. Leonard's Shoreditch, he leaves various sums; to Joane Ponsenbye, daughter of Alice Caldocke, six pounds and his "hoop-ring of gold;" to Mr. Johnson,\* Parson of St. Andrew Undershaft, ten

\* John Johnson matriculated as a pensioner of Queen's College, Cambridge 2 May, 1544, obtained his degree of B.A. 1552-3, elected Fellow of Jesus College 1554, became Master of Arts 1556, and Bachelor of Divinity 1562. His name appears among the subscribers against the new statutes of the University May 1575. He vacated his fellowship in 1586, was collated to the rectory of St. Andrew Undershaft 8 Sept. 1565, and was there buried 13 March, 1596-7.—Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. ii. p. 241.

shillings ; to his daughter Dennis the lease of the house in which she lived, and the residue of this portion of his property to his cousin Simon Waterson, out of which the said Simon is to bestow on the poor of St. Katharine Cree Church and St. Katharine Coleman the sum of twenty shillings each for the space of five years. His property at Haggerston, viz. three acres and a half, he bequeathed to the Governors of the Royal Hospitals for the support of St. Thomas's Hospital, after certain deductions as bequests to the poor parishioners before mentioned. To his sole executor and son-in-law, Francis Caldock, he leaves ten pounds for his trouble, and concludes by appointing Simon Waterson and one Thomas Newman, scrivener, overseers to the said will

The illustrations to this paper have been kindly presented to the Society by Mr. Charles Golding.

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## ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CORNHILL.

BY THE REV. RICHARD WHITTINGTON, M.A. RECTOR.

The foundation of this church is attributed to Lucius, the first Christian king of Britain, who is said to have lived in the latter half of the second century of the Christian era. It claimed even a higher rank than a parochial church, and to have been not only the first Christian church founded in London, but the metropolitan church when London was the seat of an archbishop. This great antiquity is supported principally by an inscription on a brass plate, of which we read in Holinshed's Chronicles of Great Britain, 1574.

Howbeit by the Tables hanging in the revestrie of Saint Paules at London, and also a table sometime hanging in St. Peter's church in Cornhill, it should seem that the said church of Saint Peter in Cornhill was the same that Lucius builded.

Weaver, in "Funeral Monuments," 1631, p. 413, sets out the original (destroyed in the Fire of 1666) in the old style of spelling :

Be hit known to all Men, that the Yeerys of our Lord God, An. clxxxix, Lucius, the fyrst Christen King of this Lond, then callyd Brytayne, foundyd the fyrst Chyrch in London, that is to sey, the Chyrch of Sent Peter apon Cornhyl ; and he foundyd then an Archbishop's See, and made that Chirch the Metropolitan and cheef Chirch of this Kindom, and so enduryd the space of cccc yeerys and more, unto the Commyng of Sent Austen, an Apostyl of Englund, the whych was sent into the Lond by Sent Gregory, the Doctor of the Chirch, in the tyme of King Ethelbert, and then was the Archbyshoppys See and Pol removyd from the aforescyd Chirch of Sent Peter's apon Cornhyl unto Derebernaum, that now ys callyd Canterbury, and ther y<sup>t</sup> remeynyth to this Dey.

And Millet Monk, whych came into this Lond wyth Sent Austen, was made the fyrst Bishop of London, and hys See was made in Powllys Chyrch. And this Lucius, Kyng, was the fyrst Foundyr of Peter's Chyrch apon Cornhyl ; and he regnyd King in thys Ilond after Brut mcccxlvi yeerys. And the yeerys of our Lord God a cxxiv Lucius was crownyd Kyng, and the yeerys of hys Reygne lxxvii yeerys, and he was beryd aftyr sum Cronekil at London, and aftyr sum Cronekil he was beryd at Glowcester, at that Place wher the Ordrys of Sent Francys standyth.

The exact year in which the original was set up is unknown. Strype says it is supposed to be of the date of Edward IV., and that the plate which is now preserved in the vestry of the church over the mantel-piece is "the old one revived."

To assist in carrying out these repairs, an appeal was made to the principal Companies, as appears by the following entry :

1633, September 3. *The parish having already petitioned the Mercers, Grocers, and Merchant Taylors for assistance towards the repairs, petitions are ordered to the remainder of the 12 Companies.*

The information derived from these parochial books respecting the Church before 1666 is but slight, and from other sources we gain little in addition. All that Stowe writes about the Church is evidently taken from these books. A view of the church is given by Cornelius Visscher in his plan of London, 1618, and a more accurate representation appears by Hollar, in his view of London, published in 1647. The tower is shown square and of two stories, surmounted by battlements, within which was a pointed dome or cupola raised upon clustered columns and crowned by a vane. At the south-west corner of the church, in St. Peter's Alley, Hollar places a round tower embattled. The chancel of the old church extended 10 feet further eastward than at present, and occupied a portion of what is now Gracechurch Street.

Many of the features of the old church are illustrated by the proceedings in vestry after the Great Fire of 1666. In 1667, October 21st, it is "ordered that the ground where upon the round tower of the late church of this parish lately stood, adjoining or lying near to the ground of Mr. Richard Blackburn, shall be granted to the said Richard Blackburn to build upon according to the Act." And 1671, January 31st, it was agreed that "A lease of 999 years, at the yearly rent of £4, shall be granted to Mr. Blackburn and his assigns of the round tower or staircase."

Also in the vestry minutes, 2nd March, 1674, is the following entry. "The Rector and Churchwardens having received £150 of the Chamber of London for melioration money, due from the City, for ground taken away from the east end of St. Peter's church and laid into Gracious Street," &c. This alteration will be seen by reference to Ogilby's plan of London taken in 1677.

The Great Fire of September 1666 consumed all that was inflammable in this church. The walls of the church, and all the upper part of the tower, were afterwards taken down. The foundations may have been used for the present building, but the only part now above ground of the old church is the lower story of the tower.

An interesting record of the steps taken by the parish for rebuild-

ing the church is preserved in the vestry minutes; indeed, they are so full that comment is scarcely needed.

27th December, 1667. At a meeting of the vestry, held at the Nagg's Head tavern, Leadenhall Street, the following resolution was passed—"Ordered, that the foundations of the parish church of this parish shall be forthwith clered of the rubbish in reference to the preparing of the said church for new building, and that a surveyor may be inquired after and procured to survey the same, and give a modell for the building thereof, together with an estimate of what the charge thereof will amount unto."

7th April, 1668. "Ordered, that if any person having leave to erect their buildings against the church or steeple walls do desire to erect their chimneys against said walls, that the chimneys and shafts shalbe set not exceeding nine inches in s<sup>d</sup> wall, provided they shall contract the shafts thereof into the butterice or peere, after such manner as shalbe directed by Mr. Jermyn the surveyor, &c., and so as same shall not deface the frontispiece of the church."

"Ordered, that Mr. Jermyn have £4 given him for drawing several drafts and platts (plans) for rebuilding of the parish church. Also, that all the rag stones arising out of the church and steeple shalbe forthwith sold, and the money gotten for the same applied towards providing of brick and other materialls for the rebuilding of the said church."

9th April, 1668. "Resolved, that Mr. Jermyn continue to be surveyor for rebuilding the church, but subject to the directions of the churchwardens. Mr. Fowler to have allowance for the annoyance he receives by rebuilding the church, as also Mr. Ingoll. Resolved, that the churchwardens have power to take downe the east wall of the church, and to erect a new one, and that such new wall be 30<sup>th</sup> feet in height at least, or as high as the surveyor judge necessary."

19th April, 1668. "Resolved, that Mr. Jermyn be continued the church surveyor as before determined."

2nd February, 1669. "Agreed, that Mr. John Oliver be appointed surveyor instead of Mr. Jermyn deceased."

15th April, 1669. "Resolved, that Mr. John Oliver be continued surveyor, and that he have for his care and pains, and to encourage him therein," &c.

7th April, 1670. "Ordered, that the churchwardens consult with workmen for the coping or otherwise securing the east wall of the church lately new built, that it may sustain no further prejudice, and likewise the north wall of the church lately built by Messrs. Price, Blackburn, Ricraft, and Purchas."

20th September, 1670. "That information be given to Dr. Wren of an encroachment upon the church yard," &c.

31st of December, 1672. At a vestry held in the chappel in Leadenhall—"Ordered, that the churchwardens do present Dr. Wren with 5 guineas as a gratuite for his paines and furtherance of a tabernacle for this parish." And in 1673, we find by another minute £10 more voted to Dr. Wren.

April 8th, 1675. "Ordered, that Mr. Beveridge\* and the churchwardens, &c.,

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\* Afterwards the eminent and pious Bishop of St. Asaph. He was appointed Rector of this parish by the Corporation of London in 1672, before the church was

do treat and discourse with Sir Christopher Wren, and his surveyor, as to the receiving his proposals in order to the rebuilding of our parish church."

1680, September 7th. In the vestry minutes we find the contract for all the wood-work in the church. It includes the screen which divides the chancel from the body of the church, and the pulpit with its canopy, stairs, and rail, which were to be completed for £30. Special mention is made of the royal arms—"and they the contractors shall make and set up the King's arms above the screen, raised fair and to appear on both sides, according to the best art and skill of the trade or mystery of a carver, which shall be done according to model for £8."

From these entries in the vestry books we learn, that, although two surveyors were employed at an early period of the preparations for rebuilding the church, and a model was ordered of the same, still but little if any progress was made in the works before the employment of Sir Christopher Wren as surveyor or architect of the new church in 1670. We may therefore consider that the present church is mainly his work. The fine oak screen was designed by Sir Christopher Wren's daughter and carved by Thomas Poultney and Thomas Athew. "It was to be 13 feet high from the pavement, and made according to model." The vestry minutes inform us that the church was completed in 1682 and opened November 27th, when Bishop Beveridge, then Rector of this parish, delivered his famous sermon on the excellence and usefulness of the Common Prayer. The church, he said, had lain waste for above five times three years, but is now rebuilt and fitted again for service. He also alludes to the great screen; and, speaking of the chancel, he says that it "was always made and represented the highest place in the church," and therefore, he adds, "it was wont to be separated from the rest of the church by a screen or partition of network, in Latin *cancelli*, and that so generally that from thence the place itself is called the chancel." After having said that this was generally to be found in all considerable churches of old, he adds, "I mention it only because some perhaps may wonder why this screen should be observed in our church rather than in all the other churches which have lately been built in this city, whereas they should rather wonder why it was not observed in all other as well as this." He further proceeds to say that the chancel in all Christian churches was always looked upon as answer-rebuilt. He died 5th March, 1708, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral. His arms (date 1704), with those of his immediate successor in the rectory, Dr. Waugh, Bishop of Chichester (who was buried in the chancel), are in the east window.

able to the Holy of Holies in the Temple, and that all the seats should look towards the chancel.

The interior of the church is divided into a chancel, nave, and two aisles. The spacious vestibule is entered either from Cornhill or St. Peter's Alley. The entrances to the tower, organ gallery, and vestry are in this vestibule. The roof of the church is arched and springs from an attic story above the cornice, which is supported on eight square piers fronted with pilasters of the Corinthian order. The length of the church within the walls is 80 feet, the breadth 47 feet, and the height 40 feet, being nearly a double cube. The height of the steeple is 140 feet, and is terminated by a key, the emblem of St. Peter.

The south side of the church and the tower are built with red brick, but in some portions of the body stone saved from the old church or neighbouring buildings is used. The building cost £5,647 8s. 2d., which was paid out of the coal-duties and subscriptions.

The communion plate is not particularly handsome, but undoubtedly old and massive. The two cups and patens are of silver-gilt, the gift of one Thomas Symonds whose arms are engraved upon them, bearing the date 1625, therefore before the Fire. The flagons of silver were the gift of one Thomas Webster, grocer and alderman of London. These also bear the date of 1625 and the arms of the donor. The alms-dish, with the royal arms of Charles II. dated 1682, seems to have been provided by the parish at the opening of the church after the Fire.

The very fine organ was built by Bernard Schmidt, better known as Father Smith, a German, in 1681. He was appointed organ-builder to Charles II. in 1671, and apartments were allotted to him at Whitehall. In 1644 organs were banished from churches, but at the Restoration organ-builders were invited from abroad to furnish churches with new instruments. Amongst them was Father Smith. He erected an organ in Westminster Abbey and a pair for St. Margaret's, Westminster, where he was elected organist in 1672.

From the Vestry Minute Book it appears that this organ cost £210.

The organ was remodelled by Messrs. Hill under the inspection of Dr. Gauntlett, at a cost to the parish of about £1,000. It has forty-five stops and a particularly full and fine swell. Several of the old and most beautiful stops that were in the former organ have been retained. Mendelssohn, only a short time before his death, played

upon it, and on one occasion extemporised, to the great delight of the congregation, upon the melody of Haydn's Hymn to the Emperor. He had a very high opinion of this instrument, and of all the organs which had come under his notice he considered it second only to the large one erected by Messrs. Hill at Birmingham. He presented his autograph to our talented organist, Miss Mounsey (who has to-day displayed her perfect mastery over this grand instrument), which is preserved in the vestry.

The font does not require any particular notice, but its cover is interesting as being perhaps the only portion of the furniture preserved from the Great Fire; and even this has not escaped unmarked by the destroying element.

The earliest chantry established in the church was that of Roger Fitz-Roger in 1284.

From the "Valor Ecclesiasticus," compiled by order of Parliament in 1534-35, 26th of Henry VIII., we learn the following values:—

|   | £  | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| The Emolument of the Rectory - - - - -              | 39 | 5  | 8  |
| A Chantry founded by William Kingston - - - - -     | 7  | 0  | 0  |
| Tenths therefrom - - - - -                          | 0  | 14 | 0  |
| Another Chantry - - - - -                           | 7  | 0  | 0  |
| Tenths therefrom - - - - -                          | 0  | 14 | 0  |
| A Chantry founded by John Hoxton - - - - -          | 6  | 13 | 4  |
| Tenths therefrom - - - - -                          | 0  | 13 | 4  |
| A Chantry founded by Thomas White - - - - -         | 7  | 10 | 0  |
| Tenths therefrom - - - - -                          | 0  | 15 | 0  |
| A Chantry founded by Alice Brudenel - - - - -       | 7  | 10 | 0  |
| Tenths therefrom - - - - -                          | 0  | 15 | 0  |
| Another Chantry founded by Richard Morley - - - - - | 7  | 10 | 0  |
| Tenths therefrom - - - - -                          | 0  | 15 | 0  |

From the above and other sources it would appear that there were not less than seven chapels or altars belonging to the church.

The minutes of vestry proceedings commence in 1574, and have already afforded us much information relating to the old church, the tabernacle or temporary building used by the parish for worship during the time the church was rebuilding after the great fire, and of the progress of the present church. In addition we will add a few extracts:

1577. Sunday, March 10th. Only claret wine of the best to be used at the communion.

1579-80, Sunday, Feb. 14. Eight Women's pews ordered on the south side of the

church and so many on the north, and "but one Maydes on eyther syde." This perhaps has reference to an old practice of Protestants abroad, namely, the separating the male and female parts of the congregation, and was probably introduced into England on the increase of the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, and a custom now revived (strange to say) in several churches, where at least the services are not conducted in a Puritanical style.

1580, Sunday, June 12. A door ordered for Master Parson to come in at, at the west end of the church, as at the great door by the clock-house through the belfry, at all times when it pleaseth him.

1598, March 14. Agreed, that the parishes of St. Peter and St. Andrew should at their joint costs set up a cage for Cornhill Ward for the reclaiming and shutting up of vagrant persons.

1782. An entry of this year has lately been very erroneously put before the public in some of the newspapers. It was said there is an entry for money to be paid for the destruction of noxious insects in the parish. The fact is, there is an entry in the vestry minutes, That 1*s.* 6*d.* was to be paid per bushel to persons collecting lady-birds off the hedges and elsewhere in the Metropolitan suburbs, it would seem, for the double purpose of staying an anticipated famine through this plague of insects, and for providing employment for the large number of distressed poor at that time. This order was rescinded at the next vestry meeting.

In 1679, April 24, the following kind privilege was granted, and occurs in the minutes of vestry of St. Michael, Cornhill :

Resolved, "That leave be given to the Parson of St. Peter's to walk in the churchyard."

The register of the parish is what is known as a Queen Elizabeth's copy. An injunction was issued by Thomas Cromwell, as Vicar-General of Henry VIII., dated September 8th, 1538, directing that every parson, vicar, and curate throughout the realm should keep a register of all weddings, christenings, and burials. Many such records were immediately commenced, although few such now remain. Instructions were issued under the Great Seal, October 25, 1597, for their better preservation.

The register-book of this parish is of the latter date, and the old register is copied into it in a very beautiful style by Wm. Averill, the schoolmaster.

The following entry shows when the book was purchased :

This Booke was bought at the charge of the Parish of Saint Peter's upon Cornhill, Maister Ashbooled, Doctor, becing then Parson, and Maister David Powell and Maister William Partridge becing the Church Wardens; the two and twentieth day of September in the year of our Lord one Thousand five hundred and nynety and eight.

The first name among the christenings is that of Hugh Kellsall, Sunday, 15th December, 1538.

On Sunday, the 13th March, 1602-3 (folio 30), a few verses are written deploring the death of Queen Elizabeth.

The first entry of burials is that of John Johnsonne, the 17th of January, 1539.

The number interred during the pestilence of 1665 appears to have been very considerable.

The entries of weddings commence January 19, 1538, with that of Richard Holland and Anne Boro.

A singular case of forgery exists in the register of marriages, and occurred under the following circumstances, in 1829, when Sir John Page Wood was Rector of the parish. A chancery suit was pending, the issue of which turned upon an entry in the register, and two persons came to see the books in company with the parish clerk. They afterwards induced him to retire to spend the evening at one of the taverns in the parish, and then after making him drunk, as the evidence sworn before the Lord Mayor would seem to show, he delivered up the keys of the church and registers that they might search them (as they said) early on the following morning. They paid an early visit it would seem to the church, erased the original entry, and in a very clumsy manner inserted another and then decamped.

The importance of the position held by the Rector of this parish is proved by a decision giving him the right of priority not only over the Rectors of St. Magnus and St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, but over all other the Rectors of the City, in the procession to St. Paul's in the week of Pentecost. In the Records of the Corporation of London, "Letter Book I. fol. ccii. 5 Henry V. A.D. 1417," we read:

All events that take place are the more firmly established, and the less likely to be disturbed by any future questioning thereof, if they derive their force from written testimony. *Therefore*, be it known unto all persons now living, and let those learn who shall come hereafter, *that* on past occasions of the Procession, which in the week of Pentecost was wont yearly to take place, an apostolic contention oftentimes arose between the Rectors of the churches of St. Peter Cornhill, St. Magnus the Martyr, and St. Nicholas Cold Abbey, in London, which of them would seem to be the greater, and by reason of such dignity should occupy the last place in the procession. *And* although the contention that ensued upon this discussion was not [inflamed] by the Rectors themselves, but rather by their parishioners, who would light the torch of discord on the one side and the other, more for the sake of worldly pride than through any title to probity on their part, *who* so did their best to break the peace of the city, and satisfy a lurking malevolence: *still*, this accumulating fuel for strife was only added to with the revolution of every succeeding year; *and* this notwithstanding that the rectors of that Basilica of the chief of the Apostles, which was formerly the metropolitan see, by reason of the everlasting reverence due to such a dignity, were wont to go in the last place in

the procession as being Priors, or rather Abbots, over all the Rectors in the said city, and of right ought to go in that place, by reason of such priority; in accordance with a certain sentence that had been pronounced thereon, on the 6th day of February, in the year of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the English Church, 1399, by Thomas Stowe, of blessed memory, Doctor of Laws, and Official of London, and many others learned in the law, then assessors with him, in behalf of William Aghtone, the then Rector of the church of St. Peter aforesaid, and solemnly decided upon; and which, before Henry Bartone, the present Mayor, and the Aldermen, in full court read and shown, most manifestly has appeared, and does appear.

Therefore, the said Mayor and Aldermen, on their part, not presuming themselves to define aught that had been settled by ecclesiastical judgment, but desiring more promptly to carry out, with filial obedience, that which such authority had rightly laid down, and wishing to promote that peace and tranquillity which, by the bond of their oath, they are especially bound to watch over in the city aforesaid, and with especial zeal to ensure; having first taken into diligent consideration the ancient ritual, and the solemn proofs, decrees, and sentences that had transpired and had been passed in the case, on the one hand, as well as having deliberately thought upon the damages and perils, which, through such dissensions and commotions, every year manifestly and probably might happen and arise, on the other, unless some aid should be speedily brought thereunto; on the 27th day of May, in the 5th year of the reign of King Henry after the Conquest the Fifth, did decree, ordain, and, so far as unto them, for the nurturing of peace, did pertain, did award and enact, as a thing for all time to be observed, that Sir John Whitby, the then Rector of the church of St. Peter aforesaid, and all his successors, Rectors of the same church, successively, of right, and for the honour of that most sacred Basilica of St. Peter (which was the first church founded in London, namely, in the year of Our Lord 199, by King Lucius, and in which was the metropolitan see for four hundred years and more), shall go alone after all other the Rectors of the same City in all and singular Processions within the City aforesaid, on the Monday in the week of Pentecost in each year, as being priors or abbots over them, and occupying the last and most dignified place; and that without impediment, molestation, disquiet, or disturbance on part of the Rectors of the churches of St. Magnus and St. Nicholas aforesaid, now being, their successors and their parishioners, or of any other persons whatsoever, on pain of imprisonment of their bodies, and of making fine, at the discretion of the Mayor and Aldermen, as to those who shall cause breach of the peace or disquiet of the people in this behalf.—*Memorials of London*, &c. pp. 651—653.

The advowson of the rectory of St. Peter-upon-Cornhill was originally united with that of St. Margaret Pattens, Rood Lane, and belonged to the family of Neville of Essex; and in 1362 they appear with the manor of Leadenhall to have been conveyed by the Lady Alice, widow of Sir Hugh Neville, to Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel and Surrey. Thence they passed into other hands. Sir Richard Whittington was by marriage connected with one of these families,

and it has been supposed by some, that, having become possessed of the advowsons of the two livings of St. Peter-upon-Cornhill and St. Margaret Pattens, he, having no children, made them over with the manor of Leadenhall to the Corporation of London. Certain it is that in 1408 these two advowsons with the Leadenhall manor were conveyed by charter to Richard Whittington and other citizens of London (some have supposed only as agents) for the Mayor and Corporation, to whom the property was transferred in 1411. The Corporation of London thus became the patrons of this church. Their first presentation was made to Thomas Marchant in 1429, and they have exercised the right ever since up to the time of the present Rector, Richard Whittington, who was appointed in 1867. He is by birth a citizen, and a Merchant Taylor, and has reason to believe that he might claim collateral descent from the family of the great Sir Richard Whittington.

The monuments in the church are not of any great interest. A beautiful mural monument on the south side of the church commemorates the terrific destruction by fire of the seven children of James Woodmanson of Leadenhall Street. This fire caused no little stir, as several other persons perished at the same time. Mr. Woodmanson was present at a ball at St. James's palace on the Queen's birth-day, and was called out only to find his seven children consumed in the flames. This sad occurrence was deeply felt by the Royal Family, some of whom visited the scene of the fire.

In the vestry of the church is preserved a copy of Jerome's Vulgate, very beautifully written throughout in a bold hand on fine white vellum. It consists of 586 leaves. The miniature paintings, which are 150 in number, are very curious, comprising historical scenes, portraits of the patriarchs, evangelists, and others, and afford interesting examples of English costume at that early period. The painted borders which decorate some of the pages are beautiful specimens of mediæval art, and proximately fix the date. But what renders this volume the most interesting and valuable to us is, that by the colophon at the end we learn that it was written for this church. It runs thus—

Iste liber pertinet perpetue Cantarie duorum capellanorum celebrantium ad altare Sancte Trinitatis in Ecclesia Sancti Petri super Cornhill.

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX  
Archæological Society.

VOL. IV.

AUGUST, 1873.

Part III.

THE INVENTORIES OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY  
AT THE DISSOLUTION.

COMMUNICATED AND ANNOTATED BY MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D.,  
F.S.A., PRÆCENTOR AND PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER.

THE following Inventories are extracted from a folio volume, bound in purple morocco, now preserved in the Land Revenue Record Office.

Westm̄.

ORNAMENTS OF THE CHURCHE.

*Copes Vestments Tunyces Albes.*—v copys of nedyll worke one of them callede Seynte Peter's Cope lynede with crymson satten. The other callede the Cope with the aungelles of perle and the iij other callede the Jessys<sup>a</sup> with ij tunyces. A chezabulle of the same worke with vij [xvi in a subsequent entry] buttonnes of sylver and gilte<sup>b</sup> and iij albes ij stolles and iij phanaus of the same suyte and to the same belongynge.  
Item a Cope<sup>c</sup> a chezabulle and ij tunyces one albe a stolle and a phanam of fyne blewe tyssue branched of the gifte of Kyng Henry the vth.

<sup>a</sup> Archæol. xliii. 247.

<sup>b</sup> A cope with orphreys and cross buttons of gold occurs at York. (Mon. vi. 1288.)

<sup>c</sup> No<sup>a</sup> of cloth of gold reised w<sup>t</sup> flowres of blew and velvett. (Marg. note.)

The Establishment of the Church of Westminster, 32 Henry VIII. comprised the following members receiving quarterly payments:—

The deane lviii li. ij. vj d. 12 prebendaries vij li. xv d. 11 petticanons 1s. at 6 d. the day. A pysteller and gospeller 1s. Scole master 8s. and usher 1s. of the grammer scole. A scole master of the souge scole 1s. 11 vicars x1s. at 5 d. the day. 5 queresters xvij s. viij d. 2 sextens 2 porters 2 butlers, 2 coks, a caterer, almsfolk (including a priest) 4 lay brothern 3 helyngers and wayters and 35 grammer childern at xvj s. viij d.

The original scheme of the Episcopal See of Westminster is in the Augmentation Office, Book xxiv.

xiii godlye Copes of clothe of golde with redde roses of velveth and crownyde portecullyses of golde wrought in the same copes of the gifte of Kyng Henrye the vijth. [See Red Coopes.]

A Cope of ffyne clothe of golde with a riche orphare embroderye with Islippes<sup>a</sup> with the salutac'on of o<sup>r</sup> Ladye and the ffyve woundes and with Seynte Petre Seynt Edwarde Seynte Gyles Seynte Bennette Seynte Katherin and Seynte Margarete of the gifte of Abbote Islippe. [See Red Coopes.]

A *Frontes for Altares*.—A riche ffronte<sup>b</sup> for beneth of cloth of golde pouderyde with lyonnes of golde and fflower de lyce of golde and a scouchynne of the armes of Abbote Islippe and the armes of the place [well frynged] of the gifte of Abbote Islippe.

A riche ffronte for above of cloth [of] golde powderyd with lyonnes and flower de lucys of golde with a riche image of o<sup>r</sup> Lady of Pitye<sup>c</sup> garnysshed with perle and stone, whiche ymage dan John Cornyssh dyd geve and the saide Abbote Islippe dyd geve the ffrontell.

*Sepulchre Clothes*.—A greate cover of bedde<sup>d</sup> called a sepulcher clothe of nedle worke.<sup>e</sup>

*Canapies*.—A Canapie of blacke clothe of golde.

*Bawdekyns*.<sup>f</sup>—Two bawdekynnes of blacke clothe of golde oone of them conteynynge in length one yerde and a halff, the other conteynynge in length allmoste ij yerdes.

ij other bawdekynnes of blewe clothe of golde every of them conteynynge in length iij yerds.

iiij other bawdekynnes of violette cloth of golde, ij of them conteynynge in length iij yerdes, and the iij<sup>de</sup> conteynyth in length iij yerdes lackynge ij inches.

#### MITRES.

ij mytres garnysshed with counterfette stone and perle.

<sup>a</sup> The Abbot's rebus.

<sup>b</sup> Archæol. xliiii. 246. Powdered means thickly set.

<sup>c</sup> The altar of our Lady of the Pewe occurred both on the north side of the Abbey (Harl. MS. 1498) and in St. Stephen's collegiate church: one was called that of "Our Lady of Lamentation," at Peterborough. A cope hood at Lincoln had "Our Lady of Pity" on it. (Monast. vi. 1283.) An image of o<sup>r</sup> Lady of Pytte for the Sacrament. (Ludlow MS. Inv.) There was an altar of our Lady of Pity at Durham (Rites, p. 33). The Blessed Virgin was represented as supporting the dead Christ on her knees as He was taken from the cross. (See Sacred Archæol. s. v.)

<sup>d</sup> So called from resembling a counterpoint or a tester of a bed, opertorium lecti. (Litleton.) (Archæol. xxi. 257, 259.)

<sup>e</sup> A sepulchre cloth of clothe of gold, with red fygyr and blewe tynsyn (1x s. MS. Inv. S. Steph. Westm.) A shete to laye in the sepulture. (MS. Inv. S. Dunstan's in the East.) A sharyne for the sepulture, covered with cloth of tyssue. (MS. Inv. S. Mary Woolnoth.)

<sup>f</sup> Bawdekin or tinsel sericum auro intertextum. (Litleton.) See Sacred Archæol. s. v. Bawdkin work, picturatæ vestes—tissue cloth of gold.

## BASONNES.

One basonne of agathe<sup>a</sup> [fo. 54, garnysshed with golde and xi greate stones with their colletts of golde and with v other colletts of golde garnysshed with smalle stones and perles and iiij greate perles and uppon the bakesyde v faces of golde xxxviiij oz.]

iiij endes of a broken crosse of birralle [fo. 54, beralle with bolles<sup>b</sup> of yorne garnysshed with sylver and gilte lxx oz.]

## PLATE.

*Gilte*.—A payre of great Sensers of sylver gilte one of them havinge a botomme of yron within it weynge all together cclxvj [fo. 53, cclxxiv.] oz.

One Pectoralle<sup>c</sup> of sylver and gilt garnysshed complete with course<sup>d</sup> flowers and perles wantinge ij stones havinge one angell at the side and thre pictures in the middeste of sylver and gilte xij oz.<sup>e</sup>

A Crowne of sylver and gilt with iiij crosses and iiij fflower-de-luces with doble wrethes aboute and betwene the wrethes fflowers enamelyd complete rounde aboute standinge of viij Jemouues<sup>f</sup> [al. fo. 54 Jemous] all weying together xliiij oz.

A Salte withoute a cover of sylver parcell gilte viij square printed<sup>g</sup> with roses portecullyses and cross keyes weyinge xiiij oz.

ij Cuppes withoute covers of sylver and gilte of chekar worke weyinge xiiij oz. di.

A Salte of sylver and gilte with a cover full of droppes<sup>h</sup> [in the Misericorde] xxxj oz. [al. havng droppys all all aboute hyt—or ronde aboute the cover.]

A Salte of sylver and gilt with a cover with rosys portecullyses and petrekeys<sup>i</sup> [in the Misericorde] xxij oz.

A Salte with a cover gilte, viij oz.

<sup>a</sup> See Rites of Durham, p. 8, "A cuppe called an Aggatt." (Monast. i. 63.) A cup made of an agate called St. Peter's bolle weighing 35 oz. (Inv. of Jo. Duke of Northumberland, temp. Mary. Add. MS. 24,522, fo. 18.)

<sup>b</sup> Bullonibus—knobs.

<sup>c</sup> See Archæol. xliii. 247.

<sup>d</sup> Probably thick or raised, coarse or gross. (Litleton.) There was a distinct material called "coorse silk." (Planché, Brit. Cost. 210.) "A vestment of Cowers silke blewe and whyt." (MS. Inv. Ludlow.) "Course cloth of sylver." (MS. Inv. The Pwe in S. Stephyn's Chapel.) "j vestment of red course satten of Cyprus." (Gunton's Peterb. 63.)

<sup>e</sup> A morse or clasp for a cope.

<sup>f</sup> Gems, jewels in pairs, jemoux. Gemells were hinges. (Inv. of Lincoln Monast. vi. 1279.) Gemewes, jemeuys, gimmewes—metal fastenings or double rings.

<sup>g</sup> Pounsonnez, pricked with sharp-pointed instruments into patterns. (Archæol. xxix. 55.)

<sup>h</sup> Pendant ornaments. "Dropped with silver dropps." (Hall 508, 614.) Drop, a pendant. (Litleton.)

<sup>i</sup> Three tunicles with Peter keys. (Gunton's Peterb. 60.)

A Peyre of candlesticks gilte,<sup>a</sup> xxiiij oz.

A Crucifixe standinge upon a foote of sylver and gilte, xxxj oz.

ij Basonnes of sylver and gilt, iiij<sup>xx</sup>viiij oz.

Summa oz. cxlix oz. di.

*Parcel Gilte.*—ij basonnes and iij ewers of sylver parcell gilte either of the basonnes havynge a man in a tree slepinge,<sup>b</sup> and every of the ewers havinge *j slippe* in the printe of the cover. And also a lesser basonne of sylver parcell gilte with Seynte Edwardes armes in the printe of the boss iiij<sup>xx</sup>ij oz. (given to the dean).

A Salte withoute a cover of sylver parcell gilte viij square printed with roses portcullyses and crossekeys<sup>c</sup> xiiij oz.

iiij Saltes of sylver parcell gilte with rosys and portcullyses li oz.

A Salte with a cover parcell gilte vij oz. di.

Summa oz. cliiij oz. di.

*White.*—A lytle drinkinge cuppe of sylver white with one cre v oz.

vij sylver spones vij oz.

ij sylver pecys one bigger then the other and iiij other sylver peces of a byggenes together lxix oz. (in the Misericorde).

ij sylver potts one with a handle and thother withoute xij oz. (in the Misericorde).

vij sylver sponys vij oz. di.

iiij saltes of sylver xli oz.

xxij sylver spones belonging to the MYERICORDE<sup>d</sup> xxiiij oz.

vj spones of sylver v oz.

One flatte pece of sylver viij oz.

xij spones of sylver xiiij oz. vj other sylver spones vij oz.

A pece of sylver white ix oz.

ij white pecys of sylver pouncede<sup>e</sup> in the botome xlvj oz.

*Masours<sup>f</sup> garnysshed with sylver gilte.*—iiij masours late in the Priours office.

A masour bolle called Seynte Edwardes masour garnysshed with sylver.

iiij masors withoute bosses xiiij masors with bosses (in the Misericorde).

xix masors one of them without a bosse<sup>g</sup> (in the Misericord) one masour late in the Fermorye.<sup>h</sup>

*Nuttes<sup>i</sup> garnysshed with sylver gilte.*—A standinge Nutte with a fote garnysshed all of sylver and gilte havynge a man in a tree holdinge a slippe in the tope of the corner and written about the nutte *Da gloriam Deo*.

<sup>a</sup> ij candelabra deaurata et operata portabilia ad processiones solemnes. (Dart. Canterb. App. xiv.)

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* slipping,—the rebus of Abbot Islip.

<sup>c</sup> Called in other places of the Inventory *Peter Keys, the arms of the monastery*. See also Gunton, 59.

<sup>d</sup> “The Frayter, Misericorde, and the Greate Convent kitchen on the east part of the Calbege,” etc. Gleanings from Westminster Abbey 224. The hall for eating flesh meat. See Sacred Archaeol. s. v. and hereafter, p. 46.

<sup>e</sup> Punctatus, stippled.

<sup>f</sup> Murra. See Prompt. Parvul. 328, and York Vol. Arch. Instit.

<sup>g</sup> Objects thus marked recur in the Inventory of Misericorde.

<sup>h</sup> Infirmary.

<sup>i</sup> A cocoa-nut fashioned into a cup.

- A greate standinge nutte with a fote garnysshed and a cover all of sylver and gilte havyng an Acorne in the toppe.  
 A blacke Nutte with a cover the ffote garnysshed with sylver xxij oz.

PLATE IN THE VESTRYE the xx<sup>th</sup> day of November anno Regni  
 Regis Henrici VIII<sup>i</sup> xxx<sup>o</sup>.

- j payre of candelstycks of sylver parcell gylte<sup>a</sup> c unces.  
 j payre of candylstycks of sylver gylte lxxij unces.  
 j payre of candelstickks of sylver parcell gylte iiij<sup>xxij</sup> unces.  
 j payre of candylstyckks sylver and gylt iiij<sup>xxvij</sup> unces.  
 A payr of gret sensers of sylver gylt j of them haveyng a bothyn of yron within it cclx[xiiiij] unces.  
 A payre of Sensers of sylver gylte on of them haveyng a bothyn of yron in yt cxlxviiij unces.  
 A payre of sylver sensers parcell gylte eyther of them haveyng a bothn<sup>b</sup> of yron wythin it iiij<sup>xxiiiij</sup> unces.  
 A Nooster<sup>c</sup> for the Sacrament of curios<sup>d</sup> work of sylver and gylt haveyng a berall in it cxliiij unces.  
 A Salt<sup>e</sup> plat of sylver parcell gilt xxvj unces.  
 ij Angells of sylver and gylte holdyng ij candelstyckks ccv unces. ; the best crosse of sylver and gylte garnysshed with plait of gold<sup>f</sup> stones and perlys the figure of Criste thereon of gold and Mary and John of sylver and gylt Cij unces.  
 The second Crosse of sylver and gylte with iiij gret stonys and divers small stonys withe the Crucifix Mary and John of sylver and gylte Ciiij unces.  
 The best payre of Pasturall Gloves<sup>g</sup> with parells of brodered work and small perells haveyng on them ij monyals<sup>h</sup> of gold garnysshed with vj stones and xxiiiij gret perles eyther of them lackyng a stone and the colet iiij unces.

<sup>a</sup> With the gold only appearing in places, partly gilt.

<sup>b</sup> ?Bottom as above, a tray, "turibulum cum patella ferri." (MS. Inv. Ely, Trin. Coll. Cant. MS. O 2, fo. 130 b.)

<sup>c</sup> An ostensorium or monstrance. "j stondyng pyx of silver and gylt to bere the Sacrament in sett with stone and perle besides the cristall. (MS. Inv. S. Steph. Westm.) "Delivered unto his majestie a fair mounstrance gilt parcell of the stuff that came from Westmester weinge iii<sup>xxjx</sup> oz." (Monast. i. 65.)

<sup>d</sup> Curiously wrought, "affabrè factus." (Litleton.)

<sup>e</sup> Used in making holy water ; and in hallowing the font for baptisms. See Hall, 805.

<sup>f</sup> "Cum platis auri perulis et gemmis." (Dart, Cant. App. viii.) "For ij platts of iron wher they pryst doth stand when he reads the lectar." (MS. Inv. All Hallows Bread Street.) "Riche greate crosses ready to be borne at festivall times" (Hall, 607.)  
<sup>g</sup> Pontifical gloves.

<sup>h</sup> A setting of gems on the back, "monile aureum" in the Ely Inventory, "cum gemmis in plata quadrata." (Dart, Canterb. App. xiii.) "Laminis argenteis deanratis et lapidibus insertis." (Dugd. St. Paul's, 205.) "Monilia argentea." (Monast. ii. 203.)

The Second Payre of pasturall gloves with lyk perelos haveyng on them ij monyals of gold enamyld white and blak garnysshed with iiij perlys in the on and xxiiij in the other and ij precious stonys j unce.

The best Myter of gold garnysshed with perleys and precious stonys lackyng a flowre and a stone therein and a lytle leaf of gold on the rybe<sup>a</sup> thereof and haveyng ij labels perteynyng to the same garnysshed with viij gret stonys and perles and viij pendant bells of gold iiij<sup>xxvj</sup> unces.

The second Myter of sylver and gylt garnysshed with white roses haveyng in them precyous stonys and garnysshed with perles and levys, on of the said leves in the border and a stone with the garnet lackyng and haveyng ij labells garnysshed lykwyse with flowres and levys stonys perleys and ix bells of sylver and gylt lackyng on leyf iiij<sup>xxix</sup> unces.<sup>b</sup>

The third Myter of sylver and gylte with iiij pyctures of brodered work garnysshed with perles and white roses of sylver and gylte enamyled and with other flowres of sylver and gylt not enamyld, on of the said flowres lackyng in the border and lackyng vj leaves of sylver and gylt in the edge haveyng thereto belongyng ij labels garnysshed lyk wyse as the myters haveyng only ij bells of sylver and gylt xxviiij unces.

The iiijth myter of clothe of white sylver and iiij pellycans garnysshed theron in perles, the edges and sydes therof of sylver and gylt, wantyng vij leaves and bothe the toppys and haveyng ij labelles<sup>c</sup> of the same clothe weying all together xviiij unces.

The vth myter of white clothe garnysshed complete with flowres of sylver and gylt, of dyvers sorts, with stonys complete in them, with labelles of the same work and garnysshed xvj unces.

The vj myter for Scynt Nycholas bysshoppe<sup>d</sup> the grounde therof of whyte sylk garnysshed complete with fflowres gret and small of sylver and gylte and stonys complete in them with the scripture Ora pro nobis Sancte Nicholai [fo. 53 Nicholae] embrodered theron in perll the sydes sylver and gylt and the toppys of sylver and gylt and enamyled with ij labelles of the same and garnysshed in lyk maner and with viij long bells<sup>e</sup> of sylver and gylt weying all together xxiiij unces.<sup>f</sup>

The best Crosse Staff<sup>g</sup> of sylver gylt withe the Salutacon<sup>h</sup> thereon lackyng an ymage and a pelycan cxlviii unces.

<sup>a</sup> Riband, limbus, the fillet or circlet round the base of a mitre.

<sup>b</sup> See *Monastic Treasures*, 33. "A myter with ij labelles with v bells at eche lable silver and gilte." (MS. Inv. S. Paul's Cathedral.)

<sup>c</sup> The pendants of the mitre.

<sup>d</sup> The boy bishop, a bishop Nycholas maytar, xviiij d. (MS. Inv. S. Benet Fink.) There is a good list of the ornaments used by the child in the notes to the *Northumberland House Book*; see also *Dugdale*, S. Paul's, 206.

<sup>e</sup> For the use of bells on vestments and ornaments see *Sacred Archæology*.

<sup>f</sup> The 5th and 6th mitres had been "delyvered to the Treasurer to the Kynge's use." (*Marg. note.*)

<sup>g</sup> Crux defertur in principalibus ante diaconum lecturum Evangelium. (Inv. of St. Alban's, *Claud. E. iv.* 351, and *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals*, p. 6.)

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* of [the Virgin.]

The Second Crosse of sylver parcell gylt with the xii Appostils the staf thereof vj paned<sup>a</sup> of sylver parcell gylt, cxli unces.

The thyrd Crosse for Seynt Nycholas bysshoppe the hed thereof of sylver and gylt garnysshed with great perles and stonys haveyng therof an ymage of Seynt Peter and an other of Seynt Edward of sylver and gylt lackyng vij stonys and perlys the staff therof round of coper and tymber weying all together lx unces.

ij Paxes<sup>b</sup> of sylver and gylte, one of them belongyng to the lady Margaret's Awlter, haveyng theron the fygure of the Trinitie and portculles enamyled, the other haveynge theron graved the fygure of Cryste appon the Crosse with Mary and John xi unces.

[Ad us. Reg.] One pectorall<sup>c</sup> of sylver and gylt garnysshed complete with course stonys and perlys wantyng ij stonys haveyng one Angell at the syd and thre pycures in the myddest of sylver and of gylt xvi unces.

An other Pectorall of plaited sylver gyltid apon wood with iiij great stonys ix unces.

An other Pectorall of coper and of gylte garnysshed with xiiij stonys haveyng theron the ymage of the Father and the iiij Evangelysts<sup>d</sup> xvij unces.

An other Pectorall of coper and gylt with the ymage of o<sup>r</sup> Lady in the myddst of sylver and gylt with xij stonys all aboute the same ix unces.

A Basyn<sup>e</sup> of crystall crased<sup>f</sup> and garnyshed wyth gold precious stonys and orient perles<sup>g</sup> complet wantyng iij perles and ij stonys with ther sokketts xxvj unces.

[Ad us. Reg.] An other Basyn<sup>h</sup> of Agatha garnysshed with gold and xi gret stonys with ther collets<sup>i</sup> of gold and with v other collets of gold garnyshed with small stonys and perles and iiij gret perles and apon the bakside v faces of gold xxxvij unces.

<sup>a</sup> Panelled; meaning of six sides and not round. An alter clothe of velvet payned [in lines of] redd and blew. (MS. Inv. Barking.)

<sup>b</sup> See Sacred Archæology, 436.

<sup>c</sup> Caparum pectoralia sive morsus. (Amundesham, Ann. S. Albani, ii. 344.) See (Sacred Arch. s. v. Morse.) This not common name occurs also in the Inventories of Winchester (Dugd. Monast. i. 202) and St. Paul's (Dugd. St. Paul's 207, 317) and Olney. <sup>d</sup> Generally called a Majesty.

<sup>e</sup> Four basons with tapers were suspended in the Ferctory, two given by Henry III. in the centre, and one on the north over Q. Edgitha's tomb, and one on the south over that of Q. Matilda. (Ecclesiastic. 1866, p. 574.) In the quire seven basons hanging. (Gunton, 61.)

<sup>f</sup> Probably crassus, chased in high relief.

<sup>g</sup> See Planché, Brit. Costume, 239. Hall's Chron. 793, 804. Lib. Albus, 206. Dart, Canterb. App. lv.) Ragged perles were pearls of irregular shape and untrimmed by the jeweller.

<sup>h</sup> A paire of gilte basons for lavatories having a roose engraven in the myddst. (Monast. i. 65.) Such were used by the celebrant for abluion of his hands.

<sup>i</sup> "A beasel of a ring, the upper part of the collet of a ring which contains the stone." (Coles, Dict. 1713.) Cabochon (Cotgrave) the place where the stone is set. (Litleton.) Sexe collets of golde wherein is sett sexe counterfett stones. (Monast. i. 64.) (Archæol. xliii. 247.)

- with a pece of lead in the soket belongyng to the chapell of Seynt John the-  
vaungelist in the custody of S<sup>r</sup> John Smyth, ix unces.
- ij Patentes for oblacions<sup>a</sup> of sylver and gylt with Jhus crowned in the myddes  
of eyther of the patentes xii unces.
- An Oblacion Spone<sup>b</sup> flat of sylver parcell gylt with Jhus gravyn in the myddes  
wantyng the knop at the end, j unce qrt.
- A Box for Syngyng Bred<sup>c</sup> of sylver whyte ij unces di.
- A Shyp for incense of sylver parcell gylt withe the armes of the monasterye  
and Eslyp graven on the lydds and with a lytell dog of sylver for the haspe  
of the same, xj unces.
- ij Vergers Roddes of sylver white, the knops at both endes gylt, the one of  
them haveyng the Crosse Keys at the one end and the armes of Seynt Edward  
at the other end and the other Verge wantyng the armes at both ends with  
ij lytle bolts of yron in them, xv uncs di.
- A Crosse for the Holy Candyll<sup>d</sup> with a pryk for a taper in the mydds all of  
sylver and gylt with the armes the Crosse Keys and the arms of the monas-  
terye enamyled at the iiij ends of the same crosse, xxij unces.
- A foot for the Crosse to stand appon herse<sup>e</sup> of sylver and gylt with iiij ymages

<sup>a</sup> The King (Henry VII.) shall offre (at the high mass) an obley of bred laid  
uppon the pattent of Seynt Edward his chalice. (Rutland Papers, Camd. Soc. 21.)  
In the Inventory of St. Paul's are a pyxis ad oblationes, pyxis ad oblatos (Dugd.  
St. Paul's 230-1), and in that of York pyxis pro pane portando (Monast. vi. 1205).  
Pyxis ad hostias at Canterbury (Dart, App. xiv.). Pyxide ligneo pro vino aqua  
et oblatibus imponendis. (Harl. MS. 3775, fo. 137.)

<sup>b</sup> Cochlear tractatorium, the spoon with which the hosts or oblatæ were placed  
upon the paten; different from the spoon for the mixed chalice. (Monast. viii.  
1365. Test. Eborac. Pt. i. p. 172.) Coclear de calcedon pro aqua in calicem in-  
fundenda. (Malcolm i. 28.)

<sup>c</sup> MS. Invt. St. Stephen's Westminster j lytell boxe for syngyng bred (un-  
consecrated hosts) or obleys garnysshed with sylver and gilt 1 oz. di. An almyry  
wherein singing bread and wine were usually placed. (Rites of Durham, 2.) Pro  
5000 panes voc' singing brede et hoseling brede 16 Hen. VIII. 2s. 11d. In the  
accounts of Westminster Abbey, 31 Henry VIII. 5000 syngyng bred at 8d. the  
thousand; 5000 syngyng bred for messys. (Add. MS. 24,528, fo. 135.) See also  
Arch. xxv. 452, xxi. 243.

<sup>d</sup> Cereus Paschalis. See Paschal in Sacred Archaeology, j stykke of sylver  
parcell gilt for the Holy Candell viii onz. (MS. Inv. S. Steph. Westm.) The  
prick was a pointed projection on which the candle was fixed. ij candellsticks with  
pikes. (MS. Inv. Penne.)

<sup>e</sup> Crosse of sylver and gilte with Marye and John to stond on the herse. (MS.  
Inv. S. Steph. Westm.) The herse of Abbot Islip may be seen in the Vetusta  
Monumenta; one at St. Alban's is thus described: super feretrum, sub Herse  
perpulchro, sub libitina pannis aureis undique decorata, et v. magnis cereis et iiij  
mortariis cereis. (Gesta, iii. 422.) Islip's was a goodly herse with many lights and  
majesty and valunce set with pencils and double banners. (Widmore, App. 208.)

of either syd enamyled and on the nether parte of the same foote of eyther of the said sydes a picture of Seynt George enamyled and at cyther end of the nether parte of the same foote oon sconcheon wyth iij crownys enamyled and iij lyons of sylver and gylt beryng the same foote, iij<sup>xx</sup> xv uncs.

[Ad us. Reg.] A Crowne of sylver and gylt. [See before under Plate, p. 3.] The best Text<sup>a</sup> close coveryd one the one syde wyth plait of sylver gyltyd garnyshed with an ymage of sylver and gylt in the mydds and with vij ymages enamyled vj counterfett turkes<sup>b</sup> and iij other gret counterfett stonys and with iij plates of latyn at the iij corners of the same text at the bak-syde, cxlvij uncs.

An other Texte Book to open and spar<sup>c</sup> covered on the forsyd with plait of sylver and gylt garnyshed at ij corners of the same syd with brances<sup>d</sup> of sylver and gylt lackyng the same at the other ij corners with a crosse and the ymages of Mary and John gravyd on the same plait with a crucifix of sylver and gylt naled on the same crosse with iij yron nayles and v. small perles aboute the nek of the same crucifix the claspys therof beyng of latyn, Cxx uncs.

A Crosse of berall with a slot<sup>e</sup> of yron thoro hym every way with a large Crucifixe of sylver and gylt with iij bands of sylver and gylt and a plat of sylver and gylt at the upper end of the same crosse, lxxvij uncs.

A Crosse of Calcydon<sup>f</sup> with a bolte of yron thoro it every way with a rondell<sup>g</sup> of copper and gylt garnyshed about with viij bands and ij lytle roundels of sylver and gylt haveyng in them ij gret stones iij perles and xliij small stones the reste wantyng, lix uncs.

ij ends of a broken crosse of berall with bolts of yron thoro them [garnyshed with vij bonds<sup>h</sup> of sylver and gylt] (lxx uncs cancelled) xliij oz.

A Crosse of berall<sup>i</sup> with a bolt of yron thoro yt every way garnyshed with viij plaits of sylver and gylt and a Table of wood in the mydds parte garuysed with sylver and gylt, cxlij uncs.

A Crosse of tyumber with a slot of yron at the foot covered with thyn plait of

<sup>a</sup> Liber rubens qui vocatur Textus in casso de corio, super quem magnates solebant jurare (Inv. 33 Edw. I. Add. MS. 24,599, fo. 56). Textus ornatus quodam torsello cum lapidibus et innumerabilibus perles. (MS. Inv. Ely, 12th cent. The Book of the Four Gospels entire. MS. Trin. Coll. Cant. O. 2. fo. 129 b.) At Salisbury we find a text after Matthew, a text after Mark, etc. (Dodsw. 232).

<sup>b</sup> Turquoise; uno lapide vocato Turkas. (Inv. of York Monast. vi. 1203.)

<sup>c</sup> With a closure or hasp, as in spar (shut) the door. See the binding of Harl. MS. 1498, temp. Hen. VII.

<sup>d</sup> Corner pieces, like a gag or brank.

<sup>e</sup> A bolt, as in the provincial phrase, Slot the door. (Coles, Dict. 713.) 3 slottes and 4 stapill ferri. 1 Hen. V. (Add. MS. 24,528, fo. 160.)

<sup>f</sup> Chalcedony.

<sup>g</sup> Circular bands.

<sup>h</sup> Bands.

<sup>i</sup> A cross of beryll or crystall was carried from Easter to the Ascension in procession. (Rites of Durham, p. 11; comp. Monast. viii. 1280, 1204.)

sylver and gylt garnyshed with borders beyng set with Cliiij stones over and besyds other stones that begon<sup>a</sup> cix unces.

A Crosse for Good Fryday.

An other Crosse of coper and gylt lyk a ragged staf<sup>b</sup> with a crucifix on the same.

ij Potts of sylver<sup>c</sup> parcell gylt with ther covers.

An other pott with hys cover of sylver and gylt haveyng in them Holy Oyle and Creme<sup>d</sup> with ther steakes in them, weying all together, oyle and all, lxxj unces .

#### SEPTERS.

Oon Septer of tymber coveryd with thyn plate of gold beyng garnyshyd with stony in ij places therof and with perle in oon other place therof haveyng at oon end a byrd of gold<sup>e</sup> and at the other end a pyke of sylver and gylte servyng for the Kyngs grace when he ys crownyd and resseyvyd into the monastery.

Oon other Septer of whyte and black checkeryd yvory haveyng at oon end therof a byrd of gold and at the other end a pyke of sylver and gylte servyng for the quene.<sup>f</sup>

Oon other Septer of sylver and gylte haveyng at oon end therof a byrd and levys all of sylver and gylte and at the other end no garnyssshyng nor pyke but playne.

*Graye Amyses.*<sup>g</sup>—Oon good graye Amyes not moche worne.

An other greye Amyse whiche is well worne and lately repaired.

*Surplesys and Rochettes.*<sup>h</sup>—iiij Surplesys of ffyne clothe ij of them well worn and have nede to be repayred.

<sup>a</sup> Are gone, *i.e.* lost.

<sup>b</sup> At St. Alban's on one of the pillars a crucifix is thus represented, as if budding, a cross raguly. j suit of red velvet with ragged staves. (Gunton's Peterborough, 59.)

<sup>c</sup> Chrismatories. iiij. chrismatories curiously enamelled, having each two pots for oyl and cream. (Inv. Sarum, 1538, Dodsw. 231.)

<sup>d</sup> Chrim for Confirmation, the Holy oil, and oil of the sick. (Inv. of York, Monast. vi. 1203.) In vase ligneo ad modum naviculæ sunt diverse ampullæ vitreæ cum oleo. (Inv. 25 and 35 Edw. I. Add. MS. 24,522, fo. 61.)

<sup>e</sup> The dove. (See Gent. Mag. xxxi. 347.)

<sup>f</sup> Anna Boleyn wore the crown of St. Edward, and held a gold sceptre in her right and an ivory rod with the dove in her left hand. (Hall, 803.) An ivory rod with a dove was also used by Queen Mary in 1685. A pyke, a pointed end.

<sup>g</sup> Graium almutium, Amess grey. (Hall, 513.) An ornament of grey fur, worn by dignitaries (Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals, 120), as in the well-known portraits of Warham and Cranmer, and the Inventories of St. Alban's. iiij almicia quorum ij<sup>o</sup> de grisæ et tercium de serico. (Claud. E. iv. fo. 351.) Almutias cum furruris aliquibus nigras. (Gesta, ii. 453; comp. Annales, ii. 759; and Med. Kalend. of Chich. Proc. R. S. L. ix. N.S. 17.)

<sup>h</sup> Rochet, a habit resembling a surplice, but without sleeves. (Lynd. lib. iii. tit. 27, p. 252.)

iiij Rochetts of ffyne lynneyn clothe whiche be all well worne but namely of them.

*Dalmatyckes*.—Oon payr of Dalmatycks<sup>a</sup> of red bawdkyn garnyshyd aboute the borders with strypys of gold.

Oon other peyr of dalmatycks of black sarcynet garnyshed aboute the borders with strypis of gold.

Oon other payr of dalmatycks of whyte bawdkyn garuyshyd aboute the borders with strypys of gold.

Oon other peyr of dalmatycks of murrey<sup>b</sup> bawdekyn haveyng wrought in them trees and byrdds of golde.

A payre of grene dalmatycks oon of them of bawdekyn and garuyshyd aboute the borders with strypys of golde and the other of them of sarcynet garnyshed aboute the borders with strypys of sylver.

#### FRONTELLS WITH TUE CLOTHES FOR BENETH AND ABOVE THE AWLTER.

A frontell of clothe of gold with flo<sup>r</sup>s<sup>c</sup> and rossys wroughte in the same servyng for beneth the awlter of the gyfte of Kyngge Rychard the Second.

A ryche fronte for beynethe of clothe of gold. [As in the first inventory, p. 2.] ~

[Pro rege.] A ryche ffronte for above. [See p. 2.]

A goodly fronte ffor beneth of grene satten garnysshyd with gold of dyvers Kyngs and bysshops with scouchyns<sup>d</sup> with lyons at both the ends.

An Awlter clothe for benethe of gold nedyll work with the Birth of o<sup>r</sup> Lord and Seynt Edwards story<sup>e</sup> with ij addycons at the end of nedyll work garnyshed with perlys.

A goodly blewe fronte for above and benethe garnyshed with fflerorys of gold and a ymage of o<sup>r</sup> Lady in the upper parte in the nether parte with the armys of my lord Hungerford and thys scripture *Remembraunce suffysith me* of the gyfte of my lady Hungerford.<sup>f</sup>

Another awlter clothe for benethe of black clothe of gold embrotherd with angells with *Requiem eternam dona eis D'ne* and the dome<sup>g</sup> in the mydds of the said clothe.

A goodly fronte of nedyll work with Cryste crucified and of every syd a thef

<sup>a</sup> But namely, *i.e.* without exception.

<sup>b</sup> Color ferrugineus, pullus, etc. (Littleton), sad-coloured.

<sup>c</sup> Fleurs-de-lis.

<sup>d</sup> Scutcheons.

<sup>e</sup> His interview with St. John as the Palmer. S. Edward offering the ring to the Pilgrim was on a corporal case (loculus) at St. Alban's. (Claud. E. iv. fo. 586.

<sup>f</sup> Probably the munificent Margaret, foundress of the Hungerford Chantry at Salisbury. See the Inventory of her similar gifts, Dugdale's Baronage, iv. 207-9.

<sup>g</sup> The Doom—the Last Judgment.

- with scripture of frence in the neyther parte therof of the gyfte of Xpofor Goodhapps.<sup>a</sup>
- Another for beneth of crymsyn velvett enbrothered with Angells and flowrys and thes ij letters I and B sett ou them enbrodered work.
- Another for benethe of whyte damask with egyptys and v swannys in the myddys.
- Another for benethe for the day of y<sup>e</sup> Epiphanye of whyte wyth starrys.
- A nother of blewe velvett with floure de lyces and lybards<sup>b</sup> A frontell belonging to the same. Sold.
- Another of russett velvett in bothe ends and in the myddys with olyvaunts<sup>c</sup> with a upper fronte of the same. Sold.
- Another of white damask bawdekyn of Wycombes gyfte with a narrowe fronte with the ymage of Ihu in the myddys standing in a chalyss. Sold.
- Another for seynt Edward's Vigyll<sup>d</sup> wyth rossys and byrds. Sold.
- Another for beneth with flor de lyces and lybardes<sup>e</sup> of nedyll work fashenyd like losengys.
- Another of blewe with angells for Mygelmas day.
- An awter clothe and a fronte of white satten of bryges in iiij peces complete for the hole awlter above and beneth garnyshed with flors of brotherd work of the gyfte of dan Wyllyam Evesham.
- Another of black velvett and satten of brydges paned with a doume in the myddes and certen other brotherd work of the gyfte of the sayd dan Wyllyam Evesham.
- A narrowe fronte of black satten of bryges with byrds for Requiem masses of the gyfte of the said Wyllyam Evesham.
- Another by the fronte for above of blewe and red sarsynett with crucifix Mary and John with flowres de lyces and other of the gyfte of the sayd Wyllyam Evesham.
- Another of blak satten with scutchyns for Abbottes Dyryges.<sup>f</sup> Sold.
- Another of bawdekyn with greke letters for Relyk Sunday.<sup>g</sup> Sold.
- The Vigyll ffrontal of grene cadas.<sup>h</sup>
- Another of white horsse standing upon ryvers. Sold.
- Sepulchre clothes and other.*<sup>i</sup>—the ffyrste of gold with scouchyns<sup>k</sup> enbrothered with the Batelle of Rowneyvalle.<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Christopher was one of the 25 monks at the time of the Dissolution.

<sup>b</sup> Leopards and lilies, the arms of England and France.

<sup>c</sup> Elephants.

<sup>d</sup> Jan. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Leopards.

<sup>f</sup> Diriges.

<sup>g</sup> Sunday after July 7.

<sup>h</sup> Carde, a silken stuff.

<sup>i</sup> ij Clothes that hanged befor pillars. (MS. Inv. Benington.) iiij shettis y<sup>t</sup> dyd hange before y<sup>e</sup> tabernacles. (Ib. Lecheworth.) Pro apparatu in die Parasceves Panni quorum superior habet angelum de auro et serico loquentem iiij<sup>buss</sup> Maries, inferior iiij milites custodientes sepulcrum, tertius vero Chrestum apparentem beate Marie Magdalene et B. Thome Apostolo. Inv. S. Albani, Claudi. E. IV. 358 b.

<sup>k</sup> Scutecheon shields; they have since become dilated into the hideous large lozenges set up by undertakers.

<sup>l</sup> The famous battle of the Paladins of Charlemagne, where the great Roland wound his horn in vain.

- the ij<sup>de</sup> of yellowe collo<sup>r</sup> enbrotheryd wyth old and newe armys of Yngland.  
 the iij<sup>de</sup> of red satten enbrotheryd with iij gret lyons. (Sold.)  
 the iiij<sup>th</sup> of red satten enbrotherd with the ymage of o<sup>r</sup> Lady with a tabulle<sup>a</sup> in  
 her hand and saynt John wyth a Tone.<sup>b</sup> (Sold.)  
 [Pro rege.] The v<sup>th</sup> a gret cover of a bed of nedyll work (see Ornaments of the  
 Church, p. 2.)<sup>c</sup>  
 A clothe of crymsyn velvett garnysshyd with bollyons<sup>d</sup> of sylver and gylte with  
 armes of sylver and gylte and perle of dyvers colers.  
 A Croche<sup>e</sup> of yvory.  
 A lynnyn bagge with yellowe awmber<sup>f</sup> bedys with owche<sup>g</sup> lyke a bokle of  
 sylver and gylte and a Crucifix with Mary and John sylver and gylte.  
 A pece of a nett of Venys<sup>h</sup> gold beryng the brede<sup>i</sup> of a yerd every way.  
*Clothes for the Sacrament.*—A Sacrament clothe<sup>k</sup> of ffyne white sarcynet  
 frynged with gold with this scripture “Xpo gloriam canamus” with iiij  
 knoppys of sylver and gylte.  
 a nother sacrament clothe of red sarcenet for every day of Xpofer Goodhappys  
 gyfte.  
 a Canopy of clothe of gold garnysshed with sylver and gylt of y<sup>e</sup> gyfte of o<sup>r</sup>  
 reverent father J. Islyppe.  
*Lent Stuff.*—A Travers of grene sylk.<sup>l</sup>  
 A yellowe awter clothe with the iiij Evaungelysts.  
 a steynyd clothe to cover the sepulcre<sup>m</sup> with the Trinite and ij clothes for Peter  
 and Paule.  
 a gret clothe paynted for the crucifix over the highe awlter.

<sup>a</sup> Probably a scroll with some design upon it. A table means a delineation in carving or painting, or even embroidery. A table of brotherly with the Passion. (MS. Inv. S. Stephen's, Westm.) Tabula de velveto nigro broudato cum perlis de Annunciations B. Marie. (Inv. Q. Isabel, temp. Edw. III. Add. MS. 24,529, fo. 3.)

<sup>b</sup> The tun [dolium] of burning oil into which he was plunged ad Portam Latinam. (Legende Sanctorum, ed. 1516, fo. 29, 91, by John de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa.)

<sup>c</sup> Rounds of metal like bullets.

<sup>d</sup> Archæol. xliii. 247.

<sup>e</sup> A pastoral staff or crook. Croceæ eburnæ. (MS. Inv. Ely, fo. 1306.)

<sup>f</sup> Amber beads.

<sup>g</sup> Brooch. (Litleton gives monile.)

<sup>h</sup> Venice, in distinction to that of Lewks or Lucca. See Hall's Chron. 791. (MS. Inv. S. Michel at the Quern,) ij knytt canape clothes. (S. Peter West Chepe,) A Pyxe cloth with a cawlle garnysshed with damaske gold. (MS. Inv. Wore. Cath.) A girdyll knytted after nett wyse.

<sup>i</sup> Breadth.

<sup>k</sup> A canopy cloth over the reserved Sacrament. See that of Hessel in Ecclesiol. xxix. 86, with a corporas Case or burse.

<sup>l</sup> A curtain to form a screen transversum chori. (See Hall, Chron. 793.) A traverse of cloth of gold and within that the Kyng's place and chairs. (Ib. 607.)

<sup>m</sup> Easter Sepulchre. See Sacred Archæology, s. v.

ij drawingy perpull curteyns for the vayle<sup>a</sup> afore the highe awlter.  
a staynyd clothe ffor the Crokyd Rood.<sup>b</sup>

*Kanapys.*<sup>c</sup>—the ffyrste of white bawdekyn.

the ij<sup>de</sup> of red bawdkyn with sterys of gold of chaungeable<sup>d</sup> collar.

the iij<sup>de</sup> of blew bawdekyn wyth byrds of gold and a frynge of gold unlynnd.<sup>e</sup> (Sold.)

the iiij<sup>th</sup> of grene bawdekyn with byrds of gold and doggs.<sup>f</sup> (Sold.)

[Pro rege.] the v<sup>th</sup> of black clothe of gold.

a gret blew clothe with Kyngs on horsse bake<sup>g</sup> for Saynt Nicholas cheyre.

(Delivered to Mr. Treasurer ut supra et postea d'no Regi deliberat'.)

*Copys and Chezabulls agreable.*—[Pro rege.] V Copys of nedyll work one of them called Seynt Peters Cope<sup>h</sup> lynnd etc. (Sec p. 1.)

iiij Copys a Chezabull ij tunycles with vj albys and iij phanams of clothe of gold haveyng fleury and braunchys of gold with whyte and grene flores in ther toppys of the gyfte of Kyng Rychard the second.

A cope a chezabull ij tunycles iij albys with stolls and iij phanams of tyssewe endentyd as chewerne<sup>i</sup> work haveyng in the cheverns crymsyn and golden flowrys of Kyng Richard the ij<sup>des</sup> gyfte. (Sold.)

A chezabull ij tunycles iij stollis iij phanams iij albys with rosys portecullis of ffyne clothe of tyssewe of the gyfte of Kyng Henry the VII<sup>th</sup>.

A cope chezabull and ij tunycles of blew velvet embrothered with vynys of gold with whyte rosys wyth lybard hedds of gold.

<sup>a</sup> The Lent Veil. See notes to Lent Stuff below. (MS. Inv. Newport,) j certen clothe of white canvas to be drawn before the Communyon tyme. (Arretton,) a corten of linnen usede to be drawn before the awter.

<sup>b</sup> There was a Crux declinatoria at St. Alban's. In the Custumal of Ware which I abbreviated in the Ecclesiastic, vol. xxviii., there are mentioned lamps burning before the altars of Old St. Mary [at the north door], the Holy Trinity, S. Benedict, Holy Cross, S. Paul, and the Crucifix, the feet of which are kissed by the people coming up on one side and descending by the other side, p. 574. A watcher's chamber is also mentioned, and a choir altar besides the high altar.

<sup>c</sup> MS. Inv. of S. Michael at the Quern. ij knytt canape clothes; a canape over the pyx. (Wynterborne Stapleton,) Usus observatus in Anglia, ut Sacramentum Eucharistia in conopeo pendeat super altare. (Lyndw. p. 248.) I canapie clothe gilte, of lynen clothe with iiij canapie staves. (MS. Inv. S. Swithin's, London.)

<sup>d</sup> Shot with various colours.

<sup>e</sup> iij hangings of red saye with Swannys, oon of thaim unlynnd. MS. Publ. Rec. Off. A 10 [66] fo. 15. (Inv. Sir W. Stanley.)

<sup>f</sup> iij peces of olde rede saye, iij lyned and oon unlynnd. [fo. 11.]

<sup>g</sup> Unus pannus cum regibus equitantibus Inv. S. Pauli. (Dugdale, 224.) Canopies were used, not only for the pyx, but over tabernacles. ij canapes of red clothe of gold fygyng for Saynt Stephyn and Saynt George. (MS. Inv. S. Stephen's Westm.) The chair was that of the boy bishop.

<sup>h</sup> Archæol. xliiii. 246. Agreeable, *i.e.* of one suit. See Can. xxiv. 1603.

<sup>i</sup> Chevron. At St. Paul's there was a Capa indentata (Dugd. 208), and another cum avibus inter virgulas chevronatas in alternis spaciis. (Ib. 209.)

- [Pro rege.] A Cope \* a chezabull and ij tunycles one albe a stolle and a phanam of ffyne blewe tyssewe branchyd of the gyfte of Kyng Henry the V<sup>th</sup>.
- A chezabull ij tunycles with iij albys ij stollyes and iij phanams all garnysshed with perlys which serve for the ij feasts of Saynte Peter.
- ij Copys a chezabull ij tunycles with iij albys with stolls and phanams of fyne bawdkyn and the orpherys beyng of blewe velvett with swanys and thys letter "A" of perle of the gyfte of Sir Thomas of Woodstock<sup>b</sup> for Corpus Xpi Day.
- A cope a chezabull ij tunycles iij albys with ij stollys and iij phanams of red crymsyn clothe of gold of the gyfte of Sir Thomas Vaughan Knyghte.<sup>c</sup>
- A cope a chezabull ij tunycles with iij albys without stollles and phanams of red cloth of gold of the gyfte of Pryor Flete.<sup>d</sup>
- A cope a chezabull ij tunycles without stollles and phanams of blewe velvett enbrotheryd with anteloppes<sup>e</sup> and mylles of gold the orpherys of grene velvett of the gyfte of Kyng Henry the IV<sup>th</sup>.
- Another cope and chezabull ij tunycles of grene velvett with the orpherys of blewe velvett wyth anteloppys and mylls and with a stoll and a phanam of grene velvett with rossis and slyppys<sup>f</sup> and an albe to the same belongyng of the gyfte of Kyng Henry the V<sup>th</sup>.
- A cope of blewe velvett rychely enbrotheryd with angells and crosskeys with a sword in the myddys of the keys and the Holly Lambe before.
- [Sold.] A cope a chezabull ij tunycles withoute stollles and phanams enbrotheryd with crowns of gold.
- xij Copys with a chezabull and ij tunycles iij albys withoute stollles and phanams of whyte damask enbrotheryd with Egylls and Angells of gold of the gyft of Pryor Flett.
- [Sold.] iij copes of white bawdekyn with fleures of gold and dases the orpheus of blewe velvett enbrotherd with Yslypps rychely wroughte with gold and thys letter I in the morses<sup>g</sup> and a slyppe standyng therbye with a chezabull and ij tunycles of lyk stof lykewyse garnysshed with enbrotheryd work with iij albys ij stollles and iij phanams of the same cloth of bawdkyn and velvett of the gyfte of John Islyppe abbott.
- [Sold.] A Cope a chezabull ij tunycles with iij albys withoute stollles and phanams of crymsyn bawdekyn stavyd lyke to enbrothered with small byrds

\* Archæol. xliii. 246.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, murdered 1397, buried in the Abbey. (Dart, ii. 47.)

<sup>c</sup> Thomas Vaughan, Thesaur. Camer. Edwardi IV., buried in St. John Baptist's Chapel. (Dart, i. 189.)

<sup>d</sup> John Flete, who died Prior 1464, wrote a history at the request of some of the monks. (Widmore, 4.)

<sup>e</sup> The badge of Henry V.

<sup>f</sup> Small branches or leaves.

<sup>g</sup> Clasps.

of gold in the stavys serving for Palme Sunday and Sherthursdaye<sup>a</sup> and Seynt Andrew's Day.

A Cope and chezabull ij tunycles iij albys oon stoll ij phanams of crymsyn satten enbrotheryd with castelles and lyons<sup>b</sup> with a goodly albe garnysshed with ymagery and whyte harttes<sup>c</sup> with stoll and phanam and v long bells of sylver and gylt serving for Holly Rood Day.<sup>d</sup>

ij copys of purpille bawdekyn with grene and whyte cheynys<sup>d</sup> and flowryd brawnychys in the cheynys the orpheus of blewe velvett haveyng in it certeyn fflofs of gold with ij tunycles and a chezabull to the same belongyng serving for Seynt Laurence day.<sup>e</sup>

[Sold.] A cope and a chezabull ij tunycles iij albys of fyne grene bawdekyn with beasts of gold and white ostryg<sup>g</sup> fethers in the same serving for Mary Maudeleyn's day.<sup>h</sup>

A cope of whyte garnysshyd with Columbyns<sup>i</sup> and a chezabull ij tunycles iij albys with ther stolls and phanams of white bawdekyn with sterrys of gold serving for the XII<sup>o</sup> day.<sup>k</sup>

iiij copys a chezabull ij tunycles with v albys with oon stoll and iij phanams of bawdekyn haveyng in hit strypes of gold with Greke letters<sup>l</sup> for Relyqne Sunday.<sup>m</sup>

[Sold.] v copys a chezabull ij tunycles iij albys with ij stolls and iij phanams of purpull velvett with the orpheus of blewe and crymsyn velvett garnysshed with enbrotheryd garters.

[Sold.] A cope a chezabull ij tunycles iij albys ij stolls iij phanams of crymsyn velvett oppen velvet rychely orpheuzed with ymagery and the armys of Kyng Rychard the Second and Anne hys wyf and also of ther gyfte.

[Sold.] A chezabull ij tunycles ix copys iiij albys with stolls and phanams<sup>n</sup> of bawdkyn losengyd with fflofs betwene serving for Cathedra S<sup>i</sup> Petri.<sup>o</sup>

ij copys of blewe Sarsenett a chezabull ij tunycles iij albys ij stolls and iij phanams all with Angells serving for Myghelmas Day and one peyre of curteyns of blewe Sarcynett longyng to y<sup>e</sup> same.

<sup>a</sup> Thursday in Holy Week. (Sacr. Arch. s. v.)

<sup>b</sup> The arms of Castile and Leon.

<sup>c</sup> The badge of Richard II. (See Dart, i. 64.)

<sup>d</sup> Sept. 14.

<sup>e</sup> Chains.

<sup>f</sup> Aug. 10.

<sup>g</sup> Ostrich.

<sup>h</sup> July 22.

<sup>i</sup> A cope of blacke clothe bordered with collumbyns (MS. Inv. St. Nicholas, Kold Abbey), the flower so called. 1 vestment of collumbyne worsted. (Ib. Horsham, S. Faith.) 1 cope of colubyn satten of brydges. (Ib. Denver.) A cope of collubyne sarcenct. (Ib. Tacolneston.)

<sup>k</sup> One of the earliest instances of the use of the term applied to the Epiphany.

<sup>l</sup> *Qy.* I.H.S.

<sup>m</sup> The third Sunday after the translation of S. Thomas, July 7, for worship of all relics on earth, and the third Sunday after Midsummer Day. (Sacr. Archæol. 496.)

<sup>n</sup> Maniples.

<sup>o</sup> Feb. 22.

A chezabull ij tunyces iij albys ij stolls iij phanams and a cope of course crymsyn satten enbrotheryd with lyons of gold servyng for Sondays.

A cope a chezabull ij tunyces oon stoll ij phanams of whyte bawdkyn with goldyn swannys orpheuzed with broderd work.

[Sold.] iij copys a chezabull ij tunyces v albys of yellowe servyng for the feaste of Seynt John Porte Latyn<sup>a</sup> one of the copys beyng garnysshyd with byrdes of nedyll work.

ij copys a chezabull ij tunyces on albe ij stolls iij phanams of blewe bawdekyn with blew hyrdes haveyng hedds and feet of gold whiche serve ffor som confessors in thre copys.<sup>b</sup>

A chezabull ij tunyces ij albys wythoute stoll and phanam of blew satten with half monys<sup>c</sup> and starys servyng for the Utas<sup>d</sup> of Seynt Edward.

[Sold.] iij copys a chezabull ij tunyces of red bawdekyn w'oute albys stolls or phanams with a pelycan on the bak syd of the chezabull enbrotherd with gold of the gyft of Robert Colehester.

A chezabull ij tunyces wythout albys stolls or phanams of red bawdekyn with pecocks<sup>e</sup> haveyng scripture in ther monthes and a cope to the same belongyng.

[Sold.] A cope a chezabull ij tunyces ij albys ij stolls iij phanams of red and blew bawdekyn haveyng in hit flowre delyces and lyons, of therle of Penbrooks<sup>f</sup> gyfte, servyng for Seynt Albons day.<sup>g</sup>

A cope a chezabull ij tunyces iij albys endentyd with stolles and phanams for the consuettes of o<sup>r</sup> Lady.

A cope of red taffata a chezabelle ij tunyces with stolles and phanams garnyshed with castells and lyons<sup>h</sup> of brodery work ffor the Apostelles consuetts.<sup>i</sup>

A cope a chezabull ij tunyces strakyd with yellowe and red with iij albys of bawdekyn and with stolles and phanams to the same servyng for seynt Edwards consuetts.

On cope a chezabull ij tunyces on albe ij stolls iij phanams of darke changeable grene bawdkyn with blew orpheus servyng for saynt Benets<sup>k</sup> consuetts.

<sup>a</sup> May 6.

<sup>b</sup> Days when only three copes were used at the form in choir, probably by the chanter and two rectors of choir. (See *Ecclesiastic*, 1866, p. 574.)

<sup>c</sup> Moons—lunulis.

<sup>d</sup> Octave.

<sup>e</sup> So in St. Aldhelm's red chasuble at Malmesbury habent nigræ rotulæ intra se effigiatas species pavonum. (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 17.)

<sup>f</sup> John Hastings, poisoned in Spain 1375, who married Mary younger daughter of Edward III.

<sup>g</sup> June 17. The feast of his translation was kept on Aug. 2.

<sup>h</sup> The arms of Queen Eleanor, Castile, and Leon.

<sup>i</sup> Verbum consuetudinis simpliciter prolatum intelligitur de præscripta. (*Lyndw. lib. 1, tit. 3, p. 25.*)

<sup>k</sup> March 21. Every one of these days is commemorated in the English Calendar.

A cope and iij chezabulls of purpull satten servyng for Good Fryday ffor Palme Sunday with iij albys servyng to the same.

[Sold.] A tunycle of red satten for the Skons<sup>a</sup> berar on Easter Evyn.

[Sold.] ij other tunycles of dyvers collo's oon to hallowe the Pascall and the other for hym that beryth the Dragon on Easter Evyn.<sup>b</sup>

[Sold.] A chezabull of grene dyapur bawdkyn with a crosse of gold and with oon albe on stoll and oon phanam servyng at the Highe Awlter when the Quire dothe fery<sup>c</sup> of the gyfte of dan Wyllyam Ebesham.

#### RED COOPES.

[To the King's use.] A principall cope of ryche clothe of tyssewe with xxvij other goodly copes ... (In Ornaments of the church xiiij godlye copes etc. See above, p. 2.)

[Delib. regi.] A cope of ffyne cloth (as in Ornaments of the church. See above.)

A cope of red clothe of gold with a grene border benethe of the gyfte of master Jamys Goldewen, bysshoppe of Norwyche.<sup>d</sup>

xxviiij copes of nedyll work for Lammas Day<sup>e</sup> of the whiche xxviiij<sup>ti</sup> the grownd of v of them be all gold.

iiij copes of old purpull satten servyng for Good Frydaye.

[Sold.] iiij other copes of bawdkyn with bestes and byrdes of gold with the orpheus of purpull velvett with whyte swannys therein.

[Sold.] xxxvj other copes of red bawdekyn of dyvers sortis haveyng dyvers orpheusys of sondry collors.

#### WHYTE COPES.

A cope of whyte damask with great lyons of brotherieworke.

Another of whyte satten garnysshed with byrds of gold ffor the Chaunter.

<sup>a</sup> Absconsa, a lantern carried in processions, accendetur candela in Laterna. Office for Easter Eve in Litlington's Service Book. A lantern of horn for Palm Sundaye. (MS. Inv. S. Peter's Cornhill.)

<sup>b</sup> When the priest had hallowed the new fire, according to the Rule, accendatur Cereus quem portare in hastâ debet Secretarius, accendatur et candela in laterna—hanc portare debet unus de magistris puerorum. (Constit. Lanfranci. Wilkins, Concil. i. p. 339.) This sometimes had a serpent or dragon wreathed about it. At Canterbury it is described as hasta ad portandum cereum ad novum ignem. (Dart, App. xii.) j styke of sylver parcell gilt for the Holy Candle. (MS. Inv. S. Stephen's Westm.) *For the Paschall and Crosse Candell weying v li.* (MS. Inv. S. Leonard Foster Lane.) Henry III. ordered the Standard of the Dragon to be placed in the Abbey 1244. (Excerpta Hist. 404.)

<sup>c</sup> Feriare to keep ordinary days not festivals, green being the common colour, 4 albes called ferial white, 7 albes called ferial black. (Gunton's Peterborough, 59.) Capa ferialis. (Dart, Cantab. App. viii.)

<sup>d</sup> James Goldwell consecrated in 1473, died Feb. 1499. (Ang. Sac. ii. 418.)

<sup>e</sup> Aug. i. St. Peter ad Vincula.

A cope of whyte damask garnysshed with an ymage of assumpeyon of o<sup>r</sup> Lady and with other dyvers flouwers of brotherye work of y<sup>e</sup> gyfft of dan<sup>a</sup> Wyllyam Ebesham.

[Sold.] xxxix Copes of whyte bawdkyn whereof xvij of them be of swannes work ix other of the Dayes iij other with blewe orpheus of byrds of gold iij mo with orpheuses of the kyngs armes haveyng in the bawdekyn red rolls and Greke letters<sup>b</sup> and vj other of them haveyng orpheuses of brotherye worke.

## BLEWE AND GRENE COOPES.

A Cope of blewe velvett rychely enbrotherd with a Jesse<sup>c</sup> the ymages of the Jesse beyng garnysshed with perle.

A Cope of blewe satten with the Salutac'on of o<sup>r</sup> Lady a lowe<sup>d</sup> behynd in the mydds enbrotheryd with ymagery and angells full all aboute.

A Cope of blewe velvett enbrotheryd with angells and Crosse Keys with a swerd in the mydds of the keys and the Holly Lambe before.

[Sold.] ij Copes of blewe velvett oon of them beyng garnysshed with brothered sterrys of gold the other with thys letter M<sup>e</sup> crownyd of gold the orpheus of crymsyn velvett with bells of gold.

A Cope of grene clothe of tyssew with y<sup>e</sup> orpheus of crymsyn tyssewe of my lady of Bedford's<sup>f</sup> gyft.

iiij Copes of Turkye satten Castells with ymagery of nedyle work being wrought on iij of them and on the iiij<sup>th</sup> angelles of nedyll work servyng for seynt Edwards translac'on.<sup>g</sup>

ij other copes on of them yellow caddas<sup>h</sup> with red lyons crownyd in skouchyns ij other of russett satten with gryppes<sup>i</sup> and lyons of nedyll work whiche ij coopes serve at Iiighe Masse for the fyrst iij dayes within the utas<sup>k</sup> of seynt Edwards translac'on.

<sup>a</sup> The title of a Benedictine. (See Sacred Archæol. s. v. Dominus).

<sup>b</sup> Greek letters, probably *Αγας ο Θεος* sung in the Mass on Good Friday (Const. Lanfr. Wilkins, 338.) Or the sacred monogram *ΑΩ* or *IHS*, or *ΑΜΩ*, meaning beginning, middle, and end. At St. Paul's, a reliquary had images of the cross and S. Mary, literis Græcis gravatis (Dugd. 201.) At S. Nicholas Kold Abbey, there were "ij aulter clothes of blacke with a scripture—*Que quod natura.*" (MS. Inv.) Dugdale in his Baronage has given similar instances in the donations of the Hungerfords to Salisbury. "A clothe of gold w<sup>t</sup> romayn letters of blacke welvet." (Bury Wills, 116.) Hall mentions "letters of Greke" on ladies' dresses (p. 595), and other similar ornamentation (617).

<sup>c</sup> The Radix Jesse. A cope called "the Root of Jesse." (Inv. of Lincoln Monast. vi. 1281.) "Una secta de historia Jesse." (Inv. of York, Ibid. 1209.) "Capa brudata cum Jesse." (Dart, Canterb. App. vi.)

<sup>d</sup> At the bottom of the cope.

<sup>e</sup> For S. Mary. At St. Paul's an amice was embroidered "*De parvulis nodis cum cathenulis argenteis et bullonibus in limbo.*" (Dugd. 212.)

<sup>f</sup> Probably Isabel Countess of Bedford, eldest daughter of Edward III. Her arms are on Q. Philippa's tomb. (Neale, Westm. Abbey, 98.)

<sup>g</sup> October 13, still retained in the English Kalendar.

<sup>h</sup> Or *carde*, a silken stuff also used for stuffing. (Planché, Brit. Costume, 202.)

<sup>i</sup> Griffins.

<sup>k</sup> Octaves.

[Sold.] xxix copes of blewe bawdkyn wythe dyvers beasts byrds and small knotts of gold ix of them beyng orphensyd with brothery worke and the other xx<sup>ii</sup> with dyvers other collered bawdekyn.

[Sold.] ij grene copes of bawdkyn serving for the Vigyll of Easter and Pentecost.

#### COPES AND CHEZABULLES OF BLACK.

oon Cope of black clothe of gold with the orphens of cloth of tyssewe with a chezabull ij tunycles ij albes ij stolls ij phanams to the same belongyng of the gyfte of Kyng Henry the VII<sup>th</sup>.<sup>a</sup>

a nother Cope of black clothe of gold with the orphens of velvet brotheryd with Jhus and Angells with the Scripture Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum<sup>b</sup> with a chezabull ij tunacles ij albes ij stolls ij phanams j other oone belongyng.

ij Copys of black velvett figures powdred with rosses and leves of gold the orphens beyng of blew clothe of gold with a chezabull ij tunycles ij albs ij stoles and ij phanams of the same sute and clothe of the gyfte of Thomas Rowthall bysshopp of Durham.<sup>c</sup>

[Sold.] a chezable ij tunycles of black clothe lyke satten wrought with shrympes<sup>d</sup> of golde and whyte swannes with golden cheynes with ij stolles and ij phanams to the same belongyng.

A Cope of black damask with the orphens of clothe of gold and in the hed of the cope a crownyd rosse brotheryd with a chezable two tunacles ij albes ij stolls and ij phanams to y<sup>e</sup> same belongyng serving for Kyng Henry the VII<sup>th</sup> wekely<sup>e</sup> ohytte.<sup>f</sup>

a chezable ij tunacles of black ryght satten<sup>g</sup> with ij stolles and ij phanams to the same to serve for y<sup>e</sup> cotidian<sup>h</sup> masse of Requiem at the High Aulter.

[Sold.] iij copes of ryght<sup>i</sup> black satten and the orphens of nedyll work.

<sup>a</sup> "Cancellatur quia intratur in libro Inventorii Capell. fundac' H. vij<sup>mi</sup>." (*Margin.*)

<sup>b</sup> Last verse of Ps. cl.

<sup>c</sup> Died in 1524. He is buried in S. John Baptist's Chapel. (Dart, i. 189-191.)

<sup>d</sup> Atsea bore shrimps on his arms (Berry's Cycl. of Heraldry i. 70.) There was a family of Shrimpton (Dug. 210); a cope at St. Paul's was broidered cum pluribus piscibus (209); casula cum pisculis (216). See also Prompt. Parv. i. 102. Parpillottes are spangles or oes. (Cotgrave.) The ornamentation of vestments bordered sometimes on the grotesque, as at St. John's, Colchester—"xvi. copes blewe with orfres of grene velvet embroydered with gardevyans." "Last of all come on your fool's coat, which is called a vestment, lacking nothing but the cock's comb. This is diversly daubed. Some have angels, some the blasphemous image of the Trinity, some flowers, some peacocks, some owls, some cats, some dogs, some hares, some one thing, some another, and some nothing at all, but a cross upon the back to fray away spirits." (The displaying of the Popish Mass. Becon's Works, fo. xxxvi. Pt. II. fo. 1560.)

<sup>e</sup> Weekly.

<sup>g</sup> Pure, whole.

<sup>f</sup> Erased for the same reason as the first.

<sup>h</sup> Daily.

<sup>i</sup> Right, true, genuine. (Litleton.) "Diapered with right crimosyn satten." (Hall. 619.)

- [Sold.] ij of taffata whiche were yellow copes and newe-dyed unto black with the orpheus of Seynt John Baptiste.
- [Sold.] xij other of black satten of bryges beyng orpheusyd with the ymage of Seynt John Baptiste.
- [Sold.] of the same black sute be xij of baudkyn sore worne with orpheuses of hawdkyn.

## SYLK ALBYS.

- oone albe of sylk the ground of the parells beyng of grene nedyll work with the ymage of o<sup>r</sup> lady and iiij of the appostells of gold on the oon syde and on the other syde the ymages of Cryst and o<sup>r</sup> Lady with iiij other of the Appostelles on the brest of the albe thies words followyng Ex dono fratris Johannis de Suttunia monachi Westm' wrought with the nedyll: with stoll and phanam of the same work and to the same belongyng.
- an other albe of sylk with parells of red nedyll work with divers skouchyns and plates of sylver and gylte lyke knotts and lyons beyng garnysshed with blew white and red perle aboute the skouchyns servyng for the Chaunter at y<sup>e</sup> feasts of Seynt Peter.
- a nother albe of dyaper sylk the ground of parells of red taffata haveyng the Expulsyon of Adam owte of Paradyse<sup>a</sup> the Ymmolacon of Ysaac with dyvers other hystoryes of the Byble curiously wrozt<sup>b</sup> with the nedyll on the same parells.
- a nother of sylk the ground of the parells grene and red nedyll work with iiij dyvers armys on every syde of the same albe.
- a nother of sylk the ground of the parells red taffata and on the oon syde the Nativite of o<sup>r</sup> Lorde and on the other syde Jhus Chryste and viij of Ilys apostells of nedyll work.
- an other of sylk the ground of oon of y<sup>e</sup> parells red nedlework with a ymage of o<sup>r</sup> Lady and certeyn hystoryes of the newe testament all of gold and the ground of the other parell blew and red nedyllwork with the hystorye of the coronacyon of owre Lady and the xii apostells all of gold.
- ij other of sylk the ground of the parells grene taffeta with iiij armes of nedyll work on every syde of every albe all of oon sorte withoute dyfference.

## ALBYS OF CLOTHE AND PARELL OF NEDYLL WORKE.

- xij albes of clothe the parells of them beyng rychely wrought with ymagery of nedyll work of dyvers sorts servyng at principall feasts ffor the elder men.<sup>c</sup>
- ou other albe of clothe the ground of y<sup>e</sup> parells grene taffeta haveyng iiij red skouchyns on every syde and in every skouchyn iiij lyons of gold of nedell worke.

<sup>a</sup> At St Paul's it was delineated by "Ymages Majestatis alloquentis Adam et Eve et angeli evenientis cum iiij arboribus cum serpente cujus capud virgineum." (Dug. p. 201.)

<sup>b</sup> Wrought.

<sup>c</sup> Elder monks, here called "Senpectæ," *i.e.* senes sapientes or Synpaiktai mates. See my Interior of a Bened. Monast. drawn up from Ware's Custumal, 1266, now in the British Museum, and printed in the Ecclesiastic, 1866, p. 533.

[Sold.] a parel for an albe haveyng on the oon syde of nedle worke the ymages of John Seynt Peter Seynt Paule Scint Andrew and Seynt Bartylmew and on the other syde the ymage of o<sup>r</sup> Lady with iiij of y<sup>r</sup> appostells.

ALBES WITH PARELLS<sup>a</sup> OF CLOTIE OF GOLD.

[Sold.] oon albe haveyng the parel of darkyshe red or murrey clothe of gold and in the mydds of the parells ij ymages oon of a kyng and the other of a bysshoppe of nedyll work.

[Sold.] iiij other albes haveyng parells of red clothe of gold of dyvers sortes. oon other albe haveyng the parells of fyne crymsyn clothe of gold of the gyfte of John Islyppe abbott.

a nother albe haveyng parells of blew clothe of gold with circles and rosses in the circles of the gyfte of dan Thomas Essex.

a nother albe the parells therof beyng Venys gold with small strykes of black runnyng thorough the gold lyke braunches of the gyfte of dan Thomas Essex.

a nother Albe with parells of Venys golde with small strycks fasshenyng the gold lyke shellys of the gyfte of dan Wylyam Essex.

[Sold.] iiij parells for albes of violette clothe of gold with ymagery of nedyll work in the myddys of every parel.

BLACK ALBES.

iiij principall albes of nedyll work for the Seniors<sup>b</sup>.

ij other of black damask oon of them being garnysshed on bothe the sydes with a ymage of the Trinite brotherd and thys scrypture Illuminator meus Deus and the other beyuge garnysshed with an archaungell and flowrs brotherd and with thys scripture *Da gloriam Deo.*<sup>c</sup>

v other of velvett haveyng flowres of gold and levys of grene and red lyk vynes wrought upon the blacke velvett.

vj other albys be of black velvett very old and sore worne.

viiij other black albys of nedyll worke very old and sore worne which serve<sup>d</sup> for yong men.

iiij other albys of old black satten of bryges.

BLACK PARELLS REMAYNYNG WYTHOUTE ALBYS.<sup>e</sup>

iiij payre of parells for albys of black velvett sore worne.

ij payre of parells of ryght black satyn.

j payre of parells of old black taffeta.

<sup>a</sup> Paruræ, apparels.

<sup>b</sup> The elder monks—the younger had their special vestments.

<sup>c</sup> The same legend occurred at Lincoln. (Monast. vi. 1283.)

<sup>d</sup> The younger monks. Comp. at St. Paul's "capa debilis assignata ad pueros. Capa fracta assignatur ad tunicas puerorum; xxiv. capa puerorum fractæ et parvi precii." (Dugd. 208-209.)

<sup>e</sup> An albe having apparels was called parata. (Dart, Canterb. App. ix.)

j payre of velvett with golden flowres and red grene levys lyke vynes.  
 iiij payre of nedyll worke apou a black darkyshe ground which be old and  
 sore worne.

ALBYS OF BLEWE AND OTHER COLLORS SERVYNG FOR  
 CONFESSORS.

- oon albe with parells of blew velvett the ymages of o<sup>r</sup> Lady Saynt Anne  
 Saynt Katheryn Seynt Margaret with a vyne and lybards hedds on the  
 oon syde and Seynt Peter Seynt Paule and Seynt Xpofer on the other syd  
 with stoll and phanam to the same.
- a nother albe with parells of blewe velvet haveyng the coronacion of o<sup>r</sup> Lady  
 Seynt Peter and Paule in tabernacles on the oon syd and y<sup>e</sup> salutacion of o<sup>r</sup>  
 Lady Seynt John the Ewangelist and Seynt Edward in lyk wyse on the  
 other syde with stoll and phanam.
- an other albe with parells of blew velvet garnysshed with enbrothered crownys  
 and flores de lyces of gold with stoll and phanam to the same.
- a nother albe with parells of blew haveyng Saynt John the Ewangelist and  
 Seynt Jamys on every syde.
- iiij albys haveyng parells of tawny velvett with brothered flowres and droppes<sup>a</sup>  
 of golde.
- oon albe of grene velvett enbrothered with sterrys for the Prior in Principall  
 Vigills. (*Erased.*)
- a goodly albe with parells of blewe satten for the Prior enbrothered with  
 flowrys and this scripture Tolle crimen D'ne.
- a nother albe with parells of grene velvet haveyng oon ymage of Seynt  
 Edward and a nother of Seynt Nicholas with iiij skouchyns all of brothered  
 worke of y<sup>e</sup> gyfte of John Cornyshe monke.
- a nother albe with parells of grene velvet wyth sonnys and rolles (*sic*) and thys  
 word Emanuell enbrothered.
- a nother albe with parells of blew damaske garnysshed with anelles of gold  
 and thes ij letters R and C of Dan Robert Callowys gyfte.
- another albe with parells of bryght grene with lyberds heddes of gold within  
 circullys of gold.
- an other albe with parells haveyng on the oon syd the armys of England and  
 Seynt Edmond and Seynt Edward and on the other syde the armys of  
 Warwyke and Spencer and of the Erle of Oxford.
- another albe with parells of blew bawdkyn lyke damaske with grene braunchys  
 and flowres of sylver.
- a nother albe with perles of grene nedleworke haveyng on the oon syd the  
 ymages of o<sup>r</sup> Lord, Seynt Peter and Seynt Edward and on the other syde o<sup>r</sup>  
 Lady, Seynt Katheryn and Seynt Margaret.
- a nother albe with grene perles haveyng theron a preests hed with dyvers  
 pleynsonge nottes.<sup>b</sup>
- a nother albe haveyng wrought on the perles<sup>c</sup> a egle a gryffen a holly lambe  
 and a lyon with dyvers other beasts.
- a nother albe with parells haveyng dyvers armes of nedle worke.

<sup>a</sup> Pendants.

<sup>b</sup> Plain-song notes.

<sup>c</sup> Apparels.

- a nother albe with parells haveynge wroughte theron the armes of England Warwyck and Spencer.
- iiij other albes with old perles of nedle worke of dyvers collors and sorts serving for yong men. (*Erased.*)
- ij other albes with parells of grene satten a bruges oon of them haveyng thereon the ymage of Seynt Xpofer<sup>a</sup> and the other *flwore de lyces* and other flwores of brothery worke. (Sold.)
- ij other albes with parells of grene lyke damaske oon of them haveynge on preests hedd and the other a skonchyn full of small crosses of the gyffte of dan Robert Cheseman. (Sold.)
- a nother albe with parells of crane collord satten of bryges with the ymage of Seynt Edmond on the oon syde and a bysshop of the other syd of the gyffte of dan Wyllyam Ebesham.
- iiij other albes with parells of blewe satten of bryges with swannys in the mydds and thys scripture *Je ffoy* of the gyffte of dan Thomas Gardynner.
- vij other albys with parells of *bawdekyn* and *nedyll worke together* of dyvers collo's serveynge only for Saynte Dunstans daye.<sup>b</sup>
- ij payre of parells for albys of grene bandkyn serveyng for yong men.

WHYTE ALBYS.<sup>c</sup>

- oon albe with white parells of nedle worke haveynge the armys of Jherusalem of Seynt Peter and Paule and Seynt Edwarde on both sydes of lyke work with *stoll and phanam*.
- a nother albe with parells of whyte enbrothered on the oon syd with the ymages of o' Lady and ij of the Apostells and on the other syd the ymages of Seynt Thomas thapostell with ij other apostells.
- a nother albe with parells of white enbrothered on every syd with iiij ymages of gold in golden tabernacles.
- a nother albe with parells of white damaske garnysshed with thes letters X and C of golde and with thys scripture *Xpo canamus gloriam* of y<sup>e</sup> gyffte of dan Xpofer Chamber.<sup>d</sup>
- a nother albe with parells of white damaske haveynge wrought on every syde a greate white roose with golden angells standing on wheles.<sup>e</sup>
- a nother albe with parells of ryght satten and crymsyn velvett garnysed with thys scripture in golden letters *Rectos decet collaudacio* of dan Robert Davers<sup>f</sup> gyffte.
- a nother albe with parells of whyte satten goodly garnysed with nedle worke and with the ymages of o' Lady on the oon syde and Seynt Xpofer on the other syd and with thes letters X and C of dan Xpofer Goodhappys gyffte.

<sup>a</sup> May 19.<sup>b</sup> Christopher.<sup>c</sup> *Ad patenam portandam Capæ albæ.* (Dart, Canterb. App. viii.) Albes with apparells were called *albæ paratæ* in the Ely Inventory.<sup>d</sup> Christopher Chamber was one of the monks at Abbot Islip's election. (Widmore, App. 235.)<sup>e</sup> See such figures over the reredos in the view of Islip's burial.<sup>f</sup> Robert Davers was Succentor at the time of Abbot Islip's election. (Widmore, App. 235.) See Ps. xxxiii. 1.

- A nother albe with parells of white damaske enbrothered on bothe syds with the ymage of o' Lady and flowrys of dan William Ebeshams gyffte.
- A nother albe with parells of white damask enbrothered with angells and thes ij letters R and C of dan Robert Callows gyffte.
- A nother albe with parells of white damask garnyshed with flowrys of brotherd worke and thes ij letters J and B of dan John Bedfords gyffte.
- A nother albe with parells of white damask enbrothered with thassumpcyon of o' Lady and thes ij letters J and C of dan John Cornyshe gyfft.
- A nother albe with parells of white damask enbrothered with angells and fflowres of dan James Denys gyffte.
- A nother albe with parells of whyte baudkyn lyke damask haveynge a T of swannys apon erymsyn velvett of dan Thomas Gardyners gyffte.
- A nother albe with parells of white haveynge dyvers armys and flowrys de lyces of sylver and golde of nedle worke. (*Erased.*)
- A nother albe with parells of white beyng garnyshed with garters.
- V other albes with parells of white haveyng in them sterrys of gold.
- iiij other albes with parells of white satten of bryges beyng garnyshed with fflowre de lyces and other fflowres.
- iiij other albes with parells of white satten of bryges haveynge on them a T and thys scripture Je ffroy enbrothered.
- Oon albe with the parells of old white bawdekyn whiche ys sore worne.
- vij payr of white parells lackyng albes the ffyrste of them haveyng starys of golde wrought in the parells the second be of white satten of bryges with thys letter T and this scripture Je ffroy and the v other be of white bawdkyn very sore worne.

REDD ALBES. <sup>a</sup>

- Oon albe with parells of murrey velvett garnyshed on every syd with fflowres of brothery serveyng ffor the Prior.
- Oon other albe the ground of the parells of darke purple velvett beyng garnyshed on bothe sydes of the albe and the hood with brotherd garters and bulyons<sup>b</sup> of sylver and of gylte.
- ij albes with parells of crymson velvet haveyng on one of them thes iiij ymages Seynt Lawrence Seynt Katheryn Seynt Edward and Seynt Dorothe with branches of nedlework with tabernacles and nedleworke also.
- A nother albe with parells of redd velvett garnyshed on bothe syds with the dome and iiij angells of brothery in tabernacles.
- ij other albes with parells of murrey velvett enbrothered on every syde with iiij white swannys<sup>c</sup> with cheynys of gold aboute their necks.
- A nother albe with parells of murrey velvett enbrothered on bothe sydes with a roose and ij crosse keys with crownys and certeyn letters.

<sup>a</sup> Red albes for Passion Week. (Gunton's Peterborough, 59).

<sup>b</sup> Littleton gives as synonyms, Crusta, bulla. The word frequently occurs in Hall.

<sup>c</sup> The badge of Henry V.

- a nother albe with parells of dark purple velvett enbrothered on both syds with crosse keys Katheryn whelys and fflowres.
- ij other albes with parells of ryght redd satten oon of them haveyng on both syds a ymage and ij fflowres of brothery with certen scripture and the other of them a arch aungell and ij fflowres of brothery and thes ij letters W and G in the hoode.
- a nother albe with parells of ryght redd satten enbrothered on bothe syds with a roose and ij peyre of crosse keys with a crowne and certayn letters.
- ij other albes with parells of redd oon of them beyng garnyshed on bothe syds with iiij ymages and crownes of redd worke and the other of them beyng garnyshed with sterrys and fflowres of nedleworke also.
- a nother albe with parells of nedleworke lyke chewerns<sup>a</sup> haveyng in them serpentys fflowrys and Lyons of dyvers collors.
- oon other albe the ground of the parells beenge redd satten haveyng the ymage of o<sup>r</sup> Lady on the oon syd and Seynt Xpofr on the other syd garnyssed with knotts and fflowres of nedyll worke of the gyfte of dan Xpofr Goodhapps.<sup>b</sup>
- a nother albe with parells of red damask enbrothered with angells and thes ij letters R and C of dan Robert Callews gyfte.
- a nother albe with parells of red velvett enbrothered with fflowres and a T of swannys with theys scripture Je ffoy<sup>c</sup> of the gyfte of dan Thomas Gardyner.<sup>c</sup>
- a nother albe of red bawdekyn with flowrys with flowrys of golde and other wrought therein of the gyfte of dan George Abyndon.
- another albe with parells of red satten of brygs garnyshed with brotherd garters.
- a nother albe with parcells of redd and grene bawdekyn with dayces wrought therein.
- a nother albe with parells of red satten of brygess with a T of swannys and this scripture Je ffoy brothered theron.

## GYRDYLLES OF SYLKE.

- oon gyrdyll of golde and red sylke with lyke buttons and tassells.
- a nother gyrdyll of redd with red buttons and tassels of golde and red sylk.
- xij other gyrdylls of grene and white sylke with buttons<sup>d</sup> and tassells of the same on to every oon of them lackyng bnt oon tassell and button.
- oon other gyrdyll of white sylke with lyke buttons and tassells.

<sup>a</sup> Chevrons.

<sup>b</sup> Christopher. This signature is affixed to the Inventory.

<sup>c</sup> Thomas Gardyner was one of the monks present at Abbot Islip's election. (Widmore, App. 234.)

<sup>d</sup> They bound the albe as a cincture. (Several are mentioned in MS. Inv. of Worcester, Harl. MS. 604, fo. 102.) "Zone ad deserviendum dño abbati in principalibus." (Inv. S. Albani, Claud. E. iv. fo. 358.) "A girde of sylke with a list of blew and yellow." (Inv. S. Dunstan's in the East.) "A gyrdell with xxv lytle barres of sylve with a shelde of sylver hangyng at yet, wayes all together j oz. di. (Inv. Ware.)

ij other gyrdylls of redd grene and whyte sylke with lyke buttons and tassells.

oon other of red blew and white sylke with lyke buttons and tassells.

ij other that be olde of redd sylke with buttons and tassells.

STOLLES<sup>a</sup> AND PHANAMS.<sup>b</sup>

xvj stolls of nedle worke of dyvers sorts.

xv phanams of nedle worke longyng to the same stolls.

ijj other stolles of bawdkyn of dyvers collers with oon phanam to the same.

CORPORAS CASYS<sup>c</sup> AND CORPORAS CLOTHES.

ix Corporas casys of dyvers sortts with vij corporas clothes to the same.

The fyrrste corporas Case with iij Lyons garnysshed with perles and buttons of sylver and gylte.

The second clothe of gold a lytle oon with ymagery and a Castell on the oon syd garnysshed with stouys and perle with ix small buttons of perle.

The iij<sup>de</sup> of the ymage of our Lady and saynte John Baptiste and saynte John evangeliste on the oon syde and the crucifix on the other syde of clothe of gold garnysshed with perles.

the iiij<sup>th</sup> clothe of tynsyn gold. (*Erased*).

the vj<sup>th</sup> of redd and blew velvet garnysshed with Angells armys and molletts.<sup>d</sup>

the vij<sup>th</sup> of nedyll worke with the resurrece'on and the assumptyon of our Ladye.

the viij<sup>th</sup> is an olde oon with the picture of o' Lord on the oon syd and bawdkyn on the other syde.

the ix<sup>th</sup> of grene velvet garnysshed with the iii Evaungelists and the Pellycan.

a nother corporas case of brodered worke haveyng the V wounds brodered on y<sup>e</sup> oon syd and tynsell satten on the other syde of the gyffte of dan Wylyam Elsham.

a nother Corporax Case of olde blacke velvet with braunchys of red and grene levys.

*Lynnyn Arter Clothes and Towells.*<sup>e</sup>—Oon awter clothe of whyte sylk raynyd.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Stoles.

<sup>b</sup> Fanon or maniple. See *Sacr. Arch.* s. v.

<sup>c</sup> See *Sacred Archaeology* s. v.; called pokkettis in *Archaeol.* xxi. 255.

<sup>d</sup> The heraldic charge of a mullet.

<sup>e</sup> *Panni pro oblacionibus faciendis et aliis necessariis in processionibus.* (*Inv. S. Alban's, Claud. E. iv. fo. 352 b.*) *Panni de serico pro patena et reliquiis portanda, pannus pro missali.* (*Dart, Canterb. App. viii.*) *ij tuelli ponendi super altare subtas corporale; tertius vero erit ad usum lavatorii, pro manibus tergendis.* (*Lynd. lib. iii. tit. 27, p. 252.*) (*MS. Inv. Gillingham.*) *ij towels for the lavatory.* *A fyne towell wrought with needle worke for the taper on Easter Evyn.* (*MS. Inv. St. Dunstan's in the East.*) *Pauniculi pro manibus celebrantis tergendis.* (*Harl. MS. 3775, fo. 137.*) *ij towels used at the time that people were houselled,*

<sup>f</sup> *Radiatus*—cloth of ray (*Hall, 509*) in stripes, distinct work from "raised,"

- a pleyne fyue awter cloth with v crossys of gold in the mydds of the same clothe of the gyffte of Sir John Stanley<sup>a</sup> Knyghte.  
 oon awter clothe of dyaper and ij other of playne clothe.  
 a pleyn towell with saumpeler<sup>b</sup> work for the High aulter on Principall Feasts.  
 iij other playn towells cotidyans for every day.  
 ij lynnyn clothes for the stole at the awlter end.<sup>c</sup>  
 oon Cote<sup>d</sup> of clothe of golde for o<sup>r</sup> Lady at y<sup>e</sup> Northe Dore.  
*Towells for Crosses and Crosses.*<sup>e</sup>—oon towell or lytle clothe of whyte sylke with bottons and frynges servyng for the Crosse at Pryncepall feasts.  
 ij other of playn clothe for bothe the Crosses.  
 iiij other towells of pleyn clothe for the Crosse stavys.  
*Curteyns.*<sup>f</sup>—oon payr of blewe long doble tartarue<sup>g</sup> of my Lady Hungerford's gyfte.  
 another payre of red sareynette frynged of dan Xpofer Goodhappys gyffte.  
 another large payr of whyte doble tartarne.  
 a nother payr of grene sarsenet for Seynt Edwards dayes.  
 a nother payr of black for dyryges.  
 a nother payr of blewe sareynett for Myghelmas daye. (*Caret.*)  
 a nother payr of crymsyn tartarne for cotidyans.  
 a nother payr of whyte tartarne servyng for the inferior feasts.

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being diaper. (MS. Inv. of Much Houghton, 6 Edw. VI.) ij towells of dyaper called howselyng clothes. (MS. Inv. Haddenham.) ij old dornyx clothes to cover the awters. (MS. Inv. S. Peter West Chepe.) A towell to beare the taper to the fonte. (MS. Inv. St. Mary Abchurch.) ij towels of sendall to beare the crysmatory yn. (MS. Inv. S. Michael at the Quern.) Tuallia una ad lectricum Aquile. (Rock, Church of our Fathers, iv. App. 102.) Mantilia lineaa ad altare. Mantilia serica ad oblationes faciendas. (MS. Inv. Ely Cath. fo. 128.)

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tissue reised with silver, paned with cloth of silver. (Hall, 508, 793.) j cope of cloth of gold raysid with red fygyrue. (MS. Inv. S. Stephen's Westm.) A herse cloth of tysshu rasid with rede velvet. (S. Olave's Jewry.)

<sup>a</sup> Probably Sir John, K.G., lord lieutenant of Ireland, who died 1414. There is another of the name buried at Lichfield, who lived in the time of Henry VIII.

<sup>b</sup> Needlework in patters of coloured thread, opus mappale, in the Inventory of St. Paul's. (See Cook's First Voyage, B. 2, c. ix.)

<sup>c</sup> The "sedilia"—a bench still stands in this position. So at St. Alban's. A proper sete seyled at y<sup>e</sup> auter's end for pryst, decon, and subdeacon. (Inv. of Austin Friars, Southampton.) (MS. Augm. Off. 466, fo. 131.) New selid setis at Jhus alter. (Melcombe. Augm. Books, 466, fo. 39.) Tapetium pro sede sacerdotis ad magnum altari. (Claud. E. iv. 353.)

<sup>d</sup> So in the MS. Inventory of Flixton. S. Kateryn's cote of cloth of golde.

<sup>e</sup> A Crosse cloth with a stromer of silke. (MS. Inv. Shephold.)

<sup>f</sup> Costers at the side of the altar. iiij curteyns hangynge on bans of yeorn to save y<sup>e</sup> same allter of saye. (Southampton, *Ibid.* 131.)

<sup>g</sup> Tartaryn—tartan, an Oriental stuff of scarlet colour. (Planché, Brit. Cost. 118, 336.) (See also Sac. Archaeol.)

- Sudaryes.*<sup>a</sup>—ij Sudaryes of whyte sylke strayked and fryngyd at every end.  
 ij other Sudaryes of red sarcynett with frynges at the ends.  
 iij other sudaryes of grene sylke fryngyd at the ends ij of them beyng strayked  
 and the iij<sup>d</sup> on strayked.<sup>b</sup>  
 oon blewe sudary with strayks onfryngyd.  
 a nother sudary of dyaper chaungeable collors.<sup>c</sup>  
 ij red sudaryes for the cotidyans.<sup>d</sup>  
 oon other sudarye of grene work satten.
- Bawdekyns.*—[Pro Rege.] ij bawdekyns of black clothe of golde and of them  
 conteynyng in length oon yerd and a half the other conteynyng in length  
 almoste ij yerds.  
 [Pro Rege.] ij other bawdkyns of blewe clothe of golde every oon of them  
 conteynyng in length iij yerds.  
 [Pro Rege.] iij other bawdkyns of violett clothe of gold ij of them conteynyng  
 in length iij yerds and the iij<sup>do</sup> conteyneth in length iij yerds lackyng  
 ij inches.  
 xvij other bawdkyns of dyvers sortts and collors whereof iij be occupyed  
 aboute and apon Seynte Feythes awter in the Revestry.<sup>e</sup>  
 oon other apon the pulpytt<sup>f</sup> every sonday whiche ys in the Sergeaunts  
 custodye.

## MYSSALLES AND OTHER BOOKES.

- a Masse Booke of Abbott Nicholas Lytlyngton<sup>g</sup> gyffte, ij<sup>o</sup> folio ad “Te  
 levavi”<sup>a</sup> with clasps of copper and the booke ys covered with clothe of  
 gold.  
 a nother longyng to the Prior ij<sup>o</sup> folio “cant in via” with oon claspe of sylver  
 and gylte.  
 a nother Cotidian masse booke for the Highte Awlter ij<sup>o</sup> folio “cius Ego  
 bapt.”  
 a nother booke with lessons to be redd by the Abbott ij<sup>o</sup> folio “tueris et  
 adjuvas” lackyng clasps.  
 a Gospell Booke cotidyen for the high awlter ij<sup>o</sup> folio “in via alii autem.”

<sup>a</sup> (MS. Inv. of S. Olave's Jewry,) ij Sodaryes for the Pix of rede sarcenet  
 with viij knoppes of copper gilt. (S. Mary Woolnoth,) A sudary cloth of  
 Turkey silke to beare the crismatory at Ester.

<sup>b</sup> Cameló—fluted, chanelled (Cotgrave), palliata.

<sup>c</sup> Couleur changeant—shot.

<sup>d</sup> A daylie vestment of greene damask. (Augm. Off. Books 495, 120.) Coti-  
 dian vestment. (Ib. 86.) (MS. Inv. S. Paul's, 1552.)

<sup>e</sup> This gives the correct dedication of this altar, which was not that of S. Blaise.  
 (See Gleanings 47-9.) Her picture carrying her emblem—a gridiron—remains  
 on the east wall of this chapel. xxxv bawdkyns for to garnyshe the quyer at  
 everye triumphe or at the Kings Ma<sup>ty</sup><sup>g</sup> comyng. (MS. Inv. S. Paul's.) Course  
 cloth of sylver called a bawdkyn. (Inv. Pwe in S. Stephen's, Westminster.)

<sup>f</sup> A cloth for the pulpitt of whyte sylke. (MS. Inv. S. Martin's Outwich.)

<sup>g</sup> Prepared in the year 1373. (Gleanings, 272.)

<sup>h</sup> Missale incipiens rubricá ad Te levavi. (Inv. S. Paul's, Dugd. 228.)

- a Pystle Booke cotidian ij<sup>o</sup> folio "mansuetus emisit."  
 a Collector for Collects and chapters servyng for o<sup>r</sup> father Abbott of Abbott Lytlyngtons gyfte <sup>a</sup> for Principall ffcasts withoute clasps covered with olde bawdekyn.  
 a Collector for the Prior when he dothe servys ij<sup>o</sup> folio "Exita dñe,"<sup>b</sup> with ij claspes of sylver and gylt.  
 a Sauter <sup>c</sup> for the Kyng somtyme callyd Kyng Henry the iij<sup>de</sup> with the Apocalypes in the end ij<sup>o</sup> folio, "Super Sion," haveyng clasps of sylver.  
 a nother Sauter with dyvers ymages after the Calender ij<sup>o</sup> folio "tunc loquetur."  
 a nother Boke<sup>d</sup> for Holy Water for Sondays ij<sup>o</sup> folio "benedicere et sanctificare."  
 a nother to blesse the pascall folio secundo "Judas Scaryott" with Lessons for Ester and Whitsontyd and a nother Quere<sup>e</sup> for the same feasts ij<sup>o</sup> folio "illum est qui."  
 a nother booke of Pystles with ymages in the begynnyng ij<sup>o</sup> folio "Sibi Populum."  
 oon other booke of Gospells for the Highe Awlter ij<sup>o</sup> folio "mus<sup>f</sup> Respondens."  
 a breviat masse boke<sup>g</sup> for the Rogacyon dayes ij<sup>o</sup> folio, "rant<sup>f</sup> A Pastoribus."  
 A Pontificall with a coveryng of clothe of golde<sup>h</sup> and a claspe of sylver ij<sup>o</sup> folio "Dominum carnem."  
 A nother Boke of Coronacyons of Kyngs<sup>i</sup> ij<sup>o</sup> folio "quia non erat" cum lectionibus Sancte Marie Magdalene in eodem libro.  
 A new Gospell Booke ij<sup>o</sup> "cedebant ramos" of the wryting of dan John Langham.  
 A nother boke for Ester tyme also f<sup>o</sup>. ij<sup>o</sup> "bistum."<sup>f</sup>

## BELLYS.

[Sold.] ij bellys callyd Saynt Dunstans bells.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In his will he says: Vestimenta omnia ad Divina Officia deputata, libros omnes et singulos, paunos aureos et deauratos, et aurifrizata quacunq̄ue, mitram quoque, et signacula crucis deaurata, et alia jocalia omnia lego fabricæ monasterii Westmonasterii. (Widmore, App. 188.)

<sup>b</sup> Capitularium et Collectarium incipit Exita Domine. (Inv. S. Paul's, Dugdale, 221.)

<sup>c</sup> Psalter. (See Gleanings, 273.)

<sup>d</sup> A Benedictional.

<sup>e</sup> Quire, or division of the volume.

<sup>f</sup> These are the last syllables of the preceding words.

<sup>g</sup> Missalia abbreviata. (Dart. Canterb. App. xv.)

<sup>h</sup> Missale cum coopertoriis de serico consuto. (Dart. Canterb. App. xv.)

<sup>i</sup> See Gleanings, 266; Malcolm, i. 244, 266, says it was burnt.

<sup>k</sup> Possibly for marking the beginning of the canonical hours or masses in choir. A little bell is still used in the Abbey before service. Chimes for ringing at the elevation are mentioned in Bury Wills, and in the MS. Inv. of St. Mary Woolnoth. A broken chyme which stole in S. George's Chappell, (S. Matthew, Friday

A glasse called Marlyons glasse.<sup>a</sup>

A Combe of yvory servyng for prestes when y<sup>ci</sup> fyrst say masse.<sup>b</sup>

LENT STUFFS.<sup>c</sup>

A frontell with an awter clothe benethe reyrd,<sup>d</sup> lackeyng ij curteyns.

A white clothe of sylk with a red crosse servyng for Lent.

ij albys of oon sute and the parells for Pisteller [and] Gospeller.

Oon albe garnysshed with xxxij sterrys and ij halfe sterrys of sylver and gylte for the Highe Masse with stolle and phanam without sterrys.

iiij chezabulls of whyte one sute and a cope.

Oon corporas case with corporaces.

ij white sydaries.<sup>e</sup>

QUYSSHYONS FOR TEXTES.<sup>f</sup>

Oon quysshion of crymsyn clothe of gold on the oon syde and grene caddas<sup>g</sup> on the other side.

Street.) A saunce bell at the quyer door; 3 bells to ring in the chapel. (Gunton, Peterb. 63.)

<sup>a</sup> Probably a globe for warming the celebrant's fingers. The pome at St. Paul's, the Calcipugnus at Canterbury, or Calefactory as at Salisbury, or in Ware's Custumal the fucea. (Ecclesiastic, xxviii. 537.) They were then of iron filled with charcoal. A chafyng ball. (Cranmer's Inv. Add. MS. 24,520, fo. 166b.) The glass warmers would hold hot water. A fyre ball to warme handes. (MS. Inv. Worc. Cath. MS. Harl. 1004, fo. 121.) At Wylnashe, however, I find a pax glas and led, and at St. Helen's Bishopsgate a ring of sylver with ij glasses for Corpus Christi. A tabull of glasse with an ymage of o<sup>r</sup> Lady and her sonne. (Warham's Inv. Public Record Off. c.  $\frac{1}{18}$ , fo. 86.)

<sup>b</sup> This important entry shows the use of the comb so often mentioned in inventories and occasionally found in tombs.

<sup>c</sup> Dominica I. Quadragesimæ, post completorium suspendatur cortina inter chorum et altare. (Cons. Laufr. Wilkins, Conc. i. 332.) Si festivitatem celebrari in quadragesima contigerit præcedenti die dum canitur Agnus Dei ad majorem missam colligatur cortina. (Ibid. 333.) See also Lyndw. lib. v. tit. 16, p. 342.

<sup>d</sup> Reyrd, rayed, radiatus.

<sup>e</sup> Old cloaths to cover saints in Lent. (Gunton's Peterborough, 63.)

<sup>f</sup> At Canterbury there were pulvinaria pro ministris altaris. (Dart. Append. xv.) We also find cushions pro sede sacerdotis ad magnum altare . . . ad deponendum in presbyterio . . . super scamna . . . (Annales S. Albani, ii. 339, 341.) Ad portandum textus in choro. (Ib. 336.) Pulvinaria ad reliquias. (Rock, Ch. of our Fathers, iv. App. 105.) Auriculare ad missale imponendum. (Pulten. Inv. 25 Edw. III.) Auriculare pro altari. (Ward. Book 34 Edw. I. Add. MS. 24,522 fo. 134.) ij litell pillows of whit clothe for the anter. (MS. Publ. Rec. Off. 66 fo. 12.) Text, the Book of the Gospels.

<sup>g</sup> Or carde, silken stuff used for linings.

A nother quysshion for principall feasts of crymsyn velvett with great Lyons of nedyll worke and with iiij tassells at the iiij ends of the gyfte of quene Elizabeth wyf unto Kyng Edward the iiij<sup>th</sup>.

A nother quysshion of blewe clothe of gold on the oon syd and red clothe of golde on the other syde.

#### QUYSSHYNES FOR ESTATES.<sup>a</sup>

ij quysshyns of the meane syse of blewe bawdekyn haveyng byrds and doggs of gold.

ij quysshyns of crymsyn bawdkyn with peacocks of golde haveyng grene necks.

A nother quysshion of crymsyn bawdkyn with white herons and byrds of gold.

A large coveryng for a quysshion and iij quysshions stuffed of blewe bawdekyn with grene braunchys lyke vynes haveyng red flores in the vynes lyke rosses and a gret grene flowre with white and blewe smalle flowrys ij of them be sore worn and be in y<sup>e</sup> sergeaunts custodye.

ij large quysshions of red damaske braunchyd with golde.

ij lesse of the same sute.

A more and a lesse quysshion of crymsyn velvet.

A more and a lesse quysshion of black tyssewe.

ij other quysshions of blewe cloth of golde of dan John Amersham gyfte.

ij quysshions of grene velvet figured.

ij quysshions of grene bawdekyn with rossys of golde.

iiij quysshyns of red clothe of golde of the smaller sorte.

ij gretter quysshions of white damaske with the flores of golde.

ij smaller quysshions of the same sute.

ij quysshions of grene bawdkyn with flowrys and braunchys of sylver very sore worn.

A nother lytle quysshion of olde bawdkyn with hounds and fawcons seasonyng upon conys.<sup>b</sup>

ij coveryngs of bawdkyn for quysshions oon of them of the collors of red and the other of blewe collowre.

<sup>a</sup> Cloth of Estate is still a term in use. (Comp. Hall, 1018, 1793.) Comp. "Chief Estates of Galilee," and Hutchinson, p. 3, where Estate is a title of courtesy addressed to persons of high rank. Thrones and seats of estate are mentioned by Hall, 618, and in Gleanings, 267, 269. "A stole and quishions to pray at" were placed in St. Edmund's Chapel at a coronation. *Pulvinaria convenientia ad cathedras ministrantium in choro; ij pulvinaria magna ad cathedras.* (Dugd. S. Paul's, 207.) The presence of the King's estate with ij chayers and rich cussyns therein. (Hall, 603.) Eche estate syngulerly in halle shalle sit adowne. (Ib. 189.) See also Ordin. for Roy. Housh. 373. When Queen Elizabeth visited the Abbey the pavement was covered with carpets, and she kneeled on cushions. (Malcolm, i. 261. Comp. Excerpt. Hist. 232, 306, 310.)

<sup>b</sup> Fastening upon—seizing rabbits.

BANNERS AND STREAMERS.<sup>a</sup>

- banners of whyte sarcynet two of them large and the ij<sup>de</sup> lesser serveyng for the crosse stavys.  
 ij other banners of red and blewe sarcynet with the armys of England serveyng for the crosse staves at principall feasts.  
 ij other banners all of red sarcynet with lyons serveyng for the crosse stavys.  
 vj streamers of dyvers sortts and goodnes.  
 c banners newe and olde of dyvers sortts to hange aboute the churche.  
 iiij gret banners to stand afore the Revestrye<sup>b</sup> in the Rogacyon Weke.

FRYNGES AND PENDENTS<sup>c</sup>.

- A fronte fryngyd with black sylke and golde for the Quere end.<sup>c</sup>  
 cvj pensells<sup>d</sup> of dyvers sortts.  
 A frynge with black sylk and golde ffor the Sepulcre.  
 ij goodly borders of grene and redd bawdekyn to hange aboute the Quere called Corsers.<sup>f</sup>  
 On lytell border for owre Father.<sup>g</sup>  
 A ffrynge of black sylke and golde for my lady the Kyngs moders<sup>h</sup> herse.  
 A dome<sup>i</sup> of taffeta for the same hers.

SUPERALTARYES.<sup>k</sup>

- Oon superaltare garnysshed with sylver plate and perles and conterfete stonys.  
 Oon other superaltare garnysshd with plate of sylver pounsed.  
 Oon other great Superaltare sett in payntyd tymber<sup>l</sup> and open in bothe the sydes of the same tymber the stone therof of the collour of blak jasper.

<sup>a</sup> Banners of silke above the quire. (Gunton's Peterb. 61.) *Vexilla pro Rogationibus*. (Dart, Canterb. App. xvi.)

<sup>b</sup> At the south end of the transept.

<sup>c</sup> A dossal probably to fill up the space between the doors of the reredos. (See *Gleanings*, pl. xx.)

<sup>d</sup> Penoncelles, little banners (Hall, 797) used to adorn the walls. (Machyn's Diary, 96, 111, 173.)

<sup>e</sup> ij hangyng clothes for the alter. (MS. Inv. S. Mary Axe.) iiij alter hangings ij upper and ij nether for the ij alters in the Body of the Church. (Inv. S. Steph. Westm.) A lestowe [list] of an auter tabyll. (Inv. S. Dionis Backchurch.) ij (a-) vante clothes j of hollond with a yellow frenge. (Inv. S. Maurice Winton.) (See also Dugd. St. Paul's, 223.) A valance for an alter. (*Allhallows' London*.) j antepende of fugery saten at y<sup>c</sup> hye alter. (Edlysborrow.) j prependent of saten gryne and redd with a front. (Lychelade.)

<sup>f</sup> Costers.

<sup>g</sup> The Abbot, as in the list of "clothes for the sacrament."

<sup>h</sup> Elizabeth of York.

<sup>i</sup> A canopy.

<sup>k</sup> An ornamental altar slab used on great festivals. (Sac. Arch. s. v.) (*Gesta Abb. i. 233*.) *Cœlatum superaltare*.

<sup>l</sup> A superaltare garnished with silver and gilte and parte golde called the

## CARPPETTES.

ij large Carppetts to serve at the Hyghe Awlter<sup>a</sup> at Principall feasts whiche were lefte to the use of the monastery at the Coronacyon of Kyng Rychard the iij<sup>de</sup>.

Oon smalle Carppett of checker worke.

TAPPETTES<sup>b</sup> AND OTIHER THYNGES.

xv tappetts of white and blewe contextid with white and red rossys servyng for the Quere for Juncke<sup>c</sup> and for a fote clothe for the se. (*sic*).

ij neue tappetts of red with Islypps and thys scripture Inquere pacem et prosequere eam of the gyfte of John Islyppe late abbott.

iiij other tappetts for the Hlghe Aulter<sup>d</sup> with Peterkeys and with thys word Emanuell contextid in them.

ij other tappetts of red continually lyinge afore the Hlghe Awlter.

ij smalle tapetts oon of them red and the other blewe servyng for the Abbotts stolle.<sup>e</sup>

ij other tapetts of white full of red rossys servyng for they syl fformys in the quyre at Principall feasts.

ij deske<sup>f</sup> clothes of white and blewe full of braunchys and rossys together contextid and ffryngyd round aboute with fryngs of threde.

ij other deske clothes of dyvers collers and sortts of bawdekyn serveyng at principall anniversaries.

The Rollyd Palye otherwyse called the Passe<sup>g</sup> servyng for the Abbott to go to the aulter apou.

Greate Saphire of Glastonbèrye. (Monast. i. 65.) Superaltaria sint firmiter fixa in circumdante ligno ut non moveantur ab ipso. (Const. R. Grostete, Brown Fasc. Rer. ii. 410.) Superaltare rotundum de lapide iaspidis subtus et in circuitu argento inclusum. (Trokelowe, 452.)

<sup>a</sup> *Panni ad deponendum in presbyterio.* (Cotton MS. Claud. E. iv. fo. 353.)

<sup>b</sup> *Tapetia*—carpets.

<sup>c</sup> *i. e.* instead of rushes. See Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals, p. 89; and my article in Ecclesiastic, xxviii. 574. *Quinque dies Dominici sunt . . . . per chorum juncus sparsus.* (Const. Lanfr. Wilkins, i. 345.) Four Pede (foot) cloths called Tapets. (Gunton, 61.) Rushes and ivy leaves were strewn in the choir in the Vigils of the Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday. (Ecclesiastic, 1866, p. 538.) Rushes were used from Easter to All Saints, and at other times hay, p. 574.)

<sup>d</sup> The “*matin altar*,” as at St. Alban’s, was “under the Lantern place,” at the east end of the choir: under the eastern arch of the crossing. The high altar was in its present position.

<sup>e</sup> The Abbot’s chair, or faldstool, at the same side of the altar, is shown in the view given in Gunton’s Peterborough.

<sup>f</sup> A lectern for the gospel, or lectionaries, or the antiphonar.

<sup>g</sup> *Pas, marcher, alure* (Cotgrave), being a footcloth striped or paly, which could be unrolled when the abbot went up to the altar. *Tapetia* were used to carpet the choir, (Lanfr. Const. Wilkins, i. 342-4.) 10 cloaths, called *Pedecloaths*, to lye before the high altar, (Gunton’s Peterborough, 61.)

CHEYRYS.<sup>a</sup>

Oon cheyre whiche ys coveryd with crymsyn clothe of golde of dan John Amerslams gyffte.

Oon other cheyre whiche ys coveryd with blewe velvett fygyurd haveyng iiij poemells<sup>b</sup> of copper and gylte theron of the gyffte of the said John Amersham monke.

A cheyre cloth of blacke clothe of golde cont' in length by estimacon ij ells with the border aboute it whiche ys grene sareynett.

HERSE CLOTHES.<sup>c</sup>

A goodly large herse clothe of tyssewe the ground therof black with a white crosse of tyssew whiche came in at Kyng Henry the vij<sup>th</sup> buryall.

A nother gret herse cloth of black clothe of golde with a white crosse of fygyurd<sup>d</sup> golde.

A nother herse clothe of black clothe of golde with a crosse of gold of my lady Margaretts gyffte Countesse of Rychmond and Derby.

A large herse clothe of black velvet with a crosse of ffygyurd golde.

A nother herse clothe of blacke velvett vulynyd<sup>e</sup> withoute frynges and withoute a crosse of Quene Katheryn's<sup>f</sup> gyffte.

xxvij newe morsys<sup>g</sup> for copys with the armys of my lorde Thomas Wolsey cardynall.

<sup>a</sup> For rectors of choir, *panni pro cathedra in medio chori*. (Inv. S. Albani, Claud. E. iv. fo. 352b.) *Cathedra ferrea cum pomellis deauratis quæ est Cantoris*. (Inv. S. Paul's, Dugd. App.)

<sup>b</sup> Balls like an apple, a knop, or button.

<sup>c</sup> Hall distinctly mentions the herse "garnished with banners, pensells, and cushions," and the mourners offering "rich paules of gold and baudkin" (p. 507). There is a view of the herse of Sir H. Stanley in Harl. MS. 6064. On a single leaf in a Cottonian MS. I find these entries:—*Pro le herces reg. Annæ CC marcae, cum omnibus vexillis pensellis et valenciis et cum toto nigro panno et CL torchiis. Pro hercia Regis Ricardi per regem Henricum V<sup>um</sup> (Comp. Walsingham, ii. 297). iii<sup>ix</sup> marcae cum vexillis etc. et lx torchiis. Pro hercia præfati regis H. V<sup>ci</sup> C marcae cum vexillis pensellis, etc.* (Faust. A. III. 356.) A herse cloth of white tynsen satten for children. (MS. Inv. S. Michael at the Quern.) A red cloth, with crosse keyes, to cover graves. (Ib. St. Peter West Chepe.) Coffin clothes. (Ib. S. Lawrence Pountney.) j here cloth of munke say. (Ib. South Bilingham.) A parril clothe for them that depart. (Ib. Harbridge.) A berynge cloth of blewe velvet and cloth of gold. (S. Swithin's, London.)

<sup>d</sup> "Velours figure" is branched velvet: fygyury means here with patterns probably of leaves—feuillage (Cotgrave, s.v.; Planché, Brit. Cost. 202), bawdkyn, otherwise called velvitt fygyury. (MS. Inv. S. Peter West Chepe, London.)

<sup>e</sup> A blunder of the transcriber for "unlined."

<sup>f</sup> Katharine of Arragon.

<sup>g</sup> Brooches or clasps.

## CANOPE STAVYS.

iiij canape stavys of tymber newly gylt over.<sup>a</sup>

Signed by the prior and five others :—

Per me dompnum dionisium Dalyons priorem.

Per me Hüfridum charite d.

Per me Ricardum Gorton d.

Per me Dane Christofer Goodhays.

Per me thomam Essex.

Per me Will'm Russell.

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In the same volume the next Inventory follows in a different hand.

ij payre of organes in the quyre.

A fayre lecture of latten be the high alter.<sup>b</sup>

## IN SEYNT EDWARDES CHAPPELL.

ij smalle cussshens of olde blewe velvett.

ij other cussshens of grene velvett ij of olde bawdekyn.

xj cussshens of redde bawdekyn wherof one longe cussshene.

ij carpets of Turkey worke to ley apon stoles.<sup>c</sup>

iiij blewe tappetts and vj redde of tapestry.

iiij olde tapetts of white cloth with grene flowres.

ij fronts of redde taffeta<sup>d</sup> for the Shryne with garters and one of white for the same Shryne of satten of brydges and one other of blewe with esteryche<sup>e</sup> ffethers and frontes of blewe of the same sorte for the alter.<sup>f</sup>

iiij ffronts for the underparte of the alter.

iiij nether<sup>g</sup> partes of sarsenett and satten of brydges for the alter.

[Sold.] ij nether frontes for the same alter of black sylke.

[Sold.] A nether fronte of white sarsenett with a redde crosse for the same alter for Lent.

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<sup>a</sup> For carrying over the Sacrament. (Rites of Durham, p. 11; MS. Inv. S. Swithin's, London.) Canapie clothe gylte of linen clothe with iiij canapie staves. (MS. Inv. S. Peter's Cornhill.) A pall for the Sacrament on Corpus Christi day of redd damaske frenged about with Venice gold and rede silke, and iiij painted staves.

<sup>b</sup> For the Gospel. (MS. Inven. Holy Trinity, Ipswich.) A deske of latten to rede the gospell. (S. Alban's.) A deske maid with an egle of lattyne. (Southampton.) The quere dobyll stallyd well and substiantyally graveyn, with ij lecturnys, tymber on eche syde. The Custumal mentions the lectern for the antiphonar at the west end of the choir. See below, also notes to Conventual buildings.

<sup>c</sup> Stools. <sup>d</sup> Taffata rubrum pannum pretiosum. (Gesta abbatum, ii. 363.)

<sup>e</sup> Ostrich. One front of green silk with ostrich feathers. (Gunton's Peterb. 62.)

<sup>f</sup> It stood on the west side of the shrine, as at St. Alban's.

<sup>g</sup> Lower. A reredosse with a forfront and frontal, a curtain drawn before the upper front of the hie alter. (MS. Inv. S. Olave's Jewry.) An autler cloth with the cloth to hange below. (SS. Anne and Agnes, London.)

[Sold.] Upper fronts wherof one of redd sarsenett and one other of redd bawdekyn.

[Sold.] A blake fronte of old black bawdekyn for the same alter.

ij nether fronts for the same alter of redd sylke.

[Sold.] ij nether fronts of grene and blewe baudekyne flowres with a fronte of white damaske and redde velvett paned for the Shryne.

An alter cloth of olde blewe sarsenett or taffyta.

A fronte of the nether parte of an alter cloth of white damaske and redd velvett paned.

A mydle fronte of grene and redd velvett with the Crucifix in the myddes.

[Caret.] A border of olde blewe velvet for the alter.

ij curteynes of redd sarsenett and white ij of white sarsenett ij of crymsen or murrey<sup>a</sup> ij of blakk sarsenett and ij of blewe.

iiij lynen alter clothes pleyne.

A Vestment of redd saten fygure with albes.

A Vestment complete of blacke velvett the orphares of redd velvett with albes.

[Caret.] A Vestment of redd damaske with orphares of blewe velvett.

A Vestment of white sattene of brydges the orphares redd.

[Sold.] A Vestment of blew sylke with orphares of redd complete.

A Vestment of blewe satten the orphares redd.

A Vestment of white damaske with the orphares of murrey.

A Vestment of blacke worsted with the orphares redd satten of brydges complete.

[Sold.] An olde chesible with oute albe of white and yellowe baudekyn.

[Sold.] An albe with a hed pece of redd counterfett tyssue.

iiij corperasse cases of sundry sortes ij masse bookes one of them of Sarum Use.

A fayre godly Shrine of Seynt Edward in marble in the myddes of the chappell with a case to the same.

vij Tombes in the same Chappell wherof one of Richard the Seconde of coper gilte, one of Edward the iij<sup>de</sup> of coper gilte, one other of Quene Philippe of alabaster, one other of Henry the V<sup>th</sup> of sylver<sup>b</sup>, one other of Quene Elynor of coper gilte, one other of Henry the iij<sup>d</sup> of coper gilte, and one other pleyne tombe of marble of Edward the fyrst; with ij lytell tombes, one of them of Elizabeth daughter to Henry the vii<sup>th</sup><sup>c</sup>, and thother of Margarett daughter to Edward the iiij<sup>th</sup>.<sup>d</sup>

ij Standerds of latten and one standerd to sett one cruets of latten.<sup>e</sup>

viiij ymages of coper gilt remayninge in a chest the parcell of the garnysshynge with ij crownes of copar gilte ij ymages of brasse of the garnysshynge

<sup>a</sup> Dusky, or dun colour.

<sup>b</sup> The silver plates were certainly in existence at this time, and confirm Mr. Burges' suggestion in Gleanings, p. 177. The funeral ceremonies for Rich. II. Q. Anne, and Henry V. are in Cotton. MS. Faust. A. III. fo. 356.

<sup>c</sup> The little child, only three years old, was buried at the feet of Henry III. (Stowe's Survey, ii. 600.)

<sup>d</sup> Born April 19, and died Dec. 11, 1472, his fifth child. (Dart, iii. 79.)

<sup>e</sup> Comp. ij latten desks wth a standerd for the pascall of latten. (MS. Inv. S. Steph. Westm.) S. Mary Abchurch, ij standards standing on either side of the altar. Standards, stantaria, were large candlesticks.

other of old russet thaffata havynge flowers and starys wrought theron with nedyll. ij auter clothes for the nether part j of them of red and gene saten of briges panyd and the other panid with whyt saten of bryges and rede bawdkyn. Auter clothis of playne cloth. A writen Masse bok. iij payntyd clothis for Lent.

SAYNT MYGHELLES CHAPELL.<sup>a</sup>

A payer of laten candelstyks with pyks. ij cortens of sendall old. iij auter clothes ij of dyaper and j of playn cloth. ij Corporace cassis with j cloth. iij nether frontis for the auter j of them of red sarsnet garnisid with garters the ij<sup>nd</sup> of blew bawdkyn in iij parts therof with ymages of brodery worke and the iij<sup>de</sup> of rede and blew bawdkyn panyd. j chessibyll of red velvit havynge a crosse of crymsyn cloth of gold with stole and phanon. A nother chessibyll of whit bawdkyn with a crosse of red bawdkyn with stole and phanan. Another chessibyll of red saten with a crosse of blew saten garnisid with garters with stole and phanam (sold). Another chessibyll of blew bawdkyn with a crosse of red sarsnet garnisid with ymagery with stole and phanam (sold). j albe with redd parells of nedyll worke. A cloth of blew bokeram for Lent. ij whit clothes of staynid cloth for Lent for the auter above and beneth.

SANT JOHN EVANGELIST CHAPELL.<sup>b</sup>

A ffront of whit and grene bawdkyn for the nether part of the auter. An olde bawdkyn<sup>c</sup> for to cover the auter. iij lynyn auter clothes. A ffront of rede and grene bawdkyn panid with the armys of Yenglonde in brodered for the nether part of the auter (sold). ij curtens of red and blew sarsenet. ij cortens of rede sarsenet and whit lynen cloth. A chales of parcell gyit with paten with a C and S in the botome which is charged in the Vestry. ij Masse Boks j of secular use<sup>d</sup> and the other of the Place use.<sup>e</sup> ij corporace cassis with clothis of dyverse worke. A Vestment of sarsnet rede complet with lyonis and a crosse of nedill worke. A Vestment of whit bawdkyn complet with a grene crosse. A nold westment of red velvit complet in brodered with garters (sold). ij Cortens of blew bokeram for Lent. j whit cloth for the auter for Lent. ij Laten candelstyks for the auter.

SAYNT JOHN BAPTIST CHAPELL.

iij lynen auter clothes. ij auter ffronts j for above the other for benethe of rede grene and yellow say panyd with ij corperas of the same worke. ij laten candelstyks for the auter. A Crosse of wood stonyng on the auter gilded. iij Corporace cassis of dyverse sorts with iij C lynyne (*sic*) clothis

<sup>a</sup> The middle chapel in the east aisle of the transept.

<sup>b</sup> The south chapel in the east aisle of the transept.

<sup>c</sup> "A vestment of course cloth of sylver called a bawdekyn." (MS. Inv. S. Stephen's, Westminster.)

<sup>d</sup> Probably that of Sarum.

<sup>e</sup> The Benedictine use.

in them. A Vestment with j albe with out stole and phanam of red velvit. A vestment of whit bawdkyn complet (sold). A Vestment of red velvit complet with a Crosse of blew tyssew (sold). A chessibyll with out albe and parell of whit damaske with a rede crosse. A Vestment of grene velvet and grene bawdkyn and a crosse red say. A chessybyll off red bawdkyn with a grene Crosse of bawdkyn of grene (sold). A nold chessibill of rede. An auter cloth of grene sylke garnisid with Egylls for the nether ffront of the auter. An auter ffront of grene silke with dyverse armys for the nether part. An other auter ffront for the nether part of strakys<sup>a</sup> sylke (sold). ix peces of staynyd clothis for auter.

JHESUS CHAPELL<sup>b</sup> BEANETH.

A front for the nether (*sic*) of the auter of rede and whit damaske with Abbot Islyp's armys, an auter cloth dobyll<sup>c</sup> of dyaper, a Supercaltare, a Vestment complet of whit damaske with a crosse of red cloth of gold. A bawdkyn to cover the auter. A payer of candelstyks for the auter.

## JHESUS CHAPELL ABOVE.

Another ffront for the auter of rede and whit damaske with armys of abot Yslip. ij playne auter clothis of lynen. iiij Corperace casses with ij clothes of dyverse sorts. A corperace casse with armys and a cloth thereon. A payer of Organys with a corten of lynen cloth to cover them. An upper front of whit and rede damaske with a Crucyffix Mary and John with Jhus and Abbott Yslips Armys all in brothered. A Vestment complet of whit damaske with a crosse of rede cloth of gold. ij Candelstyks of latten. A bawdkyn for the same Auter.

SAYNT POULL'S CHAPELL.<sup>d</sup>

ij ffronts for the auter of black velvit and tawny<sup>e</sup> damaske panyd havyng on the upper ffront a Crucifix and my lord Dawbiney's Arms<sup>f</sup> in broderyd and both garnisid with garters (sold). ij other ffronts of whit and rede saten of bryges panyd. iij auter clothis j of dyaper the other ij playne cloth. j vestment complet of blew velvit with a crosse of brodery worke garnisid with flowres in brodered. A nother vestment complet of whit ffustyan with a crosse of rede say. Another vestment of grene bawdkyn lakyng stole phanam and hode.<sup>g</sup> Another vestment of blacke damaske broken with a

<sup>a</sup> The same as rowed or paled, in stripes.

<sup>b</sup> This is clearly Abbot Islyp's chantry, and we recover for the first time the dedication (see Gleanings, 185. Dart, i. 64, 40.) "He was buried in the chappell of his buyldyng." (Vet. Monum. t. iv. p. 3.)

<sup>c</sup> Duplicatus—lined.

<sup>d</sup> The eastern chapel on the north side of the choir.

<sup>e</sup> MS. Inv. S. Julian's, Salop, "ij Channthers Coppes of tanne selke."

<sup>f</sup> Sir Giles Daubeney, K.G., who died in 1507, buried in this chapel. (Neale, ii. 180.)

<sup>g</sup> Hood. The amice, often called "a kerchief, couvre-chef" (Monast. viii. 290)

crosse of rede saten with out albe stole and phanam (sold). Another Vestment of blew bawdkyn with a crosse of whit satten of bryges garnisid with broderyd flouwers. An Albe without a hode stoll and phanam. Another vestment of dyverse collors bawdkyn with a blew crosse of saten of bryges. vi Corperace casys of dyverse sorts with iiij clothis in them. ij candelstyks of laten.

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### THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.

3. Then follows, in a third hand,

AN INVENTORY of the BUTTERYE remaynyng in the Custodye of  
GABRELL PALLEY to thuse of the late ABBOTTE.

(The following are a few selected extracts only.)

*The Buttery.*—iiij sylver sponys every on of them haavyng a Woodward of sylver and gylte at thende. A breking knyffe<sup>a</sup> sortable haavyng halfys of everye<sup>b</sup> and barred wyth sylver and gylte. ij meate knyfes for my lord hys trencher.

*Naperye warre.*—Necktowells every of them cont' in lengenth 1 yarde iiij qr<sup>4</sup> and in bredeth di. yarde. Cubborde cloths. xiii. lethern Gyspyns.<sup>c</sup> A greate bell candelstykke<sup>d</sup> with a nose to put on. A greate candelstykke bell ffashyon with a flowre. On candelstykke of lumbard ffashyon.<sup>e</sup>

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and "headcloth." (Fuller's Waltham, 273.) "ij amysis Kerchers." (MS. Inv. of S. Stephen's, Westm.) "iiij awbes with j hed cloth of red and grene." (MS. Inv. All Hallows, Honey Lane.)

<sup>a</sup> Carving: to break was to cut up a deer. (Hall speaks of carving and breaking meat. Chipping knyffe. (North. H<sup>d</sup> Book, 387.) Woodward, a keeper who looks after woods. Wodewose, a wild man.

<sup>b</sup> Ivory.

<sup>c</sup> The linen store. We still retain the words nap and napkin and Napier. Napery included table clothes and longe towells, hande towells; a coverpane; napkins of dyaper; playne clothes, and towells, cubborde clothes, napkyns and a case of fyne trenchers. Babees Book, 208: take a towel about thy nekke, for that is courtesy, 129.

<sup>d</sup> One of the said watch to fetch a pott and a gespinn att the Pitcherhouse for ale and wyne. (Ordin. for the Household, 374.)

<sup>e</sup> One with a hemispherical base. A latyn candylstek with ij nosys. (MS. Inv. Aldermay, London.) A snotter for candells. (MS. Inv. Worc. Cath.) (MS. Harl. 604, fo. 121.) j tabula depicta ad modum Lumbard, 22 Edw. III. iiij tabule de opere Lumbardorum. (Inv. Edw. III.) j imago de cupro voc' Lumbard pertere. 25 Edw. III. (MS. Add. 24,525, fo. 261.)

PLATE AND IMPLEMENTS OF HOUSEHOLD REMAYNYNGE IN  
THE MYSERICORDE.<sup>a</sup>

Imprimis a salte of sylver and gylte with a cover full of droppes, poz. . . . xxxj.oz. iij salts of sylver with rosys and perculysys<sup>b</sup> li. oz. A standinge pece<sup>c</sup> with a cover gylt to drink wyne in xxij. oz.

*The Naperye.*—A iron peele (long-handled baker's shovel). An olde fryinge pan wyth a broken start. (handle.)

A goodlye grete chafer having iij feete and vj handells.

A standinge chafer to set in the flyer with on handell.

A Saint Johnes hed of wood.<sup>d</sup>

A lesser rownde byrde broche (spit.) A strypinge knife. The kychyn collette (pail) of lether. A powderinge<sup>e</sup> tubbe wyth a cover.

*The Kechyn wythin Cheynegate*<sup>f</sup> a stone mortar wyth iij wood pestells.

<sup>a</sup> 15 Dec. 1545. Item agreed that Mr. Dean and his successors shal have the Misericorde, the greate Kitchin, and all edifices betwixt his own house and the scoole, and the greate garden with y<sup>e</sup> ponde and trees which he hath now in possession, and y<sup>e</sup> Mr. Haynes shall have pertaynyng to his house to hym and his successors all the garden enclosed in the stone wall w<sup>h</sup> the old Dovehouse and the house called Caunterburie (Comp. fo. 86 b.) w<sup>h</sup> the garden grounde from his house to Mr. Deanes garden. "The Great house within the Close which was the dean's," is mentioned in 1596. (Chapter Book, fo. 28.) And a greate brycke house over and agaynst Mr. Deane's house allotted to two Prebendaries in 1555. (Ib.) The Misericord was the hall of indulgence in which flesh was eaten (Wilkins, iii. 789, West's Furness, 150; Sac. Arch. s. v.) on certain days. It adjoined the Refectory, on the site of Ashburnham House, and is mentioned in connection with the Frayter and Kitchen in the grant of the abbot's lodge to the bishop. It was probably the long Camera juxta refectorium sita into which guests were taken before the 14th century, although the Custumal suggests the alternative, nisi nunc est Camera Prioris (fo. 199). It also appears as "domus refectorio contigua quæ Misericordia vocatur (fo. 255, 415)."

<sup>b</sup> Portcullisses.

<sup>c</sup> Ciphus cum pede. (Dart, Canterb. App. xix.)

<sup>d</sup> A representation of the Decollated Head of the Baptist. A Seynt Johns hede of Alabaster. (Bury Wills, 115, 116.) There is one at St. John's Hospital, Winchester.

<sup>e</sup> Salting.

<sup>f</sup> Cheyney Gates was the name of the Abbot's House. The Patent to the Bishop mentions—"domus mansionis vocata *Cheyngates* in qua W. nuper abbas habitavit, cum gardino et hortis illi adjacentibus [pomariis horreis stabulariis columbariis. Orig. Roll.] in quo ambitu sunt quedam *Turris* ad introitum dicte habitacionis que continet in longitudine à capite orientali abbuttans super *Claustrum* [clausum O. R.] usque ad caput occidentale abbuttans super le *Elmes* per estimacionem lxvij pedes et in latitudine capitis occidentalis à parte boreali usque ad partem australem per estimacionem xxiiij pedes et ij polices, et alia edificia et domus cum gardinis et solo adjacente continente per estimacionem a *Turre* usque ad *Ecclesiam* in latitudine capitis orientalis abbuttans super *Claustrum* cxxiiij pedes et in latitudine capitis occidentalis abuttantis versus

## HOUSEHOLD STUFF.

Mr. Thyxtyl's Chamber, a pyllowe wyth a bere [case] of bokeram [cheap linen], a grete spuse [spruce wood\*] cheste bounde wyth yron, and going of vj iron whelys.

Mr. Melton's Chamber [William Melton monk at the Dissolution], Sulyard's Chamber, Mr. Morres Chamber [these were all bedrooms]. An irishe mantell and olde table wyth folden leavyys and other bordys. A hanginge of redde and grene saye.

*Domum Pauperum* vocatam The Kynges Almshouse CLxx pedes ac in longitudine partis borealis abbuttans super *Ecclesiam* et super *Stratam Regiam* vocatam the *Brode Sentuarye* cclvij pedes et in parte australi abbuttans super *lez Elmes* ccxxxix pedes . . . . ac quartam partem tocius *Magni Claustr* . . . . Ac omnia illa edificia et domos vocatas le *Calbege* et le *Blacke Stole* ibidem que continet in longitudine a capite boreali abbuttans super predictam *Turrim* usque ad caput australe abbuttans super *Turrim* vocatam le *Blacke Stole Towre* per estimacionem lxxxvij pedes, ac omnia edificia existentia inter edificia vocata le *Calbege* et le *Blacke Stole* ex parte occidentali et edificia et domos vocatas *Le Fraiter Misericorde*, et [ac totam illam O.R.] magnam *Coquinam* conventualem vocatam The *Greate Covent Ketchen* ex parte orientali . . . . et illam aliam *Turrim* lapideam in loco vulgariter vocato the *Orchall* et magnum *Horreum* et domos et edificia inter magnam fossam vocatam the *Milldam* ex parte australi et predictum horreum ex parte boreali, ac alia edificia domos ortos etc. inter dictum horreum et inter dictos domos et edificia ex parte occidentali et predictam magnam *Turrim* vocatam *The Longe Granerye* ex parte orientali ac inter edificia et domos vocatas the *Brue howse* and the *Backehouse* ex parte boreali et predictam magnam fossam vocatam *The Milldam* ex parte australi." (Pat. Rot. 31 Hen. VIII. p. vii. m. 39, al. 10, compared with *Originalia Roll*, 4 Edw. VI. p. ii. n. 86, being the grant to Lord Wentworth). Lord Wentworth in 1554 agreed to give up to the dean his "parte of the Cloyster" in exchange for "one parcell of the Longe House adioynyng to my Towre there." (Ib. 91 b.)

The *Calbege* or buildings on the east side of Dean's Yard comprised the cellarage or store chambers with the Exchequers of the obedientaries—chambers bearing their names, as appears in the next and a subsequent entry in full. The site of the Tailory, Monk's Hostel, and Writers' room [Custumal, 173, 174, 217] was probably in Little Dean's Yard. The entrance tower to it bore the name of "le *Blacke Stole*," probably from being the wardrobe of black stuff for robes in bulk. *Calbege* probably meant the big keel or tub or vessel for ale or beer to cool in. December 16, 4 Edw. VI. That Mr. Pekins shall have annexed to his house the "Hall wherein the Tube ys wythe the yarde, the kechyng, stables, with all other edifices that sometyme apperteyned to the Monk Ballyes office." (Ch. Book, fo. 67 b.) The Gatehouse of Westminster was the "prison-house of the conventual liberty."

\* Comp. Add. MS. 24, 529, fo. 156.

THE GALLERY.<sup>a</sup> a staynyd clothe<sup>b</sup> of Saynt George. ij carpettes in the wyndows of tapestry. A lyttel table of quene Johanis armes<sup>c</sup> (dantur decano). JERUSALEM PARLOUR.<sup>d</sup> vii pecys of hangings of arras worke wyth ij lyttle pecys of arras wyth the story of Planetts<sup>e</sup> rem. cum episcopo. a wyndowe carpett wrought upon pakethrede full of redd roses, sold to the deane xij d. And olde carpet ffor a wyndowe belonging to the same parlours of turkeye worke, sold to the deane for xij d. an olde bawdekyn<sup>f</sup> for the baye wyndowe towardys the brode sanctuary rem. cum episcopo. A table carpet of tapestry sold to the deane v s. ij quysshyns coveryd wyth grene braunchyd velvet rem. cum episcopo, v carpet quishshons solde to the deane for v s. a table wyth a payer of trestells. a grete longe foldinge table sold to the deane for ijs. An oestre<sup>g</sup> table foldinge. a skryne wyth wykars.<sup>h</sup> a standinge cubberd with ij amberyes,<sup>i</sup> a fyre fork of iron, a payre of andyrans, xvij boffet stolys<sup>k</sup> of the whiche vj doth rem. w<sup>l</sup> the bysshoppe and xij geven to the deane.

THE ENTRY<sup>m</sup> betwene the Hall and the Parlor. iij cabbordys and on playn forme sold to the deane for xx d.

JERICO PARLOR<sup>n</sup> a payer of trestells viij d. A fflaunders cheyre<sup>o</sup> xv d. ij

<sup>a</sup> A gallery to go from chamber to chamber (Litleton) probably on the east side of the court. There is a fine example at Wenlock.

<sup>b</sup> Stained or dyed. (Litleton).

<sup>c</sup> Possibly Jane Seymour or more probably Joan of Brittany, wife of Henry IV. "Nicholaus Lytlyngton dedit capelle abbatum et domui infirmorum," etc. in his time" edificata sunt a fundamentis de novo Placea Abbatis juxta ecclesiam, dimidium autem Claustrum ex partibus occidentis et australis, domus quorundam officiariorum, ut puta ballivi infirmarii sacriste et celerarii, magnum Malthous cum turri ibidem, molendinum aquaticum, et le Dam cum muris lapideis, cum clausura lapidea gardini infirmarie. (Fleta. MS. in Chapter Library and Sporley in Claud. A. VIII. 63.) Widmore has paraphrased and amplified this statement. He is not to be read untested.)

<sup>d</sup> The Jerusalem Parlour probably took its name from the subject of some hangings, as in a MS. Inventory of the period I find "ij good peces of counter-fait arras of the Seege of Jerusalem. (Ch. Ho. Books Publ. Rec. Off. 66, fo. 11.) In 1555 it was agreed that "the howse in the whiche mother Jone doth dwell in shall be a Chapter howse," (Ch. Book 199b) so that chapters then were not held in this room).

<sup>e</sup> Probably the signs of the Zodiac; compare, however, Hall, 639.

<sup>f</sup> A piece of cloth of gold.

<sup>g</sup> A lytell oyster tabull. (Wareham's Inv. C.  $\frac{1}{18}$  P. R. O. fo. 23.)

<sup>h</sup> Made of wicker-work.

<sup>i</sup> Aumbries, cupboards, safes.

<sup>k</sup> Abacus. (Litleton.) A little portable seat without back or arms. (Bailey).

<sup>l</sup> Made of wainscot.

<sup>m</sup> An entry or passage between rooms in a house. (Litleton.)

<sup>n</sup> That ordinarily called now the Organ-room.

<sup>o</sup> One carved in Flanders, famous for its woodwork often called Flanders coffer. Flanders work was carving. (Add. MS. 24,520, fo. 155.)

joynd formes ijs. vj quissjons of carpet worke wyth Islyppes viiij s. a payre of andyrons<sup>a</sup> v s. a standing cupberde carvyd xiiij s. iiij d. a carpett of brode grene cloth vjs. viiiij d. a newe joynd cheyre wyth a stole in hyt geven to the deane.

My Lordys Newe Chapell<sup>b</sup> ij pecys of tappestrye of the Plannettes. ij wyndowe carpettes of tente worke havinge the gronde whyte and full of redd hartys.

a quyssshyn of tapstrye a pece of redde saye lynyd wyth canvas.

The Lytle Chamber nexte [it was a bedroom].

The Hall a greate olde arres at the hye dease.<sup>c</sup> ij bankers<sup>d</sup> of tappestrye. ij hangings for the syde of the hall of grene saye. A gret joynd chayre<sup>e</sup> for the Quenys coronacyon. An olde grene banker. The arrayys in the hall and in the parlour, and a Festival<sup>f</sup> in printe.

The Skolyons<sup>g</sup> Chamber [a bed room, the furniture given to a pore mane.]

The Portors Lodge.<sup>h</sup> A blanket of Irysshe ffrees.<sup>h</sup> The furniture given to Mr. deane.

Syr Radulph Chamber a woollen blanket hanginge for the chamber of fullerye<sup>i</sup> worke [given to Mr. deane].

The Lytel Chamber over the Comon Jakys. Tytley's Chamber. Gabriel's Chamber. [These three were bed rooms.]

The Warderobe in Cheyney Gatce [containing bed furniture].

<sup>a</sup> Bars to hold up wood in a grate—"brandeurs, brandirons. (Addit. MS. 24,520, fo. 200).

<sup>b</sup> Probably now the large room in the deanery which abuts on the S.W. angle of the Cloister.

<sup>c</sup> Dais. (Archæol. xxi. 258.)

<sup>d</sup> Fr. "banquier," coverings for benches or seats.

<sup>e</sup> Of joiner's work, not turned, "for the newe pucs of joynd work." (MS. Inv. S. Swithin's, London.) Littleton gives "joiner's work or wainscot."

<sup>f</sup> MS. Inv. S. Oswald's, Durham, "A festivall, iiij d." The Rev. J. Fuller Russell, F.S.A. possesses a copy printed by Julian the notary, dwelling in King Street, Westminster, 1519. It is a compilation from the Golden Legend; a copy also occurs in a MS. in the Brit. Mus. King's Lib. B. iv. It is a book not mentioned by Mr. Maskell.

<sup>g</sup> Scullions, (Custumal, 146.)

<sup>h</sup> Between the Porter's lodge and the south alley of the cloister is the Forensic Parlour, where merchants vended their wares, friends waited to see a monk, or guests were received. In the south wall a staircase lighted with loops, and by a window opening into the Refectory, communicates with the leads, and probably was used by the officer who rang the cymbal or cloister-bell. (Ware's Custumal, fo. 92.)

<sup>i</sup> Irish cloths were regularly imported. (Liber Albus, 632.) ij yeryshe carpettes lynyd with canvas. (Warham's Inv. Publ. Rec. Off. C. 1<sup>st</sup>, fo. 9.)

<sup>k</sup> A dressed cloth (MS. Inv. Wedyall), a vestment of fullam worke.

The Stable. The Kynges servaunte Portenary<sup>a</sup> hath the stuff. Fullers Chamber. Nuttings Chamber. Busbys Chamber [this name occurs in the Chapter Book]. Patchy's Chamber [afterwards Roo's dwelling]. [These four were bedrooms; the furniture of the last was given to a poor widow.]

NO. IV.—AN INVENTORY OF THE PLATE, BEDDING, AND STUFF, IN  
THE PRIOR'S OWN HANDWRITING.

The Priors.<sup>b</sup> at the Entry into my [Dionise Dalyon's] house iij formys and ij lathers, in the Garden ij stylatoryes, the Kechyn, Bottery, hall, parler, Chappell [ij vestments, a wrytten mape, a superaltare and a lytle crucifixe]. fyrst Chamber [a bed room]. Seconde Chamber. ij stameles [shirts of fine worsted]. ij doblettes a cloke a longe gown and a hose clothe. ij cotts of clothe on of them furred and a cote of say wythowte slevis. viij hand

<sup>a</sup> John Portonari. (See Suppr. of Monasteries, 180; comp. Dom. Pap. Henry VIII. iii. p. 11, fo. 1535.)

<sup>b</sup> The Prior's house probably was on the north-east side of the Little Cloister, where we find several fireplaces, and also traces of a chapel in a window jamb of the time of Henry VI. with a squint on one side of it, apparently of earlier date.

Jan. 2, 4 Edw. VI. and Jan. 26, 35 Hen. VIII. It is agreed y<sup>t</sup> a new waye shallbe made owte of the Darke Entry [Dark Cloisters] into the Courte, and y<sup>t</sup> the pece of the Pryvey Dorter shallbe pullyd downe so moche as shallbe necessary for y<sup>t</sup> purpose, and lykewise all the howse callyd Patches house (afterwards occupied by the usher of the School Ch. Book, 59, 74), and so moche of the deanes house as shallbe harmyd, etc., that the College Gate, by Mr. Pekyns howse, shallbe enlarged so as a carte may cum in to the Courte [Little Dean's Yard] before the Deanes dore [in the Misericord], and to the newe waye in to the Cloyster. (Chapter Book, 15 b, 63, 74.)

Nov. 8, 1550. Certeyne plate remainyng in the Vestrie shallbe solde for to beare the charges of the alterac'ons and removing the queer, and for the alterac'on of the Dark Entre and the College Great Gate. The sewer of the Reredorter (Latina Custumal, 241) still remains between the S.W. angle of the Little Cloister, and the entrance into Little Dean's Yard from the Dark Cloisters. (Chapter Book, fo. 65 b.) to which the dean most kindly gave me access.

On the south side of the Dark Passage is Litlington's Tower, serving as the belfry in 1719, and on the north a room called incorrectly St. Anne's Chapel retains a circular projection like a stoup.

1547, July 9. That the plummerye and the waxchanderye, with other howses of offyce there, shall be removyd from whense they now are unto the ferder end of the vawtys underneth the Mr. deanes graner [the granary having been divided between the dean and prebendaries], and y<sup>t</sup> the dore nowe openyng into y<sup>e</sup> said plummerye, on the east side of the prior's parlour, owte of the Church, shallbe muryd uppe. (Chapter Book, 38 b, 39.)

In 1554 the King's Confessor occupied one of the vaultes. (Ib. 94.)

kerches and iij course wypeyng towells. ij cappes. A cover of wood peyntyd serving for a maser haveyng at the end therof a kuppe of sylver and gylte.  
 The Masshyng [Mixing] House. ij rudds a tapphose and a tapstaf a med-  
 dlyng shovell a penyall batche a lyker batche v tynes to bere ale a wort  
 collender and a hovell a geyest to set ale apon.  
 Thomelis Chamber. old myll stones.  
 Saynt Johns house. iij bynnes to put malt yn.  
 The Mylhouse.  
 The Godds Blessing house a samon barell, lxxvij Kynnells [tubs.]  
 Ealing house a clensing stole a tabret of lede iij metyng stands one of x  
 galons.  
 The Bake House. <sup>a</sup>  
 The Covent Kychyn <sup>b</sup> a cupborde at the Frater-hole. <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Granaries, afterwards the scholars' dormitory, were at the east, and the aleyn or brewhouse and bakehouses, on the north side of the present green in Dean's Yard : a tower stood at the N.E. angle.

<sup>b</sup> This entry shows that the kitchen closely adjoined the Refectory. *Olim spaciun erat et circus . . . [claustr]alis cum quadam volta inter Refectorium et Coquina.* (Custum. fo. 232.) The lutch, consisting of two square-headed apertures, remains in the south wall of the Fraternity : there is another example at Tintern ; *fenestra coquinae.* (Ib. fo. 185, 194, 204.) For the description of a cupboard, see Hall, 793. The butteries stood westward of the hall. The lavatory, with five niches for towels (Custumal, fo. 185), remains in the south alley of the Cloister. The present Library made part of the Dormitory ; it had been formed before the year 27 Henry VI., as appears in a MS. Charter, and the door to its staircase remains southward of the Vestibule of the Chapter-house. Under it, southward of the chapel of the Pyx, which had formed the Treasury, two bays of the sub-structure composed the Regular Parlour (Custum. 147, 270, 444), opening on the chapel of St. Dunstan, which retains the niche for an image, of the period of Henry V., and a water-drain with a ledge. Into it guests were taken, as well as into the Misericord. *Moderno tempore quando in Hostellaria sunt aliqui prandentes in Capellam S. Dunstani eos rite ducere solent.* (Custumal, fo. 199.)

The Library, after the Reformation, was furnished by means of coarse spoliation :

Yt is lykwyse determined that the two lecternes of latten and candelstyecks of latten wythe angelles of copper and gylte, and all other brasse latten belle metell and brasse shall be sold by Mr. Heynes, treasurer, by cause they be monyments of idolatre and supersticyon, and the monye therof cummyng to be receyvyd by the sayd treasurer for making of the lybrary [in the northe parte of the Cloyster] and bying of books. (Chapter Book, fo. 47.)

In the same spirit it was agreed, in 1552, to sell certain plate to pay the ministers [fo. 72], and on March 2, 1570, that "a canapie shalbe made of the best copes that are remaining in the Vestric if the stuff will serve," for the Queen at the opening of Parliament visiting the Abbey. (Chapter Book, fo. 141 b.)

<sup>c</sup> v. Nove'ber A° R. R. II. VIII. xxxvj. It is agreyd bi master deane and the Chapter that guy Gasken, servaunt unto the said deane and Chapter, shall forth

The Salt house.

Black Parlour. iij stands for ale.

Wet Larder. a greate tube standyng in the entry to hang meate.

*Offyce of the Infyrmari.*—The Parlor. Chamber over the Parlor. Chamber over the Botire. The Great Parlour with S. Kateryn's Garden.<sup>a</sup> Chamber next the parlor (a bedroom). The Study within the same Garden. The Sykman's Chambers<sup>b</sup> the ffyrste hangyd w<sup>t</sup> peynted clothes a bedstede w<sup>t</sup> a sparver a table ij trestylls a coveryd cheyer a forme ij benches ij holffs; the Second Chamber hangyd w<sup>t</sup> payntyd clothes a bedsted with a blewe sparver an old chayer an old table with sets. The Hall.<sup>c</sup> the hangyng of grene saye ij old torn bankers a broken eupbord ij tabulls standyng uppo trestells on forme a round table for oysters a turnyd cheyer.

*eynt Kateryn's Chappell in the Farmarye.*<sup>d</sup>—A canape for the Sacrament A litle box of sylver without a cover. A chalesse with a patyn. vj corporax casies. v corporaces. A westment of russet satten w<sup>h</sup> a crosse of red damask and bordered w<sup>h</sup> crymissyn wellvet w<sup>h</sup> and albe and all thying belongyng. A Westment of red damask the crosse whyte damask w<sup>t</sup> albe and all thying belongyng. iijj old westments w<sup>t</sup> one albe and other hynys for one westment. iij corse awter clothes w<sup>t</sup> iij fronts. An awter cloth with a front of whyte and redd damaske with an ymage of Saynt Erasmus and Saynt Lawrence sett with perles and stone. ij short hand towells and old carpett upon the auter. A crucifyx of wod. A table of the dome. iij latene candelstyks. an holy water stock of laten w<sup>h</sup> the sprynkyl of wod. ij cruettes of penter. one candelstyck of yron and iijj candelstyckks in

w<sup>th</sup> in all hast for the awoidyng of farther inconveniens take downe the frater howse, and also that m<sup>r</sup> deane of peterborow [Gerarde Carleton] shall have the vacant ground betwixt m<sup>r</sup> readmans and m<sup>r</sup> turpins howse w<sup>t</sup> the stable upon the walle of the said m<sup>r</sup> deane of peterborows howse. (Chapter Book, fo. 20.)

2 Edw. VI. Jan. 14. It is agreed that it shalle be lefull for m<sup>r</sup> deane to take downe the tymber and tylls of two broken chambres standyng besydes the Scole howse, and also that he shall have the grounde of the Freyter with the stone walles to the augmentacon of his gardeyn, and also his garden in the Farmery [Infirmary], and also the chambers adjoynyng to his howse of the Dorter [Dormitory] syd unto the Abbotts lodgyng, and that m<sup>r</sup> Heines shall have immediatly the howse with the gardyn and douffe howse heretofore grauntid hym. (Chapter Book, fo. 47 b.)

<sup>a</sup> St. Katherine's Garden was probably the garth of the Little Cloisters, which formed its *clausura lapidea* according to Fleta; there is one resembling it at Gloucester; and in the Norman monastery of Canterbury and also at Sherborne there were others in connection with the Infirmary. There was a *Crassetum inter claustrum et hostium Infirmitoriae* (Custumal, 159).

<sup>b</sup> They probably opened out through the doors remaining in the alleys of the Little Cloister. *Camera infirmorum*. (Custumal, 299, 217.) There were more than one in a chamber, fo. 468.

<sup>c</sup> The Sala of the Custumal, fo. 477, which had a huge fire burning in it, when there were evening processions, and opened into the south aisle of the Chapel by a Norman door still existing, and once extended over it. See fo. 136.

<sup>d</sup> A complete plan of the Abbey buildings illustrating this paper was contri-

the wall. j missale with one deske. ij bokes for Seynt Kateryn. a joyned stole w<sup>h</sup> an old lyttell forme. ij deskes w<sup>h</sup> ij olde books to saye service apon. A sacring bell. a . . . tt bell. A lampe hangyng with a cord. A paxe. ij blew curtyns before the ymages. ij curtyns for the auter of whyte and red sarcenet. ij gret chests with a payer of organs without pypes. A bere with a cofyn for ded men.<sup>a</sup> ij tabulls<sup>b</sup> in the Syde Chappells apon the auters an old chest in the chappells (one vestment geven to the Church of Staines iiij appoynted to the churche).

The Chappell Chamber. the hangyng of paynted clothes a bedsted with a sparver a close cheyr with a old forme. The Botry. The Kechyn.

The *Hostery*.<sup>c</sup>—A masor boll called Saynt Edward's masor garnysshed with sylver.

buted by me to the "Building News," May 31, 1872. The ruins now include four pillars of the nave, and a respond or half-pilaster on the south side, with three arches enriched with chevron, billet, and battlemented mouldings under an indented string-course, and bases of the pillars on the north side. Two pointed arches of the south side of the chancel remain. Two side chapels, possibly those of St. Erasmus and Lawrence, were at the east end of the nave. The wretched story of the demolition is thus told: "July 13, 38 H. VIII. Wheras m<sup>r</sup> dean of peterborough hath takin down the leade of Saint Katryn's chapell . . . and agreeth to make uppe buyldyng and lodgyng throughout the Bodie of the chapell (Chapter Book, fo. 32), "March 2, 1570, It is decreed that the olde Kitchyn hertofore called Covent Kytchen and a howse called in times past the Misericorde now divised among other things to the ladye Anne Parrye widow (who had occupied the dean's former house) and also the old Chapell somtyme called St. Katheryn's Chapell in the Lesse Cloistre shalbe taken down." (Ibid. fo. 042.) On great occasions when the procession visited it, after vespers, the nave was lighted with long lines of cereoli. (Custumal, fo. 479.) The steps to the Bathing-place remained within memory at the N.E. angle of the Hall.

<sup>a</sup> It was carried by four men. (Custumal, 514.)

<sup>b</sup> Probably reredosses or ornamental frontals of altars.

<sup>c</sup> The Hostry Garden extended over the ground which lay between the Bowling Green and the river bank, partly on the site of College Street (Mem. of Westm. 318-320). "Dec. 6, 1596. A lease graunted of the Hostry (Guest House; Hospitum Domus, fo. 146-7) and the howses and cotages thereupon builded (Chapter Book, fo. 245). The outer Hostry adjoined the Almonry or Dolhouse (Custumal, 157, 173, 292, 303). The bowl of charity and great flagon, sometimes carried down the Refectory, are mentioned by Ware. (fo. 600-603.) "The Abbey Gate towards the town" fronted Tothill Street, and its southern arch, the Court Gate, opened into the precinct. (Ibid. 39, 529.) Besides these there was a Cemetery Gate. (fo. 13, 12.) The Master of the Choristers lodged "over the Gate going to the Almetry." (Chapter House Book, fo. 15.)

On the south-east side of the Little Cloister is a slype to the College Garden, formerly divided by walls into gardens, and occupied by the domestic accessories, stables and cowsheds. On the east side is the Tower, known as the Jewel-house.

INVENTORY OF ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL,  
WESTMINSTER.

[From the Land Revenue Record, Church Inventories <sup>439</sup><sub>5</sub>.]

CONTRIBUTED BY J. R. DANIEL TYSSEN, F.S.A., AND ANNOTATED BY  
MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A., PRÆCENTOR OF CHICHESTER.

|                                     |   | The Inventory of all the Coopis Vestimentes Albes & Aulter hangynges p'teynyng & belongyng vnto Saynt Stephyns Chapell in Westm'.   |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| John Rowke<br>merc'<br>Henry Vaghan | } | preysers.   |
| p'sed at xxx li.                    | { | ffirst iij riche copis of nedelworke sett w <sup>t</sup> perle.<br>Itm iij garmentes <sup>a</sup> w <sup>t</sup> albes vestment deacon and subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng vnto them of the same worke.<br>Itm hangynges for the alter and vpper & an nether of the same worke w <sup>t</sup> curtens of old stayned sersenet. |
| p'sed at C s.<br>p'sed at vj li.    | { | Itm ij copis of riche clothe of tyssue.<br>Itm iij copis of riche clothe of gold raysid w <sup>t</sup> red fygury.  |
| p'sed at C s.                       | { | Itm one cope of clothe of gold raysid w <sup>t</sup> red fygurye of the gyft of M <sup>r</sup> Deane.<br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestment deacon and subdeacon of the same suet lakyng an amys & a fanell.   |
| p'sed at iiij s.                    | { | Itm iiij albes w <sup>t</sup> parrers <sup>b</sup> of cloth of gold for childerne.  |
| p'sed at xli.                       | { | Itm xv copis of red bawdekyn orfesid w <sup>t</sup> grene <sup>c</sup> fygury cloth of gold.<br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestment deacon and subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng unto them of the same suet.<br>Itm hangynges for the alter an vpp[er] & anether of the same w <sup>t</sup> curtens of red s'cenet.  |
| p'sid at x li.                      | { | Itm hangynges for the alter and upper and another w <sup>t</sup> a frunte <sup>d</sup> of crimesyn velvit fygury  |

<sup>a</sup> A novel expression to designate a complete suit of chasuble [the vestment] tunicle, and dalmatic, with stole, albe, maniple, etc., for deacon and subdeacon.

<sup>b</sup> Apparels, ornamental cuffs, and collars. Children, *i.e.* choristers.

<sup>c</sup> Fygury, branched work.

<sup>d</sup> j prependicular of saten grene and redd, with a frunte to the same. (MS Inv. Lychelade.)

|                                  |   |  |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
|                                  |   | w <sup>t</sup> curtens of red s'cenet of the gyfte of M <sup>r</sup> Peter Carmelyan.  |
| p'sid at lxx li.                 | } | Itm xxvij copis of red clothe of gold fygury wherof vij of them ys orfesid w <sup>t</sup> brodery [embroidery].                              |
|                                  |   | Itm ij suettes of garmentes vestimentes deacons & subdeacons w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng unto them of the same suetts. <sup>a</sup> |
|                                  |   | Itm hangynges for the alter an upper & anether of grene and red clothe of gold fygury w <sup>t</sup> curtens of grene and red s'cenet.       |
|                                  |   | Total of first page of MS. clxvi li. iiij s.   |
| p'sid at xiiij li. vj s. viij d. | } | Itm one cope of clothe of sylver of docto <sup>r</sup> Wolmans gyft.   |
|                                  |   | Itm iiij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon & subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng unto them of the same suet.        |
| p'sid at c s.                    |   | Itm one cope of clothe of gold w <sup>t</sup> blewe velvit fygury of the gyfte of M <sup>r</sup> Algar.                                      |
|                                  | } | Itm iiij copis of blewe velvitt.   |
|                                  |   | Itm iiij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon & subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng unto them of the same suett.       |
| p'sid at xiiij li. vj s. viij d. |   | Itm one cope of blewe velvit for a childe. <sup>b</sup>  |
|                                  |   | Itm an albe for a child of the same.   |
|                                  |   | Itm hangynges for the alter an upper an anether of the same.   |
|                                  | } | Itm iiij pesis of hangynges for the quyer abought the hie alter of red and blewe clothe of gold fygury.                                      |
| p'sid at xl li.                  |   | Itm ij canapes of red clothe of gold fygury for Saynt Stephyn & Saynt George. <sup>c</sup>   |
| p'sid at xiiij s. iiij d.        |   | Itm a tuncycle of red clothe of gold fygury for a child.   |
|                                  | } | Itm iiij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon & subdeacon of cloth of gold w <sup>t</sup> whit velvit fygury.                     |
| p'sid at xij li.                 |   | Itm ij copis of clothe of gold raysid w <sup>t</sup> whit velvit fygury.   |

<sup>a</sup> Vestymntts, with the furnytures belonging to the same. (MS. Inv. East Claydon.)

<sup>b</sup> vi copes for children of dornix. (Inv. Greenwich.)

<sup>c</sup> At the high altar a crucifixe, and iiij saynts, ij gret candilstyckes of latten. (MS. Inv. Chatteris.) iiij shettis, j y<sup>t</sup> dyd hange before y<sup>e</sup> tabernacles. (MS. Inv. Lechworth.)

|                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| p'sid at viij li.                | Itm hangynges for the alter an upper & anether of clothe of gold w <sup>t</sup> a frunte of crimesyn velvit set w <sup>t</sup> flower de luces of the gyft of Mr higgons.   |
| p'sid at lx s.                   | Itm ij copis of purpill velvit.<br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon & subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng unto them of the same suett.  |
| p'sid at vj li. xiiij s. iiij d. | Itm viij copis of crimesyn velvit powderid w <sup>t</sup> trayfilles.<br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon and subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng unto them of the same suett.<br>Itm hangynges for the alter an upper & anether of the same suet w <sup>t</sup> curtens of branchid sarsenet w <sup>t</sup> trayfilles. <sup>a</sup>     |
| p'sid at ls.                     | Total of second page cij li.<br>Itm iij copis of white and blewe bawdekyn.<br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon & deacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng unto them of the same suett.  |
| p'sid at xx s.                   | Itm ij copis of lewkes gold w <sup>t</sup> birdes.<br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon & subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng unto them of the same suet.  |
| p'sid at x li.                   | Itm iij copis of whit velvit fygyry.<br>Itm one cope of whit satten.<br>Itm xvj copis of whit damaske.<br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon & subdeacon of whit damaske.<br>Itm hangynges for the alter an vpp[er] & anether [a lower] of whit damaske.   |
| p'sid at l s.                    | Itm one cope of red satten fygyry of grene.<br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon & subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng unto them of the same suett [suit].<br>Itm ij copis of lukys <sup>b</sup> gold fygyry w <sup>t</sup> grene.<br>Itm vij new albes w <sup>t</sup> perares <sup>c</sup> [parures] of grene satten fygyry for children. |

<sup>a</sup> A vestment with *traffles* [trefails] and *flower de luisis*. (MS. Inv. S. Nicholas Cold Abbey.)

<sup>b</sup> *Lucchese*. Gold of Venice and Lucca are frequently mentioned in medieval inventories. A sute of rede clothe of Lukis golde. (Inv. S. Mary at Hill.) A pall for the Sacrament on C. C. day of red damaske fringed about with Venice gold and red silke, and iiij painted staves. (Inv. S. Olave Jewry.)

<sup>c</sup> *Parures*, apparels, ornamental borders.

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| p'sid at x li.                    | { Itm one cope of blake velvit.<br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon &<br>subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng vnto them<br>of the same snett.<br>Itm hangynges for the alter an vpper & anether <sup>a</sup><br>of blake velvit.<br>Itm a herse clothe of blake velvit.<br>Itm a cope of blak velvit the orfese powderid w <sup>t</sup><br>flower de luces. |
| p'sid at ij s.                    | { Itm one cope of white bawdekyn of lewkys gold.<br>Itm xj copis of red bawdekyn w <sup>t</sup> lyons.   |
| p'sid at vj li. xiiij s. iiiij d. | { Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon &<br>subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng vnto them<br>of the same suet.<br>Itm hangynges for the alter an vpper & anether of<br>the same.   |
| p'sid at xl s.                    | { Itm iiiij copis of red & yelowe bawdekyn w <sup>t</sup> birdes.<br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon &<br>subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng vnto them<br>of the same suet.<br>Total of third page xxxiiij li. xv s. iiiij d.  |
| p'sid at xx s.                    | { Itm iij copis of course blewe bawdekyn for the<br>trinetie. <sup>b</sup><br>Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon &<br>subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng vnto them<br>of the same suete.<br>Itm hangynges for the alter an vpper & anether<br>of the same.  |
| p'sid at vj s.                    | { Itm iij copis of old bawdekyn w <sup>t</sup> birdes for Saynt<br>Stephyn. <sup>c</sup>   |
| p'sid at lx s.                    | { Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon &<br>subdeacon w <sup>t</sup> all thynges belongyng vnto them.<br>Itm a sepulker <sup>d</sup> clothe of cloth of gold w <sup>t</sup> red<br>fygury <sup>e</sup> & blewe tynsyn. <sup>e</sup>   |

<sup>a</sup> The frontal and super-frontal.

<sup>b</sup> Used on Trinity Sunday.

<sup>c</sup> Used on the Feast of S. Stephen.

<sup>d</sup> A sepulchre chest that stode in the quere. (MS. Inv. S. Mary Woolnoth.)  
 j sepulchre with paynted clothes to cover the same. (Inv. Eltham.) The Easter  
 sepulchre, in which the Cross and reserved Host were laid with great ceremony  
 from Good Friday to Easter morning. (See Sacred Archaeology, s. v.)

<sup>e</sup> A cope of bawdkyn, otherwyse called velvitt fygury. (MS. Inv. SS. Anne  
 and Agnes. An alter cloth of tynsyn satten. (MS. Inv. Flixton.)

|                        |   |  |
|------------------------|---|--|
| p'sid at vj s. viij d. | } | Itm a table of brodery w <sup>t</sup> the passion. <sup>a</sup>  |
|                        |   | Itm a hate of sylke for the p'fytte. <sup>b</sup>  |
| p'sid at xx s.         | } | Itm v pawles clothes. <sup>c</sup>   |
|                        |   | Itm x corporas casis. <sup>d</sup>   |
| p'sid at vj s. viij d. | } | Itm xiiiij corporas clothes.   |
|                        |   | Itm a vayle of red and whit s <sup>c</sup> enet for lent. <sup>e</sup>   |
| p'sid at xx s.         | } | Itm a canapy clothe of blewe satten w <sup>t</sup> starris. <sup>f</sup>   |
|                        |   | Itm iij alter hangynges ij vpper & ij nether for the ij alters in the body of the churche of whit & red satten briggis <sup>g</sup> payned.  |
| p'sid at vj s. viij d. | } | Itm iiiij alter hangynges ij vpper & ij nether of red satten briges.   |
|                        |   | Itm iij garmentes w <sup>t</sup> albes vestiment deacon & subdeacon of whit lustian for lent.  |
| p'sid at vj s. viij d. | } | Itm one alter hangyng an vpper & anether of whit lynyn clothe stayned for lent. <sup>h</sup>   |
|                        |   | Itm iiiij alter hangynges ij vpper & anether for the ij alters in the body of the churche of whit lynyn clothe stayned for lent w <sup>t</sup> iij curtens of the same. <sup>i</sup> |

<sup>a</sup> At y<sup>e</sup> hey auter a fayer tabull allebaster of the Pascyon, above y<sup>t</sup> a fayr tabull peynted and gylt with a pagent of y<sup>e</sup> Pascyon. (MS. Inv. Southampton.)

<sup>b</sup> Probably the priest who on the Rogation days, in a tunicle and carrying a chanter's staff, went in the middle of a procession composed of secular and conventual clergy, thus sundering the two bodies. The hat is a hood—

Set on this hat upon his head,

This is ane haly hude.

(Lyndsay's Ane Satyre, 4527-9.)

<sup>c</sup> A paull clothe for them that departe. (MS. Inv. Harbridge.) Pall for the Sacrament on C. C. day of rede damaske fringed about with Venice gold and red sylke. (MS. Inv. S. Peter Cornhill.)

<sup>d</sup> A purse to bere the Commyon in. (MS. Inv. Marchington.) j corporas of twyllly. (MS. Inv. Barow, Salop.) The towel laid under the chalice and paten; it was kept in a purse or pocket.

<sup>e</sup> A corten of linnen clothe to be drawn before the alter. (MS. Inv. Arreton.) j vaile cloth of lynnyn that was wont to hange before thalter in Lent. (Inv. Eltham.)

<sup>f</sup> The pyxe cloth of grene sylke. (MS. Inv. Marchington.) j canopy over the pyxe. (MS. Inv. Wynterbourn Stapleton.) ij sodaryes for the pyx of rede sarcenet with viij knoppes of copper gilt. (Inv. S. Olave Jewry.) A pyxe that was wont to hang over the altuar. (MS. Inv. S. Peter Cornhill.) A pyxe cloth with a cawlle garnyshed with damaske gold. (MS. Inv. S. Peter West Chepe. See Sacred Archaeology, s. v.) A pyxe clothe of lawne with iij buttons of sylver.

<sup>g</sup> Of Bruges.

<sup>h</sup> A vestment for Lent of whyte sylke, with hangyngs for the same. (MS. Inv. S. Mary Chantry, Sarum.) Stayned means painted.

<sup>i</sup> iij curtens hangyng on barrs of yeorn to save y<sup>e</sup> same auter of saye redd

370 INVENTORY OF ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER.

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| p'sid at xxxiiij s. iiij d.                         | { | Itm ij cussyhyns of clothe of gold fygury.<br>Item ij cussyhyns of nedell worke of whit & blew<br>sylke lyned w <sup>t</sup> grene satten.<br>Total of fourth page ix li. vj s.  |
| p'sid at vj s. viij d.                              | { | Itm ij cussyhyns of damaske.<br>Itm ij old cussyhyns cou'ed w <sup>t</sup> [with] sylke.<br>Itm a cussbyn of red woollen clothe in brodered<br>w <sup>t</sup> [with] nedel worke.<br>Itm iiij cussyhyns of tap[es]stre w <sup>t</sup> antelopes.   |
| p'sid at xxvj s. viij d.                            | { | Itm a newe carpytt arrevse [arras] worke.<br>Itm ij carpettes more.<br>Itm a cōunt[er]payne.<br>Itm ij old carpettes for the herse w <sup>t</sup> the ffounders<br>armes. <sup>a</sup><br>Itm ij lytell carpettes w <sup>t</sup> the ffounders armes.  |
| p'sid at vj d.                                      | { | Itm ij litel hand towelles.<br>Itm ij old hand towelles.   |
| p'sid at vj s. viij d.                              | { | Itm ij amysis kerchers [amiccs, couvre-chefs].<br>Itm iiij auter clothes of dyap[er] for the nether<br>chapel.<br>Itm a vestiment w <sup>t</sup> an albe of old red satten<br>brygges.<br>Itm a vestiment w <sup>t</sup> an albe of old whit satten<br>brygges.<br>Itm a vestiment w <sup>t</sup> an albe of old blake worstid.<br>Item a vestiment w <sup>t</sup> an albe of whit ffustean for<br>lent. |
| p'sid by est' at v c. at xiiij s. s<br>le c. lxx s. | { | Itm ij latten deskys w <sup>t</sup> a stonderd for the pascall<br>of latten. <sup>b</sup>  |
| p'sid at xiiij s. iiij d.                           | { | Itm iiij latten canstykes for the herse.<br>Itm ij smale canstykes of copper.<br>Itm a hangyng basyn of latten. <sup>c</sup>   |

and yelowe. (MS. Inv. Southampton.) vj cortens of dornyx, wherof ys made iiij playing cooth [players' coats]. (MS. Inv. Eversoult.) The altars in the nave were those of S. George and S. Barbara.

<sup>a</sup> A vestment deacon and subdeacon of blewe velvet embroydered with gould with the arms of lord Dokkres. (MS. Inv. S. John's [Colchester?].) Carpet was a general name for coverings, whether of the altar, floor, or seats.

<sup>b</sup> iiij pillers of latten for the paskall. (MS. Inv. S. Magnus, London.) A doble deske in the vestrey, with iij ambreys in yt. iiij deskys upon the quere stalls. (MS. Inv. St. Mary Woolnoth.) A deske maid with an egle of lattyne. (MS. Inv. S. Alban's, Herts.) A deske of latten to rede the Gospell (MS. Inv. Holy Trinity, Ipswich.)

<sup>c</sup> For the lamp before the Sacrament.

|                                      |   |  |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| p'sid at xiiij li. xiiij s. iiiij d. | } | Itm iiij payer of organs in the vpper chapell.                             |
|                                      |   | Itm one old payer of organs in the nether chapell. <sup>a</sup>            |
| p'syd at v li. x s. iiiij d.         | } | Itm on bothe sydes of the quyer xvij antiphoners.                          |
|                                      |   | Itm on bothe sydes the quyer x graylles [grails or book of the gradualls]. |
|                                      |   | Itm on bothe sydes the quyer iiij salters [psalters].                      |
|                                      |   | Itm ij gret legens [lectionaries containing legends or lections].          |
|                                      |   | Itm a boke of the respondes [a responsorium].                              |
|                                      |   | Itm a dirige boke [used at funerals].                                      |
|                                      |   | Itm iiij gret pryke song bokes [with musical notation].                    |
|                                      |   | Itm iiiij bannars [for procession].  |
|                                      |   | Itm iiiij masse bokes for the hie aulter.                                  |

THE PLATE AND JUELLES BELONGYNG VNTO SAYNT STEPHYNS CHAPELL IN WESTM<sup>r</sup>.

|   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| Itm one chalis of gold of   | xiiij onz.                |
| Itm a paten of sylu' & gylt to the same of  | iiij onz dd.              |
| Itm vij chalysis of sylver & gylte of   | clxvii onz dd.            |
| Itm one crosse of gold set w <sup>t</sup> stone & perle of  | xxvij onz.                |
| Itm a fote of sylver & gylte to the same of [on which it could stand on the altar, as it was also portable when used in processions]  | xxxvij onz.               |
| Itm one crosse of sylver and gylte w <sup>t</sup> May & John to stond on the herse  | lxxvij onz.               |
| Itm one crosse of sylver & gylte w <sup>t</sup> a staf to bere on p'cession [procession] by estimacion of   | iiij <sup>xxij</sup> onz. |
| Itm one stondyng pix [a tabernacle for the Reserved Sacrament on the altar] of sylver & gylt to bere the Sacrament in sett w <sup>t</sup> stone & perle by est' besides of the cristall | vij <sup>xxj</sup> onz.   |
| Itm one pix of ivery [for the host] garnyshed w <sup>t</sup> sylver & gilte by estimacion of [this could be carried in processions, being not a "standing pyx"] <sup>b</sup>            | ijj onz dd.               |
| Itm iiij sensars of sylver and gylte of   | ijc onz.                  |

<sup>a</sup> These were sold at a sacrifice, for I find this entry at Folsham :

Payd for on paire of organs xii li.

Berkhampstead possessed a pair of orgainnes and a pair of portatives [portable regals].

<sup>b</sup> A box of every with in the pyxe havyng smayle glasses of sylver apon hit. (MS. Inv. Bullington.)

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|  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Itm one sensar of sylver & gylte w <sup>t</sup> a fote of copp'<br>p <sup>o</sup> z besides the cop'                                     | xxxv onz.                      |
| Itm ij sensars of sylver p <sup>s</sup> sell gylt of   | iiij <sup>sx</sup> ij onz.     |
| Itm one sensar of sylver gilte w <sup>t</sup> the fote of copp' of   | xviiij onz.                    |
| Itm iiij canstykes <sup>a</sup> of sylver & gylt of  | ix <sup>sx</sup> ij onz.       |
| Itm iiij canstykes gret & smale of sylver p <sup>s</sup> e [parcel<br>or partly] gilt of   | j <sup>e</sup> xi onz.         |
| Itm ij gret basyns of sylver <sup>b</sup> and gylte of   | ij <sup>e</sup> xij onz.       |
| Itm v smale basyns of sylver p <sup>s</sup> sell gylt of   | vj <sup>sx</sup> viiij onz.    |
| Itm one image of Saynt Stephen of sylver & gylte<br>set w <sup>t</sup> stone & perle p <sup>o</sup> z. besydes the Berall [beryl]        | xiiij <sup>sx</sup> xiiij onz. |
| Itm one image of o <sup>r</sup> lady of sylver & gylte of  | xxxij onz.                     |
| Itm one image of Saynt Barbara of sylver & gilte of  | xxi onz.                       |
| Itm vj cruettes of sylver & gylt, one lakyng a kover, of   | xliij onz.                     |
| Itm one cresemetary [chrismatory] of sylver &<br>gylte of  | xxxix onz.                     |
| Itm one other juell lyke a cresemetary of sylv' & gilt<br>sett w <sup>t</sup> stone of p <sup>o</sup> z. besydes the berall <sup>c</sup> | xviiij onz.                    |
| Itm one styke of sylv' p <sup>s</sup> sell gilt for the holy candell <sup>d</sup>  | viiij onz.                     |
| Itm ij Rector stavis <sup>e</sup> of sylver p <sup>s</sup> sell gylte by est'  | xxiiij onz.                    |
| Itm ij Rector stavis garnyshed w <sup>t</sup> sylver & gilt by est'  | iiij onz.                      |
| Itm iiij bokes of Gospell <sup>f</sup> & pystelles plated w <sup>t</sup> silver<br>& gylte by estimacion of                              | xxx onz.                       |
| Itm one payer of tables platid in the same man' w <sup>t</sup><br>sylver & gylte by estimacion of  | xxxv onz.                      |
| Itm one holy water stoke <sup>g</sup> w <sup>t</sup> a sprynkyll of sylver &<br>p <sup>s</sup> sell gylte of                             | iiij <sup>sx</sup> onz.        |
| Itm one shipe of silver & gylt w <sup>t</sup> a spone of silv' <sup>h</sup>  | xxj onz dd.                    |

<sup>a</sup> ij canstyks to sett over the aulter of a fote long. (MS. Inv. Aston Clynton.)  
iiij candlestekes on y<sup>e</sup> alter. (MS. Inv. Hyldersham.)

<sup>b</sup> A vessel for holy water with the Asperge. (Inv. S. Jo. Coll. Camb. 1510.)

<sup>c</sup> j monstrans silvar and gilte withe a round birrall to put relyques in, poz.  
xl oz. iii g. (Collect. Cur. ii. 337.)

<sup>d</sup> Reservetur ignis de vi<sup>a</sup> Feria ut illuminetur Cereus; cum benedictus est ab  
eo illuminetur secundus cereus etc. Amalar. De extinctione luminum circa  
sepulturam Domini, cap. 44. Baculus deargenteus pro cruce portabili. (Collect.  
Cur. ii. 259.) For the paschall and crosse candell weyng v li. (MS. Inv. S. Leonard  
Foster Lane.)

<sup>e</sup> Rectors of the choir.

<sup>f</sup> j booke called the Gospillar garnyshed withe silvar and gilte and counter-  
feyte stonyes, withe an image of the crucifixe and Mary and John with the Booke  
and all iiij<sup>qs</sup> xii oz. (Coll. Cur. ii. 338.)

<sup>g</sup> peyre of aulter basons of silver and parcell gilt poz. lxij oz iiij qrs.  
(Collect Cur. ii. 339.) Used at the offertory, and in the ablutions as a laver.

<sup>h</sup> An incense-boat with a spoon. (Inv. S. Jo. Coll. Camb. 1510.)

|  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Itm one scons <sup>a</sup> of sylver p'sell gylt of . . .  | xxiiij onz.                       |
| Itm iij belles <sup>b</sup> of sylver & gylt of . . .  | xxiiij onz.                       |
| Itm one spone of sylver & gylt of . . .  | ij onz.                           |
| Itm one litell <sup>c</sup> box for syngyng bred garnyshed w <sup>t</sup><br>sylv' & gylt, by estimacion of . . .  | j onz. d.                         |
| Itm a scalope shell <sup>d</sup> of sylver & gylt of . . .   | xiiij. onz.                       |
| Itm a rode of sylver for the verger by est'  | 1 onz.                            |
| Itm a trinitie of sylver & gylt iiii Angelles of sylv'<br>& gylt and an image of o <sup>r</sup> lady <sup>e</sup> & the holy-gost<br>beryng the sacrame <sup>t</sup> of sylver & gylt hangyng ou'<br>the hie aluter of . . . | iiij <sup>c</sup> xvj onz di.     |
| Itm iij chalices in the pue & one in the chapell of<br>lynwood of sylver & gylt of . . .   | iiij <sup>xx</sup> xiiij onz. di. |

The Inventory of the Pwe<sup>f</sup> in Saynt Stephyns in Westm'.

VESTIMENTES AND HANGYNGES FOR THE ALTERS.

|   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| In p <sup>r</sup> mis a vestment of clothe of tyssue w <sup>t</sup> all thynges<br>p <sup>r</sup> teynyng to the same | } p <sup>r</sup> sid at iiii li. |
| Itm ij hangyngs for the alter of the same   |                                  |

<sup>a</sup> Sconsae deputatae in choro de nocte coram eis qui vellent in libris servitium suum decantare. (Gesta Abbatum S. Albani, ii. 106.)

<sup>b</sup> Sanctus-bells, one for each of the three altars. j little bell hanging in the church called the Saunts bell. (MS. Inv. Calborne and Motstone.) A corse bell poz. ii li. (MS. Inv. Herefordshire [for ringing before the bier]; a bedesman's bell. (MS. Inv. Wymering.) (See Sacred Archæology, s. v.)

<sup>c</sup> j boxe for bred (MS. Inv. Chappell Church in Lichfield.) Singing or Houselling bread designated unconsecrated wafers. (See Sac. Archæol. s. v.)

<sup>d</sup> Two Seynt James' shells (Invent. of C. C. Guild at York), they were used in the ministration of Holy Baptism. Hi qui baptizantur, ut fieri solebat, nummos in concham non mittant. [Conc. Eliberit. can. xlviij. Summ. Conc. 176.] 40s. were paid for this shell. (Smith's Antiq. of Westminster, 122.) The entry greatly puzzled Smith.

<sup>e</sup> An image of o<sup>r</sup> Lady of Pytte for y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament. (MS. Inv. Ludlow.) The design here was the Conception of the Blessed Virgin by the descent of the Holy Ghost, addressing her ear. It formed a pendant pyx.

<sup>f</sup> S. Mary of Pity. Bishop Lyndwood founded a perpetual chantry in the Under Chapel [Bassa Capella] of S. Stephen, with a chaplain to celebrate mass therein, and a chaplain to say mass in the chapel of S. Mary de Pewa, near S. Stephen's Chapel. (Pa. Ro. 32 Hen. VI. m. 4, July 19.) A Canon, Prestwick, founded a mass of S. Mary in le Pewe at one of the two altars in the nave of the chapel. (Pa. Ro. 16 Nov. 21, Hen. VI. m. 1411). There was an image of

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Itm a vestment of clothe of gold w <sup>t</sup> all thynges to<br>the same  | } p'sid at vj li.                            |
| Itm ij hangynges of purple velvid set w <sup>t</sup> spangles of<br>sylver & gylte  |  |
| Itm a vestment of clothe of gold w <sup>t</sup> a norphase <sup>a</sup> of<br>grene velvit w <sup>t</sup> all thynges p'teynyng to the same                     | } p'sid at liijs. iiij d.                    |
| Itm ij hangynges for the aulter of the same   |  |
| Itm a vestment of white clothe of gold w <sup>t</sup> all thynges<br>p'teynyng to the same  | } p'sid at xl s.                             |
| Itm ij hangynges for the alter of clothe of gold  |  |
| Itm a vestment of blewe clothe of gold w <sup>t</sup> all thynges<br>p'teynyng to the same  | } p'sid at xxiiij s.                         |
| Itm a vestment of course cloth of sylver called a<br>bawdekyn w <sup>t</sup> an orphase of nedelworke   |  |
| Itm ij hangynges for the alter of the same  | } p'sid at xl s.                             |
| Itm ij old vestmentes in brodered w <sup>t</sup> flowers w <sup>t</sup> one<br>albe and ij hangynges for the same   |  |
| Itm a vestment of blake velvit w <sup>t</sup> ij hangynges for<br>the alter of the same   | } p'sid at viijs.<br>p'sid at xvj s. viij d. |
| Itm a vestment of blake satten powderd w <sup>t</sup> letters and<br>a albe w <sup>t</sup> parrars of blake worsted & ij hangynges<br>for the alter of the same |  |
| Itm a vestment of blake worsted w <sup>t</sup> all thynges to<br>the same w <sup>t</sup> hangynges for the alter of blake satten                                | } p'sid at x s.<br>p'sid at vj s.            |
| Itm a vestment of white sendall. <sup>b</sup>   |  |
| Itm a vestment of blak velvit   | } p'sid at iiij s.<br>p'sid at vj s. viij d. |
| Itm iiij vestmentes of whit bustian <sup>c</sup> w <sup>t</sup> all thynges to<br>them  |  |
| Itm iiij old hangynges for the alter of the same  | } p'sid at vj s. viij d.                     |
| Itm iiij hangynges for the alter of lynyn clothe  |  |

S. Mary in Puwa. There was on the north side of Westminster Abbey Our Lady's Chapel, called the Olde Lady of Pewe. (Lansd. MS. 444, fo. 10.) Lyndwood was buried in Bassa Capella S. Stephani. Within the precinct there were four chapels, (1) Capella S. Stephani, (2) et Capella Beato Marie sub voltâ inferius sub dictâ capellâ S. Stephani, (3) et parva Capella contigua dicte Capelle S. Stephani ex parte australi, (4) et Capella de la pewe. The arrangement for his anniversary on the day of the 11,000 Virgins is in Cotton. MS. Faustina B. viii. fo. 33. The little south chapel in 1394 was used as the chapter-house. (Faust. A. viii. fo. 294.)

<sup>a</sup> A chasuble with an orphrey or rich ornamental border.

<sup>b</sup> Sindon, Prompt. Parv.; Fr. Sendal, a fine silk stuff. "Whether he were saten, sendell, vellewet, scarlet, or greyn." (Russell's Boke of Nurture, 914.)

<sup>c</sup> Pannus gossipinus.—Littleton.

|   |   |                           |
|---|---|---------------------------|
| Itm a vestment of red damask w <sup>t</sup> all thynges to them                 | } | p'sid at xiiij s. iiij d. |
| Itm ij hangynges of clothe of gold bordered w <sup>t</sup> crimesyn velvyt      |   |                           |
| Itm ij vestmentes of whit damaske w <sup>t</sup> all thinges to them            | } | p'sid at xl s.            |
| Itm vj hangynges for the alter of whit damaske                                  |   |                           |
| Itm ij vestmentes of bawdkyn <sup>a</sup> w <sup>t</sup> all thynges to them    | } | p'sid at xiiij s. iiij d. |
| Itm ij hangynges of grene bawdekyn  |   |                           |
| Itm ij hangynges of white bawdkyn   |   |                           |
| Itm ij vestmentes of blewe satten of brigges w <sup>t</sup> all thynges to them |   | p'sid at iiij s.          |
| Itm ij hangynges of grene damaske   |   | p'sid at iiij s. iiij d.  |
| Itm ij hangynges of red velvit  |   | p'sid at xij s.           |
| Itm iiij old vestmentes hav'g [having] no albes                                 |   | p'sid at xx d.            |

LYNYN.

|   |                 |
|---|-----------------|
| In p'mis iiij alter clothes of dyap [er]        | xx d.           |
| Itm iiij alter clothes of playne clothe         | vj s.           |
| Itm v Towelles <sup>b</sup>                     | xvj d.          |
| Itm iiij masse bokes & iij deskes               | iiij s. iiij d. |
| Itm ix corporas casis                           | xs.             |
| Itm vij <sup>c</sup> cruettes & the pewter pott | xij d.          |
| Itm iij brasse holles <sup>d</sup>              | iiij d.         |
| Itm ij candelstykes <sup>e</sup>                | iiij d.         |

<sup>a</sup> Cloth of gold or brocade.—*Sacr. Archaeol.*

<sup>b</sup> A fyne towell wrought with needle worke for the taper on Easter Eyn. (MS. Inv. S. Dunstan's in the East.) ij towells of diaper called houslinge clothes. (MS. Inv. Haddenham.) A towell to beare the taper to the founte. (MS. Inv. S. Mary Abchurch.) ij towells for the lavatory. (MS. Inv. Gillingham.) ij towells of sendall to bere the cresmatory yn. (MS. Inv. S. Michael at Querne.)

<sup>c</sup> vj vialls. (MS. Inv. Bagenderby.) A box with oyle and crem. (M.S. Inv. Ashely.) j pleyne potte withe a lydde silvar and parcell gilt poz. xiiij. oz. j peyre of cruettes square silvar parcell gilte, poz. viij. oz. (*Collect. Cur.* ii. 337.)

<sup>d</sup> Bowls for carrying candles affixed to walls or screens.

<sup>e</sup> ij candelsticks of latten for women's purifying. (MS. Inv. S. Peter Cornhill.) ij candlesticks, j y<sup>t</sup> stode on y<sup>e</sup> high alter. (MS. Inv. Datchet.)

376 INVENTORY OF ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER.

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Itm a gret chest & . . . coffers <sup>a</sup>              | x s.      |
| Itm iij quysshyns <sup>b</sup> vj d. & ij carpettes xij d. | xviiij d. |

Joh'es Chamby'r decanus.<sup>c</sup>  
 Joh'es Vaghan canonicus.<sup>d</sup>  
 Thomas Tanner canonic'.

The bundle is indorsed "Inventories of Goods &c. of some of the Dissolved Monasteries in London, Westminster, and co. Middx. temp. H. 8."

<sup>a</sup> ij scobbes [boxes] and one coffer. (Inv. S. Mary Chantry, founded by Walter Hungerford.) A large cheste with vij torches in yt. (MS. Inv. S. Michael Cornhill.)

<sup>b</sup> In cornu Epistolæ Cussinus supponendus Missali, 6 pulvinaria de panno aureo pro presbyteris et rectoribus. (Collect. Cur. ii. 265.)

<sup>c</sup> M.D. 1531, founder of the College of Physicians, Canon of Windsor and Sarum, Treasurer of Wells, Archdeacon of Bedford, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, 1525-45. He built the beautiful cloister here. He died in 1549. (Hist. of Univ. of Oxford, iii. 8.)

<sup>d</sup> Possibly the same as the Principal of Garret and S. William's Hostels, Cambridge, LL.B. 1507, Fellow of Queen's College, which he vacated in 1519, R. of Rettenden, 1541-1557, being presented by the Crown: the friend of Erasmus. (Fasti Cantab. i. 549.)

ON THE  
PAINTINGS IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

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BY J. G. WALLER, ESQ.

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Whenever we have to consider a work of mediæval art, it is important that we comprehend the conditions under which it was executed. If we look upon it with the same feeling that animates us when viewing a work of modern times, we are at once in error, and must, therefore, arrive at erroneous conclusions. The modern artist accepts no control but the rules and practice of his art. His work depends entirely upon his own independent conception of the event he intends to record; and the praise of originality is considered to be a testimony to his genius. The art, that is, the ecclesiastical art, of the middle ages was conducted on principles the reverse of this. The very canon on which it was founded emphatically stated, "The art *only* was the painter's," all else, the mode of treatment, the order, and even the distribution of the subjects, belonged to ecclesiastical authority. The reason for this was simply stated: Art was for instruction, and pictures in churches "the book of the ignorant." From the seventh to the twelfth century, it thus became reduced to a convention accepted alike both by the Eastern and Western Churches—an universal language throughout Christendom. Nevertheless, it was not without development or life. On the contrary, it had both; although in the Eastern Church this seemed to have ceased in the twelfth century; and works executed in the Greek Church at the present time might easily be mistaken for the art of that era.

But in Western Europe it was not so. The more energetic, freer, and ever-moving forces, both political and religious, of the States in communion with the Latin Church, continued this development down to the period of the Reformation, after which it ceased, and old traditions became neglected or forgotten. Its last effort, which originated at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries,

was a bitter and caustic satire, *The Dance of Death*, which seemed almost prophetic of those changes in the religious and political world then appearing on the horizon. I have thought it necessary to preface my description with these remarks, because most of the works, under consideration, differ as much from the art of our time, as that of Egyptian and Assyrian mythology. Indeed many of the symbols are as recondite, and would be as obscure, as those of the mythologies to which I have referred, did we not find a key by which to interpret them.

The paintings before us, though in a very fragmentary condition, are of unusual interest. There are three periods of execution distinctly visible; the date of one portion, difficult to assign on account of some obvious retouching, may yet be approximately fixed by some unmistakable characters. There are evidences that, in the first instance, one large and comprehensive subject was resolved upon for the decoration of the walls. These are to be found upon the eastern wall, and in the few demifigures of angels which occupy, when preserved, the upper portion of the recesses of the arcade on the north and south walls. All these are of one style and consequently of one date, and they are among the most valuable relics of early art in this country. This subject was the "Second Coming of Our Lord," which the Greek church still gives as distinct from the Last Judgment, although it is obvious that it is merely a point of time of the same event. I shall be able to refer you to an example, in close analogy, from one of our country churches. Now, the date of this early work can be fixed to within a definite period by the characters used in some inscribed phrases, which I shall presently point out. By this evidence I should not fix it later than 1370. From some causes or other, the continuation must then have been arrested, but resumed, either at the end of the century, or at farthest, during the first ten years of the succeeding one.

This takes us into the reign of Henry IV., and we may assume, perhaps, that the three bays of the arcade on the south side had a corresponding portion on the north wall also filled, making a sort of conclusion to the original subject, or a further progress in that direction. We cannot imagine, however, that any more was done, for, if so, it would never have been effaced to make room for the later work.

A long interval now took place, during which the greater part of the walls must have remained bare. All intention of following up the original subject was abandoned, and when at length the decoration was

recommenced in the latter half of the fifteenth century, the story of St. John the Evangelist, with the Apocalypse, was executed by John of Northampton, a monk of the Abbey.

Having thus given a general glance at the whole, I will now proceed to give a more precise description. Each side of the octagon, except that of the west, by which we enter the Chapter House, has a recessed arcade of five bays, on the walls of which are the remains of the paintings. The eastern side commences the subject, and the central division contains the figure of Our Lord seated upon a rainbow, a globe—the earth—at his feet. Both hands are uplifted, displaying his wounds: the body is nude, and the mantle parting, shows his pierced side, from which drops of blood are issuing, and there are also indications of the “bloody sweat.” This crimson mantle with a richly-worked border fastened by a jewelled morse upon his breast, is cast across his knees, and is, apparently, represented as lined with ermine. The raised work of the morse is of *gesso*, executed by a process described in the work of Cennino Cennini,\* and much used by the early Italian painters. The head, unhappily, purposely defaced, has the crossed nimbus, gilded in this, as in all the other instances, and enriched by a radiated pattern. The gilded bordure of the mantle is delicately worked in a fashion which everyone acquainted with early Italian painting must be familiar with. Above this figure four angels sustain drapery of a blue colour, “diapered,” according to Eastlake, but no traces of this are now visible † and all has grown very dark. No doubt this represents the vesture about which the soldiers cast lots, as the attendant angels in this compartment have the rest of the emblems of the Passion. Two stand on each side below the figure of Christ; one on the left holds the nails and the reed with sponge; on the other side the angel holding the lance is more defaced. The head of that holding the reed, &c. on the left of the Saviour particularly deserves our attention; for though the lower half of the face is gone, that which remains is remarkably suggestive of beauty. The treatment of this part of the subject is fully explained by mediæval writers, who refer to Isaiah, ch. lxiii: “Who is he that

\* Trattato della Pittura. Roma: 1821, cap. cxxiv.

† Vide Materials for the History of Oil Painting, p. 179. The process of varnishing which has been adopted for the preservation of these paintings has darkened them, and by rendering the surface more brittle will probably accelerate their decay.

cometh in dyed garments from Bozrah ;” and, “ Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel and thy garments like him that treadeth in the wine-fat.” \*

The remaining figures of the heavenly host, thus attendant upon our Lord, are given in the other compartments. On each side the central one is a representation of Cherubim ; that on the left holds a crown in each hand, one of which is scarcely visible. This figure is six-winged, a convention of ancient use, formed upon the texts of Isaiah, ch. v. ver. 1, 2 ; Ezekiel, ch. x. ; as also upon that at chap. iv. of the Apocalypse. It has two wings covering the body, two displayed on each side, and two above the head tipped with bright red. The body and arms are covered with golden plumage filled with eyes like those in peacocks’ tails : and it stands upon a wheel, of which but a few traces remain. Upon the wings are the remains of inscriptions. A figure precisely similar to this in its conventional treatment may be seen in that magnificent MS. No. 83, in the Arundel Collection, British Museum, and which is dated 1339 ; † so that it really belongs to the same era as the works under our notice. But I am indebted to the kindness of our friend Mr. J. E. Gardner in selecting for me, and producing from his unrivalled collection, a drawing by John Carter, which, from its preserving more of these inscriptions than now remains, has enabled me to identify these designs as being one and the same convention ; varying only in some small matters of detail, which do not alter the general sense. It will be best, if I first describe the perfect figures in

\* The whole is described, as one of the regular subjects in which Christ is represented, by Durandus : *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. i. fol. vii. Argent. 1484. “ (Imago salvatoris) depicta ut residens in throno seu in solio excelso presentem indicat potentiam et potestatem quasi diceret, data est ei omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra, juxta illud: Vidi dominum sedentem super solium, etc. Id est: Dei filium super angelos regnantem, juxta illud: Qui sedes super Cherubin.” But the continuation perhaps more properly belongs to the special mode of treatment here observed : “ Quoque vero depingit sicut viderunt eum Moyses et Aaron, Nadab et Abim, scilicet super montem et sub pedibus ejus quasi opus saphiricum et quasi cœlum serenum. Et quoniam sicut ait Lucas tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem in nube cum potentia magna et majestate ideo quoque *ei circumcirca pingunt angeli* qui ei semper serviunt et assistant et *depingunt cum sex alis*, secundum Esaiah dicit: Seraphim stabunt juxta illud, sex alæ uni et sex alæ alteri duabus velabant faciem ejus duabus pedes, et quabus volabant.”

† This, however, is the record of gift, not execution, which seems to belong to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

the MS. and afterwards compare the remains in the Chapter House and show wherein they differ.

The MS. thus describes the figures: "This cherubin, depicted in human form, has six wings, which represent six acts of manners, by which the faithful soul may be redeemed, if he would reach unto God through the increasing of virtue. The wheel under the feet of the cherubin having seven radii designates the works of mercy which the Lord threatened that he would reproach the negligent and remiss on the Day of Judgment." Upon the radii of the wheel is written the different order of the works of mercy, according to the Latin Church.\* The wings which cover the body are called respectively "Cleanliness of the mind" (*Munditia mentis*), "Cleanliness of the flesh" (*Munditia carnis*). This is explained by legends on the plumes. Under the first it is—

- Humiliation of oneself (*Sui humiliatio*).
- Renunciation of sin (*Peccati abrenunciatio*).
- Confirmation in hope (*In spe confirmatio*).
- Perfection of integrity (*Integritatis perfectio*).
- Love of virtues (*Virtutum dilectio*).

Under the latter, on the left wing, *i.e.* "Cleanliness of the Flesh," is—

- Bounteousness of almsgiving (*Elemosinarum largitio*).
- Keeping of vigils (*Vigilarum actio*).
- Use of discipline (*Disciplinarum usus*).
- Devout in prayer (*Orationum devotio*).
- Fasting (*Jejunium*).

The right wing, which is extended, is labelled "Confession" (*Confessio*). On the plumes are written, as explanatory of its meaning—

- The effusion of tears (*Lacrimarum effusio*).†
- Holy premeditation (*Sancta premeditatio*).
- Simplicity of speech (*Simplex locutio*).
- Modest judgment (*Verecunda cognitio*).
- Promptitude of obedience (*Obedientiæ promptitudo*).

\* "Cherubin iste in humana effigie depictus sex habet alas quæ sex actus morum representant. Quibus debet fidelis anima redimi si ad deum per incrementa virtutum voluerit pervenire."

"Rota sub pedibus cherubin habens radios septem opera misericordiæ designant. Quæ dominus comminatus se inproperaturum in die iudicii negligentibus remissis." On the axle, "Opera misericordiæ." On the spokes, "Cibo, Poto, Vestio, Condo, Viato, Voco, Solæ."—Arundel MS. 83, Brit. Mus.

† This expression is of frequent occurrence in monastic writers when speaking of contrition in confession.

The left wing is labelled "Satisfaction" (*Satisfactio*), which is thus explained on the plumes :

- A constraining of hearing (*Cohibitio auditus*).
- A modesty of sight (*Modestia visus*).
- An abatement of smell (*Subtractio odoratus*).
- A temperance of taste (*Temperantia gustus*).
- A refraining of touch (*Refrenatio tactus*)\*.

The right of the wings upraised above the head is labelled "Love of God (*Dilectio dei*). On the plumes this is interpreted to consist in these things :

- To relinquish all things on account of God (*Omnia propter deum relinquere* )
- To renounce your own will † (*Proprie voluntati renunciare*).
- Not to desire another's goods (*Aliena non concupiscere*).
- To distribute your own (*Sua distribuere*).

And it ends—

In these things to persevere (*In hiis perseverare*).

The left corresponding wing is labelled "Love of neighbour" (*Dilectio proximi*), explained on the plumes—

- To hurt no one (*Nulli nocere*).
- To do good to all (*Omnibus prodesse*).
- To lay down your life for your brother (*Pro fratre animam ponere*).
- To sustain loss for your brother (*Pro fratre dampnum sustinere*).

And it ends, as before—

In these things to persevere (*In hiis perseverare*).

By means of the drawing already referred to, and some notes given by Sir C. Eastlake in "Materials for the History of Oil Painting," p. 179, of other details, one is able partially to restore the legends on

\* The sermon for the second Sunday of Advent, among the Collection "Sermones Dormi Securè," refers to the five senses, as five Kings with their armies fighting against us: "Sed quinque reges cum suis exercitibus impugnant nos in quinque sensus corporis, scilicet, *visus, auditus, gustus, tactus et odoratus*."

† This renunciation of the will is always spoken of as a great monastic virtue. In Herolt's *Sermo XXIII*, quoting St. Gregory, he says, "religiosus offert deo *propriam voluntatem* et hoc per votum obedientiæ. Et hoc est maximum sacrificium quis propter deum resignat *propriam voluntatem* et subjicit voluntatem suam voluntati prelati sui."

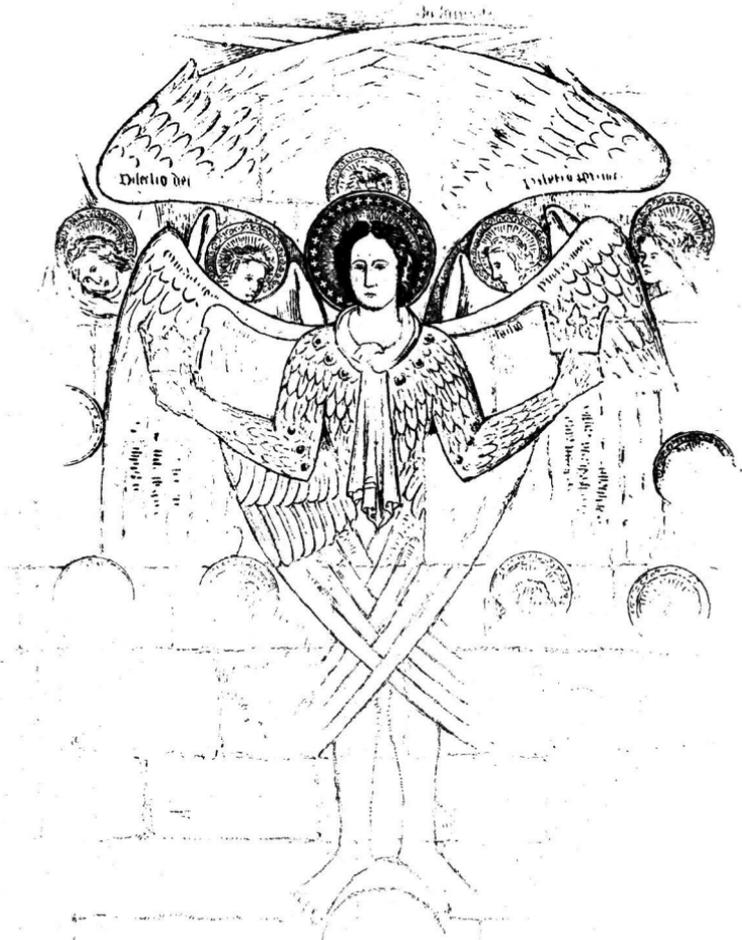


Fig. 1.

REMAINS OF PAINTING ON THE EAST WALL,  
OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

the figures in the Chapter House, and thus to make a comparison with those in the Arundel MS. The principle is the same in both, the differences merely verbal. "Munditia mentis" of the MS. is here "Puritas mentis;" and under "Confessio" it is "Simplicitas, Humilitas, Fidelitas." Of the two last words now remain only "Hu . . . . and F . . . . ." Possibly this was completed by "Veritas and Obedientia." Under "Satisfactio" Eastlake mentions "Orōnis devocio, Elcemosina," and perhaps "Jejunium." He evidently saw part of what is better preserved in Carter's drawing, viz. "Peccati abrenunciatio, Lacrimarū effusio, Ca(stigationes),\* Elemosinarū largicio, Orōnis devocio." We see here the same expressions as in the Arundel MS., though not arranged quite in the same way. He also mentions having seen the word "lateria" (latreia) above the figure, and indeed there are still remains of it, and, besides, what appears to make the whole as standing originally thus: "Lateria in aula formosa." "Aula formosa" may be considered synonymous with "The Incomparable Hall," by which this structure was distinguished. On the left wing, under "Puritas mentis," by aid of the same drawing, we can restore the now nearly obliterated inscription. The Italics show what I believe was intended, where the letters were obscure in Carter's time. "Att(enta) funeri plenitudo. (In preceptis) domini dilectatio. Ora, et ordinata cogitatio. Vo'luntatis discrecio. Simplex et pura intentio." So that although we can trace the same feeling, both in the painting and in the MS., yet there are differences in the former, indicating, perhaps, a somewhat more ascetic character, suitable to the atmosphere of monastic seclusion (fig. 1).

We must never attempt to guess at that which moved the mind of a mediæval artist, but seek our explanation in the ecclesiastical literature of the time, and the modes of thought which we find therein.† On the office of the Angel volumes have been written, and many passages occur which illustrate art. In Herolt's "Sermo de Tempore," CLVIII. is the following, which directly bears upon our subject, and show us why

\* See Herolt's Sermo de Tempore, CLVIII. for the authority for this restoration. It is equivalent to "Disciplinarum usus" of the Arundel MS.

† Sir C. L. Eastlake, whose researches into the history of painting are extremely valuable, calls this subject, "Christ surrounded by the Christian Virtues," but there was no such subject in ancient ecclesiastical art. It is fair, however, to state that he seems to have been in doubt of his accuracy.—*Materials for the History of Oil Painting*, p. 179.

these legends are associated with the Angel. Angels serve in perfecting us, so that they teach them (men) good works, as *prayers*, *fastings*, and *alms*, *vigils*, and *castigations*, and even bodily labours they offer principally to God.\* The office of the Angel, then, is to show men their duties and obligations which lead to a final reward. This illustrates the spirit under which the painting was executed. So, further, the crown which the figure is holding is a heavenly crown of reward, according to the principles of mediæval art, to make everything palpable to the senses. It is the crown of victory over vice. Thus St. Bernard: "as often as you withstand so often will you be crowned"; and St. Ambrose: "a crown is proposed, contests are undergone; no one can be crowned unless he conquer.† In that wonderful volume the *Benedictional* of St. Ethelwold, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, date the tenth century, the figures of the Confessors, and also of the Choir of Virgins, are given with crowns; and in the subject of the "Death of the Virgin," the hand of God extends from heaven holding a crown over the head of the departing figure.‡ In fact, one of the best-known subject in mediæval art is the Coronation of the Virgin, which is simply symbolic of the heavenly reward to a holy life. A crown of glory is a very familiar metaphor and it is here merely embodied. In St. Edmund's Chapel in the Abbey, in one of the spandrils of the arcade, is a sculptured demi-figure of an angel holding a crown in each hand.§ It

\* In mediæval sermons when treating of confession and satisfaction, these words, "*Orationes, jejunia, elemosynas, vigiliis, castigaciones*," are of constant occurrence. Herolt, in *Sermo XLIII. De Contritione et Confessione*, says, "*Satisfactio sperandum fieri per contrarium, ut superbo injungenda est humiliatio et prostratio et vestium ornatus depositio. Item avaro injustarum rerum restitutio, et de justis rebus elemosynarum distributio. Item gulosis et ebriosis abstinentia et jejunium . . . . Item accidiosis et pigris injungendæ sunt vigilia.*"

† Herolt's *Sermo CLV. Quo modo servare tenemur deo*. "Bern. Quoties restiteris toties coronaberis. Ambro. Corona proposita, est subeunda sunt certamina, nemo poterit coronari nisi vicerit." Surely these metaphors originated in the crowning of victors in the games, or in the military crowns of the Romans, on which Tertullian is so bitter (See *De Corona*). In *Revelations*, ch. xi. v. 10, is, "Be faithful unto death and I will give you a crown of life." In the legends of several saints the dove brings down a crown to the martyr. (Vide *Petrus de Natalibus*, Art. St. Margaret and St. Regina.)

‡ *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv.

§ See also a painting in St. John's Church, Winchester.—*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ix.



FIG. 2.

HEAD OF ANGEL ON EASTERN WALL OF CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

belongs to the thirteenth century, but is obviously a similar convention to that of which we are treating. But it would be easy to extend the illustration of this subject indefinitely.

There is a corresponding figure in the compartment on the right of the centre, differing in a few details, but preserving more of the outline of the general form. The head is one of the finest in the series. The wings bear no legends, the left hand holds a crown,\* but in the right is a rosary, according to Eastlake, who probably saw it more perfect or distinct. At present, so little remains that it is impossible to speak with confidence, though the conjecture seems very plausible; its signification must be prayer, for in this sense it is occasionally found in mediæval conventions.† Both figures are associated with other angelic forms arranged above and below, having the faces red, the distinguishing colour of the seraph, not, as Eastlake would infer, a convention of the Italian artists only, but one quite universal in ecclesiastical art, as may be proved from the frequency with which it occurs in manuscript illuminations. This arrangement of the cherubim, on each side the figure of our Lord, is of great antiquity, and occurs in the Bible of St. Paul, a MS. of the eighth or ninth century, preserved in the Vatican, and seems specially to belong to this subject. (Vide Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art*, &c.) In the last compartments, right and left, there are remains of groups of angels, which radiate towards the centre, a mode of composition much in favour with the early Italian painters. In that on the right side they are best preserved, and contain some heads remarkably characteristic of the school and full of expression; the many coloured wings also remind us of the same. The finest of these is here engraved (Fig. 2).

On the south wall of the adjoining side of the octagon, three bays of the arcade preserve remains of groups belonging to this subject. In the first, that nearest to the eastern side, they are entirely obliterated, only traces of colour are to be seen here and there: in the second much

\* This crown is raised in *gesso* work.

† Most likely we have here symbolised the institution of the Rosary and Crown, established in the tenth or eleventh century. "The Rosary consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's Prayer and a hundred and fifty salutations of the Blessed Virgin; while the Crown consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's Prayer and six or seven times ten salutations or *Ave Marias*."—Mosheim, *Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 429. Some attribute this institution to St. Dominic; perhaps he may have revived it.

defaced ; in the third, however, they are better preserved. They consist of several figures apparently kneeling, all, or nearly so, turning their faces towards the centre, and some with hands in attitude of prayer. Many of the heads, especially on the upper part of the composition, are expressive and boldly painted ; but there is much inequality in the execution, and the hands are very ill drawn. There appears to have been retouching in many parts, which makes it difficult to understand the relation which some details have to date of execution. But from the mode in which the flowing locks of an aged figure on the lower part of the composition are treated, I should not place the date of the original work much later than 1410. It is a continuation of the first grand scheme, and represents the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Law. To appropriate the different figures is now not an easy task : but amongst them are two in ermined robes, evidently to indicate royal personages. One of these is distinguished by a harp on the morse of his mantle, and is therefore, without any doubt, intended to point out King David. Then, it follows that, the aged figure in white flowing hair, behind him is his son Solomon. Another above with a curly forked beard might possibly be intended for Abraham. Our first parents would have been in the compartment nearest to the eastern side, now utterly effaced. We may be confident that no more of this subject was continued, except perhaps a corresponding portion on the opposite or north side, which would have had the Apostles, Saints, and Martyrs of the New Law or Testament.

The same subject was discovered in 1848, on the wall above the chancel arch in Great Waltham Church, Essex. It was described by my late friend F. W. Fairholt, thus : " The painting occupies a space of about nine feet in height by fifteen feet in width. The figures are the size of life, and the principal one, the Redeemer, is of colossal proportions, and occupies the centre. He is seated on a rainbow and is clothed in a red garment having white under-clothing. He is exhibiting the wounds by which he has gained our redemption ; and the angels above are hymning praises to the trumpet and lute. The sun and moon are above his head. On the right of the Saviour is a group of six crowned female figures ; the foremost of which is regally attired, and has a nimbus round the head. This group is in a fair state of preservation, but that on the other side is not ; it consists of the same number of male figures in attitudes of adoration ; and their costume and the general style of the drawing appear to fix the date of the

picture to the latter end the fourteenth century." (Vide Journal of the British Archaeological Association, vol. iii. 1848.) So, it was a contemporary work.

There yet remains undescribed one portion of this first plan or scheme of decoration, viz. the remains of the demi-figures of angels at the apex of each arched recess, upon the north and south walls. Of these only a few are sufficiently perfect to show the design completely, but it will be observed, that they originally filled up all these spaces, and are not confined to those over the Apocalyptic visions. On the south wall they consist of figures playing upon a trombone, bagpipe, pipe, and flagolet. The two latter are tolerably well preserved—simply, yet well designed and gracefully executed. On the north wall, the best is in the first compartment over the commencement of St. John's history. It is playing upon a species of lute, and is a sweet and elegant design. Now, the fact that these originally filled all these spaces on the north and south sides, and not only over the Apocalyptic visions, would show that they belonged to the earlier scheme. But the style of execution and general character is not only vastly superior to the later work, but is of the same conventional manner as the earlier part on the eastern wall, and therefore evidently belongs to the same time and school. This leads us at once to a conclusion respecting the whole, and points unmistakably to a large and comprehensive idea of decorating the whole building with the subject of the "Second Coming of Christ." It is one of the grandest of the ancient ecclesiastical conventions, and is still in use in the Greek Church. The "Guide" \* gives nine divisions in which the several personages are arranged on each side the figure of Our Lord. 1. The Choir of the Apostles. 2. The Choir of our First Parents. 3. The Choir of the Patriarchs. 4. The Choir of the Prophets. 5. The Choir of the Bishops. 6. The Choir of the Martyrs. 7. The Choir of Saints. 8. The Choir of Pious Kings. 9. The Choir of Women, Martyrs, or Solitaries. This was obviously capable of any amount of amplification, in which the monastic orders would assuredly have had a large part assigned to them. It is not at all probable that any other accompaniments of the "Last Judgment" were intended to be introduced, as the site

\* The Greek "Guide of Painting" was discovered by M. Didron at Esphigmenon, Mount Athos, and he published a translation with notes in 1845.

would be unfavourable. What we should have had, in the complete work, would have been an embodied "Te Deum," in which Our Lord would be associated with all the attributes of glory and power, attended by the whole Church Militant, with the sound of sacred minstrelsy, as at Great Waltham. There is a beautiful example of this subject in the National Gallery, by Fra Angelico, entitled, "Christ surrounded by Angels, Prophets, Martyrs, and Saints," and it is just such an arrangement which would doubtless have been followed in the Chapter House, had it been completed. On the right of the Saviour the Virgin Mary leads, as it were, the Saints of the New Law, and St. John the Baptist those on the left. The central figure of Christ is the only departure from ancient conventions, and is given as standing with a banner and cross in the left hand, whilst the right is in the act of benediction. It is one of the most exquisite examples of this master, and is well calculated to show the nature of the subject as a means of decoration.

*We may, I think, then fairly assume, from the evidence presented before us, that the eastern wall was first begun as a matter of course. Naturally then the work would proceed with the small demi-figures of angels. I have already stated its further progress was then suspended, and as I put the date of this first portion between the years 1350 and 1370, as the character of the inscriptions on the cherub best accords with that time, it would follow that the period of this suspension of the work would be about the end of the reign of Edward III. Now the resumption of it, of which the groups on the south wall are the result, could not easily be given at a date earlier than the commencement of the fifteenth century, and not much after 1410, according to data already stated. If, in endeavouring to find a cause for the abrupt termination of this great scheme, we look to passing events after the decease of Edward III. we might find it, perhaps, in the troubled reign of Richard II., and, if I am correct in the time in which the work was again taken in hand, it would be in the short reign of his successor Henry Bolingbroke. Perhaps also the sittings of Parliament in the Chapter House may have had something to do with it. But, after the additions of which I have just spoken, the original subject seems to have been altogether abandoned. A long time elapsed before anything farther was done towards the completion of the decoration, and, on its being taken up again, at the latter part of the fifteenth century, the Life of St. John the Evangelist, embracing*

the episode of his exile at Patmos, and the visions of the Apocalypse, was painted by John of Northampton to fill up the remaining spaces.

But, before I proceed to describe this series, it is necessary to say a few words on the character of the earlier design and the time in which it was executed. In the first place the painting on the eastern wall is unmistakeably by an Italian hand: of this there can be no dispute whatever, when we compare it with contemporary work done in the palace of Westminster in the usual conventional style. The whole plan must also be due to one individual mind, even that of the later executed groups on the south wall. The two heads,\* which I have alluded to, in the compartment abutting on the north side, seem to point out the school, and have all the characters of that which followed Giotto. But, in the numerous records which we have of the works of St. Stephen's Chapel and other decorations of the palace of Westminster, at the very same time, viz. between the years 1350 and 1369, we search in vain for a name which would carry us to the other side of the Alps. It is a most interesting fact that all are English, even John Barneby, who gets paid twice as much as any other "Magister," viz. 2s. per day, at least worth £1 4s. of our time, so he must have been a man of mark. As Mr. Smith, the author of "The Antiquities of Westminster,"† considers that some angels in St. Stephen's Chapel, sustaining drapery, are by the same hand as these which we are considering, the same master must have been employed, supposing he is right. The chief name therefore is wanting, and the special services which he rendered, must have been recognised in a distinct form. Italians had been employed in England in the previous century, and as Lionel, Duke of Clarence, married Violante, the daughter of Galeazzo II. Duke of Milan, it is easy to see how the superior art of Italy might have been attracted to England. The style of the work shows that it belongs to the northern schools of that country, and one of the numerous pupils of Giotto may have been the chief "Magister" whose name we so much desire, but which eludes our inquiry.

If we endeavour to realize from these poor defaced remains the effect of this eastern side, when its paintings were recent and com-

\* See engraving of one of these, p. 385.

† Engraved in his *Antiquities of Westminster*, p. 153; but I think his opinion is very questionable, though he had the advantage of seeing the originals: the details differ materially.

plete, the task must be a species of calculation. In many cases, only indications of a gilded nimbus point out the position of an angelic form. In the central compartment, besides the angel on each side, there are the heads of the four above sustaining the drapery previously described, in itself a common Italian convention. In the compartments on each side, the cherub was surrounded by seraphs, that on the left having five above and six below, so in this division alone were twelve figures or parts of them. On the right side there is one less. The other panels have remains of fourteen altogether, making in the whole forty-four heads of figures yet to be traced, all of them irradiated by a golden nimbus. When we add to this the brilliant colours introduced, and an excellence in the execution of the work, comparing well with any art of the time, and assuredly done under the supervision of an accomplished master, the splendour of the effect must have been most striking; and we had, perhaps, no other instance which altogether could compare with it. For the evidences we have of the work done in the palace of Westminster, undoubtedly fine of its kind, and saying much for the English art in practice among us, prove to us that it must cede altogether to the mental superiority shown in the few heads which here remain.

The series, which now come under our consideration, belongs to a very different school indeed to those just described. Its subjects are strictly conventional, following rules throughout, and symbolic hieratic signs; in every respect, indeed, a piece of art writing. Their merit, even considering the time in which they were executed, is very small, falling very much below the average of such work, as judged by contemporary standards. Nevertheless, there is much interest attached to them. The subjects are rarely met with, and we have the name of the artist. By a cartulary formerly in the possession of Sir Charles Young, late Garter King at Arms, we learn that the painter was brother John of Northampton, a monk of the abbey, that he received 4*l.* 10*s.* for his labours,\* which are, however, mentioned as not yet completed

\* "Frater Johannes Northampton fieri fecit picturam de Judicio in fronte domus capitularis pro xi marcis. Item fieri fecit *picturam Apocalypsis pro iiij li. x s. in capitulo nondum completo.* Et similiter Kalendare (xxx s.) in claustro, cum aliis picturis (xx s.) ibidem ad portam ecclesie pro vij li." See Dean Stanley's Memorials of Westminster Abbey.

"Nondum completo" may refer strictly to the Chapter House being left incomplete, the walls being left bare before John of Northampton began his work.

(*nondum completo*). No precise date is given to this document, but, as it mentions Abbot Kirton's tomb, it must have been after 1440, the date of his death. Many of the details point closely to the middle of the fifteenth century, and perhaps 1460 would be as near to the time of execution or completion as could be fixed by the character of the work itself. The plan, as it begins with some incident of St. John's life, doubtless ended with the same. In fact, by calculating the spaces all round, and examining the general selection of subjects in other medieval series of the Apocalypse, especially one among the manuscripts in the Royal Library, British Museum, marked 2 D. xiii., I consider ninety-two subjects as the probable number for the visions of the Apocalypse, which is but one more than the manuscript; nor would it be easy to extend this number. So that, the twelve spaces, which are left to make up the one hundred and four subjects which the subdivision requires, were doubtless filled with incidents of the saint's life. In point of fact, it is the history of the saint which is given upon the walls, embracing as an episode his exile at Patmos with the Apocalyptic visions. This theory is established by the four scenes from his life, though we miss four others, which commenced the series, but which are now obliterated.

The subjects are arranged in four compartments in each recess of the arcade, and are divided from each other by a red band, stencilled with roses, except in one instance, when these are superseded by a *talbot* dog. This is certainly significant, and has a special meaning, and must surely be in remembrance of the great Sir John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,—a whim possibly of the artist, whose name was John, for an affectionate record of a hero who bore his own Christian name, as well as that of the saint whose life he was depicting. Each subject has beneath its distinctive legend or text written upon paper, and pasted, or rather as it appears, glued upon the wall, each end painted scroll-wise. Some few upon the south side have been painted directly on a prepared ground upon the wall itself; but whether this was a renewal or not it is impossible now to say, as it is not a modern restoration. Most of the texts have also a rubricated gloss, in many instances of which the initial letter is omitted. Possibly this may be from one of the numerous mediæval commentaries on the Apocalypse, the text of which may have followed one then extant in the library of the monastery. The character of these glosses consists of rather whimsical applications or similitudes, such as are the moralizations of

the tales in the *Gesta Romanorum*, but their mutilated condition forbids any attempt at a complete collation with any existing authority. The text of the *Apocalypse* is of course that of the Latin Vulgate, but there are several verbal variations, and some accidental repetitions of the transcriber.

The story began in the single recess of the west wall, close to the entrance on the left hand as you enter the Chapter House. But this is entirely defaced, only having here and there some patches of colour to prove that it was formerly painted over. Here, however, would have been four subjects from the early history of St. John's life, including his preaching at Ephesus, and its results, which brought him under the notice of the proconsul of the Ephesians.

In the next compartment the subjects are well preserved. The first of these is the fifth of the series, and represents St. John being brought before the Emperor Domitian. The latter is seated in royal robes, wearing a highly pointed tiara, and he is holding a sceptre in his left hand. Behind him is one in the costume of a judge or man of law—the proconsul—whilst a rabble are goading the saint forward towards the tribunal with kicks and blows; one is threatening him with a mace held above him. The saint is in a red tunic and blue mantle, and is holding a book, and he is thus distinguished throughout. The legend beneath, though defaced and faded, yet preserves sufficient to enable one to comprehend the whole meaning, and it takes the form of a letter from the proconsul of the Ephesians to the Emperor Domitian.

In the *Times* of May 6, 1867, is a letter from Dr. Wordsworth, now Bishop of Lincoln, giving a translation of this and the succeeding legend, in which he states, that he had been assisted by the Rev. H. O. Coxe, the librarian of the Bodleian library, to an early printed book containing the legend of St. John and which seems to follow closely to the text of that used here, whereby he was enabled to give substantially a correct version of the whole. I am indebted to the courtesy of both in kindly answering my communications on the subject, and to Mr. Coxe for having supplied me with the text and references for the lapses which occur.\* It is clear, however, that, although closely following that in the Chapter House, it does not literally do so, but as I give the legend beneath—line for line—as it can

\* *De la Bigne, Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum. Lugduni, 1677, vol. ii. p. 52.*

now be deciphered, and place the supplied text in Italics, the comparison will be easy for those who desire to make it. I shall use freely the translation of Dr. Wordsworth.

To the most pious Cæsar, and always Augustus, Domitian, the Proconsul of the Ephesians sends greeting: We notify to your glory that a certain man named John, of the nation of the Hebrews, has come into Asia, and, preaching Jesus crucified, affirms him to be the true God and the son of God, and is abolishing the worship of our invincible deities, and is hastening to destroy the venerable temples constructed and founded by your ancestors. This man, being contrariant—as a magician and a sacrilegious person—to your Imperial edict, is converting almost all the people of the Ephesian city by his magical arts and by his preaching to the worship of a man crucified and dead. But we, having a zeal for the worship of the immortal gods, endeavoured to prevail upon him, by fair words and blandishments, and also by threats, according to your Imperial edict, to deny his Christ and to make offerings to the immortal gods. And since we have not been able to induce him by any methods to do this, we address this letter to your Majesty, in order that you may signify to us what is your royal pleasure to be done with him. As soon as Domitian had read this letter, being enraged, he sent a rescript to the proconsul that he should put the holy John in chains and bring him with him from Ephesus to Rome, and there assume to himself the judgment according to the Imperial command.\*

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\* (5) P(rius) ces(ari) et semper augusto domiciano proconsul ephesiorum salutem. Notificamus glorie vestre quoniam quidam vir no- | mine johannes gente hebreorum in asiam ventus est et predicans ihesum crucifixum affirmat eum verum deum et dei filium | esse (*et culturam.....*) inuinctissimorum deorum nostrorum euacuat et templa ueneranda ab antecessoribus uestris construc- | ta fundita (*evertit.....*) iat contrarius itaq' hic existens magus et sacrilegus uestro imperiale dicto suis magicis | artibus et.....petit.....ephesine ad culturam hominis crucifixi et mortui conuersus. Nos | .....deorum tribunalibus uestris presentatum ad preveniendum blanditiis et | .....atque diis omnipotentibus | grata libamina.....nul- | .....direximus ut quicquid magistratis uestre de eo fieri notoff- | cetis statim ut legit epistola.....proconsuli ut sanctum johannem ab epheso ad- | ventum .....que assumeret iudicium.

The fifth line cannot be verbally restored by the authority given, which follows thus after the word "artibus": *et prædicationibus repente omnem Ephesinum populum ad*. And the rest, after "Nos," runs thus: *erga deorum immortalium culturam zelum habentes iussimus eum pro tribunalibus uestris presentari et juxta benignissimum clementiæ tuæ rescriptum blanditiis et terroribus studimus ammonere ut Christum suum negaret et a prædicationibus desisteret atque diis omnipotentibus grata libamina offeret. Quæ cum illi nulla ratione suadere potuimus hos apices imperiali tuæ majestati direximus ut*

(6)\* The next subject is the carrying out the sentence of the Emperor, and all the same persons appear in it. The Emperor is holding a drawn sword in his right hand, and a sceptre in his left, standing by the cauldron seeing the execution of his sentence. Some officials are stirring up the fire beneath it, and one is blowing it with a bellows. Here we find a very common mediæval licence, for the very legend beneath the painting shows us that the Emperor was *not* present at the execution of the sentence,† else he would not have required to have been informed of the result; but the artist places him there bodily to give emphasis to the act, and to show unmistakably it was Domitian who persecuted the saint: the painter, in fact, followed his convention, and cared nothing for unities. It is the best known of all subjects in connection with St. John's history. The legend is here nearly complete, and is—

Then, the Proconsul, according to the Imperial command, led with him to Rome the most blessed John the Apostle bound with chains, and announced his arrival to the Cæsar Domitian. But the most cruel Domitian, being very indignant, commanded the Proconsul that he should put the holy John into a boiling cauldron in the presence of the senate, before the gate which is called "Latin," first having scourged him, which was done: whence, the grace of God protecting him, he issued unhurt, not having received the least corruption. But the Proconsul, astonished at seeing him to have come forth from the cauldron anointed, not scorched, wished to restore him to his liberty; and he would have

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*quicquid supremæ celsitudinæ tuæ de prædicto rebelli visum fuerit cognitum diligenter exequamur.* It has the same substantive matter as the legend beneath the painting.

\* (6) Tunc proconsul secundum imperiale preceptum beatissimum johannem apostolum cat(*henis uin*)ctum romam se adduxit et ce- | sari domiciano eius adventum nunciavit. Indignatus autem crudelissimus domicianus proconsuli jussit ut ante portam | que latina dicitur in conspectu senatus in ferventi doleo sanctus johannes deponeret pri(*mus nec*) non flagellis cederetur quod et | factum est unde protegente eum gracia dei tam illesus exiit quam minimus a corruptione exti(*terat Vid*)ens vero proconsul eum de do- | leo exisse unctum non adustum obstupefactus voluit cum libertati sue restituere. Et fecisset ..... jussioni regie contradire. | Hoc autem eum domiciano relatatum fuisset precepit sanctum johannem apostolum in exilium (*in*)sula que pathmos dicitur in qua | et apocalypsim que et nomine eius legitur et vidit et scripsit.

† In the narrative of the Golden Legend the Emperor is present, and also it says "a cauldron of boiling oil" (*dolium ferventis olei*). The latter word being omitted renders the story incomplete, and the "unctum non adustum" unintelligible.

done so, if he had not feared to contravene the royal command. But when this was related to Domitian, he commanded the holy John the Apostle into exile to the island which is called Patmos, in which the Apocalypse, which is read in his name, he both saw and wrote.

It is singular that, the two succeeding legends, though continuing St. John's history, do not refer to the subjects. (7)\* This compartment shows the saint being deported by the orders of the Emperor. He is in a boat, which is being pushed off from the strand. (8)† In the next we have the boat again, in which he is arriving at Patmos, and his figure appears twice; once in the boat as arriving, again on the shore as having landed, and the boat is being pushed off. This mode of treatment is common in mediæval art. The legends are both very illegible and indistinct, but what remains shows their character. The first tells us that the same year that Domitian sent the holy John into exile he was slain by the senate, and all his acts revoked; and that then St. John returned to and continued his ministrations at Ephesus, and refuted the "heresy of those who said that Christ before Mary was not." And there he remained, and in a sermon discoursed of the Trinity, as he afterwards set forth in the exordium of his Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

The next division of the arcade commences the series of subjects from the Apocalypse or Book of Revelation, and are generally well preserved.

(9) The first is the ninth in succession, and is from the first three verses of the first chapter, beginning, "The Revelation of Jesus Christ,

\* (7) Domicianus uero eodem anno quo jussit sanctum johannem exilium a senatu romano interfectus est. Johannes autem a senatu domiciano exilio resolutus recessit ephesum ibique ob hereticorum refutandas (*uersutias* r)ogatus dicitur ab omnibus asiæ episcopis et presbyteris quia jam in tribus evangeliorum filium .....nis habebant..... dam illorum heresim qui dicebunt xpistum ante mariam non fuisse.

† (8) Dictus apostolus .....ntibus et in prece perseverantibus non .....  
 ..... co- | mune precat ..... quod cum fecissent. Die tertia tanta  
 gracia spiritus sancti sermone ..... inter- | pretationem .....  
 ..... esse repletus ut usque ad contemplandam totius trinitatis Christi et de  
 eter- | ne uite purissimo.....ret quod nobis facientibus pro(*clam*)aret  
 unde et evangelium dictum est exordium. In | principio erat verbum et verbum  
 erat apud deum et deum erat verbum.

which God gave unto him, and sent and signified by his angel unto his servant John.”\*

It consists only of St John seated on a rock with water around it to represent the island. He is asleep, his head resting upon his hand, and his book in his lap. By his side stands an angel with his right hand upon his shoulder, his left pointing as if towards the next subject. He is receiving the Revelation from the angel.

(10)† Equally simple is the treatment of the next compartment, where St. John is seated with the book before him, and is writing in it, and the seven churches of Asia are represented. They are all alike, cruciform, and with a central spire, each having the figure of an angel standing at the door. The legend beneath is extremely full and long, beginning at the fourth verse, “John to the seven churches, which are in Asia,” &c. and terminating in the middle of the twelfth, “And I turned to the voice that spake with me.” In the next subject (11)‡

\* I have thought it desirable to give the texts in full from the Vulgate, as written beneath each picture. (In red letters. Incipit textus visionis apocalypsis sancti Johannis apostoli.) Chap. i. ver. 1. Apocalypsis Iesu Christi, quam dedit illi Deus palam facere servis suis, quæ oportet fieri cito : et significavit, mittens per angelum suum servo suo Johanni. 2. Qui testimonium perhibuit verbo dei et testimonium Iesu Christi, quæcumque vidit. 3. Beatus, qui legit, et audit verba prophetiæ hujus : et servat ea, quæ in ea scripta sunt : tempus enim prope est.

† (10) Chap. i. ver. 4. Joannes septem Ecclesiis, quæ sunt in Asia. Gratia vobis, et pax ab eo, qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est : et a septem spiritibus qui in conspectu throni ejus sunt. 5. Et a Jesu Christo, qui est testis fidelis, primogenitus mortuorum, et princeps regum terræ, qui dilexit nos, et lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo. 6. Et fecit nos regnum. et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo : ipsi gloria, et imperium in sæcula sæculorum : Amen. 7. Ecce venit cum nubibus et videbit eum omnis oculus, et qui eum pupugerunt. Et plangent se super eum omnes tribus terræ : Etiam : Amen. 8. Ego sum  $\alpha$  et  $\omega$ , principium et finis, dicit dominus Deus, qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est omnipotens. 9. Ego Johannes frater vester, et particeps in tribulatione, et regno et patientia in Christo Jesu : fui in insula quæ appellatur Patmos propter verbum Dei et testimonium Jesu. 10. Fui in spiritu in Dominica die, et audivi post me vocem magnam tanquam tubæ. 11. Quod vides, scribe in libro, et mitte septem Ecclesiis quæ sunt in Asia, Epheso, et Smyrnæ, et Pergamo, et Thyatiræ, et Sardis, et Philadelphię, et Laodiceæ. 12. Et conversus sum ut viderem vocem quæ loquebatur mecum. The gloss to this is too effaced to be legible.

‡ (11) Chap. i. ver. 13. Et in medio septem candelabrorum sacerdotum similem filio hominis, vestitum podere et præcinctum ad mamillas zona aurea. 14. Caput autem ejus et capilli erant candidi tanquam lana alba et tanquam nix et oculi ejus tanquam flamma ignis. 15. Et pedes ejus simile aurichalco sicut in camino

the text is a continuation at the thirteenth verse, "And being turned I saw seven golden candlesticks, and in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like to the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle,"—"and he had in his right hand seven stars, and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword,"—"and when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, I am the first and the last."

The subject is again very simple in its design: A figure in a white dress, having a cowl thrown back on the shoulders, holding the seven stars in his right hand, and a sword in his mouth, seated upon a throne, in front of an altar on which are seven candlesticks arranged on each side. The face of this figure resembles that of a lion, and is gilded, as also the hands and feet, following the text, "his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength;" the beard is, however, white, and the nimbus red with gold cross. Perhaps the lion-like aspect may refer to the "Lion of the tribe of Judah"

The prostrate figure of St. John is in front with the attending angel, which we shall find frequently introduced when the saint is said to be influenced by the spirit. Here it must represent that part of the text which says "he laid his right hand upon me;" notwithstanding this refers to him upon the throne. No subjects are given from the second and third chapters, but are resumed in the fourth, where the legend begins with the first two words (I now speak of the Latin) "Post hæc," and continues with the second word of the second verse, "statim."\*

ardenti et vox illius tamquam vox aquarum multarum. 16. Et habebat in dextera sua stellas septem, et de ore ejus gladius utraque parte acutus exhibat: et facies ejus sicut sol in virtute sua. 17. Et cum vidissem eum, cecidi ad pedes ejus tamquam mortuus. Et posuit dexteram suam super me, dicens, Noli timere: ego sum primus et novissimus.

The rubricated gloss to this is more legible than any other, but not so as to give it completely. The initial is not put in, and "cupud" is put for "caput." (P)er capud. lex per capillos vero qui ex capite nascuntur. Multitudines designantur eorum qui per legem salvi facti sunt. (P)er oculos igitur p'phete designantur qui ea que ventura sunt vel erant longe ante providere meruerunt. (P)er gladium electi qui in tempore mundi nascituri sunt atq.....

\* Chap. iv. ver. 2. Post hæc et statim fui in spiritu: et ecce sedes posita erat in cælo, et supra sedem sedens. 3. Et qui sedebat similis erat aspectui lapidis jaspidis et sardinis: et iris erat in circuitu sedis similis visioni smaragdinae. 4. Et in cir-

After this immediately I was in the spirit and behold a throne was set in heaven and one sat on the throne. 3. And there was a rainbow round about the throne like unto an emerald, and round about the throne there were four-and-twenty seats, and upon the seats I saw four-and-twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment, and they had on their heads crowns of gold. And round about the throne were four beasts full of eyes before and behind. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second like a calf, and the third beast had the face as a man, and the fourth was like a flying eagle. And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him.

(12) This, and three other subjects succeeding, are treated in the same conventional manner, intended to show merely several different periods of time in which the same person is represented, though under a symbolic form. Much has grown out of this text, and is embodied in mediæval art. I will endeavour to point out, in as brief a manner as possible, those details which are so constantly recurring in the art of the middle ages.

First, then, there is the figure of Our Lord seated upon a rainbow, his right hand in the act of benediction, in his left the book, under his feet a globe, according to the text the "earth is his footstool." Around his head is the crossed nimbus, and the figure is inclosed within an aureole, *i. e.* an oval form, representing glory or the rainbow of the text, which is to the figure what the nimbus is to the head, and which is never applied except to the most sacred personages. At each corner of this you find the four beasts, not exactly as described in the text, but as accepted in mediæval art, as they have but two

cuitu sedis sedilia viginti quatuor seniores sedentes, circumamicti vestimentis albis, et in capitibus eorum coronæ aureæ. 5. Et de throno procedebant fulgura et voces et tonitrua: et septem lampades ardentes ante thronum, qui sunt septem spiritus dei. 6. Et in conspectu sedis tanquam mare vitreum simile crystallo: et in medio sedis et in circuitu sedis quattuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro. 7. Et animal primum simile leoni, et secundum animal simile vitulo, et tertium animal habens faciem quasi hominis, et quartum simile aquilæ volanti. 8. Et quattuor animalia singula eorum habebant alas senas: et in circuitu et intus plena sunt oculis: et requiem non habebant die ac nocte, dicentia, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus deus omnipotens, qui erat, et qui est, et qui venturus est. 9. Et cum darent illa animalia gloriam et honorem, et benedictionem sedenti super thronum, viventi in sæcula sæculorum, 10. Procedebant viginti quatuor seniores ante sedentem in throno, et adorabant viventem in sæcula sæculorum et mittebant coronas suas ante thronum dicentes, 11. Dignus es domine deus noster accipere gloriam, et honorem, et virtutem: quia tu creasti omnia, et propter voluntatem tuam erant. et creata sunt.

wings, not six. No subject involves more research, nor leads further into remote antiquity, than these Evangelistic symbols, as we call them, as it carries us far into oriental symbolism. At present I shall merely quote from an early ecclesiastical writer, which gives a fanciful explanation that has been much enlarged upon in later times. The man or angel is appropriated to St. Matthew on account of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, writing of him as man. To St. Luke is given the calf or bull, because he derives him from the priesthood of Zacharias. St. Mark has the face of the lion, because of the voice of one crying in the wilderness "Prepare ye the way of the Lord," &c. but to St. John the eagle, as flying to heaven and to the Father himself, saying, "In the beginning was the Word, &c." The arrangement of the four-and twenty elders is in four compartments on each side the chief figure, and they are remarkable for the many forms of ancient musical instruments which they hold.

(13) In this we see the figure of an angel holding an open book, St. John is weeping, and being led by a venerable bearded figure to a door, at which stands another, which figures represent the elders, according to the text, from chap. v. ver. 2 :—

And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and loose the seals thereof? And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon. And I wept much, &c. &c. And one of the elders said unto me, Weep not: behold the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.

(14)\* The treatment of the next subject is so very similar to one (12) previously described, that is only needful to point out, that the figure within the aureole sits upon a red throne holding the book with seven seals in the right hand, and in the palm of the left is what appears to be the consecrated host, possibly to signify "the living bread that came down from heaven." There are no animals at the corners, and the figures of the elders are casting down their crowns and musical instruments.

\* (14) Chap. v. ver. 1. Et vidi in dextera sedentis supra thronum, librum scriptum intus et foris, signatum sigillis septem. 2. Et vidi angelum fortem, predicantem voce magna: Quis est dignus aperire librum, et solvere signacula ejus? 3. Et nemo poterat neque in cœlo, neque in terra, neque subtus terram aperire librum, neque respicere illum.

(15)\* In that succeeding, also, are similar conventions, but in the centre of the aureole is the symbol of the Holy Lamb with seven eyes and seven horns, holding the cross, and raised upon a table or altar. The texts for these run as follows :—

Chap. v. ver. 1.—And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.

Again at the sixth verse :—

And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes.

(16)† The succeeding verse is the text for the next picture, in which we still get the same arrangement of parts, but now within the aureole is a seated figure holding the book with the seven seals, and the lamb standing up as if to open it. The elders are grouped on each side in the lower compartments casting aside their crowns and instruments; in the upper part angels appear from heaven. The text is—

And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne. And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. \* \* \* And I beheld, and heard the voice of many angels round about the throne.

\* (15) Chap. v. ver. 6. Et vidi: et ecce in medio throni et quattuor animalium, et in medio seniorum, agnum stantem tamquam occisum, habentem cornua septem, et oculos septem: qui sunt septem spiritus dei, missi in omnem terram. This has a long gloss.

† (16) Chap. v. ver. 7. Et venit, et accepit librum de dextera sedentis super throno. 8. Et cum aperuisset librum, quattuor animalia, et viginti quattuor seniores, ceciderunt coram agno, habentes singuli citharas, et phialas aureas plenas odoramentorum, quæ sunt orationes sanctorum. 9. Et cantabant canticum novum, dicentes: Dignus es domine accipere librum et aperire signacula ejus: quoniam occisus es et redimisti nos deo in sanguine tuo ex omni tribu, et lingua, et populo, et natione. 10. Et fecisti nos deo nostro regnum et sacerdotes: et regnabimus super terram. 11. Et vidi, et audivi vocem angelorum multorum in circuitu throni et animalium, et seniorum, et erat numerus eorum millia millium; 12. Dicentium voce magna: Dignus est agnus qui occisus est accipere virtutem, et divinitatem, et sapientiam, et fortitudinem, et honorem, et gloriam, et benedictionem.

The next three paintings which are preserved on this, the north side, are all more or less imperfect. In the treatment, the mode adopted to express a revelation to the saint is especially worth notice. The symbols of the Evangelist are represented as coming down from heaven, and are by the ear of St. John, who is standing and looking towards the vision.

(17)\* In the first it is the symbol of St. Matthew. The figure of the vision is on a white horse, and attired in a close-fitting jupon with a wide cape, and is bending a bow. The text is from Chap. vi. ver. 1:—

And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard, as it were, the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come and see. And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering and to conquer.

(18)† The next subject is but a fragment. Here the beast is the lion or symbol of St. Mark, which is placed by the head of St. John, and the figure is he upon the red horse, and bears a sword. Thus the text:—

And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see. And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.

(19)‡ In the next subject the bull or calf, the symbol of St. Luke, is by the ear of the saint, but only a part of the figure on a black horse and holding scales remains. The text is—

And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.

\* (17) Chap. vi. ver. 1. Et vidi quod aperuisset agnus unum de septem sigillis, et audivi unum de quatuor animalibus, dicens, tanquam vocem tonitruum, veni et vide. 2. Et vidi, et ecce equus albus, et qui sedebat super illum habebat arcum, et data est ei corona, et exivit vincens ut vinceret.

† (18) Chap. vi. ver. 3. Et cum aperuisset sigillum secundum, audivi secundum animal dicens, veni et vide. 4. Et exivit alius equus rufus: et qui sedebat super illum datum est ei ut sumeret pacem de terra, et ut invicem se interficiant, et datus est ei gladius magnus.

‡ (19) Chap. vi. ver 5. Et cum aperuisset sigillum tertium audivi tertium animal dicens, veni et vide. Et ecce equus niger: et qui sedebat super illum habebat stateram in manu ejus.

From this, a very large gap is made in the continuity of our subject through the utter destruction of the paintings, and amongst these would have been some of the most curious of the conventions observed in the mediæval treatment of the Apocalypse. Death on the pale horse, which would have immediately succeeded it, is never given, as by some modern painters, like a fleshless skeleton, but is a figure with ruthless aspect upon a horse of that pale green which marks decomposition, and followed by grotesquely contorted figures with demoniac visages, denoting "Death and Hell."

The series, just described, breaks off at the fourth division of the arcade, on the first side of the octagon on the north, having one subject utterly gone. All the rest of the northern wall is bare, but when complete, the continuation of the Apocalypse would have embraced the whole of the next side of the octagon and two bays of that succeeding, thus corresponding with the arrangement on the southern side.

It is not difficult to decide what the subjects were, 33 in number which occupied the rest of this northern wall. By the aid of the manuscript of the Apocalypse in the Royal Library (2 D. XIII.) very fully illustrated, and belonging to the fourteenth century, one is able to understand the conventional subjects chosen; and they so closely agree with this series, that there is but the variation of one in the number required to fill the gap. I therefore have no doubt, whatever, but that they were taken from the following texts: (20) chap. vi. ver. 9-11, (21) ver. 12-17; (22) chap. vii. ver. 1-4, (23) ver. 9-12, (24) ver. 13-17; (25) chap. viii. ver. 1, 2, (26) ver. 3-6, (27) ver. 7, (28) ver. 8, 9, (29) ver. 10, 11, (30) ver. 12 (31) ver. 13; (32) chap. ix. ver. 1-6, (33) ver. 7-12, (34) ver. 13-16, (35) ver. 17-21; (36) chap. x. ver. 1-3, (37) ver. 4-7, (38) ver. 8-11; (39) chap. xi. ver. 1, 2, (40) ver. 3-6, (41) ver. 7-10, (42) ver. 11-14, (43) ver. 15, (44) ver. 16-18, (45) ver. 19; (46) chap. xii. ver. 1, 2, (47) ver. 3-6, (48) ver. 7-9, (49) ver. 10-12, (50) ver. 13-14, (51) ver. 15, 16, (52) ver. 17, thus ending the chapter.

(53)\* The subject which is resumed on the southern wall is taken from the following, chap. 13, ver. 1:

\* (53) Chap. xiii. ver. 1. Et vidi de mari bestiam ascendentem habentem capita septem, et cornua decem, et super cornua ejus decem diademata, et super

And I saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his head the name of blasphemy. And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion, and the dragon gave him his power and his seat and great authority. And it was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them.

The literal manner in which this is treated is almost whimsical; but it is not the fault of the artist, he simply follows his rule, for the subject is always carried out in this manner. The painting shows us the beast, as described in the text, round his neck in knightly fashion hangs a heater shield, and he is charging with lance in rest upon a number of fugitives, who, prostrate before him, turn back their heads in terror.

(54)‡ The next subject is taken from the eleventh verse:—

And I beheld another beast coming out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon, and he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, &c.

Here St. John, who has not appeared in the latter subject, is again introduced, figures are kneeling in worship of the beast before them, and the beast with horns is behind them, reared up with his paws, against their backs, as if compelling them to worship.

(55)† In the following compartment the beast with the horns again appears, holding a drawn sword in his right hand in a threatening attitude towards one about to kneel, his left being upon the heads of figures kneeling and worshipping the beast represented above. The text for this would appear to be that of the fifteenth verse where it continues the account of the second beast:

*capita ejus nomina blasphemiarum. Et bestia quam vidi similis erat pardo, et pedes ejus sicut pedes ursi, et os ejus sicut os leonis \* \* \* \* 7. Et datum est illi bellum facere cum sanctis et vincere eos.*

\* (54) Chap. xiii. ver. 11. *Et vidi aliam bestiam ascendentem de terra, et habebat cornua duo similia agni et loquebatur sicut draco. 12. Et potestatem prioris bestiarum omnem faciebat in conspectu ejus: et fecit terram, et habitantes in ea, adorare bestiam primam, cujus curata est plaga mortis.*

† (55) Chap. xiii. ver. 15. *Et datum est illi ut daret spiritum imagini bestiarum et ut loquatur imago bestiarum: et faciat ut quicumque non adoraverunt imaginem bestiarum, occidantur.*

And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed.

The next verse, 16, gives us the text for the succeeding painting (56),\* where you see a number of figures kneeling before the beast, who is seated, and who is placing his hand upon them to give the mark of the beast according to the text. Behind them a group of others with hands uplifted as in acclamation. It is as follows :

And he causeth all, both small and great, both rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead.

In that following (57) † we see the figure of the saint with a book open before him, and in front of him two groups of figures kneeling face to face, a portion of the upper left hand corner being obliterated. This must be from the first verse of chap. xiv.: "And I looked and, lo, a Lamb stood in the Mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand," &c. &c. This is rendered somewhat obscure by the part which is wanting, but there can be no doubt it is taken from the text given.

The next (58) ‡ is defaced. There are some slight remains of a figure, and above of an aureole. It must be from verses 2, 3: "And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder," &c.

The succeeding painting (59) § is also obscure, and I cannot give a parallel to the mode of treatment. It must, however, be a continuation of the previous subject. There is the Lamb upon the Mount Sion, and in the foreground what at first sight would look like the

\* (56) Chap. xiii. ver. 16. *Et faciet omnes, pusillos et magnos, et divites et pauperes, et liberos et servos, habere characterem in dextera manu sua, aut in frontibus suis.*

† (57) Chap. xiv. ver. 1. *Et vidi, et ecce agnus stabat supra montem Sion et cum eo centum quadraginta quattuor millia habentes nomen ejus, et nomen patris ejus scriptum in frontibus suis.*

‡ (58) Chap. xiv. ver. 2. *Et audivi vocem de cælo, tamquam vocem aquarum multarum, et tamquam vocem tonitruum magni; et vocem quam audivi sicut citharædorum citharizantium in citharis ejus.*

§ (59) Chap. xiv. ver. 4. *Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati: virgines enim sunt. Hi sequuntur agnum quocumque ierit. Hi empti sunt ex hominibus primitiæ deo et agno.*

rite of marriage. An aged man is between a female with long flowing hair, whose left hand is uplifted as if in surprise, and another male figure opposite to her, their hands meeting together in the centre. It is possible the female may represent one whose temptations have been refused, and therefore it has reference to verse 4: "These are they which were not defiled with women." The special character of the treatment reminds us that the artist was a monk, and that the work was executed in a monastery. There has been tampering with this picture, apparently done a long time back, in which a beard has been put to the female. From this a large part of the wall is defaced, showing in some cases portions of inscribed texts or some isolated fragments of painting here and there. The several subjects, however, can be referred to their texts without difficulty.

(60)\* That succeeding is from chap. xiv. ver. 6: "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach," &c. The next (61) † is equally obliterated, but is from the 8th verse: "And there followed another angel, saying Babylon is fallen," &c. Of the next (62) ‡ some fragments of the inscribed text remain, which show it to be from verses 9, 10, 11; the words remaining are from the latter, viz.: "And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever," &c. (63) § This is quite

\* (60) Chap. xiv. ver. 6. Et vidi alterum angelum volantem per medium cœli, habentem evangelium æternum, ut evangelizaret sedentibus super terram, et super omnem gentem, et tribum, et linguam, et populum. 7. Dicens magna voce time te dominum et date illi honorem, quia venit hora iudicii ejus: et adorete eum qui fecit cœlum, et terram, mare et fontes aquarum.

† (61) Chap. xiv. ver. 7. Et alius angelus secutus est dicens: Cecidit, cecidit, Babylon illa magna, quæ a vino iræ fornicationis suæ potavit omnes gentes.

‡ (62) Chap. xiv. ver. 9. Et tertius angelus secutus est illos, dicens voce magna: si quis adoravit bestiam, et imaginem ejus, et accepit characterem in fronte sua, aut in manu sua. 10. Et hic bibet de vino iræ dei, quod mistum est mero in calice iræ ipsius. et cruciabitur igne, et sulphure in conspectu angelorum sanctorum, et ante conspectu agni. 11. Et fumus tormentorum eorum ascendet in sæculum sæculorum: nec habent requiem die ac nocte, qui adoraverunt bestiam, et imaginem ejus, et si quis accepit characterem hominis ejus. This has a gloss.

§ (63) Chap. xiv. ver. 13. Et audivi vocem de cœlo, dicentem mihi, Scribe: Beati mortui qui in domino moriuntur. Amodo jam dicit spiritus, ut requiescant a laboribus suis; opera enim illorum sequuntur illos.

defaced, but is from verses 12, 13. Of the succeeding (64)\* a fragment of a crowned head surrounded with a nimbus is sufficient to specialize and identify the subject as from the 14th verse: "And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle." A portion of the text inscribed remains in the next (65),† and shews the painting to have been from verses 17, 18, 19: "And another angel came out of the temple which is in Heaven, he also having a sharp sickle," &c.

Fragments of text also remain in the next (66)‡ but none of the painting. It is from chap. xv. ver. 1: "And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God." Both the two following are defaced. One (67)§ is from the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th verses succeeding, beginning "And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire," &c. That following (68)|| contains some fragments of the painting, which consists chiefly in some small figures of angels in white albs issuing from a door. This is from the 5th and 6th

\* (64) Chap. xiv. ver. 14. *Et vidi et ecce nubem candidam: et super nubem sedentem similem filio hominis, habentem in capite suo coronam auream, et in manu sua falcem acutam.* 15. *Et alius angelus exivit de templo clamans voce magna ad sedentem super nubem; mitte falcem tuam et mete quia venit hora ut metatur, quoniam aruit messis terræ.* 16. *Et misit qui sedebat super nubem falcem suam in terram et demessa est terra.*

† (65) Chap. xiv. ver. 17. *Et alius angelus exivit de templo, quod est in cælo, habens et ipse falcem acutam.* 18. *Et alius angelus exivit de altari, qui habebat potestatem supra ignem; et clamavit voce magna ad eum qui habebat falcem acutam, dicens; Mitte falcem tuam acutam, et vindemia botros vineæ terræ: quoniam maturæ sunt uvæ ejus.* 19. *Et misit angelus falcem suam acutam in terram, vindemiavit vineam terræ, et misit in lacum iræ dei magnum.* 20. *Et calcatus est lacus extra civitatem, et exivit sanguis de lacu usque ad frenos equorum per stadia mille sexcenta.*

‡ (66) Chap. xv. ver. 1. *Et vidi aliud signum in cælo, magnum et mirabile, angelos septem, habentes plagas septem novissimas: quoniam in illis consummata est ira dei.* There is a gloss.

§ (67) Chap. xv. ver. 2. *Et vidi tanquam mare vitreum mistum igne, et eos qui vicerunt bestiam, et imaginem ejus, et numerum nominis ejus, stantes super mare vitreum, habentes citharas dei.*

|| (68) Chap. xv. ver. 5. *Et post hæc vidi, et ecce apertum est templum tabernaculi testimonii in cælo.* 6. *Et exierunt septem angeli habentem septem plagas de templo, vestiti lino mundo et candido, et præcincti circa pectora zoniis aureis.*

verses, which finish the chapter: "And after that I looked, and behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened, and the seven angels came out of the temple," &c. Of those following some traces of the text are visible; they are taken from chap. xvi. and relate to the pouring out of the seven vials, of which the first four are contained in this arcade. Of the two uppermost ones few traces remain but of the inscriptions, and these are very imperfect. (69)\* But the first subject would embrace the two first verses of the chapter, in which the first angel pours out his vial. The second (70)† is from verse 3: "And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea," &c. Of the succeeding subject (71)‡ there are a few traces showing part of the figure of the saint seated in a grotto, and an angel descending pouring out his vial. It is from the 4th verse: "And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers," &c. There is just sufficient left of the next to pronounce upon it, and to associate it with its text. (72)§ It shows part of the figure of the saint, and an altar, from behind which issues an angel holding a scroll. It is from verse 7, "And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments." Here the scroll represents this declaration, and it is a very common convention. Those succeeding in the next division of the arcade continue the subjects of the angels pouring out their vials; portions of the inscriptions to the upper subjects remain, but the paintings are obliterated. (73)|| This is from the 8th and 9th

\* (69) Chap. xvi. ver. 1. Et audiui vocem magnam de templo dicentem septem angelis: ite et effundite septem phialas iræ dei in terram. 2. Et abiit primus, et effudit phialam suam in terram, et factus est vulnus sævum et pessimum, in homines qui habebant characterem bestię, et in eos qui adoraverunt imaginem ejus.

† (70) Chap. xvi. ver. 3. Et secundus angelus effudit phialam suam in mare et factus est sanguis tanquam mortui, et omnis anima vivens mortua est in mare.

‡ (71) Chap. xvi. ver. 4. Et tertius effudit phialam suam super flumina, et super fontes aquarum, et factus est sanguis.

§ (72) Chap. xvi. ver. 7. Et audiui alterum ab altari dicentem, Etiam domine deus omnipotens, vera et justa judicia tua.

|| (73) Chap. xvi. ver. 8. Et quartus angelus effudit phialam suam in solem, et datum est illi æstu affligere homines et igni. 9. Et æstuaverunt homines æstu magno et blasphemaverunt nomen dei habentis potestatem super has plagas: neque egerunt pœnitentiam ut darent illi gloriam. A long gloss.

verses, and is the fourth angel pouring out his vial upon the sun. (74)\* From verses 10, 11: "And the fifth angel poured his vial upon the seat of the beast," &c. (75)† Of this some portions are preserved. There is the figure of the saint seated by a rock, and an angel descending holding a golden vial in both hands, which he is pouring out. It is taken from the 12th verse: "And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates," &c. The succeeding subjects are better preserved, though much mutilated. It is well to observe, that whenever the text makes use of the words "I saw," the figure of the saint is shown looking on, but whenever he is said to be led in the spirit, there is an attendant angel. The text for the next painting (76)‡ is as follows: "And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophets, for they are the spirits of devils working miracles." In mediæval art the frog, toad, lizard, and other allied reptiles, are always emblems of the spirit of evil. Satan as the tempter appears in the story of the wise and foolish virgins, so admirably rendered in the sculptures at the west front of Strasburgh cathedral, attired in the foppish costume of the fourteenth century, but behind on his naked back crawl these reptiles, to indicate the moral deformity concealed under his gay clothing.

The next subject (77)§ is from the 17th verse, and represents the seventh angel pouring out his vial, and below a falling city, and

\* (74) Chap. xvi. ver. 10. Et quintus angelus effudit phialam suam super sedem bestię: et factus est regnum ejus tenebrosum, et commandaverunt linguas suas præ dolore. A gloss.

† (75) Chap. xvi. ver. 12. Et sextus angelus effudit phialam suam in flumen illud magnum Euphraten: et siccavit aquam ejus, ut præpararetur via regibus ab ortu solis.

‡ (76) Chap. xvi. ver. 13. Et vidi de ore draconis et de ore bestię et de ore pseudoprophetę spiritus tres immundos in modum ranarum. 14. Sunt enim spiritus dæmoniorum facientes signa, et procedunt ad reges totius terrę congregare illos in prælium ad diem magnum omnipotentis dei.

§ (77) Chap. xvi. ver. 17. Et septimus angelus effudit phialam suam in aërem, et exivit vox magna de templo a throno, dicens: Factum est. 18. Et facta sunt fulgura, et voces, et tonitrua, et terræmotus factus est magnus, qualis nunquam fuit ex quo homines fuerunt super terram: talis terræmotus sit magnus. 19. Et facta est civitas magna in tres partes.

portions of bodies buried beneath the ruins. The text is, "And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air, and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, saying, It is done. And there were voices and thunder and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, and so great. And the great city was divided into three parts."

That following (78)\* is from chap. xvii. beginning at verse 1: "And there came one of the seven angels and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither! I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters." In this the angel is conducting the saint towards the figure of a woman in royal attire, holding a golden cup in her hand, but it is very much defaced.

In the next (79),† which continues the story, you will perceive that



(FIG. 3.)

\* (78) Chap. xvii. ver. 1. Et venit unus de septem angelis qui habebant septem phialas, et locutus est mecum, dicens; Veni ostendam tibi damnationem meretricis magnæ, quæ sedet super aquas multas. 2. Cum qua fornicati sunt reges terræ et inebriati sunt qui inhabitant terram de vino prostitutionis ejus.

† (79) Chap. xvii. ver. 3. Et abstulit me in spiritu in desertum. Et vidi mulierem sedentem super bestiam coccineam, plenam nominibus blasphemiarum,

the angel is descending from heaven towards the saint; this is to show that he is being conveyed in the spirit, as the text sets forth. The figure of the woman with light hair sits upon the many-headed beast. She is royally attired in a green dress trimmed with ermine, but wearing a crimson mantle; and she holds in her left hand a golden cup as before, in her right a great ring, and perhaps jewels, representing gifts. Some traces of gilding about the forehead may have been the word "Babylon."

The text is at the 3rd verse: "So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness, and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of the names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand," &c.

I must not pass away from this figure without some remarks, for it is exceedingly rare that examples of it are preserved either at home or abroad on the walls of our churches. The artist has not kept to his text, nor does he ever do so, for the attire of the woman is always given as a rich costume of the time of the painting; and it shows clearly that he worked to a convention, in fact a receipt, without troubling himself at all about the text. The general treatment of the figure here observed is a typical one, and can easily be paralleled.

The story is continued in the succeeding compartment (80),\* but the figure of an angel conducting the saint is all that is now preserved. The text is that at verse 6: "And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints," and is usually treated by a representation of the figure of the woman staggering, or lying down upon the ground drunk. The painting which follows (81)† is better preserved. St. John

habentem capita septem et cornua decem. 4. Et mulier erat circumdata purpura, et coccino, et inaurata auro, et lapide pretioso, et margaritis, habens poculum aureum in manu sua plenum abominatione, et immunditia fornicationis ejus. 5. Et in fronte ejus nomen scriptum: *Mysterium, Babylon magna, mater fornicationum, et abominationum terræ.*

\* (80) Chap. xvii. ver. 6. *Et vidi mulierem ebriam de sanguine sanctorum et de sanguine martyrum Jesu. Et miratus sum cum vidissem illum admiratione magna.*

† (81) Chap. xviii. ver. 1. *Et post hæc vidi alium angelum descendentem de cælo, habentem postestatem magnam, et terra illuminata est a gloria ejus. 2. Et*

is seated, looking down upon the fallen city; above, an angel descending from heaven. The text is at the first verse of the 18th chapter: "And after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven having great power, and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen."

The next (82)\* must be taken from the fourth verse, "And I heard another voice from heaven saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins."

In this the saint is seated resting upon his crouch or staff. The voice from heaven is given as an angel descending, who holds in his hand what appears to be a consecrated wafer, which a figure seated in a chair is receiving. Standing aside is one holding a scroll. This carries out the text at the fifth verse: "For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities." The text of the Vulgate is more apt to our subject, wherein it says, "et recordatus est Dominus iniquitatum ejus." The term "recordatus" explains the scroll better, it is the record of judgment. But there are some obscurities here also which I will not venture at present to explain. Following this is one from the twenty-first verse (83)† "And a mighty angel took up a stone, like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down." Of this no more remains but the figure of the angel with the millstone.

The story of the judgment upon Babylon still continues in the next

exclamavit in fortitudine dicens; Cecidit, cecedit, Babylon magna, et facta est habitatio dæmoniorum et custodia omnis spiritus immundi et custodia omnis volueris immundæ et odibilis. 3. Quia de vino iræ fornicationis ejus biberunt omnes gentes: et reges terræ cum illa fornicati sunt: et mercatores terræ de virtute deliciarum ejus divites facti sunt. Gloss.

\* (82) Chap. xviii. ver. 4. Et audiivi alium vocem de cœlo, dicentem, Exite de illa populus meus, ut ne participes sitis delictorum ejus, et de plagis ejus non accipiatis. 5. Quoniam pervenerunt peccata ejus usque ad cœlum, et recordatus est dominus iniquitatum ejus. 6. Reddite illi sicut et ipsa reddidit vobis, et duplicate duplicia secundum opera ejus; in poculo quo miscuit miscete illi duplum.

† (83) Chap. xviii. ver. 21. Et sustulit unus angelus fortis lapidem quasi molarem magnum, et misit in mare, dicens: Hoc impetu mittetur Babylon civitas illa magna, et ultra jam non inveniatur.

(84),\* the text being from chapter xix. beginning at the first verse, "And after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying Alleluia, &c. for true and righteous are his judgments: for he hath judged the great whore which did corrupt the earth with her fornication."

The treatment of this subject is very remarkable. St. John is seated with his book, by his feet is the woman, wrapped in a shroud, and burning. A multitude are looking on. Above is heaven; within an aureole a figure of the deity, now quite defaced; four angels are blowing horns, a mode of proclaiming the judgment, whilst another angel descends holding a scroll to represent the record.



(FIG. 4).

We continue now at the sixth verse. In this, what remains of the legend is very distinct, being painted upon the wall and not upon paper, like most of the others, and it comprises all from the sixth to the ninth verse, but I will first only give that required by this picture (85) : †

\* (84) Post hæc audivi quasi vocem turbarum multarum in cælo dicentium: Alleluia: salus et gloria et virtus deo nostro est. 2. Quia vera et justa judicia sunt ejus, qui judicavit de meretrice magna, quæ corripit terram in prostitutione sua et vindicavit sanguinem servorum suorum de manibus ejus.

† (85) Chap. xix. ver. 6. Et audivi quasi vocem turbæ magnæ, et sicut vocem aquarum multarum, et sicut vocem tonitruorum magnorum, dicentium: Alleluia,

And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, &c. saying Alleluia, for the Lord omnipotent reigneth. Let us be glad and rejoice and give honour to him, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife has made herself ready. And to her it was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white; for the fine linen is the righteousness of the saints, &c.

This picture is a curious instance of the literal manner in which mediæval convention deals with its subjects. There is an altar, upon which stands the symbol of the Holy Lamb, holding out a ring towards a female figure kneeling, representing the bride, and attendants with musical instruments about her; whilst coming down from heaven is an angel bearing the fine linen mentioned in the text. St. John stands on one side, an angel communicating with him. Behind the altar a crowd of worshippers represent the multitude; an aged bearded figure is seated by the bride.

(86)\* The text continues:—

And I fell at his feet to worship him, and he said unto me see thou do it not. I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren that bear the testimony of Jesus, &c.

In this the angel is raising St. John, who has fallen at his feet, with one hand, whilst with the other he is pointing to heaven, where within an aureole is the figure of deity, thus following up the text “Worship God, for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.”

In another part of the same picture the angel is talking to the saint, in fact is reasoning with him, according to the text, “Worship God,” &c.

The next picture (87)† continues the subject at the following verse, the 11th:—

quoniam regnavit dominus deus noster omnipotens. 7. Gaudeamus et exultemus et demus gloriam ei: quia venerunt nuptiæ agni et uxor ejus præparavit se. 8. Et datum illi ut cooperiat se byssino splendenti et candido. Byssinum enim justificationes sunt sanctorum.

\* (86) Chap. xix. ver. 9. Et dixit mihi: Scribe, Beati qui ad cœnam nuptiarum agni vocati sunt. Et dixit mihi, Hæc verba dei vera sunt. 10. Et cecidi ante pedes ejus, ut adorarem eum. Et dicit mihi: vide ne feceris: conservus tuus sum, et fratrum tuorum habentium testimonium Jesu. Deum adora; testimonium enim Jesu est spiritus prophetiæ.

† (87) Chap. xix. ver. 11. Et vidi cœlum apertum, et ecce equus albus, et qui sedebat super eum vocabatur Fidelis et Verax, et cum justicia judicat et pugnat. 12. Oculi ejus sicut flamma ignis, et in capite ejus diademata multa, habens nomen scriptum quod nemo novit nisi ipse. 13. Et vestitus erat veste aspersa sanguine: et vocatur nomen ejus verbum dei. 14. Et exercitus qui sunt in cœlo sequebantur eum in equis albis, vestiti byssino albo et mundo. 15. Et de ore

And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse, and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, &c. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns, &c. And he was clothed in a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God. And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, &c. And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword. And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

St. John is here seated and looking up towards the figure in white upon a white horse with a sword in his mouth, accompanied by other figures, now very obscure, also on horses, all being within a nebulous inclosure to signify heaven.

The next compartment (88)\* comprises a subject from the 17th verse :

And I saw an angel standing in the sun ; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God.

The figure of the saint is here standing, above is an angel within a conventional irradiation representing the sun, upon the ground are heads and the remains of bodies, towards which carrion fowls are descending.

A mere fragment, comprising the figure upon the white horse, and some portion of the beast, with shield and lance, within a nebulous aureole, is all we have left of the succeeding picture (89),† and we can decipher no more. This is from the nineteenth verse—

And I saw the beast, and the Kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

We now lose the rest of the illustrations of the concluding chapters. But the series is generally concluded by the subject of the "New

*ejus procedit gladius ex utraque parte acutus : ut in ipso percutiat gentes. Et ipse reget eas in virga ferrea : et ipse calcet torcular vini furoris iræ dei omnipotentis. 16. Et habet in vestimento et in fœmore suo scriptum : Rex regum, Dominus dominantium.*

\* (88) Chap. xix. ver. 17. *Et vidi unum angelum stantem in sole, et clamavit voce magna, dicens omnibus avibus quæ volabant per medium cæli ; Venite, et congregamini ad cœnam magnam dei. 18. Ut manducetis carnes regum, et carnes tribunorum, et carnes fortium, et carnes equorum, et sedentium in ipsis, et carnes omnium liberorum et servorum, et pusillorum et magnorum.*

† (89) Chap. xix. ver. 19. *Et vidi bestiam, et reges terræ, et exercitus eorum congregatos ad faciendum prælium cum illo qui sedebat in equo et cum exercitu ejus.*

Jerusalem." It was one that exercised a great deal of skill, and so late as 1606 a thoroughly mediæval example was painted upon glass, and is in the church of St. Martin-ès-Vignes at Troyes in France.

The rest of the wall, now blank, has space for fifteen subjects, all of which were certainly once filled. Considering that we begin with the life of the saint, the paintings leaving him at Patmos, and his legendary history telling us that he returned and continued his ministration at Ephesus, we may infer that when the paintings were complete his life was continued upon the walls, the Visions of the Apocalypse being an episode only. My opinion is, then, that number of compartments may have been devoted to the events in the conclusion of his career, embracing the legend of the poisoned chalice, which always constitutes the distinguishing attribute of the saint, as may be seen in his figure in the chapel of Henry VII.

Eleven subjects are required to finish the panels of the south wall, but leaving that of the west wall by the doorway. These would be thus arranged, according to the following chapters and verses: (90) chap. xix. ver. 20, 21; (91) chap. xx. ver. 1-3; (92) ver. 4; (93) ver. 7 to part of ver. 9, ending at "devoured them;" (94) This begins at ver. 9, "And the devil," &c. ending at ver. 10; (95) ver. 11-15; (96) chap. xxi. ver. 1, 2; (97) Probably from ver. 9, 10, &c.; (98) chap. xxii. ver. 1-5; (99) ver. 6-9, &c.; (100) ver. 16. This coincides, with the exception of one, which I have added, exactly with the arrangement in the MS. to which I have referred, and it is not possible to amplify by additional subjects, required to fill the space on the west wall, out of the Apocalypse. The rest of the space, therefore, was devoted to the conclusion of the legendary history of the saint.

There are four subjects required; and the most noted facts in the legend after the joyful return of the saint to Ephesus would be shown, as also the circumstances of his death. There is yet one small portion, on which I must offer a few words, and this belongs to that executed by John of Northampton. It forms a completing border to the base of the designs and upon the face of the upper step, where however, a very small fragment remains. This represents what was anciently called "a Bestiary," what we should now perhaps call "zoological illustrations." A series of animals are depicted, against which the artist has judiciously placed the names in English. We see the "Reynder" with a very impossible extent of horns; then the "Ro," the "Wild ass," and the "Tam ass," the "Dromedary" and

the "Kameyl." From hence it is defaced, but seemingly shows part of a hedgehog. The name "Lyon" occurs in another, and other fragments are seen here and there upon the riser of the step; they are creatures of the sea, but are not very visible.

It may be asked why these subjects are introduced. It was not a mere fancy of the artist, because you frequently see them associated, as here, with religious subjects, and very often in books of prayer, as in a very fine example called "Queen Mary's Psalter," Brit. Mus.

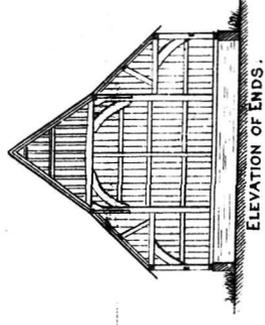
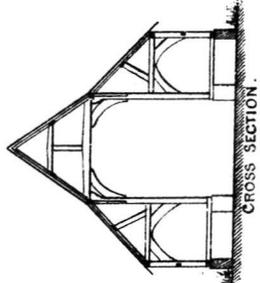
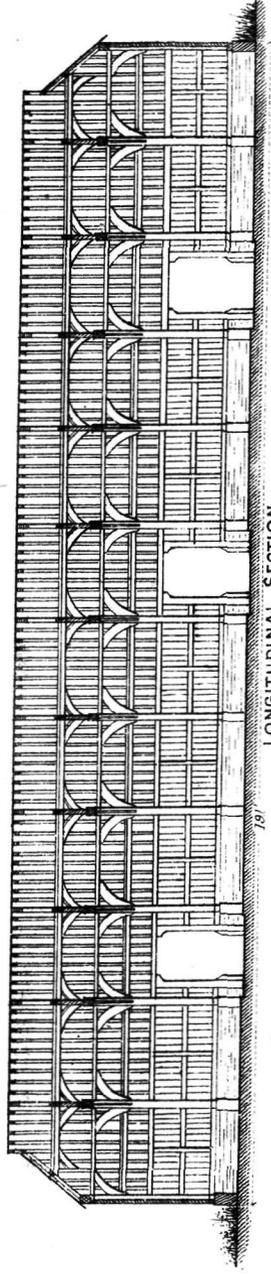
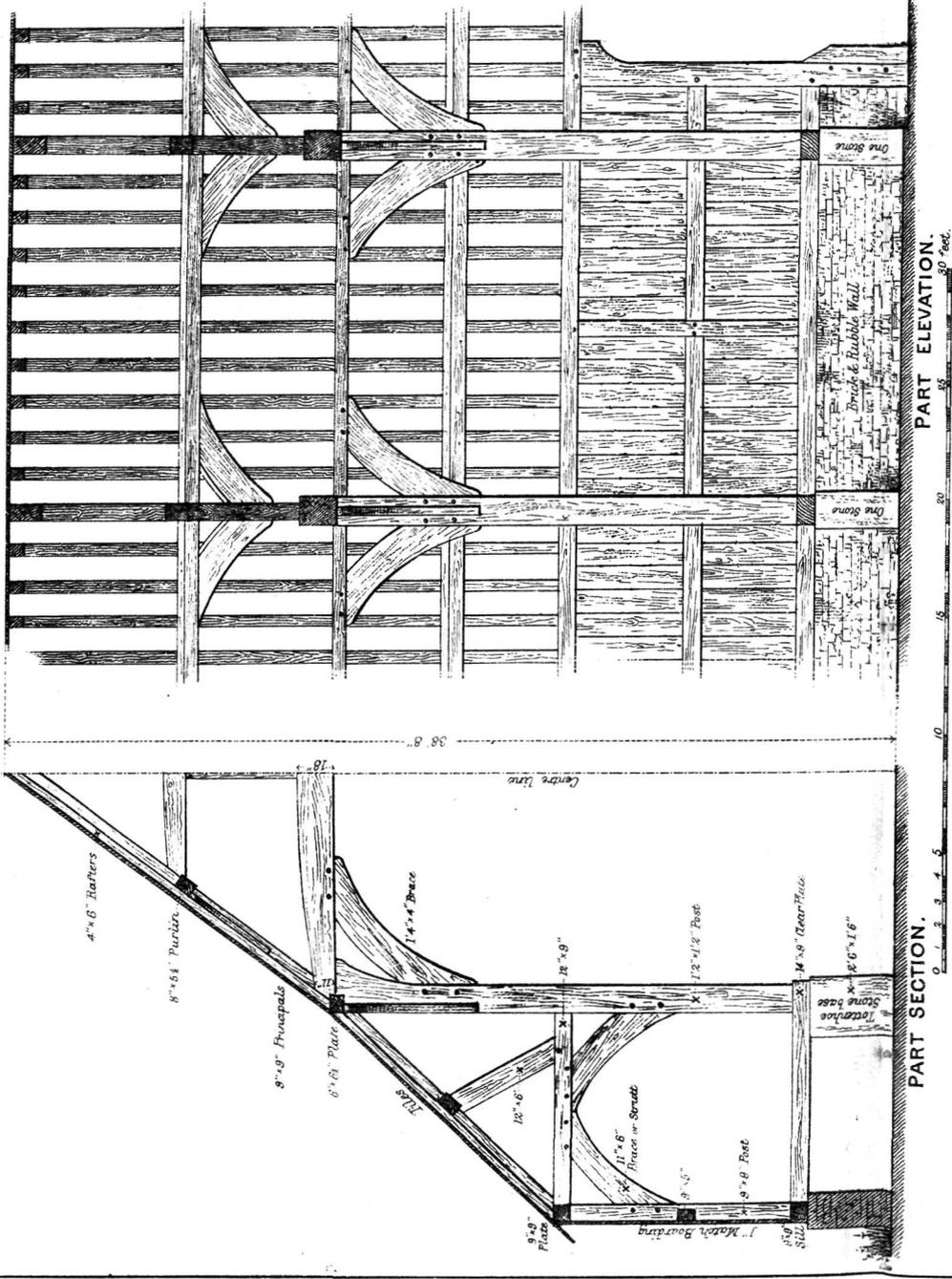
The old "Bestiaries," which are not at all uncommon in our national collection, were scientific treatises built up a good deal upon the works of Pliny. But this science was mixed with religious symbolism of a very fanciful character, and every animal is supposed to signify something in connection with Christian teaching. To enter fully into this now would weary you, so I will confine myself to one or two passages from the Bestiary of Philip de Thau, who lived in the reign of Henry I. and dedicated his book to the Queen.

"Onos in Greek is the name given to an ass: hear what signifies a beast of such quality. Man when he says truth is rightly named man, and ass signifies when he does villany; wherefore David says that man did not attend to himself, little he valued himself, when he left honour: who denies verity let him be called an ass.

"Onager by right is named the wild ass. When March in its course has completed twenty-five days, then that day of the month he brays twelve times, and also in the night, for this reason, that that season is the Equinox, that is, that day and night are of equal length. By the twelve times that it makes of its braying and its crying it shows that day and night have twelve hours in its circuit. The ass is grieved when he makes his cry that the night and day have equal length; he likes better the length of the night than the day."

The writer then proceeds to moralise. "Onager," he says, "signifies the devil in this life: And when the devil perceives that his people decrease, as do the hours which are in the night, after the vernal equinox, then he begins to cry, to deplore greatly, as the ass does which brays and cries."\* With this specimen of the zoological science of the middle ages you will perhaps be inclined to rest content.

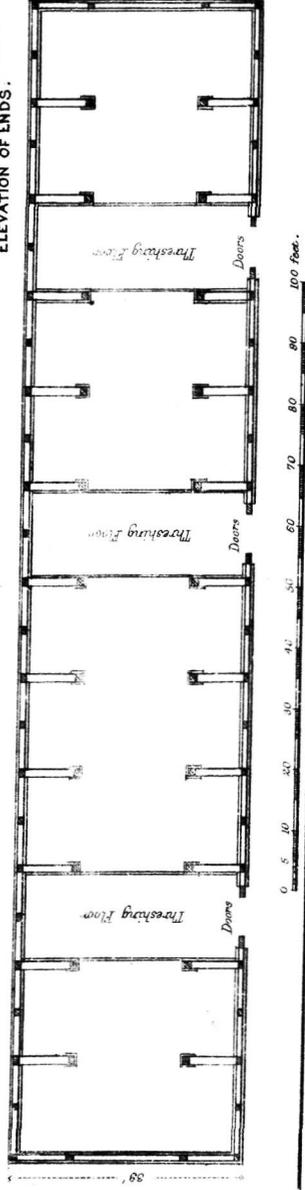
\* See edition edited by Thomas Wright, M.A. F.S.A.

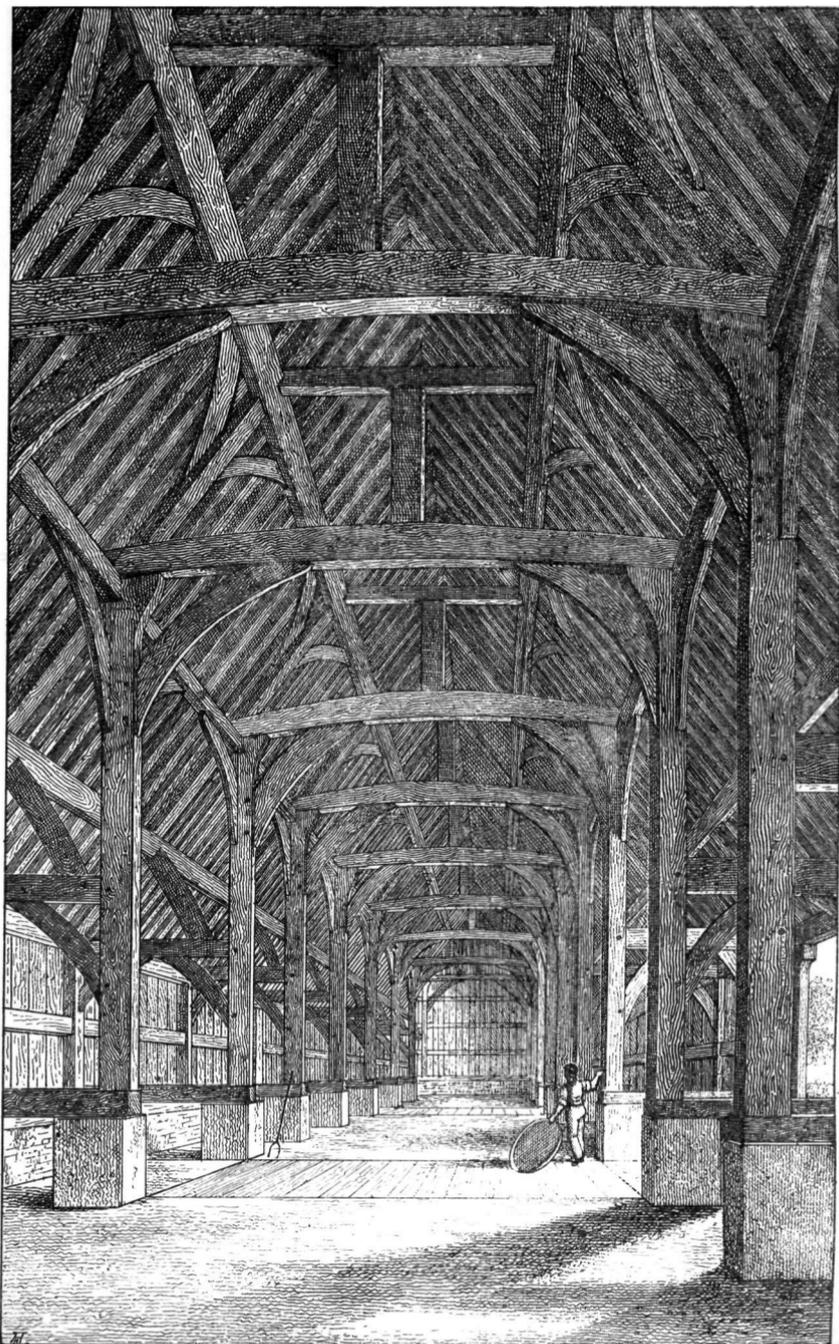


Measured and Drawn by Albert Hartshorne

Part Section and Elevation, 1/8" inch to one foot.

Small Elev., Plan & Sections, 1/16" inch to one foot.





ALBERT HARTSHORNE, DEL.

J. EMSLIE & SONS, LITH

BARN AT HARMONDSWORTH,  
INTERIOR VIEW.

## THE GREAT BARN, HARMONDSWORTH.

BY ALBERT HARTSHORNE, ESQ.

It appears from Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* that there was a priory at Harmondsworth, of the Benedictine order, which was a cell to the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Rouen. In the extent of manors belonging to the alien priories seized by the Crown from 17 Edw. I. (1288) to 10 Richard II. (1386), Harmondsworth is included. The entries which appear to relate to the barn now under notice are these :

It' in guar' ij q'r de f'ri xij s. p'r q'rt vj s.  
 It' vj qr. ij buss' mint xxxj s. iij d. p'r. q'r v s.  
 It' xxxij q'r bras' iiij li. viij s. p'r q'r iiij s.

The size of this barn is so vast, its condition so excellent, and its features of so striking a character, architecturally, that I am inclined to believe there are few if any buildings of the kind equal to it in the kingdom ; its careful study is therefore well worthy of the attention of antiquaries.

As to the date of this interesting building, judging from the general style of its architecture, I am disposed to put it at not later than 1375. In giving it this somewhat vague date the entire absence throughout the building of any marked decorative features, namely, mouldings, by which the age of buildings such as this may be pretty accurately estimated, must be borne in mind. There is consequently nothing but the style of construction, the general appearance and condition of the woodwork, and the size and shape of the timbers to guide us. The construction is of that kind which was in use at the latter end of the fourteenth century, the whole of the timbers being morticed and pinned together with oak pins. As regards the general appearance of the building it is striking in the extreme, and has the solidity and grandeur inseparable from the works of those masters of building the Benedictines. The excellent condition of Harmondsworth Barn, with its massive forest of sound oak timber, is also very remarkable ; its construction is admirably arranged, and, in spite of a somewhat exposed position with a great extent of roof, in a flat country, subject to the full force of violent winds, no part of the timbering appears to have been dislodged from its position. As an example of mediæval carpentry of the best period it is perhaps unequalled ; and one is almost afraid to think of it in connection with fire, to which, however, it will doubtless some day succumb.

Having made careful measurements a few years ago, I am enabled to give a few of the general dimensions :

|                       |     |     |     |     | Ft. | In. | Ft. | In. |   |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| Extreme length inside | ... | ... | ... | ... |     |     | 192 | 0   |   |
| "    width    "       | ... | ... | ... | ... |     |     | 36  | 9   |   |
| "    height  "        | ... | ... | ... | ... |     |     | 39  | 0   |   |
| Width of bays inside  | ... | ... | ... | ... |     |     | 15  | 0   |   |
| Principal uprights    | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1   | 2   | x   | 1   | 2 |
| Tie-beams             | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1   | 7   | x   | 1   | 2 |
| Collars               | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1   | 1   | x   | 0   | 8 |
| Plates                | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0   | 6½  | x   | 0   | 6 |
| Struts                | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1   | 0   | x   | 0   | 6 |
| Outer uprights        | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0   | 9   | x   | 0   | 9 |
| Foot-pieces           | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1   | 2   | x   | 0   | 9 |

The building is divided into twelve bays, with threshing-floors at the 3rd, 7th, and 10th bays. Whether all of these floors formed part of the original design may possibly be a question; at any rate they are old enough at the present day to be considered ancient. The blocks under the principal uprights are of Tottenhoe stone, while the low side walls are formed partly of "plum-pudding" stone and partly of longer and flatter bricks than are used at the present day, with certain modern and judicious repairs. The sides were originally filled in with plain matched-boarding; some of which may still be observed.

Other large barns may be seen at the following places:—

In Kent:—

Boxley, Maidstone, and Cuxton.

In Somersetshire:—

Woodspring Abbey, Doultling, Glastonbury, and Wells.

In Gloucestershire:—

Postlip, Frocester, and Boxwell.

In Wiltshire:—

Cherhill.

In Oxfordshire:—

Adderbury.

In Dorsetshire:—

Cerne Abbas and Abbotsbury.

In Devonshire:—

Torquay.

In Sussex:—

Hurstmonceaux.

In Middlesex:—

Headstone near Harrow.

## NOTES ON GRAY'S INN.

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 BY MR. W. R. DOUTHWAITE, LIBRARIAN.
 

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[Read at a General Meeting of the Society, in Gray's Inn Hall, 15 May, 1873.]

According to the most authentic records, the ancient manor of Portpøle, or Purpoole as it was originally called, became the property of the De Grays of Wilton about the year 1294; and both Stowe and Dugdale agree that in the reign of Edward III. a grant of the manor was made by this family to a society of students of the law, which thereupon took the name of the Society of Gray's Inn. It is not clear by what title the Society then held the property; but of the fact of its having been in their possession in the time of Edward III. there seems to be no doubt; for Stowe, quoting from a MS. of a Mr. St. Lo Kniveton—whom he describes as a learned gentleman, a rare antiquary, and an ancient fellow of this college—says, “An estate of this House was taken in the reign of Edward the Third by the gentlemen and professors of the common law, as Master Saintlow Kniveton affirmeth, out of his owne search and readings of antiquities concerning the house.” Pearce in his “Guide to the Inns of Court,” p. 315, quotes a MS. in the Lansdown collection to the same effect; and in a copy of a MS. in the Harleian collection, which copy is now in the possession of the Society, the name of William Skipwith is given as the first reader, who in the reign of Edward the Third was a Justice of the Common Pleas; and in the same MS. Sir Robert Asheton or Ashton, Lord Treasurer of England 49 Edw. III., appears among the list of members of Gray's Inn.

After this time there is, for very many years, a blank in the history of the Inn, owing to a fire which happened in the reign of James II., and by which the ancient records of the Society up to the 11th of Elizabeth were destroyed. But we learn from other sources that at the dissolution of the monasteries the Society held their property in

some way under the Monastery of Shene; and, the lands of that monastery having been seized by the Crown, the Society then began to pay a fee-farm rent to the Crown in respect of the property held by them; and there is distinct evidence that this fee-farm rent continued to be paid until the year 1733, when the Society redeemed it by purchase from the parties in whom it was then vested; by which purchase the Society became the absolute owners in fee of the property now known as Gray's Inn.

The destruction of the records of the Society, as above mentioned, also prevents us from being able to fix the date or extent of the ancient buildings of the Inn. But that they were by no means commodious appears from the fact that even the ancients of the House were "necessitated" to lodge double; as an illustration of this, Dugdale gives an account of a pension held on the 9 July, 21 Henry VIII. when John Hales, then one of the Barons of the Exchequer, produced a letter directed to him from Sir Thomas Neville, which was to acquaint the Society that he would accept of Mr. Attorney-General (Sir Christopher Hales) to be his bedfellow in his chamber here, and that entry might be made thereof in the book of their rules; and, among the curious orders of the Society relating to this practice, we find that in the 21st of Elizabeth it was ordered that "henceforth no fellow of this house shall make choice of his bedfellow, but only the readers; the admission of all others shall be referred to the discretion of the Treasurer."

There is no evidence when the Hall was first built; but Dugdale, quoting from records of the Society which are not now in existence, says the "Old Hall" was "seiled," in the year 1551, with fifty-four yards of wainscot, at 2s. per yard; and that four years afterwards the Society began the "re-edifying it," every fellow of the House having a chamber therein being assessed towards the charge thereof, upon penalty of losing his chamber in case he did not pay what he was then "taxt" at. The work was completed in the 2nd of Elizabeth, the charge amounting to 863*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*

The windows of the hall contain the arms of distinguished members of the Society, but many of the escutcheons shown in Dugdale's "Origines Juridicales" have entirely disappeared, and the places of others have been so changed that it is now very difficult to trace them.

Among the older escutcheons still in a good state of preservation we may mention those of Sir William Gascoyne and Sir J. Markham,

Chief Justices of the King's Bench in the years 1401 and 1462 respectively; that of Lord Burghley; those of Nicholas and Francis Bacon; Thomas Moyle, Reader of the Society in 1534, and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1542; Anthony Fitzherbert, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in the reign of Henry VIII.; and several others dated before the year 1600.

In this Hall were performed those masques and "revels" which in ancient times were celebrated with so much magnificence by the four Inns of Court. Hall in his Chronicle gives an account of one of these performances in the year 1526, "A Plaie at Gray's Inn." The "Plaie," which it seems was compiled by John Roo, a member of the Inn and serjeant-at-law, so displeased Cardinal Wolsey, who thought it alluded to him, that he sent for Roo, took from him his coif, and sent him to the "Fleet."

The Inns of Court that seem to have distinguished themselves most in these "Revels" were the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, between which houses there seems anciently to have existed some kind of union, as is shown by the fact that on the great gate of the gardens of the Inner Temple appears at this day the "griffin" of Gray's Inn, whilst on the great gate in Gray's Inn Square is carved in bold relief the "winged horse" of the Inner Temple.

This union is also celebrated by Beaumont and Fletcher in a masque entitled "The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn," and "Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple," which was performed at Whitehall in 1612; and "the strict alliance which ever was betwixt the two" houses is also mentioned in the "Epistle Dedicatory" to that somewhat rare and curious book the "Gesta Grayorum," which gives a detailed account of a masque performed at Greenwich Palace by the members of both houses in the year 1594. In the same book it is related that Queen Elizabeth, after the performance of the masque above mentioned, spoke of Gray's Inn "as an house she was much beholden unto, for that it did always study for some sports to present unto her." And the tradition of the house is that the screen under the gallery in the Hall, a most elaborate piece of carved work in oak, as well as some of the dining-tables now used in the Hall, were given to the Society by that Queen as tokens of her regard. It may also be mentioned that at dinner on the Grand Day in each term "the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of good Queen Bess" is still solemnly given in Hall.

That the rules of "deportment" were not altogether overlooked in dealing with the members of the Inn in former times, appears from the following orders. In the 16th of Elizabeth it was ordered that none of this Society should wear any gown or outward garment of any light colour upon penalty of expulsion. In the 27th year it was ordered that whosoever, being a Fellow of this House, did thenceforth wear any hat in the Hall at dinner or supper time, he should forfeit, for every time of such his offending, 3s. 4d.; and in the 42nd year of the same reign an order was made that no gentlemen of this Society do come into the Hall to any meal with their hats, boots, or spurs, but with their caps, decently and orderly, upon pain for every offence to forfeit 3s. 4d.; and that no gentleman of this Society do go into the city or suburbs, or to walk into the *fields*, otherwise than in his gown, upon penalty of 3s. 4d. Also "That no Fellow of the Society stand with his back to the fire."

"That no Fellow of the Society make any rude noise in the hall at exercises or at meal times."

Nothing is known of the origin or early history of the library. It is mentioned at the commencement of the existing records of the Society, viz. in the year 1568, and it is believed that at that time, and for many years afterwards, the library was merely a chamber in Coney Court, which, according to Stowe, formed the western side of what is now Gray's Inn Square.

In the year 1737 an Order of Pension was passed for building a library in Holborn Court, now South Square, which occupied part of the site now covered by the present library, which was built in 1841.

As with the libraries of other Societies, the early and principal source of this library was probably from donations, and the names of Finch, Banks, Hutton, Moseley, and the relatives of Lord Bacon, appear among the earliest donors.

It is believed on very good grounds that the gardens were originally laid out in the year 1597 under the direction of Lord Bacon, the then treasurer of the Society; and there is still preserved on the north-west side of the garden a "catalpa tree," which, tradition says, was planted by him. He evidently took great delight in these gardens, and there is an Order of Pension extant in the following terms:—

4 July, 1597. Ordered that the summe of £7 15s. 4d. due to Mr. Bacon, for planting of elm trees in the walkes, be paid next term.

And in the following year there was an order made for the supply

of more young elms, &c. the cost of which, as appeared by Mr. Bacon's account, was 60*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

In Pepys's time, as appears from his "Diary," "Gray's Inn Walkes" were much resorted to as a fashionable promenade.

In a letter from Venice, dated 1621, and addressed to a resident in Gray's Inn, the writer says, "I hold your walks to be the pleasantest place about London, and that you have the choicest society;" \* and, coming down to a later day, most of the readers of this paper will probably remember the interview between Sir Roger de Coverley and his friend in "Gray's Inn Walks," which is so charmingly told in No. 269 of "The Spectator."

The existing records of the Society do not contain any reference to admissions before the year 1581. It is, however, certain that there were many of a much earlier date than this, for among the names of the many distinguished lawyers admitted in ancient times is that of Sir William Gascoyne. It is true we have no register of his admission, and it has been said that we rely most on having his arms in the window, † but in the Harleian MS. it is there stated he was a *Reader* of the Society, and therefore we think we may fairly claim the honour of his having been a member of this Inn.

To some of the earliest admissions the signature of Lord Burghley is attached, and closely following is that of Lord Bacon. Lord Burghley, according to his own MS. diary, still preserved in the British Museum, was admitted in 1541. Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, was admitted in 1532, and his son Francis Bacon in 1576; and between the years 1592 and 1663, Bancroft, Juxon, Laud, Sheldon, and Whitgift, all of them afterwards Archbishops of Canterbury, were admitted members of the Society.

The names of many other eminent legal dignitaries and distinguished men who were members of this Inn might be added to this list. Of the former may be mentioned Sir Christopher Yelverton, Justice of the Queen's Bench in 1602, and Lord Chief Justices Holt and Raymond; and of the latter Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex; Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton; John Dudley, first Duke of Northumberland; Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby; Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford; General Monk, Duke of Albemarle; Sir Thomas Gresham, founder of the Royal Exchange;

\* Howell's Familiar Letters.

† Campbell's Lives of the Chief Justices, vol. i. p. 121.

and that "prince of antiquaries" William Camden. And it has been well observed that the roll of admissions of the four Inns of Court form a record of names as distinguished as can be found in any university of Europe.

On looking through the roll of admissions it is remarkable how much Gray's Inn used to be frequented by men of the same families. Of the family of Bacon there were Nicolas, Nathaniel, Edward, Anthony, and Francis. Of the family of Yelverton fourteen, of the family of Mosley seven, and so in many other instances.

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THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF LINCOLN'S INN.

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BY EDWARD W. BRABROOK, F.S.A., M.R.S.L.,  
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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[Read at a General Meeting of the Society, in Lincoln's Inn Hall, 15 May, 1873.]

As distinguished from the Inns of Chancery, such as Barnard's Inn and Staple Inn, Lincoln's Inn is an Inn of *Court*; that is, as Edward Waterhouse, esq. the learned commentator on Fortescue, defines it, "one of the *Hospitia majora*, such as received, not the gudgeons and smelts, but the polypuses and leviathans, the behemoths and the giants of the law."\*

Fortescue (himself a member of Lincoln's Inn) speaks in glowing terms of the state of the Inns of Court in his time; and, though the quotation may be familiar to most here, as it is our earliest and best authority on the question, I give it at length. He says, "Of the Inns of Court there are four in number. In that which is the least frequented there are about two hundred students. In these greater inns a student cannot well be maintained under £28 a year † [equivalent to at least 500*l.* now]; and if he have a servant to wait on him (as for the most part they have) the expense is proportionally more; for this reason, the students are sons to persons of quality, those of an inferior rank not being able to bear the expenses of maintaining and educating their children in this way. As to the merchants, they seldom care to lessen their stock in trade by being at such large yearly expenses. So that there is scarce to be found, throughout the kingdom, an eminent lawyer who is not a gentleman by birth and fortune; consequently, they have a greater regard for their character and honour than those who are bred in another way. There is both in the Inns of Court and in the Inns of Chancery a sort of an Academy or Gymnasium fit for persons of their station, where they learn singing

\* Waterhouse, Commentaries on Fortescue (p. 526).

† "Octoq'inta scutorum," mistranslated in Selden's edition, 1616, "twenty marks."

and all kinds of music, dancing, and such other accomplishments and diversions (which are called revels) as are suitable to their quality, and such as are usually practised at Court. At other times, out of term, the greater part apply themselves to the study of the law. Upon festival days, and after the offices of the church are over, they employ themselves in the study of sacred and profane history; here everything which is good and virtuous is to be learned, all vice is discouraged and banished. So that knights, barons, and the greatest nobility of the kingdom, often place their children in the inns of Court, not so much to make the laws their study, much less to live by the profession (having large patrimonies of their own), but to form their manners, and to preserve them from the contagion of vice. The discipline is so excellent, that there is scarce ever known to be any piques or differences, any bickerings or disturbances, amongst them. The only way they have of punishing delinquents is by expelling them the Society, which punishment they dread more than criminals do imprisonment and irons; for he who is expelled out of one Society is never taken in by any of the other. Whence it happens that there is a constant harmony amongst them, the greatest friendship, and a general freedom of conversation. The manner and method how the laws are studied is pleasant, and excellently well adapted for proficiency. Neither at Orleans, where both the canon and civil laws are professed and studied, and whither students resort from all parts, nor at Angiers, Caen, nor any other university in France (Paris excepted), are there so many students who have passed their minority as in our Inns of Court, where the natives only are admitted."

I fear that old Fortescue, in his Treatise, so aptly called *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, has dipped his pencil into the rose-colour a little too freely. No subsequent writer has felt warranted in being quite so enthusiastic.

Waterhouse, writing in 1663 of the Inns of Court,\* says, "Though most men now repair thither for fashion, and to spend money, yet of old they thither went, and there resided, to acquire parts of virtue and action, and to compleat themselves as good Christians and stout gentlemen; and this to do, nothing contributes more, next God's blessing, than frugality of living and keeping close to study."

One subject, touched upon in the extract from Fortescue, is very captivating to every writer on the Inns of Court, viz.: The "Revels"

\* Op. cit.

which were formerly practised in their halls. There is something which appears so delightfully incongruous in the grave students of the law disporting themselves, with a gaiety that must have been somewhat elephantine, in the presence of their still graver seniors. It is to be feared we get our common notion of them from the mendacious lines of the poet Gray, where he libels Sir Christopher Hatton by saying,

The grave Lord Keeper led the brawls,  
And seals and maces danced before him.

I shall resist however the temptation to enlarge upon them, for that has been so well and so often done by other and abler hands, that on this occasion a passing allusion is all that is necessary. Those who wish to go further into the matter will find all they want in the great work of Sir William Dugdale, whose "*Origines Juridicales*" are a fountain of knowledge with regard to the Inns of Court, and all our judicial antiquities; in Brand's *Popular Customs*, edited by Sir W. Ellis; and in "*The Lives of the Judges*," by the lamented Mr. Foss, who spared no pains to illuminate every obscure point of our legal history.

The records of these revels however are interesting, as being confirmatory to a great extent of the statements of Fortescue as to the aristocratic, or at least the extravagant, character of the occupants of the Inns. It will be seen that the revels were in vogue in Fortescue's time, and they continued so until that of Charles II., 200 years later. They may be said to have passed out of use, with much else that was characteristic of our ancient manners, at the time of the Commonwealth; for in many respects the revivals of old customs under Charles II. were spasmodic and temporary. While they lasted they were sources of reckless profusion and extravagant expenditure. A sham king or lord of misrule was appointed, usually a young and high-born member of the Society, and around him were grouped a large retinue of youths as officers of his sham court.

It will not be overlooked however that these revels were merely incidents in the ordinary life of persons of rank; for (as Stow tells us) such entertainments took place not only at the King's Court, but in the dwelling of every nobleman of honour or good worship, were he spiritual or temporal.\*

\* Strype's Stow, i. 246.

On the masques performed by this Society vast sums were spent; one presented to James I. cost the Society 1,016*l.*; and one performed before Charles I. 2,400*l.*; besides the amount which the members individually had to expend.

With the same object, hinted at by Fortescue and Waterhouse, of preserving the high character of the Inns as schools of manners, careful provision was made by the Council of the Inn with regard to the apparel of its members. Thus in 23 Hen. VIII. it was "ordered for a continual rule that no fellow of the House should wear any cut or 'pansid' hose or briches, or any pansid doblet, upon pain of "putting out of the House." In 30 Eliz. that if any Fellow of the House should wear long hair or great ruffs he should be put out of commons. So in 38 Eliz. if within the precinct of the House he should wear any cloak, boot, or spur.

On the matter of beards they were equally strict. In 33 Hen. VII. he who wore a beard had to pay twice as much as usual for his dinner. In 1 Mary they would be put out of commons if they did not shave. In 1 Eliz. heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon him who should wear a beard of above a fortnight's growth. Fashion was too strong, however, for these enactments, and in 2 Eliz. they were all repealed.

Up to 32 Eliz. the members were in the habit of resorting once a year to Kentish Town, dining there and indulging in sports, late watchings, and exercises.

The principal social custom now observed in this Inn is that of the members dining together, which takes place every day of term in this hall. The masters of the Bench occupy seats on the raised dais behind a screen of waggons; the barristers sit at tables parallel to that of the Benchers; and the students' tables are placed at right angles with them. Each table is divided into messes of four; at the bench the strictest order of precedence is observed; at the bar tables it is supposed to be followed, and, until the signal to sit down has been given, may be actually enforced; at the students' table, of course, no precedence exists.

The Commissioners for Inquiry into the Inns of Court in 1855 found that the number of persons dining in Lincoln's Inn Hall largely exceeded in the year 1854 that in the three other Inns put together. Nor did they fail to acknowledge the great advantage which is to be derived in a profession such as that of the law from its members

habitually dining together. In this respect, therefore, Lincoln's Inn does its duty more efficiently than any other of the honourable societies of the Inns of Court. For myself, I must acknowledge that to this practice of dining I owe many most agreeable personal associations with my brother barristers, and that many pleasant hours have been spent by me in this Hall.

This custom of dining arose, no doubt, when the collegiate system more fully prevailed in the Inns of Court, when men resided in their chambers, and spent their whole lives in their Inn. It was also part of the educational system of the Society, for at each mess there was a "moot;" the junior member of the mess propounded to the rest some knotty question of law, and profited by their discussion of it over dinner. I need hardly say that this is a custom which has quite fallen into disuse, and that, though we sometimes talk a good deal of "shop," we do it with no educational purpose. The same object was served by the formal introduction to the Bar which each student had to pass through during his noviciate, and which was called his "exercises;" originally a practical test of knowledge, this also gradually degenerated into a mere formality, and is now commuted into a signature and a bow.

In 6 Edw. VI. it was ordered that every puisne at every mess at dinner should put a short case of one point, argumentable, and to be argued thoroughly, by all that should sit at the same mess, and no man to depart from the same under the penalty of 12*d*. In Roger North's Life of Lord Keeper Guilford, where he describes the studious early life of that distinguished man, he says, "he used constantly the commons in the Hall at noons and nights, and fell into the way of putting cases, as they call it, which much improved him; and he used to say that no man could be a good lawyer that was not a put-case."

On this branch of my subject, I will only add, that, aristocratic as may have been the Inns in early ages, there has never been a time, as we shall presently see, when the student who had nothing but his own industry and intellect to rely upon has not had a chance of success there. While I hope I may not be thought presumptuous in claiming for the members of my profession that every idea instilled into their minds as such tends to imbue them with the highest sense of personal honour and integrity, I think I may also be permitted to point with pride to the number of illustrious names connected with it who have owed their distinction to nothing but personal exertion, and

that gift of which genius has been said to consist, an unlimited capacity for taking pains.

The title deeds of the Inn commence with one dated 6 December, 1535, an Indenture between Robert Bishop of Chichester and William Sulyard, granting Lincoln's Inn, with a way through the gate called Field gate, opposite the Rolls, as far as the field called Fykett's Field, on a lease for 99 years. On the 1 July, 1536, a deed-poll was executed by the Bishop and Dean and Chapter, granting Lincoln's Inn and the garden called Conygarth, formerly called Cotterell Garden, &c. to William and Eustace Sulyard in fee. Eustace survived William, and left a son Edward. On the 8-12 November, 1580, Edward Sulyard granted it to the then Benchers in consideration of £520. In Hilary Term, 1581, a fine was levied. And on 10 May, 1584, the Inn bought for 20 marks a piece of ground in Fykett's Field extending, from the turnpike gate of Lincoln's Inn to the yard wall next the garden, 112 feet.

It will be seen, therefore, that in the case of Lincoln's Inn (as was reported by Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Inns of Court in 1855) there is no trace of any grant from the Crown; but the property of the Inn has been acquired by purchase from private individuals, and is maintained by the voluntary contributions of the members. The Commissioners found the gross income of the Inn to be 18,242*l.* a year, of which 8,279*l.* was derived from the members, and the remainder from rent of Chambers. This income they found however to be subject to very large deductions, and to be burdened with a debt for the building of Lincoln's Inn Hall and Library. The Courts for the Lord Chancellor and Vice-Chancellors are gratuitously provided by the Inn.

This leads to the remark, that, in one respect, Lincoln's Inn has an advantage over the Societies of the other Inns of Court. It is the home of the Courts of Chancery, and the Inn most conveniently situated for the Equity Draftsmen and Conveyancers whose practice lies in that branch of our jurisprudence; hence Chancery lawyers, as a rule, belong to it. Now the judges of the Common Law Courts\* are required, if not already serjeants, to take upon themselves that state

\* This paper was read before the passing of the Judicature Act, 1873, which enacts that from the date of its coming into force it shall not be necessary that the Common Law Judges should be of the degree of the *coif*. The Act has not yet come into force.

and degree before they can occupy their seats on the bench; but not so the judges of the Courts of Equity. He who is made a serjeant ceases to be a member of his Inn of Court; but an Equity judge does not discontinue his membership of his Inn; hence Lincoln's Inn is found to number among the masters of its bench several who fill or have filled the highest places open to an English barrister.

It may be proper to explain, however, that this connection of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn with the Courts of Chancery is merely accidental and local; there is no rule which requires an Equity barrister to be a member of this Inn, and the Courts are here merely as tenants of the Benchers. Those of the Chancery Courts actually within the precincts of the Inn are the Court of the Lord Chancellor and Lords Justices, which occupies the old hall, and the Courts of the three Vice-Chancellors, two of whom sit in a temporary building opposite the Gate House. Many Equity barristers belong to the other Inns, and many Common Law barristers to Lincoln's Inn; and no privilege in relation to practising in either of the Courts is enjoyed by members of any particular Inn. It is very possible that, when the new Law Courts are finished, and occupy the space between Lincoln's Inn and the Temples, the ascendancy of Lincoln's Inn in the Courts of Chancery may cease: \* in the meantime we cannot fail to be proud of the circumstance which enables us to retain Lord St. Leonard's, Lord Hatherley, Lord Selborne, and Lord Cairns, as well as Vice-Chancellors Kindersley, Stuart, Bacon, and Malins, and Lord Justice James, on our Bench.

Nor is this association of Lincoln's Inn with the Courts of Chancery a matter of any antiquity. Anciently the Lord Chancellor sat in Westminster Hall, as he and all the Chancery Judges still do on the first day of term; or he might hold his Court and exercise jurisdiction in his own private house, or wherever it pleased him. With him would sit the Master of the Rolls and the other Masters in Chancery, who were usually either priests or doctors of the Civil Law, and serjeants and barristers pleaded before them. But it is only since 1592 that the Great Seal has been habitually committed to the custody of lawyers only, and the Vice-Chancellorships date only from the years 1813 and 1841 respectively. The Lords Justices of Appeal were

\* The Judicature Act, 1873, provides for the abolition of the distinction between law and equity, but retains the existing courts under slightly altered names.

created in 1851. Thus the enormous increase of the business in Equity has given rise during the present century to the creation of four new Courts in aid of the two ancient jurisdictions vested in the Lord Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls, and the reduction of its doctrines to precision can hardly be said to have commenced earlier than the time of Lord Bacon; if indeed (as my friend Mr. Griffith, of this Inn, suggests in his "Institutes of Equity") it ought not rather to date from the time of Finch, Earl of Nottingham, called by some "the father of Equity," A.D. 1673.

Our view of the history and antiquities of Lincoln's Inn and of the points of archaeological interest in connection with its present customs and practices would not be complete without some account of the great men who have been connected with it. This must be prefaced by the remark that the early history of the Inn is involved in very deep obscurity, for the tradition of its establishment in the reign of Edward III. though it presents great probability of truth, is not supported by any evidence of a documentary kind. The first mention of the four Inns of Court, one of which Lincoln's Inn undoubtedly was, is by Fortescue, who wrote after the year 1460; and the first deed relative to the property which has been preserved in the archives of the Inn is dated in the year 1535. During 150 years before Fortescue wrote, if the usual accounts be accepted, Lincoln's Inn was flourishing; but we meet with no record of the name of any distinguished member of it in those early times, though it must have furnished many of the judges from among the students, exceeding 200 at a time, whom, Fortescue tells us, it gathered.

We do find, however, from a record coeval with Fortescue, the "Black Book" of Lincoln's Inn, that, whether its claim to be the oldest of the four Inns of Court is well founded or not, it was the first to institute settled order and government and make provision for legal education. That book commences in 1423, and it gives the names of the governors for the year 1424. These are Rye, John Symonds (afterwards Recorder of London), Gilbard, Crakenthorp, Robert Scheffeld, and Fortescue himself,\* who continued to hold the office until 1429, when he became a serjeant-at-law. With his illustrious name we may be content to commence our notice of the Worthies of Lincoln's Inn, inheriting from him the pride he felt in the Society of which he was so distinguished an ornament. He

\* Dugdale, Orig. 257.

was also one of the Worthies of Devon, and belonged to the family of the knight who bore the shield "*forte scutum, salus ducum*," before William the Conqueror. He was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1442; was banished the country on the accession of Edward IV. when he used his enforced leisure in writing the treatise "*De Laudibus*," returned in 1471; and (dying soon after) was buried at Ebrington in Gloucestershire.

In the year 1440 the governors began to be sworn, and the students on admission to the Inn were required to take an oath of obedience to them. The governors then sworn were Robert Danvers (afterwards Justice of the Common Pleas), John Stafford, Richard Wood, and William Boeff (afterwards a serjeant). Danvers, however, had been first appointed governor in 1428. He was successively common serjeant, recorder, and representative in Parliament of the city of London. He left this Inn to become a serjeant in 1443, and from 1450 till his death in 1467 was a Justice of the Common Pleas. He and his wife Agnes were buried in the church of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield.

From 1446 to 1461 William Jenney was one of the governors. His name occurs prominently in the Paston Correspondence, he having prosecuted Sir John Paston to outlawry. He became serjeant in 1463, Judge of the King's Bench in 1481, and died in 1483.

In 1464 the Society of Lincoln's Inn made another step of progress in their organisation for legal education—the important one of appointing Readers to give readings in law to the members during the vacation of the Courts; one was appointed in each Michaelmas Term for the ensuing Lent Vacation, and another in each Easter Term for the Summer.

The first reader recorded is William Huddesfeld, who had the honour of being twice re-appointed, or becoming triplex reader, as it was called, viz. in 1464, in 1469, and 1475.

That the persons chosen as readers were the most eminent lawyers of their day under the degree of serjeant is shown by the distinction many of them afterwards gained in the profession. Thus the next reader after Huddesfeld was John Sulyard, whose family name I have mentioned in connection with the purchase of the estates of the Inn from his descendants. He became serjeant in 1477, Judge of the King's Bench in 1484, and died in 1488. He was also triplex reader, for he served the office of reader again in 1470 and 1477. One of the readers

for 1468 was Roger Townshend, who again served in 1474. He also became serjeant in 1477, a Judge of the Common Pleas in 1484, and died in 1500. One of the readers for 1469 was John Haugh, who again served in 1473. He became Justice of the Common Pleas in 1487, and is displayed in his judicial robes in the beautiful window of Long Melford church, which has been so admirably illustrated by our member, Mr. Charles Baily.

Another Judge of the Common Pleas who was raised to the Bench in 1488, Sir William Danvers (half-brother of the Robert Danvers already mentioned), was a member of this Inn, which he left for Serjeant's Inn in 1485, but without having served as a reader or as a governor here.

A reader in 1471 was Nicholas Statham, to whom is attributed the earliest abridgment of the cases in the Year Books.

A reader in 1475 and again in 1481 was Sir Thomas Lovel, who built our Gate House. He was Chamberlain to Henry VII and a Knight of the Garter, and the discovery of his coffin with that of his wife on the site of Halliwell Priory, Shoreditch, is the subject of an excellent paper in the "Proceedings of the Evening Meetings of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society," 4th Feb. 1863, by my esteemed colleague, Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A.

One of the readers in 1480 was Robert Read, who was again reader in 1486, when he became serjeant; he was made King's Serjeant in 1494, a Judge of the King's Bench in 1495, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1506. He was founder of a chantry at the Charterhouse, and a benefactor to the University of Cambridge and to Jesus' College therein.

The career of one of the readers for 1482 is particularly interesting. He was admitted a member of the Society in 1468 because he had behaved himself well and faithfully in the office of its butler, and as John Boteler alone is he known. He showed himself worthy of the honour the Society had done him, left it to become a serjeant in 1494, and was made a Judge of the Common Pleas in 1508. On his leaving Lincoln's Inn, with Richard Higham and Robert Constable, made serjeants at the same time, 130 members of the Inn subscribed 3s. 4d. each as a parting gift, amounting to 21*l.* 13s. 4d. which was divided into three parts, put into gloves, and presented to them.\*

The name of the autumn reader for 1489 introduces to us another

\* Dugdale, 137, 250, 281. Foss, sub nom.

similar episode in the history of Lincoln's Inn, one which is deeply interesting as connected with the name of one of its brightest ornaments and one of the purest and noblest characters in English annals. We owe to Mr. Foss (as indeed I and all future chroniclers must owe everything relating to the career of English judges) the patient and acute investigation of the facts I am about to narrate.\* In 1464 John More was raised from the office of butler to that of steward; in 1470 his long and faithful services in these two capacities were rewarded by his admission to membership of the Society; and in 1489, and again in 1495, he held the high and honourable office of reader. His son John More, junior, succeeded the father in the office of butler, and enjoyed the like promotion, till in 1503 he left this Inn to be made serjeant, and became one of the Judges of the Common Pleas in 1518; was thence transferred to the King's Bench in 1520; and died in 1530.

The son of John More, the butler and the judge, and grandson of John More, the butler, the steward, and the reader, was the illustrious Sir Thomas More, the chancellor and the martyr. Well might he describe himself in his epitaph as "*familiâ non celebri, sed honestâ natus.*" I am not aware of any similar instance in any other Inn of Court, and I may therefore claim for this Inn that their generous appreciation of humble merit and freedom from unworthy aristocratic prejudice laid the foundation of this great man's eminence. The whole history is a curious commentary upon Fortescue's remarks as to the high birth of the members of the Inns of Court in his day. One may picture to oneself the eager attention with which the aspiring butler would listen to the reading of the law in the Inn, till, in the course of years, he had mastered all the law's intricacies and qualified himself to become reader in his turn.

Sir Thomas More, as he never became a serjeant, continued all his life a member of Lincoln's Inn, and his biography by his son-in-law Roper relates two or three incidents which show the attachment he felt to this Society. His great-grandson More says of him while at Lincoln's Inn that "his whole mind was set on his book. For his allowance his father kept him very short, suffering him scarcely to have so much money in his own custody as would pay for the mending

\* I am of course indebted to Mr. Foss's work for many of the dates and facts relating to readers given in this paper; indeed, the references to it at the foot of each page would be so numerous that I here make this general acknowledgement in lieu of a separate one for each case.

of his apparel; which course he would often speak of with praise in his riper years." He was appointed by the Society reader in Furnival's Inn, one of the Inns of Chancery belonging to Lincoln's Inn, and remained so for three years and more. In due time he married, but he never the more discontinued his study of the law at Lincoln's Inn, but applied himself still to the same till he was called to the Bench, and had read there twice. In his "Debellacyon of Salem and Byzance," written in 1533, after his removal from the chancellorship, is the following curious allusion to his readings here: "If I were again to read in Lincoln's Inn, and there were in hand with a statute that touched treason and all other felonies, I woulde not let to looke, seke out, and rehearse whether any heynous wordes spoken against the prince were for the onely speaking to be taken for treason or not."\*

Before the date of his readership he had been made a burgess of the Parliament, and was afterwards successively Under-Sheriff of London, Master of the Requests, Treasurer of the Exchequer, Speaker of the House of Commons, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Ambassador to Flanders and to France, and Lord Chancellor. "Whensoever he passed through Westminster Hall to his place in the Chancery, by the Court of King's Bench, if his father (one of the judges thereof) had been seated or he came, he would go into the same Court, and there reverently kneeling down, in the sight of them all, duly ask his father's blessing. And if it fortun'd that his father and he at readings at Lincoln's Inn met together (as they sometimes did), notwithstanding his high office he would offer in argument the pre-eminence to his father, though he, for his office sake, would refuse to take it." So says Roper, but the incident requires explanation, for the father would have ceased to be a member of Lincoln's Inn in 1503 before he became a Judge, and Sir Thomas was not Chancellor till 1529.

Of his conduct as Chancellor it was said, in the punning style of the day:—

When *More* some years had Chancellor been,  
 No *more* suits did remain;  
 The same shall never *more* be seen,  
 Till *more* be there again.

When he delivered up the great seal he called his children to him, to consult them as to their future mode of life. "I have been brought up (quoth he) at Oxford, at an Inn of the Chancery, at Lincoln's Inn,

\* More, English Works, p. 963, col. 2.

and also in the King's Court, and so forth from the lowest degree to the highest; and yet have I in yearly revenues at this present left me little above a hundred pounds by the year. So that now we must hereafter, if we like to live together, be contented to become contributories together. But by my counsel it shall not be best for us to fall to the lowest fare first; we will not, therefore, descend to Oxford fare, nor to the fare of New Inn, but we will begin with Lincoln's Inn diet, where many right-worshipful and of good years do live full well. Which, if we find not ourselves the first year able to maintain, then will we the next year go one step down to New Inn fare, wherewith many an honest man is well contented. If that exceed our ability too, then will we, the next year after, descend to Oxford fare, where many grave, learned, and ancient fathers are continually conversant."\*

My excuse for saying so much about Sir Thomas More in this paper is, that we of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society must always feel deep interest in him, as one of the worthies of our county. He was born at his father's house in Milk Street; educated at St. Anthony's School in Threadneedle Street; belonged (as we have seen) to New Inn and to Lincoln's Inn; became a public lecturer at the church of St. Lawrence Jewry; then reader of Furnival's Inn; secluded himself in the Charterhouse (then, of course, a monastery) for four years; married and went to reside at Bucklersbury; became Under-Sheriff of London; then fixed his permanent home at Chelsea, till at last he was placed in the custody of the Abbot of Westminster, committed to the Tower, tried in Westminster Hall, thence returned to his prison, and there beheaded. The headless trunk was buried first at St. Peter's ad Vincula, and then at Chelsea; but the good wise head was rescued from exposure on London Bridge by his faithful daughter, and lies with her in her grave at Canterbury.

She bears in her last sleep her martyr'd father's head.

As it is not my intention on the present occasion to write the *Athene Lincolnenses*, a work well worthy of a much abler hand, I shall pass over the names of other distinguished members of the Inn with a very cursory notice. One of the readers of 1491, and again in 1496, was John Alleyn, afterwards Baron of the Exchequer, but, not being a Baron of the Coif, he continued a member of Lincoln's Inn. So also William Ellis, reader in 1502, became a Baron of the

\* Roper, 51.

same Court in 1523, but continued in this Inn. And again William Wotton, reader in 1508-9, was made Baron of the Exchequer in 1521, but is one of the Governors of Lincoln's Inn in 1527. One of the readers in 1517 was Thomas Willoughby, who became Serjeant in 1521, King's Serjeant in 1530, Knight in 1534 (being the first serjeant who had ever accepted knighthood), and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1537. Robert Norwich was reader in 1518, again in 1521, Serjeant 1521, King's Serjeant 1523, Judge 1530, and Chief Justice 1531, of the same court. Christopher Jenney, grandson of the Sir William Jenney already named, was reader 1521 and 1522, Serjeant 1531, King's Serjeant 1535, Judge 1538.

One of the readers for 1524 enjoyed the rare distinction of being thrice reader, being re-elected in 1529 and 1531. He was Roger Cholmley, who became Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1547, and Lord Chief Justice of England in 1552. This is the judge of whom Roger Ascham relates, that, when some students of Lincoln's Inn thought fit to remind him of early follies, in order to disarm him of the rebuke he was about to administer, said, "Indeed in youth I was as you are now, and I had twelve fellows like unto myself, but not one of them came to a good end. And therefore follow not my example in youth, but follow my counsel in age."\* The other reader for 1529 (who again served in 1537) was Robert Curzon; he, and likewise John Danaster (reader in 1530 and 1535) and John Pilborough (reader in 1533 and 1543), became Barons of the Exchequer without leaving this Inn. Baron Pilborough delivered an ornate oration here to Serjeants Meynell and Morgan on their creation (with five others) in 1547, when their feast was held here, and 5*l.* were presented to each of them as a parting gift.

Serjeant Morgan had been reader in 1542 and 1546, and was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1553, as a reward for his early allegiance to Queen Mary. His is the melancholy distinction of having been the judge who sentenced Queen Jane Grey to death.

One of the readers in 1538, and again in 1547, was Clement Heigham, who became Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1558, without leaving this house.

One of the readers in 1547 was William Rastall, originally a printer, nephew of Sir Thomas More, and editor of his works. He became Justice of the Queen's Bench in 1558, and it is to him we owe

\* Seward's Anecdotes, iv. 275.

two great works, the value of which is still apparent, viz. the Collection of the Statutes and *Les Termes de la Ley*. He left this Inn to be serjeant in 1555 at the same call with William Bendlowes, also of this Inn, who enjoys the remarkable distinction of having been for four months, in 1558-9, the only serjeant-at-law not on the Bench. So said the window of Serjeant's Inn Chapel in Fleet Street, "annis Reginarum Mariæ ultimo et Elizabethæ primo superfruit et claruit solus."

The reader in Lent 1554, Sir William Cordell, was the very converse of John Boteler and John More, for, whereas they were made members of the Inn in consequence of their good conduct as its butlers, he was appointed butler, and fined for not exercising the office, at a time when he had been 16 years a member, and held the office of Solicitor-General to Queen Mary. He became Master of the Rolls and Speaker of the House of Commons, and is one of the worthies of Long Melford. Sir Christopher Wray was reader in 1562, and again in 1567, and became Justice, and ultimately Chief Justice, of the Queen's Bench. Sir Robert Monson was reader in 1565, and again in 1572, in which year he was made a Justice of the Common Pleas, being the first person upon whom was practised the legal fiction of being created a serjeant and made a judge at the same time. Sir William Ayloft, reader in 1571, and Sir Francis Wyndham, reader in 1572, were made serjeants in 1577, and gave rings with the motto "*Læ Regis Præsidium*;" both became judges.

A reader in 1574 became Queen Elizabeth's good judge, Sir John Clench; one of 1577, John Puckering, was afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; both those of 1578 became Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Thomas Walmesly and George Kingsmill; Robert Clarke, reader in 1582, became Baron of the Exchequer; one of 1583, Thomas Owen, Judge of the Common Pleas, has found a resting-place in Westminster Abbey; and the names of other readers—Peter Warburton, promoted to be Judge of the Common Pleas; Edward Heron, Baron of the Exchequer; Thomas Fleming, Chief Justice, and Robert Houghton, Judge, of the King's Bench; Humfrey Winch, Judge of the Common Pleas—follow in quick succession.

I suspend this rather wearisome list of readers who developed into legal dignitaries, to allude to the Society of Antiquaries of Queen Elizabeth's day, which was forced to close a brilliant career of about thirty years through the strange jealousy of her successor James I., and

which as the precursor of the present venerable Society of Antiquaries, and of all such societies as our own, may fitly be called "the mother of us all." Four at least of its members, and those not the least distinguished, were members of this Inn. They were William Lambarde, the Kentish antiquary; Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, the continuator of Holinshed; William Hakewill, registrar of the Society, and one of the executors of Sir Thomas Bodley, also described as Solicitor to the Queen, which honour does not mean that he held the office of Solicitor-General; and lastly James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, Lord Chief Justice and Lord High Treasurer.

Of William Lambarde Lincoln's Inn was proud, and so may we be also, for his father was an Alderman and Sheriff of London.\* He was one of the Masters in Chancery, and had the rare distinction accorded to him of being made a Bencher and allotted chambers without payment, the proviso being made that this was not to be drawn into a precedent, as it was an acknowledgment of his having "deserved universally well of this commonwealth and country, and likewise of the Fellowship and Society of this House." The only one of his works I need mention here is the "Archeion," a most valuable and learned dissertation on the origin of the various courts of the realm. He concludes it with the following remarks:—

It had been fit to have added hereunto the beginning of the Houses of Law, commonly termed, for that they did flow out of the Courts, the Houses or Inns of Court, and to have annexed a Catalogue or Table of the names of all the Chancellors, Justices, and Judges. But because there is not (so far as I can yet learn) any certain monument of the one, and for that it requireth a great search of records, wherunto I have no access, to perform the other, I must leave them both to such as can and will better travail in that behalf.†

Thynne was a thorough antiquary—"an excellent antiquary," Camden calls him—a member of an antiquarian family. Several of his collections are among the Cottonian MSS. and others are preserved in Heralds' College.‡

Of Hakewill, Anthony à Wood says, that, "out of his grave and long conversation with antiquity, he extracted several curious observations concerning the liberty of the subject, and the manner of holding Parliaments."§

Sir James Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, was reader in this

\* *Archæologia*, i. x.

† Ed. 1635, p. 280.

‡ *Archæologia*, i. xii.

§ *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 112; *Archæologia*, i. ix.

Inn in 1602, and left it to be serjeant in 1603, but abandoned that state and degree to rejoin us in 1609, and continued a Governor of Lincoln's Inn till 1621, when he once again left us to become Lord Chief Justice of England. He afterwards attained the high dignity of Lord Treasurer, and died in Lincoln's Inn in 1629, leaving a reputation so unblemished that some of his great contemporaries might well have envied it. Eight valuable papers, contributed by him to the old Society of Antiquaries, are preserved in Hearne's collection.\*

The other reader of the year 1602 also became Lord Chief Justice of England. This was Ranulph Crewe, son of a tanner at Nantwich, and ancestor of the Lords Crewe of Crewe; he furnished one of the many instances of noble integrity which have adorned the English Bench, for he was discharged from his office of Chief Justice for refusing to subscribe to the legality of a forced loan to the King.

I pass over the names of Sir John Denham, reader in 1607, afterwards Baron of the Exchequer; Sir Henry Hobart, reader in 1608, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; his successor in that office, Sir Thomas Richardson, reader in 1614, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and Sir William Jones, reader in 1616, afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench, all of them men of remarkable careers and unstained integrity,—to mention the reading in 1632 by Mr. Atkyns, afterwards Baron of the Exchequer,† because we have in Harl. MS. 980 a note of a curious discussion which took place at that reading, taken by one Thomas Gibbon, who was probably a student at the time.

Noy, att.-gen. (at Mr. Atkin's reading in Aug. 1632, at Lincoln's Inn upon the Stat. de Foresta), held opinion that our law readings were of great antiquity, and for that purpose he vouched a record, which was 19 Hen. III. cl. m. 23, brief fuit direct al Vicont de London commandant a luy q. si fuerunt asecun schooles in ceo city en que le loy fuit lye q. doit ceo suppress. The like was directed to the Abp. Cant. And the reason was because the king by the counsel of Hubert C. J. had disclaimed his grant and confirmation of the liberties granted by Mag. Charta

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\* *Archæologia*, i. xi.

† The family of Atkyns has produced many distinguished judges. Richard Atkyns, ob. 1610, was Chief Justice of South Wales. His son, Sir Edward, a Justice of the Common Pleas. His son, Sir Robert, Knight of the Bath and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. His brother, Sir Edward, the reader mentioned in the text, Baron of the Exchequer. (*Le Neve's Knights*, ii.)

and that of the Forest as being made during his nonage,\* and in those schools those laws were maintained and publicly read. Afterwards the King (as the record speaks) *saniore mente reversus est*. This appeareth also by the chart-roll, 21 Hen. III.

Then also Mr. Attorney affirmed that every Inn of the Court was an university of itself,† and highly extolled the modesty of the ancient professors of our laws, that whereas in o<sup>r</sup> Universities a short abidance there will give them the name of sophisters, 4 years continuance the title of bachelors, 7 years masters of arts, and some 14 or 19 years at the most the name of doctors, all being specious and swelling titles, in our Law Univ's at 5 years we deserved the titles of Mootmen (that is, of that c<sup>d</sup> then like children begin to word it), at 7 years, or somewhat more, the title of Barrister (a word of contempt), at 27, having been single readers in an Inn of Court, the name of apprentices to the law, and afterwards, some 3 or 4 years double reading, the name of servients to the law, never arrogating higher titles, and yet every argument in a demurrer by any lawyer at any of W<sup>m</sup> Courts was of greater labour, if not learning, and a more public demonstration of it, than of any of their doctors' acts in their schools.

Among the prominent men of the Commonwealth who were members of Lincoln's Inn were Richard Cresheld (reader in 1637), who was appointed by the Parliament a Justice of the Common Pleas, but refused to serve them after the King's death; William Lenthall (reader in 1638), Speaker of the House of Commons, Master of the Rolls, and one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal; Oliver St. John, not a reader, also one of the Commissioners of the Seal and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; John Glynne, Chief Justice of their Upper Bench; John Fountaine, another of their Commissioners of the Great Seal.

Glynne and Fountaine, together with Hugh Wyndham,‡ Samuel Browne, Erasmus Erle, and Matthew Hale, were amongst the serjeants created during the Commonwealth whose writs were declared invalid, and who were re-created upon the Restoration. I have elsewhere § described the imposing ceremonies with which the calls of serjeants were attended at this revival of monarchy.

The practice of reading was shortly afterwards discontinued, and I shall only mention, among other members || to whom Lincoln's Inn

\* Lord Coke, *præme* to 2d Inst.

† See the note by Selden on Fortescue, ed. 1616, p. 54.

‡ The family of Windham has contributed many ornaments to the legal profession, and to this Inn. See the pedigree in Le Neve's *Knights*, 236.

§ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, iii. 417.

|| A few may be enumerated in a foot-note. Sir Thomas Estcourt, Master in Chancery, knighted 1660, and buried under the chapel. His son, Sir Thomas

may refer with pride, William Prynne, Sir Matthew Hale\* (who left us his priceless manuscripts, coupled, however, with the unfortunate condition that they should never be printed), and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first Earl of Shaftesbury. Since their time Lincoln's Inn has had many distinguished sons, but it is not needful that on an occasion like this I should name them. I may, however, be permitted to mention the Right Honourable William Pitt, whose escutcheon is on my left, who served his year as treasurer, and whose initials as such are inscribed on one of our sundials. And I am sure I may add—

At genus immortale manet, multosque per annos  
Stat fortuna domus, et avi numerantur avorum.

One word, before I conclude, as to the officers of the Inn. We have three clergymen associated with us, the preacher, the chaplain, and the reader. Our preachers have always been men of great distinction; in the windows and on the walls are the arms of many who have become bishops; but Mr. Spilsbury will give you a fuller account of them.

The chaplain has his fixed place at mess, and is, I need not say, a most welcome member of it.

And I should be ungrateful if I passed over the office of steward, to which, as now held by Mr. Doyle (as it was by his father before him,)

Estcourt, also Master in Chancery, died 1702. Sir Thomas Beverley, Master of the Request, knighted 1662. Sir Edwin Rich, Master in Chancery (son of Lord Rich), and Sir Edwin Rich, his son, ob. 1676. Sir Thomas Gery, knighted 1666. Sir John Halsey, Master in Chancery, died 1670. Sir John Mynne, knighted 1671. Sir Nicholas Pedley, serjeant-at-law, knighted at Lincoln's Inn 1671. Sir Richard Stote, 1671. Sir James Butler, Master of St. Katherine's Hospital near the Tower, illegitimate son of the Duke of Ormond and Lady Thynne, 1671. Nicholas Franklyn, a bencher, and his nephew, Sir John Franklin, Master in Chancery, knighted 1696. Sir George Strode, and his brother Thomas Strode, serjeants-at-law, who died 1696. Sir Richard Stephens, knighted 1679. Thomas Powys, serjeant-at-law, and his two sons, Sir Littleton Powys, *Justice of the King's Bench*, and Sir Thomas Powys, *Attorney-General*. Sir Robert Eyre, *Judge of the King's Bench*. Sir Isaac Preston, died 1708. Sir John Haules, *Solicitor-General*, whose "arms are on the inside of the Gate House at Linc. Inne: Two coats, quarterly, Sable, three greyhound's heads erased argent; 2nd. Or, a fess between three crescents gules; 3rd as 2nd; 4th as 1st. Crest: A greyhound's head coupt argent, in mouth an o . . . branch azure." See *Le Neve's MS.* published by the Harleian Society for pedigrees of these knights.

\* Sir Matthew Hale was the son of Robert Hale of Aldersley, co. Gloucester, a member of Lincoln's Inn. Sir Matthew's third son Thomas was also of Lincoln's Inn. (*Le Neve's Knights*, 152.)

we are all much indebted, and to whom you owe no little of the comfort you enjoy in this hall to-day.

Our arms, which you see represented in various places, are described by an old herald (MS. Harl. 1104, A.D. 1598) as, "Sapphire, fifteen fere moulius or, on a canton of the second, a lion rampant purple." How we came by them, or to what they are allusive, I am wholly unable to say.

My apology for having trespassed upon you so long with the associations of my Inn lies in the sentiment which the youngest student or the most briefless barrister must feel when he looks on those shields of coat armour:—

*Forsan et nostrum nomen miscbitur istis.*

At least, I hope you will, when you think of all that Lincoln's Inn has done for the law, and all that the law has done for England, join in our chaplain's prayer in the daily grace: "God preserve the Queen, the Church, and this honourable Society, and grant us His peace evermore."

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## LINCOLN'S INN AND ITS LIBRARY.

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BY WILLIAM HOLDEN SPILSBURY, LIBRARIAN.

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[*Read at a General Meeting of the Society in Lincoln's Inn Hall,  
15th May, 1873.*]

THE Inns of Court, fraught with a thousand reminiscences of the glory of his profession—the old chambers, with their strange angular projections; the ancient halls, wherein at one time was heard the grave and learned argument, and at another was held the solemn revel, where princes, nobles, and high officers of state were entertained as guests; those sacred edifices, where so many generations of his illustrious predecessors had knelt and prayed—all these memorials of the past must possess peculiar interest for the lawyer. But it is not only to the members of the legal profession that these edifices present themselves as objects of interest; among the antiquities of London the Inns of Court are pre-eminent; and by a glance at the earlier maps of the metropolis it may be seen that the space of ground between Temple Bar and Westminster was not, as in our own day, crowded with rows of houses, but presented a few mansions of the nobility, with fields and gardens interspersed; and, if the imagination be carried back to the thirteenth century, in the neighbourhood of Chancery Lane, at that time named the “New Street,” leading from the Temple to Old-bourne, may be observed the palace of the Bishops of Chichester, three of whom had held the Great Seal of England; the mansion of Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, the friend of King Edward I. whom, while Prince of Wales, he probably accompanied as a crusader to Palestine; and the beautiful church of the Knights Templars, then in all its pristine glory.

At this early period of English history, the ground now occupied by the buildings of Lincoln's Inn was the site of the mansions of persons of the highest eminence in the State, namely, that of Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, Lord High Chancellor of England in the reign of

Henry III., and Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, Constable of Chester, &c. The palace built by the Bishop on this spot is described as magnificent, and in this place he lived in a degree of splendour equal to any of his contemporary prelates. He is much eulogised by historians for his admirable qualities as a judge, and he is said to have been "a person of that integrity and fortitude that neither favour, money, or greatness could make any impression upon him." From the Earl of Lincoln, distinguished by his regard for the professors of the law, and the friend of a monarch who, on account of his improvement of the law, has been named the English Justinian, the possessions of Lincoln's Inn have derived their name. To this nobleman were granted the house and grounds which had belonged to the ancient monastery of Black Friars by Holborn, upon the removal of that community to the quarter which now bears their name, and here the Earl built his mansion, where he generally resided, and where he died, in 1312. There is still preserved in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster an account rendered by the Earl's bailiff of the profits arising from, and the expenditure upon, his garden in Holborn; from which curious document we learn that apples, pears, large nuts, and cherries, were produced in sufficient quantities, not only to supply the Earl's table, but also to yield a profit by their sale. The tradition that the Earl assigned his residence to the professors of the law does not seem in accordance with the statement of Dugdale that he died in his mansion in 1312. It is, however, the opinion of the learned antiquary Francis Thynne, that Lincoln's Inn became an Inn of Court soon after that nobleman's death.

The precincts of Lincoln's Inn comprise the Old Buildings (so called), with the courts in which are situated the old hall and chapel, New Square or Serle Court, the Stone Building, the New Hall and Library, and the Gardens.

THE OLD BUILDINGS, erected at various periods between the reigns of Henry VII. and James I., have their chief frontage on the east, about 500 feet in extent, in Chancery Lane. The suites of chambers, which at present occupy the courts, were built chiefly about the time of James I., and are now giving place to structures more in accordance with the ancient architecture. These will be built in divisions, so as to avoid the displacement of tenants before the new rooms are ready for occupation, and the first division is now in the course of erection on the vacant ground in one of the courts.

THE GATE-HOUSE, forming the principal external feature of the Old Buildings in Chancery Lane, has always been admired, and is now almost the only specimen remaining in London of so early a date. The magnificent gate-house of Lambeth Palace, built by Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, of somewhat earlier date; one of the gateways of the ancient priory of the Knights of St. John in Clerkenwell; and that of St. James's Palace, built for King Henry VIII., with this of Lincoln's Inn, are all that remain in the metropolis. It cannot, therefore, but be a subject of regret to all admirers of ancient architecture that the removal of this structure should be rendered necessary by the plan now in progress for rebuilding the suites of chambers of Lincoln's Inn. Liberal contribution was made towards the erection of this building by Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G. one of the Benchers of the Society, and Treasurer of the Household to King Henry VII., the merits of which eminent person have already been set forth by Mr. Brabrook, and it may be added here that his name is rendered familiar to us by Shakspeare's drama of "Henry VIII." where, advanced in age, as he must have been at that time, he is seen in the gay assemblage of lords and ladies in the mansion of Wolsey, and in the saloons of the bluff and arbitrary monarch.

THE OLD HALL. The ancient hall of the Society, situated in the first court, opposite the gate of entrance from Chancery Lane, is the oldest edifice of the Inn now remaining, having been built in 22 Henry VII. A.D. 1506. Respecting the earlier structure, which had become ruinous, and was pulled down in 8 Henry VII. to make room for the present edifice, there is no record as to its dimensions or character. Alterations were made in this hall in the years 1625, 1652, and 1706, and in 1819 the room was lengthened about ten feet, at which time the coved ceiling of plaster was substituted for the open oak roof, quite out of character with the original building, and other alterations were made not in accordance with the period of erection. The exterior was extensively repaired and stuccoed by Bernasconi in 1800, and the arcade, which affords a connecting corridor to the then Vice-Chancellor of England's Court, was built in 1819. The hall is about 71 feet in length, and 32 feet in breadth, the height about equal to the breadth, but it has lately been curtailed of its fair proportions, having been divided in the year 1853 into two parts,\* by permission of the Benchers,

\* Since the paper was read the partition has been removed.

for the sittings of the Lord Chancellor and the Lords Justices, until such time as suitable accommodation may be provided by the country for the administration of justice; and it may be added, that the intended New Courts of Justice, of which we have heard so much, and which have afforded such scope for pleasant or for acrimonious controversy in our journals, are now really in the course of erection, and it is hoped may be completed during the lives of the present judges.

On the dais, over the seat of the Lord Chancellor, is the picture of Paul before Felix, painted for the Society in 1750 by Hogarth; and at the opposite end of the room is a statue of Lord Erskine by Westmacott, regarded by some as one of the sculptor's finest works. The heraldic achievements in stained glass, with which the windows were formerly enriched, as well as those on the panels of the room, have been removed to the New Hall.

In this ancient hall were held all the revels of the Society, customary in early times, in which the Benchers themselves, laying aside their dignity, also indulged at particular seasons. The exercise of dancing was especially enjoined for the students, and was thought to conduce to the making of gentlemen more fit for their books at other times. One of the latest revels, at which King Charles II. was present, is noticed both by Evelyn and Pepys in their Diaries. On a second visit of that monarch, on the 27th of February, 1671, he was accompanied by his brother the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, and others of the nobility, and those illustrious and distinguished personages were admitted as members of the Hon. Society, having entered their names in the Admittance Book, where their signatures are preserved.

**THE CHAPEL.** This edifice, independently of the sacred purposes to which it is dedicated, possesses features of peculiar interest to the architect and antiquary. Erected at a period when architecture of a mixed character prevailed in most of our ecclesiastical structures, it has been the subject of much criticism, and has called forth various opinions both as regards its merits and its antiquity.

It had been the opinion of some antiquaries that the present building was a restoration or re-construction of a much earlier edifice. but an examination of the records of the Society, together with the testimony of an inscription in the handwriting of Dr. Donne, in which he states that the first stone was laid by his hand, proves

conclusively that the building was erected in the reign of James I., and that the old chapel was standing at the time of the consecration of the new building. The Chapel was built from the designs of Inigo Jones, and finished and consecrated in 1623; it is sixty-one feet in length, forty-one in breadth, and the height is about forty-four feet. The windows on the north and south sides are filled with a series of figures of prophets and apostles in brilliant stained glass, executed by Bernard and Abraham Van Linge, Flemish artists, whose works are among the most celebrated of their period. The great eastern and western windows, viewed in comparison with those on the sides, are very inferior in point of decoration. The eastern window contains a finely-executed heraldic embellishment, the arms of King William III. occupying the three central lights below the transom, above which are the arms of the Society of Lincoln's Inn; both of these were put up in 1703: the remainder of the window is filled with the arms of the Benchers who have been Treasurers from the year 1680. The western window contains the arms of eminent members of the Society who have been Readers.

In the porch is placed a cenotaph to the memory of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, with a mural tablet and inscription, and on the ascent to the chapel is a marble tablet to the memory of Eleanor Louisa, daughter of Lord Brougham, with an inscription in Latin verse, written by the late Marquis Wellesley in his 81st year.

With respect to the elevation of the chapel on a crypt, of which it is said there are very few examples remaining in this country, it may be observed that this mode of arrangement, connected with certain ritual observances, is sometimes found in towns, or wherever space was to be economised. Whatever may have been the original object in the case of Lincoln's Inn Chapel, whether the design was copied or not from the earlier edifice, or from that of St. Stephen's, it is evident that about the period of its erection it was used as an ambulatory, or place for lawyers "to walk in, to talk and confer their learning," from the allusions to this custom by Butler and Pepys cited by Mr. Cunningham in his *Hand-book for London*. The crypt is inclosed with iron railings, and is sometimes used, under certain restrictions, as a place of interment for the Benchers.

Within the walls of this sacred edifice many of the most distinguished and eloquent divines of the Church of England have exercised their ministry in the office of preacher to the Society, amongst whom shine

conspicuously the names of Donne, Usher, Gataker, Tillotson, Hurd, Warburton, the brothers Cyril and William Jackson, Reginald Heber, and in our own days those of Lonsdale Bishop of Lichfield, and the present Archbishop of York, Dr. Thomson. The earliest recorded appointment to this office is that of Dr. Charke in the year 1581.

There have also been instituted for the exercise of the sacred ministry in this Society the offices of assistant preacher and chaplain, the latter being the oldest ecclesiastical office in the Society, having existed certainly in the time of Henry VI., and probably from a much earlier period.

NEW SQUARE. The houses in this square were built in the reign of Charles II. upon an open space of ground generally said to have been known as Fickett's Fields (or more properly Fickett's Croft) or Little Lincoln's Inn Fields; by way of distinction from the larger area of Lincoln's Inn Fields; but a reference to some ancient maps shows rather that the ground formed part of the Coneygarth or Cotterell Garden. Henry Serle, Esq., a member of Lincoln's Inn, having laid claim to this ground, or to a portion of it, certain agreements were entered into between this gentleman and the Society, under which the houses were erected about the year 1682, and the area was originally named Serle Court, now more commonly called New Square. The open space, in the centre of which was formerly a Corinthian column on which was raised a vertical sun-dial, with four *jets d'eau* from infant Tritons holding shells at the base of the shaft, was inclosed and planted with trees and shrubs in the year 1845.

THE STONE BUILDING, so called from the material of which it is constructed, situated at the north-eastern extremity of the Gardens, was part of a vast design, in 1780, by Sir Robert Taylor, for rebuilding the whole Inn, which fortunately was abandoned. By keeping out of view all consideration of the impropriety of placing Corinthian architecture, in stone, in such immediate connection with the early picturesque gables of the adjacent houses, which were only of brick, this building has been highly praised for its elegance and simplicity.

Having been left for above sixty years in an unfinished state, it was completed in 1845 by Mr. Hardwick, who in the southern wing followed the original design; and the two wings, the only attempt at relief to the length of the façade, conform to each other.

The Library of the Society was in the northernmost wing, occupying several rooms on the ground floor, previously to its removal in 1845.

THE GARDENS of Lincoln's Inn were famous of old time, but have been greatly curtailed by the erection of the New Hall and Library, before which the venerable trees have fallen, and "the walks under the elms," celebrated by Ben Jonson, to which Isaac Bickerstaff delighted to resort, and indulge in quiet meditation, have disappeared. Enough however even now remains to give a very cheerful aspect to the surrounding buildings, and some compensation has been made by the planting of the area of New Square with trees and shrubs.

The walk under the trees in the Coneygarth, or Cotterell Garden, as it was then called, was made in the first year of Philip and Mary, and in the reign of Charles II. the garden was enlarged, and a terrace-walk made on the west side. The name of Coneygarth was derived from the quantity of rabbits found here, and by various ordinances of the Society in the reigns of Edward IV. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. penalties were imposed on the students hunting them with bows and arrows or darts; the name of Cotterell is from William Cotterell, by whom this garden is said to have been given to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in the year 1186.

In the erection of the garden-wall it is said Ben Jonson was employed in the early part of his life, assisting his father-in-law in his business, and working, as Fuller imagines, with a trowel in his hand, and a book in his pocket. The play of "Every Man out of his Humour" is dedicated by Ben Jonson to "the noblest nurseries of humanity and liberty, the Inns of Court."

Having taken this brief survey of the older edifices of this Inn, I have next to invite your attention to the principal features of the building in which you are now assembled.

In the year 1843, further accommodation being required for the increasing number of the members of the Society and the continued accumulation of books in the Library, the Benchers determined on the erection of a new Hall and Library, commensurate with the requirements of the age, and adopted the masterly designs submitted to them by Mr. Hardwick, who had before, in the erection of several public edifices, given evidence of talents of a superior order; and here the visitor will not have occasion to regret the failure of Sir Robert

Taylor's grand project for the reconstruction of the whole Inn, since in this instance the decided advantage of recurring to ancient models is abundantly manifest in the result. The four Inns of Court were once pleasantly characterised in the following distich:

Gray's Inn for walks, Lincoln's Inn for wall,  
The Inner Temple for a garden, and the Middle for a hall.

It will now doubtless be admitted that the architecture of Lincoln's Inn is deserving of notice for something beyond its wall, and in the splendour of its noble hall is enabled not only to vie with, but to surpass, the Middle Temple.

The foundation-stone of the new building was laid on the 20th of April, 1843, by Sir James Lewis Knight-Bruce, then Vice-Chancellor, and Treasurer of the Society, afterwards one of the Lords Justices on the first creation of that office, and on this stone is the following inscription:

Stet lapis, arboribus nudo defixus in horto,  
Fundamen pulchræ tempus in omne domus.  
Aula vetus lites et legum ænigmata servet,  
Ipsa nova exorior nobilitanda coquo.  
xij cal. Maij MDCCLXliij.

This inscription (Mr. Foss tells us) has been humorously translated by Sir George Rose:

The trees of yore  
Are seen no more,  
Unshaded now the garden lies;  
May the red bricks,  
Which here we fix,  
Be lasting as our equities.  
The olden dome  
With musty tome  
Of law and litigation suits;  
In this we look  
For a better Cook  
Than he who wrote the "Institutes."

The building was completed within the short space of two years and a half from the foundation. Standing on an elevated terrace, which affords a spacious promenade of nearly fifty feet in width, the edifice is so happily situated as to form one of the most conspicuously-placed architectural objects in the metropolis, whilst the accessories of foliage and vegetation, by which it is surrounded, harmonise and contrast admirably with the building.

On the completion of the building, the ceremony of inauguration took place on the 30th of October, 1845, being honoured by the presence of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, with H.R.H. Prince Albert. On this occasion the Queen received in the Library an address from the Benchers and Barristers of the Society, and, after a banquet in the hall, Prince Albert assented to their invitation to become a member of the Society.

Instead of attempting any elaborate description of the noble apartment in which I have the honour to address you, I feel that I cannot do better than invite the assembly to cast their eyes around them, and observe its spacious dimensions; the grandly proportioned bays containing the large windows, with their stained glass enriched with armorial bearings; the oak panelling of the sides with its coloured and gilt cornice; the carved screen with its arches and tracery, and its open arcade—the front of the gallery—where are presented six figures in high canopied niches, representing eminent members of the Society, (Sir Matthew Hale; Archbishop Tillotson; W. Murray, Earl of Mansfield; Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke; and W. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester;) and the beautiful timber-framed roof, its pendants enriched with gilding and colour, in which lightness, strength, and ornament are combined, and which is, in fact, designed with so much artistic feeling that it may vie with any of the examples of ancient open timber roofs now remaining.

The upper lights of the windows on either side contain the arms, crests, and mottoes of distinguished members of the Society, chronologically arranged from 1450 to 1843; and the lower divisions of each window are diapered with the letters L. I., the latter formed by the milrine, part of the arms of the Society. On the panelling of the dais are the full heraldic achievements, removed from the old hall, of Charles II., and the other royal and distinguished visitors of 1671 before-mentioned; and beneath these, and continued along the panels on either side of the hall, are the armorial bearings of legal dignitaries who have been members of the Society, and those of bishops who have held the office of preacher.

In the great southern window of this room is now placed the beautiful heraldic composition, designed by Mr. Willement, representing the arms of Queen Victoria; the brilliant colours and the broad treatment of the design of which make it one of the finest examples of this splendid mode of embellishment. This ornament has lately been

brought here from the library, where it occupied originally the whole of the lower division of the window immediately facing the doors. By Mr. Willement the other armorial insignia in this room and in the Library were also designed.

The oriel window on the eastern side contains all the stained glass removed from the old hall, consisting of the armorial insignia of noblemen, legal dignitaries, &c. The western oriel contains in the upper lights the arms of Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester; Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln; William de Haverhyll, Treasurer to King Henry III.; Edward Sulyard, esq. by whom the inheritance of the premises of Lincoln's Inn was transferred to the Society, and those of Lincoln's Inn. The arms of King Charles II., James Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, are in the middle of the window; and beneath these are the arms of Prince Albert.

The noble fresco painting on the wall above the dais was executed in 1859 by Mr. George Frederick Watts, who obtained one of the highest class prizes at the first Westminster Hall competition. The work represents an imaginary assemblage of the great early law-givers of various nations, from Moses down to Edward I., and has been entitled "The School of Legislation," as bearing some analogy to Raphael's fresco of the "School of Athens" in the Vatican. It has been said that "this fresco is conspicuously distinguished from all the mural decorations hitherto executed in this country by its architectural character, seeming to fit into and form part of the hall it adorns."

The busts ranged along the dais, on either side of the folding doors, are those of Lord Brougham, Lord Denman, and Lord Lyndhurst.

Beneath this hall is an apartment forming an essential appendage to all collegiate establishments, namely, the kitchen. This lofty and spacious room is 45 feet square and 20 feet high; the ceiling is vaulted, and supported on massive pillars and bold arches. Besides the vast fire-place, one of the largest in England, the kitchen is well furnished with stoves and all necessary appliances for the exercise of the culinary art.

**COUNCIL CHAMBER AND DRAWING ROOM.** The folding doors from the dais of the hall open into a spacious vestibule, 58 feet in length by 22 in width, on the eastern side of which is the Council Chamber, and on the western side the Drawing Room. The walls of these rooms are adorned with portraits of legal dignitaries and eminent members of the

Society, and also with a valuable and extensive collection of engravings from portraits of legal dignitaries, eminent prelates, &c. from an early period, a great number of whom have been connected with the Society, There is also a large painting of the athlete, Milo of Crotona, by Giorgione, and a drawing in water colours, by Joseph Nash, of the interior of the hall, as seen at the ceremony of inauguration.

THE LIBRARY. The oaken folding doors directly opposite to those of the Hall open into the Library. This noble apartment was originally 80 feet in length, but so rapid has been the accumulation of books, that, at the end of a quarter of a century after its erection, it has been found necessary that it should be enlarged, and it has accordingly just received an addition to its length of fifty-one feet. In the extension of the building the original plan was adhered to; the execution of the work was entrusted to Sir Gilbert Scott; the great oriel at the eastern extremity was taken down stone by stone, and re-erected in the same form. The dimensions are now 130 feet in length from east to west (exclusive of the depth of the great oriels at the extremities, which are each about six feet more), the breadth 40 feet, and the height 44 feet. The admiration excited by the lofty proportions of this room is heightened by the excellence of the plan of its arrangement, and by the whole of its internal decoration. The roof, of open oak, differs in composition from that of the Hall, but is equally remarkable for skill and elegance in its design. The oriel windows, as well as the windows on the southern side, are enriched with heraldic insignia, displaying arms of the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn. Convenient access is afforded to all the book-cases by light iron galleries carried round the projecting piers, or by the upper galleries, which extend through the whole length of the room; and these galleries are easily reached by stone staircases at the end of the room, or by iron spiral staircases, one at each corner.

In the extension, a handsome turret has been built at the south-eastern angle, containing a spiral staircase leading from the garden up to the Library, by which means the main building is relieved from much of the traffic incidental to the use of the Library.

The original foundation of the Library of Lincoln's Inn is of earlier date than that of any now existing in the metropolis—I say now existing—for the libraries which were of earlier foundation have for the most part perished. The Library of the City of London, founded

by Richard Whittington in 1421, underwent much spoliation, a certain nobleman, for instance, having at one time borrowed about three cart-loads of books which were not returned; and the remainder perished in the great fire of London. Of the old library of St. Paul's, built by Walter Shirleyngton, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the reign of Henry VI., there now remain only two or three manuscripts; the present library owes its existence chiefly to Bishop Compton. Lambeth Library was founded by Archbishop Bancroft, 1604-10; and Sion College in the reign of Charles I.

In the 13th year of the reign of Henry VII. A.D. 1497, John Nethersale, "late one of this Society, bequeathed forty marks, partly towards the building of a Library here for the benefit of the students of the laws of England, and partly that every priest of this house, in the celebration of divine service every Friday, should sing a mass of requiem, &c., for the soul of the said John."

The building, the site of which is not now known, was finished in the 24th Henry VII. Previously to their removal to the present edifice, the books occupied a suite of rooms in the Stone Building, to which they had been transferred in the year 1787 from the Old Square.

There are various entries in the records of the Society relating to the Library in the reign of Elizabeth. It seems, however, that little progress was made in the accumulation of books; for, at a Council held in 6 James I., A.D. 1608, "because the Library was not well furnished with books, it was ordered that, for the more speedy doing thereof, every one that should thenceforth be called to the bench in this Society should give twenty shillings towards the buying of books for the same Library; and every one thenceforth called to the bar thirteen shillings and four pence; all which sums to be paid to Mr. Matthew Hadde, who for the better ordering of the said Library was then made Master thereof." Three years afterwards it was ordered that Mr. Hadde, thus constituted the first Master of the Library, an office now held in annual rotation by each Bencher, "should buy and provide for the Library 'Fleta,' and such other old books and manuscripts of the law, and to cause those that be ill bound to be new bound." At a subsequent meeting it was ordered "that ten pounds should be paid by Mr. Hadde out of the money received from Sir William Sedley for copies of 'Corpus Juris Civilis,' in six volumes, and 'Corpus Juris Canonici,' in three volumes, and that he should

cause them to be bound with bosses without chains,\* and pay the charges of binding out of that money."

The Library has been enriched at various periods by donations from members of the Society, as well as from the directors and curators of libraries and institutions, the public authorities, and the liberality of private individuals.

One of the earliest of these benefactors was Ranulph Cholmeley, Serjeant-at-Law, Recorder of the City of London, and three times Reader at Lincoln's Inn in the reigns of Edward VI., Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth. To him the Library is indebted for several rare volumes of the early Year-Books, four of which had belonged to William Rastell, nephew of Sir Thomas More, and one of the Judges of Common Pleas, and contain his autograph; a very beautiful copy of the first edition of Fitzherbert's Abridgment; a manuscript of Bracton of the fourteenth century; and several other books. The Year-books, as well as some other volumes presented by him, chiefly in the original oak binding, had a small paper label, on which was written the title of the work, with the name of the donor, curiously fastened on the side of the covers under a piece of transparent horn; but, in consequence of the decay of the oak covers, which were crumbling to powder, these volumes have been re-bound.

Among other benefactors are to be mentioned the names of the celebrated William Prynne, who, besides copies of his own multifarious writings, presented the invaluable work known as his "Records," and several other books, many of which contain inscriptions in his own handwriting; Sir Matthew Hale, who bequeathed a large and valuable

\* It was formerly the custom in public libraries to fasten books with chains to the shelves or book-cases; and many of the volumes in *Lincoln's Inn Library* still retain, attached to their covers, the iron rings by which they were secured. In these cases an iron rod was passed through the rings of the books, as they were ranged on the shelves, and fastened by a padlock at the end; a usage practised till the last century in most collegiate and public libraries.

A curious instance of what certainly has some appearance of laxity in the custody of libraries in former times is thus naïvely related by Dugdale in his account of the Middle Temple: "They now have no Library, so that they cannot attain to the knowledge of divers learnings, but to their great charges, by the buying of such bookes as they lust to study. They had a simple Library, in which were not many bookes besides the law; and that Library, by meanes that it stood allwayes open, and that the learners had not each of them a key unto it, it was at the last robbed and spoiled of all the bookes in it."—Orig. Jurid. p. 197, ed. 1608.

collection of manuscripts; John Brydall, esq. author of many legal works, who in 1706 gave a collection of pamphlets, chiefly theological and political, some of them very curious; John Coxe, esq. a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, who in 1785 bequeathed his library, consisting of many manuscripts in his own handwriting, together with about 5000 volumes of printed books; and the late Charles Purton Cooper, esq. also a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, who presented nearly 2000 volumes of books on the civil law and the laws of foreign nations, in various languages.

At the time of the removal of the books to the new building in 1845 the number of volumes was about 18,000, but the number is now increased to nearly 40,000. In addition to a collection of law books, admitted to be the most complete in this country, the shelves of the Library are well furnished with books in historical and various other classes of literature; and, if the audience will have patience to listen, we will take a survey of these classes in somewhat systematic order, beginning with that of English law.

ENGLISH LAW. How vast has been the increase of books on the study and practice of the law since the days of Lord Chief Justice Coke may be seen by reference to the preface of one of the volumes of his Lordship's reports, where, after observing that "right profitable are the ancient books of the common law yet extant, as Granville, Bracton, Britton," &c., and mentioning several of them with commendation (about twenty or thirty in number), he continues: "then have you *fifteen* books or treatises, and as many volumes of the Reports, besides the Abridgments of the Common Law, for I speak not of the Statutes and Acts of Parliament, whereof there be divers great volumes." In addition to the fifteen treatises here mentioned by Lord Coke, the Library now contains about 1,200 volumes of treatises on the Law; about as many volumes of reports; of abridgments of the law about 50 volumes; and the statute law is extended to nearly 50 volumes in quarto.

Law-books were among the earliest works that issued from the press in England on the invention of the art of printing. It does not appear, however, that any of these were given to the public by the Father of the English press, with the exception of the statutes of Henry VII. printed by William Caxton shortly before his decease.

The first of the Abridgments of the Law, written by Nicholas

Statham, who was Baron of the Exchequer in the reign of Edward IV., is comprised in 380 pages; the Abridgment of Mr. Charles Viner, published about the middle of the last century, is in 24 vols. folio, of which a second edition was published in 24 vols. 8vo. 1791-94, and a Supplement in 6 vols. 8vo. 1799-1806.

It was observed by an eminent lawyer that "a mind anxious for information and the discovery of truth will be amply gratified for the toil in investigating the origin and progress of a jurisprudence which has the good of the people for its basis, and the accumulated wisdom of ages for its improvement." "There is not, in my opinion," says Sir James Mackintosh, "in the whole compass of human affairs, so noble a spectacle as that which is displayed in the progress of jurisprudence; where we may contemplate the unwearied exertions of a succession of wise men, through a long course of ages, withdrawing every case, as it arrives, from the dangerous power of discretion, and subjecting it to inflexible rules."

But I hasten to relieve the dismay of this audience, if they imagine I am about to enter into a dissertation on the various merits of the treatises on English law that are arranged on the shelves of this Library, pausing only to mention one of the writers, who, notwithstanding the changes that of late years have taken place in the law, has been still able to hold his ground, though of course often obliged to change his front—I mean Sir William Blackstone.

"It has been well observed that the cannonade which for the last half-century has been playing on the Commentaries, exposing as they do so wide a front, has rendered them, as they were left by their author, a mere wreck. Edition after edition has been called for, and given by editors more or less eminent. But, in spite of all the alterations, much still remains, not only unaltered, but unequalled for correctness and beautiful statement." In Colonel Fremont's account of his disastrous exploring expedition across the Rocky Mountains there is an interesting note relative to his perusal of these volumes. He states that while encamped on the side of the wintry mountain, 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, with the thermometer at zero, and the country buried in snow, the volumes of Blackstone's Commentaries, which he had taken from the library of his wife's father, formed his Christmas amusements. He read them to pass the time and kill the consciousness of his situation. "You may well suppose," he adds, "that my first law lessons will be well remembered."

**REPORTS.** I will now offer a few observations on the collections of reports. "The practice of collecting judicial decisions," says M. Dupin, "is of great antiquity. Craterus, the favourite of Alexander the Great, was the author of a work, the loss of which is much regretted by the learned; it was a collection of Athenian laws, amongst which were the decisions of the Areopagus and the Council of Amphictyons. The Roman lawyers often quote the judgments of the Prætors, and the ordinances of other magistrates." That this practice prevailed at an early period in England is shown by a passage in Chaucer.—

In termes hadde he cas and domes alle,  
That from the time of King Will. weren falle.

The reports of cases in England are extant in a regular series from the reign of Edward II. inclusive; from whose time to that of Henry VIII. they were taken by the prothonotaries or chief scribes of the court at the expense of the crown, and published annually, whence they are known under the denomination of the Year-Books. Many volumes of these Year-books, as first printed in separate years and terms by Pynson, Redman, Berthelet, &c. are in the Library of Lincoln's Inn. When the ten volumes of the Year-Books were printed by subscription in 1679, they were recommended by the judges to all students and professors of the law, as an essential part of their study; and Serjeant Maynard is said by Roger North to have had such a relish of the old Year-Books that he carried one in his coach to divert his time in travel, and chose it before any comedy. When the compilation of the Year-Books was discontinued, the Reports were published at various times by men eminent in the legal profession, such as Edmund Plowden, Sir James Dyer, Sir Edward Coke, &c.; but the regular periodical publication of reports did not take place till the latter part of the last century; and since that time the multiplication of reports had become so inconvenient that in the year 1866 a new system of reporting was established under the direction of a body named the Council of Law Reporting, the object of which was the preparation of one complete set of reports, by barristers of known ability, to be published with promptitude and regularity.

**STATUTES.** The importance of these enactments in the study of history as well as in the attainment of a scientific knowledge of the law is very evident. "Our Acts of Parliament," says Bishop

Nicholson, "give often such fair hints of the humours most prevailing at the time of their being enacted, that many parts of our history may be recovered from them, especially if compared with the writers, either in divinity or morality, about the same date." The Library of Lincoln's Inn possesses copies of all the principal editions of the Statutes, from the volumes printed by Berthelet, the King's printer in the time of Henry VIII., to those of the present day.

**TRIALS.** Collections of trials are valuable not only to the lawyer, but afford rich materials for the study of history, indicating in some degree the character of the times in which they occur, the manners and habits of the people, as well as their moral and intellectual condition. The trials of former times give life and reality, and what may be termed dramatic effect, to history; and exhibit a great variety of character under circumstances of difficulty and danger. Besides the various editions of the State Trials, the Library possesses a large collection of criminal and civil trials; a set of the trials at the Sessions of the Old Bailey, now the Central Criminal Court, from 1730 to the present time, a portion of which set was formerly in the magnificent library of the Duke of Roxburghe; and a collection of papers, printed and manuscript, bound in 58 volumes, folio, relative to the memorable trial of Warren Hastings. This trial called forth some of the most brilliant speeches of Burke, Fox, and Sheridan; and an unpublished speech of the latter is found in the collection. The collection belonged formerly to Mr. Adolphus.

**CIVIL AND FOREIGN LAW.** The importance of the study of the Civil or Roman Law, and the great influence which that law has exercised over the judicial institutions of England, as well as of other European nations, are now generally admitted. It was observed by Sir Matthew Hale, "that the true grounds and reasons of law were so well delivered in the Digest, that a man could never understand law as a science so well as by seeking it there."

The Library is very rich in works on the civil law, containing, besides the best editions of the "Corpus Juris Civilis," some fine early printed editions of the Code and Digest, and the edition of the Pandects, printed by Torrentini at Florence in 1553, a large collection of the works of all the principal commentators, as Cujas, Doneau, Du Moulin, Alciati, Pothier, &c.

With respect to the "Codex Legum Antiquarum," a collection containing the Codes of the Visigoths, Lombards, Franks, Burgundians, and other "barbarous" nations, it has been mentioned as a curious fact that law should be "attached not to place but to persons—a sort of moveable chattel, or piece of household furniture, which each individual shall be at liberty to transport with himself from place to place, in every capricious change of his abode. Such, however, was the law of the dark ages. The Lombard, the Goth, the Frank, the Burgundian, the Saxon, the Roman, residing in the same district, all enjoyed their separate laws." It constantly happens, says Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, in a letter to Louis le Debonaire, that, of five persons who are walking or sitting together, not one is subject to the same law as the other.

FOREIGN LAW. On the laws of France, Spain, Germany, and the other nations of Europe, the Library possesses a rich and extensive collection of authors. Among those on the law of Germany are some curious specimens of early printing, as *Der Sachsenspiegel*, printed at *Augsburg in 1484*, and the *Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV.*, also printed in 1484, at *Ulm*. Among those on Danish law are two volumes beautifully printed in large Gothic characters at *Copenhagen in 1683*; both of these had been used by King *Frederick IV.* when presiding in the *College of the Chief Tribunal*.

In the class of THEOLOGY the Library possesses the two celebrated Polyglot Bibles, viz., the *Antwerp Polyglot* and the *London Polyglot*; the *Hebrew Bible of Dr. Kennicott*; the *Septuagint by Holmes and Parsons*; the *Greek Testaments of Robert Stephens, Mill, Wetstein, &c.*; Latin and other versions of the sacred text; most of the *Greek and Latin Fathers*; *Collections and Histories of Councils*; the principal *ecclesiastical historians*; and a large collection of the works of the *most eminent divines of the Church of England*. Among the Latin versions of the Bible is that with the *Comentary of Nicholas de Lyra*, in six vols. folio, given to the Society by *Dr. Donne*, with an inscription in his handwriting on the fly-leaf of the first volume, in which he alludes to his change of life, and transition from the study of the law, and various other pursuits, to the sacred office of the ministry.

In the class of ENGLISH HISTORY are found the most valuable historians, from the early period of *Gildas and Nennius* to those of our

own era, as Sharon Turner, Lingard, Mackintosh, Macaulay, Froude, &c. Here are also the publications of Thomas Hearne; the Chronicles of Monstrelet, Holinshed, &c.; of the latter the original editions of 1577 and 1586-7. Time does not suffice to do more than mention the collections of State Papers, and the very valuable publications still in progress of the Master of the Rolls. But I must steal a minute (with your permission) to speak of an acquisition of great value and interest in this class made in the year 1849, that of a volume, the very existence of which was unknown to bibliographers until a recent period.

This is the volume, forming the INTRODUCTION to Prynne's Records, purchased at the sale of the Duke of Buckingham's library at Stowe, and supposed to be the only copy extant.

Three volumes of this remarkable work, entitled "An exact Chronological Vindication and Historical Demonstration of our British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, English King's Supreme Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in and over all Spiritual Affairs, Causes, Persons, as well as Temporal, within their realms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and other Dominions, from the original planting of Christian Religion therein," &c., had been given to the Society by the author, William Prynne, who was one of the Benchers of this Inn.

The first volume of the work commences with Book the Second; and this Introduction is called Book the First; the pages are partly occupied with arguments maintaining that the supreme ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction over all persons and causes resides in the civil magistrate; and contain a history of the gradual encroachments of the papal power. The volume terminates, unfinished, at page 400, with the words, "*coepiscopi tui et coma*," and is without title-page.

It is supposed that not more than twenty-five sets of the three volumes exist, most of the copies of the first volume, and a great number of the second, together with this introduction, having perished at the house of the printer in the Great Fire of London, and it is worthy of remark that this loss occurred to the author, whilst he himself was occupied in endeavouring to rescue the public records of the kingdom from destruction. It is probable that the introductory volume had been reserved in the author's hands for his own use during the progress of the work through the press; and that, if any other copies were rescued from the flames, they have since perished, from the circumstance of their being unfinished, and without title-page, and having consequently

been disregarded by persons into whose hands they may have fallen.

In the department of TOPOGRAPHY the Library is especially rich, possessing descriptions of every county in England which can boast of its historian, beside numerous histories of particular towns and parishes, from the Perambulation of Kent by William Lambarde in 1570, the first separate county history that was published, to the History of Buckinghamshire by Dr. George Lipscomb, and the recent work (unfinished) on the county of Suffolk by the Rev. James Suckling. I will only pause to mention the names of the author of the "Monasticon Anglicanum," Sir William Dugdale; of the historian of Leicestershire, John Nichols; of Cheshire, George Ormerod; of Surrey, Manning and Bray; of Wiltshire, Sir Richard Colt Hoare; the History of Richmondshire, by Thomas Dunham Whitaker, remarkable for the elegance of its descriptions, as well as for the beauty of its illustrations by engravings from the pencil of Turner; and the History of Durham, by Richard Surtees of Mainsforth, the friend and correspondent of Sir Walter Scott, distinguished by the fidelity of the engravings of ancient seals and other excellences.

Among the engravings in Strype's edition of Stow's Survey of London is a "Prospect of Lincoln's Inn," as it appeared in 1720. In this view is seen the Corinthian column, with the fountain, in the area of Serle Court, and various figures exhibiting the costumes and equipages of the period. In the gardens, here laid out with straight walks, according to the taste of the time, with rows of trees and a fountain, may be observed some of the statues described by Hatton in his View of London, "whether finely done in metal, or lively represented carved in fine white marble." These are Julius Cæsar; Augustus; Pompey the Great, described as "sprightly carved in stone;" and Mark Antony, "with a dagger wherewith he slew himself."

FOREIGN HISTORY. In a cursory glance at the class of Foreign History in the Library, the visitor will notice the collections of Grævius and Gronovius in illustration of Greek and Roman Antiquities; the "Monumens de la Monarchie Française," by Montfaucon; the "Rerum Italicarum Scriptores" of Muratori; and those splendid publications, the "Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France," begun by Dom Bouquet in 1738, and continued by Dom Brial and

other Benedictines of St. Maur; and the "Monumenta Rerum Germanicarum," by George Henry Pertz. With these will be found also the principal works on the history of each nation of Europe, as well as many on American and on Oriental History.

**GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS.** The works of nearly all the Greek and Roman authors, to whom as poets, philosophers, orators, or historians the name of the CLASSICS has been given by the common consent of the world of letters, are to be found in the Library; but the editions in general are not those which are remarkable for their rarity or typographical splendour, but rather for their critical merits, as those of Böckh, Wesseling, Schweighäuser, Becker, Bentley, Gaisford, &c.

**DICTIONARIES.** The word does not sound inviting, but how infinitely the world is indebted to the erudition and patient industry of the authors of dictionaries and grammars, must be evident upon a few moments' reflection. By the aid of these silent guides the boundless fields of literature and science are opened to the view of the student, and he is enabled to hold converse with the mightiest spirits of all lands. With these keys to the languages of ancient and modern nations, I think it may be said that the Library is fairly, if not richly, stored.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY.** In the class of Bibliography, and the History of Literature, and the Catalogues of Public Libraries, most of the principal works are to be found here; and this may be a fitting place to mention many eminent members of the legal profession who have been distinguished as collectors of books. One of the first of these was Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesey, whose name appears at the head of the Readers of Lincoln's Inn, to whom Prynne dedicated the third volume of his Records. Another eminent collector was Philip Carteret Webb, of Lincoln's Inn, the sale of whose library in 1771 occupied seventeen days. Then follows the name of Matthew Duane, also of Lincoln's Inn, a collector of books and coins. Among those of the present century it may suffice to mention the names of Serjeant Heywood, Baron Bolland, Justice Littledale, John Miller, B. H. Bright, Sutton Sharpe, Louis Hayes Petit, C. P. Cooper, and Clement Tudway Swanston.

In the class of POETRY AND THE DRAMA I will only mention that the illustrious writers of the Elizabethan and later eras, with some of

earlier date, find their place here, but not many as yet of modern times have been admitted; and in other branches of polite literature may be observed the works of Swift, Addison, Johnson, Fielding, with other chieftains of mighty name in those noble ranks. In the department of mental and natural philosophy we can only glance at the names of Bacon, Boyle, Locke, Newton, Leibnitz, &c. Of the writers on modern science there is yet but a scanty array; but so rapid and important have been the discoveries of late years in its various branches, that of necessity, ere long, an entrance must be accorded to the volumes which contain its wondrous records.

And now, having thus long occupied your attention with subjects that could hardly fail to interest if worthily treated, viz. buildings and books—I have to thank you for the patience with which you have listened to these remarks, and to solicit your indulgence for all the shortcomings; and, if you should desire further information on the subject of “Lincoln’s Inn and its Library,” I may perhaps be permitted to mention that the details are already before the public in a little work written some years ago by the author of this paper.

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## Proceedings at General Meetings.

(Continued from Vol. III. p. 559.)

### FORTY-SECOND GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the VESTRY HALL, WILLESDEN, on Tuesday, 13th July, 1869,

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A. F.S.A. Vice-President, in the  
Chair.

The following papers were read:—

“Notes on the Parish Church of St. Mary, Willesden,” by the  
Rev. J. CRANE WHARTON, M.A. F.G.S.

“Notes on the Parish and Registers of St. Mary, Willesden,” by  
F. A. WOOD, Esq.

“Remarks on the Miraculous Image of Our Lady at Willesden,” by  
J. G. WALLER, Esq.

The Members and their friends then proceeded to the Parish Church  
of Willesden, and from thence to Perivale Church, where J. G.  
WALLER, Esq. contributed a paper on the “Brasses and Painted  
Glass.”

Great Greenford Church was next visited, and a paper read “On  
the Church and Registers” by Major ALFRED HEALES, F.S.A.

The Company next proceeded to Northolt Church, where a paper  
was read “On the Church Registers and objects of Archæological  
interest in Northolt,” by GEORGE HARRIS, Esq. F.S.A.

Votes of thanks having been unanimously accorded to the Clergy  
and the Readers of the several Papers, the Members and their friends  
adjourned to the grounds of Mr. Gurney (kindly lent for the  
occasion), where a marquee had been erected and a collation provided.

This terminated the day's proceedings.

FORTY-THIRD GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the HALL of the WORSHIPFUL COMPANY of CLOTHWORKERS,  
MINCING LANE (by permission of the Master and Wardens), on  
Thursday, 26th May, 1870,

Mr. Alderman T. Q. FINNIS, V.P. in the Chair.

Papers were read as follows:—

“A Brief History of the Company of Clothworkers,” by CHARLES FREDERICK ANGELL, Esq. F.S.A. (a Member of the Court of Assistants).

“A Descriptive Account of the Records and Documents of the Company of Clothworkers,” by WILLIAM HENRY BLACK, Esq. F.S.A.

A description of the plate of the Company having been given by GEORGE LAMBERT, Esq. the thanks of the Society were unanimously voted to the Master and Wardens of the Company for the use of their Hall; to Mr. Roberts, the Clerk of the Company, for his kind co-operation; and to the Readers of Papers.

The Members and their friends then proceeded to the Church of Allhallows Staining, Mark Lane, where the early books of the parish were exhibited by permission of the Churchwardens, and a paper read upon the history of the Church by the Honorary Secretary.

The Company next visited the Church of St. Mary-at-Hill, St. Mary's Hill, Billingsgate, where the plate and parish records were exhibited by permission of the Rector.

After which they proceeded to the Church of St. Dionis Backchurch, Fenchurch Street, where the early books of the parish were exhibited by the Rector and Churchwardens, and a paper was read by WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, Esq. F.S.A. V.P. “Upon the History of the Church.”

This terminated the day's proceedings.

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FORTY-FOURTH GENERAL AND FIFTEENTH ANNUAL  
MEETING,

Held at the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, No. 22, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY  
SQUARE, on Monday, 11th July, 1870.

J. W. BUTTERWORTH, Esq. F.S.A. in the Chair.

The Notice convening the Meeting was read.

The Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet, examined and found correct by the Auditors, having been read as follows:—

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

Your Council have to congratulate the Society on another year of success. The new Members number 57, while those removed by death and other causes are but few.

Since the last Annual Meeting the following General Meetings have been held: viz.—

July 13th, 1869. To Willesden, Perivale, Great Greenford, and Northolt; also

May 26th, 1870. To the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers, and the churches of Allhallows Staining, St. Mary-at-Hill, and St. Dionis Backchurch.

Part X. of the Society's Transactions, completing vol. iii. with index, &c. has been issued to the Members for the subscription of 1869. By an arrangement mutually advantageous, a quarto publication comprising a description of the Roman pavement recently discovered in Bucklersbury, and other remains of Roman London, has been produced by the Corporation of London jointly with this Society, and has been issued to the Members for the subscription of 1870. Your Council trust that this will prove to be the first of many instances in which that great Corporation will unite with this Society in labours tending to the preservation and record of monuments of antiquity in London.

Your Council regret to announce that a vacancy has arisen in the office of Honorary Secretary by the retirement of Mr. Thomas Milbourn, who had discharged the duties of that office with zeal and fidelity during the last three years.

Your Council have placed since the last Annual Meeting the following early and valued members of the Society on the list of Vice-Presidents, viz.: Charles Roach Smith, Esq. F.S.A. and William Durrant Cooper, Esq. F.S.A.

The Council in conclusion desire to impress upon the members how much they may contribute to the success and usefulness of the Society, not only by introducing their friends to the Society, but also by contributing objects of antiquity or notices of discoveries for exhibition or discussion at the Evening Meetings of the Society. These meetings have been attended with great success during the present year, especially since they have been held at University College, by the kind permission of the authorities of that body.

The CASH ACCOUNT of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY from the 5th JULY, 1869, to the 11th JULY, 1870.

| <i>Cr.</i> 1869-70.  | £ s. d.         | <i>Dr.</i> 1869-70.  | £ s. d.         |
|--|-----------------|--|-----------------|
| To Balance at Bankers at last Audit  | 59 2 3          | To Rent of Society's Rooms to Lady   |                 |
| „ Subscriptions and Entrance Fees  |                 | Day 1870 . . . . .   | 20 0 0          |
| 1869-70 . . . . .  | 212 11 0        | „ Sachs, Engraver . . . . .  | 19 11 0         |
| Received by Sale of Transactions . . . . .   | 16 6 6          | „ Messrs. Nichols, balance of Account for Part IX. . . . .                 | 36 7 6          |
| Donation of Vintners' Company towards Illustration of Ancient Hearse Cloth . . . . . | 10 10 0         | „ Part X. . . . .  | 80 0 0          |
|  |                 | „ Mr. Emslie, Lithographer . . . . .                                       | 5 16 0          |
|  |                 | „ Mr. Collingridge, Printer . . . . .                                      | 2 6 6           |
|  |                 | „ Mr. Ivatts, one year's Salary to Christmas 1869 . . . . .                | 10 0 0          |
|  |                 | „ „ Account for Delivery of Transactions . . . . .                         | 11 15 2         |
|  |                 | „ „ Commission on Collection . . . . .                                     | 6 4 7           |
|  |                 | „ Mr. Scott, Printing and Stationery . . . . .                             | 27 13 0         |
|  |                 | „ Mr. Mitchener, Printer . . . . .   | 1 7 6           |
|  |                 | „ Mr. Farmer, Gas, Firing, and Refreshments for Evening Meetings . . . . . | 6 1 0           |
|  |                 | „ Mr. Franklin, for Drawing of Hearse Cloth . . . . .                      | 5 5 0           |
|  |                 | „ Honorary Secretary, for Petty Cash . . . . .                             | 10 0 0          |
|  |                 | „ Director of Evening Meetings, for Petty Cash . . . . .                   | 10 0 0          |
|  |                 | „ Balance at Bankers at present Audit . . . . .                            | 46 1 10         |
|  |                 | Overpaid in error, Ivatts . . . . .  | 0 0 8           |
|  | <u>£298 9 9</u> |  | <u>£298 9 9</u> |

It was Resolved: "That the said Report and Balance Sheet be received, adopted, and printed."

The Honorary Secretary presented a Report of the Assets and Liabilities of the Society.

Resolved: "That the thanks of this Meeting are due and are hereby given to the Patrons, President, and Vice-Presidents for their services during the past year."

Resolved: "That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Treasurer for his able services during the past year."

Resolved: "That the best thanks of this Meeting be given to the Council for their Report, and for their services during the past year."

Resolved: "That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Honorary Secretary for his services during the past year."

Resolved: "That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. Price, Director of Evening Meetings, for his able services during the past year."

Resolved: "That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Auditors for their services in auditing the accounts of the Society for the past year."

The Meeting then proceeded to the election of Officers and Council for the ensuing year, and the following were unanimously chosen:—

Patrons as before.

President as before.

Vice-Presidents as before, with the addition of Charles Reed, Esq. M.P. F.S.A.

Treasurer as before.

Trustees as before, with the addition of John Orde Hall, Esq.

Council:—

C. Baily, Esq.

J. W. Baily, Esq.

E. J. Barron, Esq. F.S.A.

W. H. Black, Esq. F.S.A.

J. W. Butterworth, Esq. F.S.A.

H. Campkin, Esq. F.S.A.

G. A. Cape, Esq.

H. C. Coote, Esq. F.S.A.

J. Franklin, Esq.

G. R. French, Esq.

J. E. Gardner, Esq. F.S.A.

T. Milbourn, Esq.

B. B. Orridge, Esq. F.G.S.

Rev. W. S. Simpson, F.S.A.

E. Smith, M.D. F.R.S.

J. G. Waller, Esq.

R. Westwood, Esq.

J. Whichcord, Esq. F.S.A.

A. White, Esq. F.S.A. F.L.S.

Honorary Secretaries: Mr. E. W. Brabrook, Mr. J. E. Price.

Director of Evening Meetings as before.

Auditors: Mr. G. Lambert, Mr. T. F. Peacock.

Bankers as before.

Collector as before.

The following Resolutions were subsequently proposed and carried:—

Resolved: "That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Authorities of the University College for the use of the Rooms of the College during the past year for the purposes of the Evening Meetings of the Society."

Resolved: "That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. Brabrook for the kind offer of his Chambers as a place of deposit for the Library of the Society and as a place of Meeting for the Council."

Resolved: "That the thanks of this Meeting be given to J. W. Baily, Esq. and other gentlemen who have kindly contributed antiquities for exhibition at the several Evening Meetings."

Resolved: "That the thanks of this Meeting be given to those gentlemen who have materially aided in the success of the Evening Meetings during the past Session by preparing and reading papers at the same."

Resolved: "That the sincere thanks of this Society are due and are given (through the Library Committee) to the Corporation of the City of London for the opportunity afforded to this Society to assist them in the illustration of the valuable antiquities lately discovered in the City; and the Society desire to express the hope that many opportunities may arise to continue this alliance."

Resolved: "That thanks be given to the London Stone Committee for the aid they have rendered in placing an appropriate inscription over that interesting relic of antiquity."

Resolved: "That it be referred to the Council to consider the question of the loan of books to Members of the Society."

A vote of thanks having been unanimously given to the Chairman, the proceedings terminated.

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#### FORTY-FIFTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the SCHOOL-ROOM, MONKEN HADLEY, by permission of the  
 Rev. F. C. CASS, Rector, on Tuesday, September 13th, 1870,  
 J. R. DANIEL-TYSSSEN, Esq. F.S.A. Vice-President in the  
 Chair.

The following papers were read:—

By Mr. W. H. BLACK, F.S.A. "On the Ancient Topography of Barnet."

By Mr. T. F. PEACOCK, "On Barnet and its neighbourhood."

Thanks were voted unanimously—

To the Rector of Hadley for the use of the school-room;

To the Readers of Papers;

To the Earl of Strafford for permission to pass through Wrotham Park;

To the Chairman.

The Society then proceeded to Monken Hadley Church, where a paper was read by the Rev. F. C. CASS, the Rector.

To South Mims Church, where a paper by Mr. E. WRIGHT was read by the Rev. C. THOMPSON, the Rector.

To Hadley, where a collation was provided; and

To Barnet Church, where explanations were given by the Rev. R. H. HUTTON, the Vicar; and a short communication was made by Mr. E. W. BRABROOK, F.S.A. one of the Honorary Secretaries.

Thanks were voted unanimously—

To the Clergy and the other Authors of Papers;

To Mr. Duckworth for the use of his grounds for the collation; and

To the Honorary Secretaries.

#### FORTY-SIXTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the HALL of the WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF LEATHERSELLERS, by permission of the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants, on Thursday, 4th May, 1871,

J. H. JANSON, Esq. Master of the Company, in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

By Mr. W. H. BLACK, F.S.A. "On the Charters, Records, and History of the Leathersellers' Company."

By the Rev. T. HUGO, F.S.A. "On the Hospital of Le Papey, Bishopsgate."

Thanks were voted unanimously—

To the Worshipful Company of Leathersellers for the use of their Hall;

To the Readers of Papers;

To Mr. J. E. Gardner for his exhibition of a portion of his collection of prints and drawings relating to the neighbourhood;

To the Chairman.

The Society then proceeded

To the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft, where papers were read by Mr. W. H. BLACK, F.S.A. and Mr. W. H. OVERALL, F.S.A.

To the Church of St. Peter, Cornhill, where a paper was read by the Rev. R. WHITTINGTON, M.A. the Rector.

Thanks were voted unanimously to the Clergy and the Readers of Papers.

#### FORTY-SEVENTH GENERAL AND SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at University College, by permission of the Council of the College, on Monday, 24th July, 1871,

J. G. NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A. V.P. in the Chair.

The Notice convening the Meeting was read.

The Report of the Council was read, as follows :—

#### SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

1. Your Council have the satisfaction to report the continued progress and prosperity of the Society during the year 1870-1.

2. The number of new Members elected has been 33, while the losses by deaths and resignation have been 21 only.

3. Among the losses by death your Council regret to find the names of several who have served on their own body, or whose services to the Society as individual Members must long be cherished in grateful remembrance.

4. Mr. B. B. Orridge, F.G.S. had been one of the Society's most

zealous supporters. He contributed several papers of historical interest to our Transactions; and the active part taken by him as a Member of the Corporation of London in the improvement of its library and museum, the publication of its records, and indeed in all movements having for their object the promotion of literary and archæological pursuits, must endear his memory to a much wider circle than that of this Society.

5. Mr. T. Brewer served the Society for several years first as an Auditor and afterwards as a Member of Council, and communicated to this Society a memoir of Sir Wolstan Dixie, and a note relating to that Richard Carpenter whose proudest monument, the City of London School, Mr. Brewer contributed in no slight degree to raise.

6. Mr. R. Westwood was also an early and constant supporter of the Society, and served as Auditor and Member of the Council. In both capacities his sound business talents were of the highest value, and his genial temper made him esteemed as a friend by all his colleagues.

7. Mr. Henry F. Holt, though not a Member of the Council, was a constant contributor to the Society's Evening Meetings of papers which, while possessing every attraction of style in composition, were richly stored with the results of his long research and deep learning, and his place in that respect will not readily be filled.

8. Mr. Josiah Cato, an early and constant supporter of the Society, and Colonel J. R. Western, have also been lost to the Society by death during the past year.

9. The two General Meetings of the year have been very successful. That at Monken Hadley, South Mims, and Barnet was well attended, and most interesting papers were communicated by the Clergy and others. That at Leathersellers' Hall was most numerously attended, and the papers read were of a very valuable character. Mr. J. E. Gardner favoured the Society by an exhibition of a portion of his unrivalled collection of prints and drawings.

10. The Evening Meetings at University College have also been more numerously attended than in any previous year, and have met with uniform success.

11. The financial condition of the Society is satisfactory, and the Balance Sheet will show that a marked improvement in that respect has taken place during the year.



And it was Resolved: "That the same be adopted and printed, with thanks to the Auditors."

Resolved: "That the thanks of the Society be given to the Patrons, President, and Vice-Presidents, for their services during the past year."

"That the cordial thanks of the Society be given to the Treasurer for his services during the year."

"That thanks be given to the Honorary Secretaries for their services during the year."

The following were elected Officers and Council of the Society for the ensuing year.

The Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, Trustees, Treasurer, Honorary Secretaries, Director of Evening Meetings, Auditors, Bankers, and Collector, were all re-elected.

Council:—

W. H. Black, F.S.A.

H. Campkin, F.S.A.

J. Franklin.

G. R. French.

J. E. Gardner.

C. J. Shoppee, A.R.I.B.A.

G. A. Cape.

T. Milbourn.

Rev. W. S. Simpson, F.S.A.

E. Smith, M.D., F.R.S.

J. Livock.

Major A. Heales, F.S.A.

C. Baily.

J. W. Baily.

E. J. Barron, F.S.A.

J. W. Butterworth, F.S.A.

H. C. Coote, F.S.A.

J. G. Waller.

J. Whichcord, F.S.A.

A. White, F.L.S., F.S.A.

H. W. King, Esq. was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

Thanks were voted to the Council of University College for the service they had rendered this Society, and through it the interests of science and sound learning, by allowing the use of their premises for the meetings of the Society; and to the Chairman for his conduct in the chair.

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## FORTY-EIGHTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the CHAPTER HOUSE of WESTMINSTER ABBEY (by permission of H. M's. First Commissioner of Works) on Thursday, 16th May, 1872,

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF WESTMINSTER in the Chair.

After an address from the Chair the following papers were read:—

“On the Wall Paintings in the Chapter House,” by J. G. WALLER, Esq.

“On the Monuments in Westminster Abbey, as evidence of the existence of an English School of Art,” by J. FRANKLIN, Esq.

“On the Records and Muniments of Westminster Abbey,” by JOSEPH BURTT, Esq.

During the progress of the meeting the Society visited Poets' Corner, Henry the Seventh's Chapel, the Jerusalem Chamber, the College Hall, and the Chapel of St. Catherine, under the guidance of the Dean of Westminster, G. Gilbert Scott, Esq. R.A. F.S.A. and Alfred White, Esq. F.S.A. F.L.S.

Thanks were voted unanimously—

To the Readers of Papers ;

To Mr. Scott and Mr. White ;

To Mr. J. E. Gardner for his exhibition in the library of Westminster Abbey of a collection of prints and drawings of great value and interest, relating to the Abbey and Palace of Westminster and their immediate neighbourhood :

To the Dean of Westminster for his kindness in presiding, and for the marked kindness he had shown the Society in arranging and carrying out the proceedings of the meeting.

The Members then visited the crypt under the Chapter House, the library of the Abbey, Westminster School, and Saint Margaret's Church.

The meeting was attended by nearly 400 persons.

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FORTY-NINTH GENERAL AND SEVENTEENTH  
ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, by permission of the Council of the College, on Tuesday, 23rd July, 1872,

J. ORDE HALL, Esq. Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Report of the Council was read as follows :—

## SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

1. Your Council have the satisfaction of reporting continued progress, 33 new Members having been elected, while the losses by death have been 6, and by resignation 14.

2. Foremost among these losses by death must be recorded the name of Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A. for a short time one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Society, and for many years one of the most valued Members of the Council. A glance at the records of our General and Evening Meetings would suffice to show how deeply we have been indebted to his profound and various learning on many occasions; but to those who have been in the habit of attending our meetings, no such reminder is necessary. His quaint but dignified bearing, his ready felicity of illustration, and his faculty for discovering everywhere traces of the Roman occupation of Britain, made his presence a marked feature at all our gatherings. Those who differed from his views on abstract antiquarian questions were the readiest to acknowledge his great learning; and many who at first thought those views wholly untenable have since begun to recognise that there was more in them than his jealous care of his secret would allow to meet the eye. He has left numerous manuscript and printed collections, which, it is hoped, will ere long be available for inspection by competent Members of your Council, and will yield much valuable information.

3. Other losses by death have been those of Mr. Metcalf Hopgood, Lieut.-Col. Robinson, Mr. Joseph Taylor, Mr. Alexander Thompson, and Capt. H. Ward.

4. The names of the Dean of Westminster and Sir Sills J. Gibbons, Lord Mayor of London, have been added to the list of Vice-Presidents.

5. A General Meeting of the Society was held on the 16th May in the restored Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, when the paintings in that apartment were described by Mr. WALLER and the muniments of the Abbey by Mr. BURTT. A paper was also read on the Monuments in Westminster Abbey, as evidence of the existence of an English School of Art, by Mr. FRANKLIN. Westminster School and St. Margaret's Church were visited. The meeting was attended by about 400 persons, and was presided over by the Dean of Westminster, whose kind attention to the wishes of your Council contributed greatly to the success of the gathering.

6. The Evening Meetings of the year have been unusually successful, thanks to the untiring energy and skilful management of Mr. Price, the Director.

7. The Auditor's Report will show that the financial progress of the Society has been exceedingly satisfactory. Not the least gratifying financial event of the year is the munificent gift of 26*l.* from your Vice-President, Mr. J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, being the whole cost of printing the valuable documents relating to ancient London guilds discovered by him in the records of the Court of the Commissary of London.

8. Upon the suggestion of their esteemed colleague Mr. Shoppee, your Council offered their services to the Building Committee of the New Guildhall Library and Museum in arranging for the representation in stained glass windows of the armorial bearings of the minor Companies of the City of London. The proposition was warmly taken up by the several Companies, and one window is very near completion, arrangements for filling another being in progress. By the kindness of Mr. De Havilland, York Herald, every coat has been carefully collated with the official records in the Heralds' College, and the windows will thus form the first authentic memorial ever produced of these important Companies.

And it was Resolved: "That the same be received, adopted, and printed, and the thanks of the Society be given to the Council for their services."

The Balance Sheet, examined and found correct by the Auditors, was read, as follows:—

CASH ACCOUNT for the year ending 30TH JUNE, 1872.

| Dr.  | 1871, June 30. |          | Cr.      |
|--|----------------|----------|----------|
|  | £              | s. d.    | £ s. d.  |
| To Balance at Bankers . . . . .  | 51             | 9 5      |          |
| „ Donation from Mr. Daniel-Tyssen . . . . .                                      | 26             | 0 0      |          |
| „ Four years' dividend on<br>£66 13s. 4d. New Three per Cent.<br>Stock . . . . . | 8              | 0 0      |          |
| „ Subscriptions received . . . . .   | 181            | 14 0     |          |
|  | <hr/>          |          |          |
|  | £267           | 3 5      |          |
|  | <hr/>          |          |          |
| By Poundage . . . . .  | 10             | 0 10     |          |
| „ Delivery of Publica-<br>tions . . . . .  | 5              | 2 6      |          |
|  | <hr/>          |          | 15 3 4   |
| „ Printing, Stationery,<br>and Postages (Mr.<br>Scott) . . . . .                 | 18             | 1 0      |          |
| „ Collector's Salary . . . . .   | 10             | 0 0      |          |
|  | <hr/>          |          | 28 1 0   |
| „ Petty Cash (including<br>Expenses of Meetings)                                 |                | 15 0 0   |          |
| „ Printing (Messrs.<br>Nichols) . . . . .  | 75             | 11 0     |          |
| „ „ (Mr. Mitchener) . . . . .  | 10             | 19 0     |          |
| „ Engraving (Mr. Sachs) . . . . .  | 10             | 13 6     |          |
| „ Coloring (Miss Gravell) . . . . .  | 2              | 3 9      |          |
| „ Lithography (Messrs.<br>Emslie) . . . . .                                      | 9              | 19 0     |          |
| „ Binding (Mr. Rich-<br>mond) . . . . .  | 1              | 0 0      |          |
|  | <hr/>          |          | 110 6 3  |
| „ Purchase of New Three per Cent.<br>Stock . . . . .                             |                | 40 0 0   |          |
| „ Balance at Bankers . . . . .   |                | 58 12 10 |          |
|  | <hr/>          |          | £267 3 5 |
|  | <hr/>          |          | <hr/>    |

And it was Resolved that the same be received, adopted, and printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to the Auditors.

Resolved :—

“ That the thanks of the Society be given to the Patrons, President, and Vice-Presidents for their services during the past year.

“ That the cordial thanks of the Society be given to the Treasurer for his services during the year.

“ That the thanks of the Society be given to the Honorary Secretaries for their services during the year.”

The following were elected Officers and Council of the Society for the ensuing year:—

The Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, Trustees, Treasurer, Honorary Secretaries, Director of Evening Meetings, and Bankers, were all re-elected, with the addition of the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, M.A. F.S.A. to the list of Vice-Presidents.

George Lambert, Esq. F.S.A. and George Augustus Cape, Esq. were elected Auditors.

## Council:—

|                                |                              |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| E. Smith, M.D. F.R.S.          | H. Campkin, Esq. F.S.A.      |
| J. Livock, Esq.                | J. Franklin, Esq.            |
| Major A. Heales, F.S.A.        | G. R. French, Esq.           |
| C. Baily, Esq.                 | J. E. Gardner, Esq.          |
| J. W. Baily, Esq.              | C. J. Shoppee, Esq.          |
| E. J. Barron, Esq. F.S.A.      | Sir H. L. Anderson, K.C.S.I. |
| J. W. Butterworth, Esq. F.S.A. | B. Ferrey, Esq. F.S.A.       |
| H. C. Coote, Esq. F.S.A.       | G. Harris, F.S.A. V.P.A.I.   |
| J. G. Waller, Esq.             | T. F. Peacock, Esq.          |
| A. White, Esq. F.L.S. F.S.A.   | W. H. Overall, Esq. F.S.A.   |

Thanks were voted to the Council of University College for their kindness in allowing the use of their premises for the meetings of the Society, and to the Chairman for his conduct in the Chair.

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FIFTIETH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the School-Room, West Drayton, by permission of the Local Authorities, on 4th September, 1872,

J. R. DANIEL-TYSSEN, Esq. Vice-President, in the Chair.

Papers were read—

By Mr. A. D. WHITE: "On West Drayton Church and Parish."

By the same: "On Uxbridge House, the ancient residence of the Pagets."

The Society proceeded to Harmondsworth Church, where a paper was read by Mr. A. WHITE, F.L.S. F.S.A. and to Harmondsworth Great Barn, where a paper by Mr. A. HARTSHORNE was read.

Thanks were voted to the Authors of Papers and to the Chairman.

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## FIFTY-FIRST GENERAL MEETING,

Held at LINCOLN'S INN HALL, by permission of the Benchers, on  
Thursday, the 15th May, 1873,

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

Papers were read—

By Mr. E. W. BRABROOK, F.S.A. Hon. Sec. "On the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn."

By Mr. W. H. SPILSBURY, Librarian to the Hon. Society, "On Lincoln's Inn and its Library."

The Society proceeded to Rolls Chapel, when a communication from the Rev. J. S. BREWER, Preacher at the Rolls, was read; and to Gray's Inn, where the Rev. J. Taylor, Chaplain, read a paper by Mr. W. DOUTHWAITE, Librarian.

At the Rolls Chapel Mr. M. H. BLOXAM, F.S.A., described the monuments.

Thanks were voted to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn; to the Authors of Papers; and to the Chairman.

FIFTY-SECOND-GENERAL MEETING AND EIGHTEENTH  
ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, by permission of the Council of the  
College, on Monday, 21st July, 1873,

J. ORDE HALL, Esq. Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Report of the Council was read, as follows:—

REPORT OF COUNCIL of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHEOLOGICAL  
SOCIETY to the ANNUAL MEETING on 21st July, 1873.

1. Since the last Annual General Meeting twenty-five new Members have been added to the Society, while the losses have been four by death and eleven by retirement.

2. Among the losses by death are Sir William Tite, one of the Vice-Presidents; and Mr. J. Walker Baily, a Member of the Council.

3. Though neither of those gentlemen had of late years been enabled to assist in their deliberations, the Council are sure that the Members will recognise with them the great loss the Society has sustained.

4. Sir William Tite's large professional knowledge and experience had been exercised mainly in London and Middlesex, and had enabled him to make valuable contributions to the illustration of the antiquities of the city and county.

5. Mr. J. Walker Baily was an accomplished archæologist, an excellent artist, and the possessor of an unrivalled collection of London antiquities. The records of the Evening Meetings of the Society show how ready he was at all times to lend objects for exhibition, which either were of recent discovery or illustrated any subject under discussion; and the Members will have in their memory the many interesting communications he has made in respect to such exhibitions.

6. His place on the Council has been filled by the election of his son, Mr. Walker Baily, and it will be a satisfaction to the Members that in the able hands of that gentleman the museum collected by our lamented friend is secure of safe and intelligent preservation.

7. Other members who have died during the year are Mr. George Lambert, junior, an archæologist of great promise, and Mr. J. Pollard, clerk to the Metropolitan Board of Works.

8. On the nomination of the Rev. T. Hugo and Mr. Roach Smith, the Council felt gratification in electing as an Honorary Member of the Society, that distinguished antiquary, M. de Caumont, of Caen; and they anticipated through his means to have been able to convey to the proper authorities under the French government a strong representation of the wishes of the Society as to the preservation of the ancient walls of Dax. That hope was frustrated, however, by the lamented death of M. de Caumont before he had had time to acknowledge, or perhaps to become aware of, the compliment which this Society had tendered to him.

9. The Council cannot refrain from adding a word of deep regret at the sudden death of another distinguished antiquary, though not a Member of this Society, Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester. The Society, they are sure, will share the grief of the whole country at the calamity which has so unexpectedly terminated the brilliant career of that distinguished prelate.

10. Upon the recommendation of the Members present at one of

the Evening Meetings, the Council directed the Honorary Secretaries to present a petition on behalf of the Society to the House of Commons in favour of the Bill for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, the failure of which they regret.

11. The Lord Mayor, Sir Sydney H. Waterlow, having signified a wish to join the Society, became a Vice-President, and Sir John Lubbock, Bart. M.P. has also been elected a Vice-President.

12. A meeting was held in the autumn of 1872 at West Drayton and Harmondsworth, at which several papers of great interest and value were communicated.

13. Another General Meeting was held on the 15th May at Lincoln's Inn Hall, on which occasion the Society also visited the Rolls Chapel and Gray's Inn.

14. The country excursion for the present year will be held at Hampton Court Palace on Wednesday next, when the Council hope to have the pleasure of the company of as many of the Members of the Society and their friends as can make it convenient to attend.

15. The Evening Meetings of the past Session have been more largely attended than those of any previous year, and (thanks to the untiring energy and skilful management of Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A. the Director) have been more than ever interesting and successful.

16. Part XIII. of the Society's Transactions, completing vol. iv. is in active progress and will shortly be ready for delivery. It contains several communications of great interest and value.

17. The Council have made arrangements to supply for a small separate additional subscription a copy of the papers read at the Evening Meetings, not published in the Society's Transactions, to such Members as desire it.

18. The financial statement is submitted to you with the Auditor's certificate, and is considered by the Council to be satisfactory.

19. The eight Members of Council retiring by rotation, pursuant to Rule III. paragraph 3, are Dr. Edward Smith, Mr. Livock, Major Heales, Mr. C. Baily, Mr. Barron, Mr. Butterworth, Mr. Coote, and Mr. Waller, who are all eligible for re-election.

And it was Resolved: "That the same be received, adopted, and printed, and the thanks of the Society given to the Council for their services."

The Balance Sheet, examined and found correct by the Auditors, was read, as follows:—

| CASH ACCOUNT.  |          | Cr.  |          |
|--|----------|--|----------|
| Dr.  | £ s. d.  | £ s. d.  |          |
| To Balance at Bankers . . . . .                                    | 58 12 10 | By Printing, Stationary, and Post-<br>ages (Mr. Scott) . . . . . | 18 7 6   |
| „ Dividend on £109 13s. 2d. New<br>Three per Cent. Stock . . . . . | 3 5 8    | „ Collector's Salary and Expenses . . . . .                      | 12 15 0  |
| „ Subscriptions received . . . . .                                 | 182 5 6  | „ Petty Cash (including Expenses<br>of Meetings) . . . . .       | 35 0 0   |
|  |          | „ Printing (Messrs. Nichols) . . . . .                           | 50 0 0   |
|  |          | „ Engraving (Mr. Sachs) . . . . .                                | 16 8 0   |
|  |          | „ „ (Messrs. Emslie) . . . . .                                   | 8 8 0    |
|  |          | „ Drawings (Mr. Franklin) . . . . .                              | 15 15 0  |
|  |          | „ Binding (Mr. Richmond) . . . . .                               | 2 13 0   |
|  |          | „ Balance at Bankers . . . . .                                   | 84 17 6  |
|  | £244 4 0 |  | £244 4 0 |

And it was Resolved: “That the same be received, adopted, and printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to the Auditors.”

Resolved: “That the thanks of the Society be given to the Patrons, President, and Vice-Presidents, for their services during the past year.”

“That the cordial thanks of the Society be given to the Treasurer for his services during the year.”

“That the thanks of the Society be given to the Honorary Secretaries for their services during the year; and that special thanks be given to Mr. Price for his distinguished services as Director of the Evening Meetings, to which the Society attributes the marked success of those meetings.”

The Officers and Council were re-elected without alteration; the List of Council now standing as follows:—

|                              |                                |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A. White, Esq. F.L.S. F.S.A. | W. H. Overall, Esq. F.S.A.     |
| H. Campkin, Esq. F.S.A.      | Walker Baily, Esq.             |
| J. Franklin, Esq.            | E. Smith, Esq. M.D. F.R.S.     |
| G. R. French, Esq.           | J. Livock, Esq.                |
| J. E. Gardner, Esq.          | Major A. Heales, F.S.A.        |
| C. J. Shoppee, Esq.          | C. Baily, Esq.                 |
| Sir H. L. Anderson, K.C.S.I. | E. J. Barron, Esq. F.S.A.      |
| B. Ferrey, Esq. F.S.A.       | J. W. Butterworth, Esq. F.S.A. |
| G. Harris, Esq. F.S.A.       | H. C. Coote, Esq. F.S.A.       |
| T. F. Peacock, Esq.          | J. G. Waller, Esq.             |

Thanks were voted to the Council of University College for their kindness in allowing the use of their premises for the Meetings of the Society, and to the Chairman for his conduct in the chair.

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### FIFTY-THIRD GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held (by permission of H. M.'s. First Commissioner of Works), in the GREAT HALL OF HAMPTON COURT PALACE, on Wednesday, the 23rd day of July, 1873, at three o'clock,

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Papers were read and communications made by the Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A. F.S.A. Vice-President, W. G. ROGERS, Esq. and J. G. WALLER, Esq.

The Society also (by permission of the Lord Chamberlain) visited the Chapel of the Palace.

Thanks were voted to the First Commissioner of Works, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Authors of Papers.

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### FIFTY-FOURTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's), at ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, on Tuesday, 28th April, 1874, at one o'clock,

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.L.S., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Papers were read and Communications made by F. C. PENROSE, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Surveyor to the Cathedral, E. B. FERREY, Esq., and the Rev. Dr. SPARROW SIMPSON, F.S.A.

The Society then proceeded to the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Skinners, Dowgate Hill, when a paper was read by J. F. WADMORE, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., one of the Court of Assistants of that Company.

Thanks were voted to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's; the Master and Wardens of the Skinners' Company; the Authors of Papers; and the Chairman.

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FIFTY-FIFTH GENERAL AND NINETEENTH ANNUAL  
MEETING,

Held at 4, St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, on Tuesday,  
21st June, 1874, at eight o'clock,

J. W. BUTTERWORTH, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Report of the Council was read, as follows:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆ-  
OLOGICAL SOCIETY to the NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Your Council have to report a continued increase in the number of the Society's Members, who now amount to 402.

*The only loss by death during the past year has been a very heavy one, that of Mr. John Gough Nichols, one of the Vice-Presidents.*

An account of his life which has recently been published informs us that he was born in the year 1806. He inherited from his father and his grandfather, the historian of Leicestershire, not merely the business of printing, which the Bowyers and the Nicholsons have carried on ever since 1688, and the ample fortune they had gained by it, but also their literary and antiquarian tastes. He was educated at Lewisham and at Merchant Taylors' School. He became one of the Editors of the Gentleman's Magazine in 1826, and remained its Editor until 1856. His first separate work was "Autographs of Royal, Noble, Learned, and Remarkable Personages," published in 1829; and that has been followed by not less than thirty-eight other separate publications from his pen, besides an equal number of communications to learned societies.

His services to our own Society were numerous and valuable. Four papers by him appear in the first volume of our Transactions, viz.: on the Park at Haworth, a Brass at Harrow, a Biography of Richard Gough (after whom John Gough Nichols was named), and on the Jewelled Sceptre of the City of London. Four also in the second volume, viz.: An Account of the Stationers' Company, the Pictures in the Deanery at Westminster, Henry de Yeveley, architect, and the Pictures in the Temple and at Bridewell. Two in the third volume, viz.: Notices of John Lovekyn, and the Muni-ments of the Vintners' Company. Two also in the fourth volume,

viz.: Life of Sir William Harper and Account of the Mercers' Company; and (in the Proceedings of our Evening Meetings) an Account of a Triple Civic Marriage. In addition to these interesting and valuable communications, Mr. Nichols voluntarily undertook and most ably performed the duty of reading every line in the proof-sheets of all our publications. In the forthcoming part of the Proceedings will be found an instance of the great service thus rendered by him. It contains a valuable series of Inventories of Westminster Abbey, communicated by the Rev. Prebendary Mackenzie Walcott, from the records in the Land Revenue Record Office. At the request of the Honorary Secretaries, Mr. Nichols most kindly undertook the laborious task of collating every line of this inventory with the original documents; and the communication from our esteemed friend, Mr. Walcott, has had in consequence added to its value the testimony to its perfect and literal correctness from one of the most painstaking and accurate antiquaries who ever lived;—for Mr. Nichols possessed in the highest degree that indispensable quality of the true antiquary, the love of absolute truth and accuracy for its own sake. Every line he wrote may be depended upon as a correct transcript of the authority upon which it is declared to be founded, and he brought to the consideration of every subject to which he directed himself a mind well trained in discriminating the value of historical evidence, and imbued with the desire of discovering the truth. The Society will recollect also on how many occasions, and with what dignity, courteous kindness, and ability, he presided as Vice-President at our Meetings, and will not be surprised therefore to learn that the Council hastened to tender to his widow an assurance of their respectful sympathy and deep condolence, of which they received from Mrs. Nichols a cordial acknowledgment.

The Members will be glad to learn that Part XIII. of the Proceedings, which has been somewhat delayed by several important papers going rather slowly through the press, is now very nearly ready, and will shortly be delivered to them.

By the liberality of Mr. J. H. Paleston, M.P., and Mr. J. E. Price, our Director, the Council have been enabled to place in the hands of the Members, for a very small sum, an admirable work by Mr. Price on the recent discoveries near the Mansion House, which is in fact a monograph on Roman remains in London; and, while it reflects credit on this Society, will establish the reputation of our accomplished

Director as an authority on that subject. His labours upon it have in no degree, however, relaxed his zeal and energy in the conduct of our Evening Meetings, which have been, as usual, through his exertions, an unqualified success.

General Meetings have been held at Hampton Court, and at St. Paul's Cathedral and the Hall of the Skinners' Company. On both occasions it is believed the numerous Members and friends who were assembled spent a pleasant and instructive day.

Another undertaking of some importance has been completed under the supervision of the Society during the past year, that of the insertion in a window on the staircase of the new Guildhall Library of the arms of fifteen of the minor civic guilds, in addition to those of the twenty-one companies which were inserted in the large south window of the Great Hall, at the suggestion and by the intervention of this Society. The Council have to thank Mr. de Havilland, F.S.A., York Herald, one of our Hon. Members, for his kindness in verifying the arms from original records in his Department.

The Members retiring from the Council by rotation are Mr. White, Mr. Campkin, Mr. Franklin, Mr. French, Mr. Gardner and Mr. Shoppee, all of whom are eligible and are recommended for re-election; Sir Henry L. Anderson and Mr. Walker Baily also retire, but, as other duties prevent their attendance at the Council Meetings, it will be proposed to you to elect Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., and Mr. E. Baddeley in their places. Mr. B. Clarke will be proposed as Auditor.

And it was Resolved: "That the same be received, adopted, and printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to the Council for their services."

The Balance Sheet, examined and found correct by the Auditors, was read, as follows:—

## CASH ACCOUNT.

| <i>Dr.</i>                     | <i>£ s. d.</i>         | <i>Cr.</i>  | <i>£ s. d.</i>         |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|---|------------------------|
| To Balance at Bankers . . .    | 84 17 6                | By Printing (Messrs. Nichols) . . .                       | 41 16 6                |
| „ Dividend on Stock . . .      | 3 5 8                  | „ „ (Mr. Mitchener) . . .                                 | 3 7 0                  |
| „ Subscriptions received . . . | 171 15 0               | „ Printing, Stationery, and Postages<br>(Mr. Scott) . . . | 23 4 0                 |
|                                |                        | „ Binding (Mr. Richmond) . . .                            | 1 8 6                  |
|                                |                        | „ Engraving (Messrs. Emslie) . . .                        | 10 19 0                |
|                                |                        | „ Collector's Salary and Expenses . . .                   | 30 18 6                |
|                                |                        | „ Refreshments at Evening Meetings . . .                  | 11 19 6                |
|                                |                        | „ Petty Cash . . .  | 10 0 0                 |
|                                |                        | „ Balance at Bankers . . .                                | 126 5 2                |
|                                | <hr/> <u>£259 18 2</u> |   | <hr/> <u>£259 18 2</u> |

And it was Resolved: "That the same be received, adopted, and printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to the Auditors."

Resolved: "That the thanks of the Society be given to the Patrons, President, and Vice-President for their services during the past year."

"That the cordial thanks of the Society be given to the Treasurer for his services during the past year."

"That the thanks of the Society be given to the Honorary Secretaries, with special thanks to the Director of Evening Meetings."

The Officers of the Society were re-elected without alteration, and the Council for the year was elected, as follows:—

|                                |                              |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| B. Ferrey, Esq. F.S.A.         | H. C. Coote, Esq. F.S.A.     |
| G. Harris, Esq. F.S.A.         | John G. Waller, Esq.         |
| Thomas Francis Peacock, Esq.   | A. White, Esq. F.S.A. F.L.S. |
| W. H. Overall, Esq. F.S.A.     | Henry Campkin, Esq. F.S.A.   |
| E. Smith, Esq. M.D. F.R.S.     | John Franklin, Esq.          |
| John Livock, Esq.              | George R. French, Esq.       |
| Major A. Heales, F.S.A.        | John E. Gardner, Esq.        |
| Charles Baily, Esq.            | C. J. Shoppee, Esq.          |
| E. J. Barron, Esq. F.S.A.      | George Lambert, Esq. F.S.A.  |
| J. W. Butterworth, Esq. F.S.A. | E. Baddeley, Esq.            |

Thanks were voted to the Chairman for his conduct in the Chair.

## FIFTY-SIXTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held (by permission of the Lord Bishop of London, Patron of the Society) at FULHAM PALACE, on Tuesday, the 11th day of August, 1874, at one o'clock.

The LORD BISHOP OF LONDON in the Chair.

The Meeting was addressed by his Lordship; and papers were read by the Rev. E. H. FISHER, M.A., Vicar of Fulham; the Rev. LAWFORD W. T. DALE, Vicar of Chiswick; and the Rev. F. G. BLONFIELD, Prebendary of St. Paul's.

The Society then visited Fulham Church.

Thanks were voted to the Bishop and the Readers of Papers.

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CORRIGENDA.

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Page 425, note †, for "octoq'inta" read "octoginta."

Page 444, line 12, for "Forsan" read "Forsitan."

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